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Lipsius' Dissertatiuncula apud Principes

By María Ángeles Robles

Abstract- The text to be discussed is the *oratio* that Justus Lipsius delivered to the Archdukes Isabel Clara Eugenia and Alberto. My paper focuses on analysing Justus Lipsius' speech as a eulogy to the archdukes. I will also study the paratexts accompanying the present edition, which is the subject of this study. The backbone of the work is to show the literary imprint of Lipsius in this discourse. On the one hand, the analysis of Lipsius' discourse is carried out by taking into account the traces of his previous literary production in this discourse and the impact of the *Dissertatiuncula apud principes* in his later production will be highlighted; on the other hand I will take into account the theoretical principle of Lipsius: *similitudo et imago plurima temporum nostrorum*. The above-mentioned Latin expression is understood broadly, not limited to Tacitus.

Keywords: justus lipsius, archdukes, paratexts, oratio, literary production, similitudo temporum.

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María Ángeles Robles

Abstract The text to be discussed is the *oratio* that Justus Lipsius delivered to the Archdukes Isabel Clara Eugenia and Alberto. My paper focuses on analysing Justus Lipsius' speech as a eulogy to the archdukes. I will also study the paratexts accompanying the present edition, which is the subject of this study. The backbone of the work is to show the literary imprint of Lipsius in this discourse. On the one hand, the analysis of Lipsius' discourse is carried out by taking into account the traces of his previous literary production in this discourse and the impact of the *Dissertatiuncula apud principes* in his later production will be highlighted; on the other hand I will take into account the theoretical principle of Lipsius: *similitudo et imago plurima temporum nostrorum*. The above-mentioned Latin expression is understood broadly, not limited to Tacitus.

Keywords: justus lipsius, archdukes, paratexts, oratio, literary production, similitudo temporum.

I. Introduction

he text that will be the subject of commentary is the oratio he delivered to the Archdukes Isabel Clara Eugenia and Alberto in 1599. As will be indicated in the section on the biography and editions of the Dissertatiuncula apud Principes; there are many editions of this speech, most of which are printed separately, but the volume I am handling for this work is accompanied by the Panegyricus Traiani, a speech written by Pliny the Younger in honour of the emperor Trajan, published in 1600 in Antwerp by Christophe Plantin. First of all, I will contextualise the historical moment in which Lipsius' discourse takes place. The humanist in his text brings to mind the situation before the arrival of the archdukes in the Netherlands. Still, implicitly he only alludes to the existence of a war but does not recreate the hostilities under Margarita of Parma, sister of Felipe II, who gave rise by her way of governing to the beginning of the Eighty Years' War. In contrast to the situation described above, the princes were peacemakers. They established close ties with the local authorities, who did not hesitate to express their support for the archducal regime.

Moreover, I will provide some biographical information about Lipsius to indicate the importance of this scholar in Neo-Latin literature. Next, I will focus on the commentary of the two paratexts that precede the main text; one is the preface to the princes, in which he refers to the *Panegyricus Traiani*, written by Pliny the Younger; the other is the preface dedicated to the reader; both paratexts shed light on biographical data of the Spanish archdukes. Finally, I will concentrate on the

discourse that concerns us, commenting on the literary clichés used by our author, taking into account his theoretical principle: "similitudo et imago plurima temporum nostrorum", understood in a broad sense, while establishing parallels with the rest of the works written by him both before and after.

From my point of view, I consider that there is no veiled message about the consequences of not fulfilling one's princely duties, as Toon Van Houdt (1998, pp. 405-432) and Violet Soen (2011, pp. 207-208) claim. In the whole of my work, I will demonstrate the veracity and truthfulness of Lipsius' words, dedicated to the archdukes. In addition, the scholar was an adviser to the Archdukes and had played a prominent role in the political life of the United Provinces. The erudite had lived at the centre of the public intellectual, political, and political scene.¹

On the importance of the figure of prince or ruler, Lipsius has already taken it up in his *Politica*.² When the Belgian was writing the work above, he had seen the chaos in his country and did not believe that the Netherlands would be able to become strong, being at war with the Spanish crown. As I will display in my work, the scholar always encouraged the prince to use his power fearlessly, but it had to be done effectively and realistically. He was convinced that the prince or ruler's primary mission was the happiness of his subjects, and this could only be achieved by a strong state conducive to peace and security.³

II. BIOGRAPHICAL DATA OF LIPSIUS AND EDITIONS OF THE SPEECH DISSERTATICULA APUD PRINCIPES

Justus Lipsius (1547-1606) was a Flemish Catholic philologist, philosopher, and humanist. Following in this respect Jan Papy (Lipsius, 2000, p.15), our erudite created the intellectual movement of neo-Stoicism which influenced contemporary scholars. He was able to weave the ideals of ancient Stoicism into a form compatible with Christianity. *De Constantia* is one of the most emblematic, a transmitter of this neo-Stoicism.⁴

According to Jeanine De Landtsheer (2004, pp. 66-69), in March 1591, our scholar left the Calvinist university in Leiden, where he had taught for thirteen

Author: Independent Researcher. e-mail: mangelesroblessanchez@gmail.com DOI: https://doi.org/10.24197/mrfc.33.2020.43-74

¹ (Carrasco Martínez, 2021, 35-36).

² (López Poza, 2008, 227).

³ (Lipsius, 1599, p. 43).

⁴ (Ramis Barceló, 2021, p. 103), (Sánchez, 2015 p. 51).

years. Thanks to the intervention of his friends such as Christopher Plantin, the secretary of the archdiocese of Mechelen, Nicolaas Oudaert, and Willem Breugel, a relative of Lipsius, councillor of the Brabant States, he was able to return to the southern Netherlands from 1586. The humanist finally arrived in Louvain on 9 August 1592 and in November, he began teaching ancient history and Latin. However, Lipsius was constantly criticised by foreign colleagues and scholars about the purity of his motives and the soundness of his religious ideas. The scholar declined generous invitations from Italian universities and the King of France; in fact, the Belgian preferred to remain in his own country and join the Confraternity of the Holy Virgin, flourishing in Louvain, as in many other places.

The Belgian took special care in choosing the patrons to whom he dedicated his successive publications, gaining the esteem and trust of the authorities. The humanist devoted his work De Cruce (January 1594) to the States of Brabant. De militia Romana (June 1595) to the future Felipe III, Poliorcetica (August 1596) to the Prince of Liège-Bishop, Ernest of Bavaria, and Admiranda sive De magnitudine Romana (March 1598) to the Archduke Alberto of Austria. On 14 December 1595, King Felipe II granted him the title of historiographicus regius, which entailed an annuity of 1000 guilders. Felipe II explicitly recommended him to his cousin, Archduke Alberto of Austria, upon the latter's arrival in the southern Netherlands.

On three occasions, Lipsius was asked by leading politicians to give his opinion on the position the Spanish king should adopt in his foreign policy. When the Archdukes arrived in Leuven, they honoured Lipsius with their presence at one of his lectures at the University of Leuven. This important event left its mark on the humanist's biography.

Following the information given by Violet Soen (2011, pp. 207-208), the Archdukes asked the humanist to give them a lecture. In fact, this is the reason why Lipsius gave his speech, based on a text by the philosopher Seneca, specifically from the treatise De Clementia, at the beginning of book I, chapter. Subsequently, the erudite ensured this event became part of his public image and biography. Afterwards, not only did he write to his friends about the speech delivered before the princes, but he also permitted for the lecture to be included in the official printed account of Johannes Bochius' Joyous Entry (Soen, 2011, pp. 207-208).

Christophe Plantin printed Lipsius' speech separately in Antwerp. Let us recall that in 1600 about 1500 copies were printed. Due to its success, 1550 copies of a corrected and enlarged version were printed in 1604.5 Toon Van Houdt (1998, pp. 405-432) explained that this speech was an act in which Lipsius

tried to reconcile his public and humanist self-image with his political views on princely duties.

III. THE HISTORICAL MOMENT AT WHICH LIPSIUS FORMULATES HIS ORATIO

On the twelfth of July 1598, Archduke Alberto received the powers to govern as ruler of Flanders. He also accepted the engagement to marry the Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia, who brought these lands as her wedding dowry. The Archduke convened the States General of the United Provinces in Brussels, informed them of the new situation, and after being read the privileges of the land and taking an oath to respect them, the representatives of the provinces.⁶

Isabel Clara Eugenia was daughter of Felipe II and Isabel de Valois. On the eighteenth April 1599, Isabel married Alberto of Austria in Valencia. The arrival of the princes takes place against the backdrop of the Eighty Years' War, waged against their ruler, Felipe II of Spain. The rebellion against the monarch began in 1568, in the time of Margarita de Parma, sister of Felipe II and ruler of the Netherlands. Margarita's relations with the Protestant Dutch nobility were never entirely smooth. This fact, added to their ineffectiveness and the distance between the two countries, meant that they increasingly distanced themselves from Spanish politics in pursuit of their economic and political interests, which were beginning to take shape in the atmosphere.

Prince Alberto's stay in the Netherlands between 1599 and 1633, the year of his death, was not easy. Still, Isabel Clara Eugenia's knowledge of the political affairs acquired by Felipe II helped him to overcome the severe problems he had to face during those years. Isabel actively intervened in the decisions taken by her husband, Alberto, who had been the ruler of Portugal. The new sovereigns wished to forge closer ties with the local authorities, who did not hesitate to express their collaboration with the archducal regime.⁷

Werner Thomas (2011, pp. 180-201) presents in detail the different strategies of pacification of the southern territories implemented by the archducal government, deployed in three directions: getting the Flemish provinces to recognise Felipe III as the future sovereign, incorporating the Flemish elites and nobility into the courtly circle, and using Isabell herself as the personification of the transition from the archducal regime to the reincorporation of the provinces into the Spanish monarchy. On the goodwill of the Archdukes towards the States General of the United Provinces, an initial eight-month ceasefire agreement was concluded in The Hague in the spring of 1607:

Contentos de trattar con los Estados Generales de las Provincias Unidas en calidad y como teniéndolos por

⁵ (Van Houdt, 1998, p. 409).

⁶ (Gallegos, 2014, pp. 234-235).

⁷ (Werner, 2011. p. 188).

payses, provincias y estados libres sobre los quales Sus Altezas no pretenden nada, sea por vía de una paz perpetua, una tregua o suspensión de armas por doze, quinze o veynte años, a escoger de los dichos Estados.⁸

The achievement of the Truce in 1609⁹ ushered in an era in which festivals and festive events were used as a propaganda campaign on behalf of the sovereigns.¹⁰ The archdukes promoted the economic prosperity of the Netherlands, thus securing their future as rulers of the country.¹¹ They promoted the Spanish language and culture. The archdukes also respected and encouraged the production of Belgian literary and philosophical works. It should be noted that they favoured, above all, the scholars of the circle of Lipsius.¹²

IV. THE PREFACE TO THE PRINCES

The text refers to the *Panegyricus Traiani*, written by Pliny the Younger. The scholar considers it appropriate to mention Trajan because he comes from Hispania, the name formerly given to Spain, and he also mentions him for his excellent way of governing both his own people and those subjected to the Empire. He indicates this lecture will be published in the same book as the dissertation to Princes Alberto and Isabel Clara Eugenia. Moreover, it should be recalled Trajan is an example of the ideal figure of a just and pious prince, comparable to none other than Augustus. Pliny the Younger's Panegyricus will be the political piece of his principality, which inaugurates a new golden age with a just emperor who appears surrounded by exemplary women. 13 All this will produce a tradition in later chroniclers, as is the case of Eutropius in his Breviarium ab urbe condita (Eutr. 8, 5, 3), who records the greeting of the emperors by the senate when they were told more than 300 years later: "Felicior si Augusto et Traiano melior" as if for them these Caesares were their contemporaries. Trajan's reputation as a just man transcended from antiquity to the late modern period. Pliny the Younger, in his Panegyricus, presents Trajan as the heavenly, extraordinary prince, very close to the gods.14

At quin aliud etiam visum addere, quod non excuso: Plinii, inquam, Panegyricum, quem Traiano optimo Principi optimum laudatissimumque scripsit. Nec id quidem magnum opus. Tamen ut in exiguam saepe tabulam orbis et regionum magnitudo aut varietas includitur: sic in hunc libellum, quidquid ad munus aut decus veri Principatus.

Laudat suum Traianum, non monet, fateor: sed hoc quoque decorum apud Principes, ut sub blando eo titulo, et boni quae faciunt, recognoscant; et alii, quae facere deberent, cognoscant. Quid, quod Traiano dictus dicatusque est, Hispano Principi et qui primus florentis imperii sceptrum transtulit ad externam et suam gentem? (Lipsius, 1600, fol. *3r).

Once Trajan is praised and indicated this oration will accompany the dissertation in honour of the Princes, the Belgian mentions the Spanish origins of the princes, implicitly linking Trajan to the princes because of their Spanish origins. On the one hand, Alberto has blood ties on his mother's side with María de Austria (daughter of Carlos I of Spain). On the other hand, Isabel was Spanish by birth and by noble lineage, as she was the daughter of Felipe II, King of Spain: "Et eius gentis tu materna origine, Alberte, et longa etiam in habitatione es: tu Isabella, ortu et stirpe. Accipite ergo, Principes, et munusculum hoc, et munus: quorum illud felicium Auspiciorum vestrorum memoriae aliquid faciat" (Lipsius, 1600, fols. *3r-*3v).

V. Preface to the Reader

The scholar is very clear in his preface to the reader, stating that he will not elaborate a standard laudatory discourse, impregnated with the usual language of panegyrics. It is, for this reason, he thinks that he would be able to augment and embellish the text with examples from Cicero and Pliny, but Lipsius wants to be truthful in this speech, so the Belgian will avoid rhetoric and will not beat about the bush, he will speak bluntly as one who shouts the arrow and hits the bull's eye because the aim is to show the princes as exemplary people in the historical moment in which they live.

The allusion to the term "sagitta" evokes the frequent epithet ἑκάεργος ("longe iaculans"), referring to Apollo. 15 Moreover, Homer frequently used this epithet to refer to this god. 16 This Olympian divinity is described as the god of the arts, of the bow and arrow, who threatened or protected from high in the heavens, being identified with the light of truth. It can be concluded, based on the above, the erudite intends to show truthfulness in his assertions:

Nam augere et polire, exemplo veterum, atque adeo Tullii et Plinii, poteram: sed in re que ad Principes, veritatem amaui, et quidquid hoc fuit, damus sine colore aut fuco. Nec tibi tamen, ut aiebam, proprie damus. sed ut qui sagittam mittit, scopum intuetur, non circumstantes: sic mihi nunc Principes in oculis, non siquis alius forte leges. Lege tamen me optante, et hoc saltem disce, magna quaedam exempla cadere etiam in hoc avum. (Lipsius, 1600, fol. *4r).

⁸ Papel n.º 9, "Segunda ratificación de S.[=u] M.[=ajestad el Rey] sobre la cessaçión de armas", Madrid, 18 de septiembre de 1607, Biblioteca Nacional de España (BNE), manuscript (ms.) 11.187, fols. 17r-19v, fol.17r.

⁹ (Gallegos, 2014, p. 241).

¹⁰ (Werner, 2011, pp. 181-182).

¹¹ (Werner, 2011, pp. 180-185).

¹² (Roersch, 1892, p. 239).

¹³ (Hidalgo de la Vega, 2012, pp. 111-121).

¹⁴ (Verdugo Santos, 2018, pp.126, 144, 143).

¹⁵ (Smith, 1867, pp. 230-232), (Ruiz de Elvira, 1982, pp.76-77), (Hamilton (2021, p. 37).

 $^{^{16}}$ Here are the places in Homer where the expression is used: "ἐκάεργος Απόλλων" (Homer. Iliad. 15, 243; 16, 94; 16, 706; 17, 585; 21, 461; 21, 478; 22, 220).

It is worth noting the Flemish humanist's praise of Queen Isabel Clara Eugenia as a scholar and lover of letters, who, once she was married and older, learned the Latin language:

An aliud illustrius, quam faeminam (Albertum enim nunc omitto) faemina in quam, inter Principes principem, venisse ultro ad has litterarias recitationes, sedisse, audisse? Fecit quid nisi heroinam illam Isabellam, atauiam suam, imitata? quae adeo omnium rerum honestarum, tum etiam artium amore flagrauit, ut iam nupta et grandior Latinas litteras didicerit, cum intelligendi illo fine et fructu. O eat in saecula illud et hoc exemplum, et una cum bona fama, Principes ament Famae et Aeternitatis istas artes! Sed alterum etiam scriptum non ex destinatione tibi damus. (Lipsius, 1600, fols. *4r-*4v).

In the light of the above, it is clear that the humanist places the erudition of Isabel in a prominent place. It should be remembered that Felipe II, Isabel's father, took a special interest in his daughter's education. She studied Brocense's *Grammar* and received a musical education. She was fond of comedies, poetry competitions and all kinds of dramatic performances, and Isabel used to take an active part in those that she herself organised.¹⁷

VI. DISSERTATIUNCULA APUD PRINCIPES

The Belgian begins his discourse by introducing himself as a 'novice *orator*'. He goes on to praise the presence of the archdukes since the arrival of such holy persons is unusual for him. On the one hand, the scholar refers to the archdukes, identifying them as stars, the archduke as the Sun and the archduchess as the Moon, both symbolising order and harmony, for which he apologises if his wit in expression is slow before them:

Etsi fateor haud plane rudem et tironem me esse in dicendo; tamen hic splendor vester, qui oculis meis inopinatus apparuit, et hic insolens confessus, turbat me aliquid (non nego) sed et delectat. Sicut qui e tenebris et longo situ ad solem subito educuntur, caligat iis acies, et oculi praestringuntur: sic mihi evenit, et duo simul maxima sidera cum video, hunc Solem, ut ita dicam, et hanc Lunam, hebescit nonnihil ingenii acies, et linguae haec promptitudo retardatur. Quid tamen est? Sicut idem ille sol excitat mox et recreat, et innata sua vi dat vigorem: sic mihi sentio ab aspectu Ser[issimis] [et Poten]tis[simisq]u[e Princibus] alacritatem infundi, et iisdem, quibus terrebar, excitari. (Lipsius, 1600, fol. *2r).

In his work *De Constantia*, Lipsius alludes to the Moon and the Sun as stars and their connection with the course of events for humanity. The humanist considers that the evils that occur, such as tyranny and wars, should be regarded something indecipherable coming from divinity. He also gives as an example Euripides, who with the expression " $\xi \nu \mu \varphi o \rho \lambda \theta \epsilon \eta \lambda a \tau o \zeta$ " (E. *Or.* 1-

3). 18 Is referring to 'the misfortunes' ('calamities') sent by the gods. Then, in the events of life, he assigns to the moon the passing sway of human events, while he attributes to the sun the events that escape human beings, such as the rise and fall of kings:

Quod ibi labes terrae opida aliquot absorpsit, a Prouidentia est. quod alibi pestis multa millia hominum demessuit, ab ista. quod caedes, bellum, tyrannis apud Belgas, ab caede ista. Diuinitus Lipsi, diuinitus immissae omnes ista clades: ideoque bene et sapienter Euripidi ξυμφορὰ θεήλατος [=Ε. Or. 1-3] dicta. Fluxus, in qua, omnis et refluxus hic rerum humanarum, ab illa Luna dependet: ortus regnorum invecta et occasus, ab illo Sole (Lipsius, 1586, p. 42).

In the same way, the scholar differentiates between the Moon as the symbol of the human and the Sun as the divine in his *Politica*: "Luna inquam esto, et gloriae tuae omne lumen refunde illi Soli. Haec est conditio regum, ut casus tantum aduersos hominibus tribuant, secundos fortunae fuae.¹⁹ [Aemilius Prob. In Datame]²⁰ [= Nep. Dat. 14, 5]" (Lipsius, 1599, p. 74).

The erudite indicates he will deliver a lecture at the request of the princes. The Flemish humanist then chooses to use an example from Seneca, specifically a passage from his work *De Clementia* (Sen. *Cl.* 1, 3):

Itaque parebo libens, Ser[issimi] [et Poten]tis[simiq]u[e Principes], quae me voluit subito et ex tempore pauca dicere: pauca certe erunt, et ideo excusata, quia subita et ex tempore. Non recedam autem longe (nam et sic iussistis) a more lectionis solitae: Annaeum Senecam (aeternum Hispaniae decus) in manus sumam, et pauca eius verba a consessu et tempore hoc non aliena, cum bona venia vestra Principes, cum bona gratia vestra reliqui auditores, explicabo. Ait I. De Clementia. Cap. III [=.Sen. Cl. 1, 3]. Illius demum magnitudo stabilis fundataque est, quem omnes tam supra se esse quam pro se sciunt, cuius curam excubare pro salute singulorum atque universorum cottidie experiuntur, quo procedente non, tamquam malum aliquod aut noxium animal e cubili prosilierit, diffugiunt, sed tamquam ad clarum ac beneficum sidus certatim advolant. Obicere se pro illo mucronibus insidiantium paratissimi et substernere corpora sua, si per stragem illi humanam iter ad salutem struendum sit (Lipsius, 1600, fols. *2r-*2v).

Soen wonders why Lipsius has chosen this example from Seneca. The virtue of compassion was at the centre of Lipsius' humanistic and philological efforts. It is for this reason, says Soen, that he included *De*

¹⁷ On the political and courtly apprenticeship of the Infanta Isabel Clara Eugenia. See: Martínez Hernández (2011, pp. 29, 30-31).

 $^{^{18}}$ "Οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲν δεινόν, ὧδ' εἰπεῖν ἔπος, οὐδὲ πάθος οὐδὲ ζυμφορὰ θεήλατος, ής οὐκ ἂν ἄραιτ' ἄχθος ἀνθρώπου φύσις". (E. Or. 1-3). The text is taken from Euripedes (2002, p. 412).

¹⁹ "Namque eam esse consuetudinem regiam, ut casus adversos hominibus tribuant, secundos fortunae suae" (Nep. Dat. 14, 5). The text is taken from: Cornelius Nepos (1852, p. 105).

²⁰ Nepos wrote his best work as a biographer: *De uiris illustribus*, written in 16 books. All that remains of it today is the book *De excellentibus ducibus exterarum gentium*. The historian devotes a chapter to Damates, general of the Persian Empire and satrap of Cappadocia under Artaxerxes II between 380 BC and 352 BC.

Clementia among the works he considered most important by Seneca.²¹

In the same line of thought, it should be noted that the Flanders scholar in his Politica shows his preference for the term *clementia*, which he identifies with the Moon, a divinity that is wonderful and gentle, it calms, moderates: "Praefero nunc Principi lumen alterum, Clementiam: id est, ut ego appello, Imperiorum Lunam. Miris et mollis ea Diua: quae lenit, quae temperat" (Lipsius, 1599, p. 50). In my view, in choosing Seneca's passage from his work De Clementia, Lipsius may have had in mind his treatise Politica. The second book deals with the virtues of the prince, the ends of government and its various forms. For the sake of civil concord, all must submit to the will of the prince, and therefore he must have virtue and prudence to achieve this concord. In particular I quote an example from Tacitus' Historiae, given in his Politica: "novum imperium inchoantibus, utile esse Clementia famam". (Tac. Hist. 4, 63). Based on the above. Tacitus warns that being clement was beneficial for those initiating a new government. Thus says the humanist in his work *Politica*: "Fit ideo, quia plurimum simulatae eae virtutes: cum sciant novum imperium inchoantibus, utile esse Clementia famam. [IV Histor.][=Tac. Hist. 4, 63]" (Lipsius, 1599, p. 42).

Other reasons that lead Lipsius to choose Seneca's text are stated in the speech; on the one hand, he brings to mind the Hispanic origin of Seneca, as our scholar says: "aeternum Hispaniae decus" 'eternal honour for Hispania': on the other hand, he makes clear the relevance of the subjects dealt with by the Roman philosopher to the present time, in which the archdukes live. His words are as follows: "Annaeum Senecam (aeternum Hispaniae decus) in manus sumam, et pauca eius verba a consessu et tempore hoc non aliena" (Lipsius, 1600. fol. *2r).

Based on the contributions of the Flemish erudite. I consider the fact that he has chosen an example from an ancient author to talk about a current situation to be typical of Lipsius' approach ("similitudo et imago plurima temporum nostrorum").22 Lipsius, in the preface to the edition of his Comentarius ad Annales C. Taciti Liber, stresses that the ancient sources, from which valuable examples for both private and public life can be drawn, are of great help. However, not all stories are equally applicable; in his opinion, the best kind of story is that which relies on the theoretical principle of "similitudo et imago plurima temporum nostrorum", this expression being understood in the sense of 'a rigorous analytical exposition of the parallels existing between nations in their various historical moments'.

Notare autem in historia varietates exemplorum, caussas eventorum, et ex iis fontibus praecepta derivare ad vitam privatam communemqueque [...] Nec utiles omnes nobis pari gradu. Ea, ut censeo, maxime, in qua similitudo et imago plurima temporum nostrorum. Ut in pictura faciem praeuisam facilius agnoscimus: sic in historia noti moris exempla. Cuius generis si ulla est fuitque, inter Graecos aut Latinos: eam esse Cornelii Taciti Historiam adfirmate apud vos dico, Ordines Illustres (Lipsius, 1581, fols.*2r- *3r).

In the light of the above, it is clear that the sentence: "similitudo et imago plurima temporum nostrorum" is used in a broad sense, in other words, Lipsius not only chooses passages from Tacitus but also from other Greek and Roman authors, establishing similarities between ancient times and that of the Archdukes.

Returning to his Disertatiuncula, the scholar then adduces an expression of Seneca: "Illius demum Principis magnitudinem stabilem esse" (Sen. Cl. 1, 3). From expression above, the humanist draws a parallel between the house, which he identifies with the subjects, and the basis of a building with the prince. since the ruler is the bedrock of his subjects as are the foundations of a house. He then adds the following phrase from Seneca's speech De Clementia: "Quem omnes tam supra se esse" (Sen. Cl. 1, 3). The erudite, from this example, intends to magnify the image of the archduke, whom he considers a divine image on earth:

Pauca verba, ut solet ille scriptor: sed magnae rei inclusae, et a me breuiter educendae. Ait, Illius demum Principis magnitudinem stabilem esse.] [=Sen. Cl. 1, 3] Cuius? qui haec faciet, quae suggerit. Si quis ergo neglegit? negat, et parum firmae altitudini insistere eum putat. Sicut domus, cui fundamentum non substernitur, caduca est: sic Princeps, cui non ista. Quae iam addit: Quem omnes tam supra se esse.] [=Sen. Cl. 1, 3]. Dignitas Principis tangitur et eminentia. quis autem eam nescit? Ille est imago et exemplar Dei in terris, rerum moderator arbiter, in cuius manu positae opes, dignitas, vita omnium nostrum. (Lipsius, 1600, fol. *2v).

Later, Lipsius, in one of his commentaries on Seneca's edition, printed in 1605, describes what a prince must rule, specifically in the entry Excubare pro]. In his annotation, he gives an example taken from Plutarch's Moralia, specifically the discourse is titled: To a ruler lacking instruction (Plu. Ad Princ. ind. 781C). The humanist adduces a passage from Plutarch, first presenting the text in Greek and then translating it into Latin. The Greek historian's example describes the bold and risky attitude of a ruler in defending his subjects in a situation of danger. He also establishes a simile between the way of guarding and protecting his people and that of dogs guarding sheep. He concludes his commentary by referring to statements he made on this aspect in his speech to the Archdukes:

Excubare pro.] Plutarchus, Ad Principem indoctum [=Moralia]: καὶ οὖτός ἐστιν ὁ φόβος τοῦ ἄρχοντος φιλάνθρωπος καὶ οὐκ ἀγεννής, ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀρχομένων δεδιέναι μὴ λάθωσι βλαβέντες, / ώς δὲ κύνες περὶ μῆλα δυσωρήσονται έν αὐλῆ, / θηρὸς ἀκούσαντες κρατερόφρονος. / οὐχ ὑπὲρ αὑτῶν ἀλλ'ὑπὲρ

²¹ (Soen, 2011, pp. 207-231, 208).

²² (Lipsius, 1581, fol. *3r).

τῶν φυλαττομένων [=Plu. Ad Princ. ind. 781C]. Ille est benignus et generosus Principis metus, timere subditis ne laedantur ignaro ipso. Sicut canes in vestibulo sedulo excubant et laborant, cum feram trucem audierint, non pro se, sed pro ovibus, quas custodiunt. Plura in hanc sententiam ego, conventu et auditorio procerum hic Lovanii, cum Principes N[omen] N[ominadum] Albertus et Isabella Austriaci imperium auspicarentur; et subito aptassem et dilatassem (Lipsius, 1605, p. 190).

Also, in his notes to Seneca, Lipsius considers that the people must protect the king. The humanist draws a parallel between the present situation (the protection of the king) and the attitude of bees in a beehive. Vergil's passage is taken from The Georgics ("Rege incolumi mens omnibus una; / amisso rupere fidem") (Verg. G. 4, 212-213), indicating as long as the king is safe, the agreement is total; when they lose him, they break their word: "Rege Incol.] E Virgilio sumpta, de apibus [=Rege incolumi mens omnibus una; / amisso rupere fidem [...] < Verg. G. 4, 212-213 >]". (Lipsius, 1605, p. 190).

Let us remember that the Flemish erudite, in an annotation before Seneca's text, quotes directly from his speech *Dissertatiuncula apud Principes*; it is clear that he had in mind the archdukes whom he praises while reminding them of their princely obligations. In this specific case of the entry *Rege Incol.*], the scholar deals with the commitment of the people to their ruler, a loyalty that ends when the king dies; in a veiled way, he makes it clear that his pledge of allegiance is to the archdukes when they die, the oath is no longer valid.

Establishing parallels with the verses of the Georgics, it is clear that Lipsius regarded the archdukes as good rulers to whom he offered loyalty for as long as they lived. Following Vergil's example, I'm afraid I have to disagree with Van Houdt's (1998, pp. 405–432) and Violet Soen's statement (2011, pp. 207-208). According to these scholarly contemporaneos, Lipsius uses Seneca's text to warn the archdukes that the Belgians would maintain their enduring loyalty as long as their rulers did not act for their benefit but were concerned with the welfare of their subjects.

Returning to the discourse at hand (Dissertatiuncula), Lipsius alludes to the need for a link between the State and the people, comparable to that which exists between the soul and the body; this topic proposed in his oration, is influenced by Tacitus (Tac. Ann. 1, 12), an idea also found in Seneca (Sen. Ep. 48) (Sen. Ep. 95). He exemplifies this idea of the prince's guidance of the crowd with a passage from Homer's Odyssey (Hom. Od. 9, 375-401), in which Ulisses, a character he identifies with the prince, wounds the Cyclops, who symbolises the people, and the latter moves in a disorderly and violent manner.

The quotation given from Homer's *Odyssey* (Hom. *Od.* 9, 375-401) is further used as an argument to explain Seneca's turn of phrase: "supra omnes" (Sen. Cl.

1, 3), in other words, the erudite considers the ruler to be above all, but adds the following expression in Seneca's speech: "Pro se esse]". (Sen. Cl. 1, 3); with the example mentioned above, the Belgian reminds the ruler of the duties that come with being at the head of the state, such as acting for the benefit of his subjects and for their benefit. He pointedly compares the action of the Sun, which not only gives light but also gives life, cares and revitalizes, with the duty of a prince, which is to lead the people, to place himself at their disposal and to help them by his magnificence and greatness:

Sicut anima corpori praeest, et animae ratio: sic Princeps hac populum regit, et eadem illa ratio ipsum. Tolle, cadauer ac funus est haec omnis multitudo: et ut Cyclops apud Homerum, amisso unico oculo, huc illuc impingitur, et denique ruit: sic ista moles populi, sine lumine illo Principatus. Ergo supra omnes cum merito esse sciunt, et fatentur. Quid amplius? Pro se esse.] O monitum eximium! O in duobus verbis inclusum finem, munusque Principatum! Non praeesse solum Princeps, sed prodesse debet: nec sibi tantum cives datos, sed se etiam ciuibus arbitrari. Sicut sol ille (ne abeam ad imagine) non lucet modo, sed fovet, vegetat, animat: sic verus ille populum rector, in splendore suo commodat et iuvat (Lipsius, 1600, fols. *2v- *3r).

In the following, I will show the traces of the topics that appear in his *Dissertatiuncula* in the rest of Lipsius' works. I begin with his *Politica*, the humanist takes Tacitus as an example (Tac. Ann. 1, 12) and starts precisely from this idea of the image of the state as a body, while using the nautical metaphor of the state: "Idem secundum rationem maxime. Unum enim imperii corpus unius animo regendum²³ [Tacit.1] [=Tac. Ann. 1, 12] videtur: sicuti ab uno gubernatore una navis [=Politica, 2, 2]" (Lipsius, 1599, p. 38).

On the cliché of the state as the image of the ship, in the preface to his *Comentarius ad Annales C. Taciti Liber*, the scholar, referring to the Roman historian, says: "*Utilem magnumque scriptorem, deus bone!*" and the humanist recommends to those who govern the ship of state not to let go of the Roman historian's hands: "*et quem in manibus eorum esse expediat, in quorum manu gubernaculum et reipublicae clavus*" (Lipsius, 1581, fol. *3v).

Later in his edition of Seneca, the scholar also quotes the metaphor of the human body and the government of a nation: *Unius animae*.] Lucanus, de Caesare: "Cum tot in hac anima populorum vita salusque / Pendeat [=Luc. 5, 685-686]. Tacitus: unum esse reip. Corpus, atque unius animo regendum [=Tac. Ann. 1, 12, 3]" (Lipsius, 1605, p. 190).

It should be noted that Lipsius also addressed in his *Politica* the question of the need to govern the multitude that acts in a violent and disorderly manner. The scholar argued that there is no animal like man, for prudence, wisdom, discretion and sagacity are needed

²³ (Lipsius, 1600, p. 6).

to rule him; moreover, the prince can achieve virtue in his subjects by laws and example:²⁴

Et certe in gubernatione palam potior: quia sola lene illud fraenum est, quo voluntarii rediguntur in obedientiae gyrum. Ecce, ne animalia quidem cetera domueris sine tractatione quadam et arte: tu speres hominem? quo nullum animal morosius est, nullum maiori arte tractandum[=Sen. Cl. 1, 17]. Natura nos feroces, indomiti, aequi impatientes, nedum servitutis (Lipsius, 1599, p. 61).

On the duties of a prince, in his *Politica*, the Belgian considers that the Prince must be at the service of his subjects; he must put the public good before the private good, and his aim must be like any athlete who wants to reach his goal:

Quis finis, quo actiones omnes Princeps dirigat? Bonum publicum id esse, et seponenda priuata. Denique in extremo posui parentium bono: in iis verbis Finem ipsum veri Principatus complexus, et candidam illam metam, ad quam currat Regius hic athleta. Quae non aliud, quam subditorum commodum, securitas, salus (Lipsius, 1599, p. 43).

The erudite differentiates in his *Politica* between the tyrant and the king, using an example from Aristotle; however, the humanist makes a mistake in citing the source, attributing the Greek text to Aristotle's *Politica*, but the passage belongs to his *Ethica Nicomachea* (" $\dot{\sigma}$ $\dot{\mu}\dot{\epsilon}\dot{\nu}\gamma$ $\dot{\alpha}\dot{\rho}$ $\dot{\tau}\dot{\nu}\rho\alpha\nu\nu\sigma\zeta$ $\dot{\tau}\dot{\sigma}$ $\dot{\alpha}\dot{\nu}\dot{\tau}\ddot{\phi}$ $\sigma\nu\mu\phi\dot{\epsilon}\rho\sigma\nu$ $\sigma\kappa\sigma\pi\epsilon\tilde{\imath}$, $\dot{\sigma}$ $\dot{\delta}\dot{\epsilon}$ $\beta\alpha\sigma\imath\lambda\dot{\epsilon}\dot{\nu}\dot{\varsigma}$ $\dot{\tau}\dot{\sigma}$ $\dot{\tau}\dot{\omega}\dot{\nu}$ $\dot{\alpha}\dot{\rho}\chi\rho\mu\dot{\epsilon}\nu\omega\nu$ ") (Arist. *EN* 8, 10, 1160b):

Hac una in re maxime abit ille a Tyranno. Quod ὁ μὲν γὰρ τύραννος τὸ αὐτῷ συμφέρον σκοπεῖ, ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τὸ τῶν ἀρχομένων [Arist. Polit. VIII cap. X] [= Arist. EN 8, 10, 1160b] Tyrannus suum ipsius commodum spectat et quaerit at rex subditorum. Qui vere est Homericus illeπ οιμὴν λαῶν: pastor populorum. Scias igitur quisquis hoc nomine, civium non servitutem tibi traditam, sed tutelam [Senec. De Clem.] [=tibi non servitus tradita sit, sed tutela²⁵ <Sen. Cl. 1, 18>] (Lipsius, 1599, p. 43).

Aristotle distinguishes between the tyrant who looks to his private good and the king who looks to the good of his subjects. The function of the king appears in Homer as indicated by Lipsius in the expression " $\pi o \iota \mu \dot{\eta} v \lambda a \tilde{\omega} v$ " ("Pastor Populorum") and refers to Agamemnon, on the other hand, Eustathius (II. 2, 243) depicted Agamemnon as the 'shepherd of the people' (" $\pi o \iota \mu \dot{\eta} v \lambda a \tilde{\omega} v$ "). In particular, Hornsby (1967-68, p. 149) points out that when the expression shepherd is applied to Aeneas (Verg. A. 4, 68-73; 7, 359-64), especially after his descent into hell and Anchises' instruction to him about his destiny, can only have the symbolic meaning of 'shepherd of his people', he now recognises and understands his mission, which is to be "Pastor Populorum".

The scholar continues his discourse Dissertatiuncula with examples from various authors, first Cicero (Cic. Rep. 5, 8), then Aelius Spartianus from the writer of Historia Augusta (Ael. Hist. Aug. 8, 3), and ends with two from Seneca, one from his discourse De Clementia (Sen. Cl. 1, 3), and the other from his work De Consolatione ad Polybium (Sen. Dial. 11, 6, 4); they all converge in considering good government of a country consists in putting the public good before the private good, and the concern of a good ruler is to be a servant to his subjects:

Moderatori Reip. (ait Cicero) beata civium vita proposita est, ut ea sit opibus ampla, copiis locuples, virtute instructa.[=Cic. Rep. 5, 8]. Et Hadriani Principis laudata illa vox est: Ita se rempublicam gesturum, ut sciret rem populi, non suam²9 esse.[=Ael. Hist. Aug. 8, 3] Sed quomodo hoc faciet, et eo veniet? addit noster: Curam eius excubare pro salute etiam singulorum] [=Sen. Cl. 1, 3]. Itane excubare? Et nec noctes vacuae exceptaeque sint? nec noctes. Magna fortuna, magna seruitus est³0 [=Sen. Dial. 11, 6, 4], ait quispiam: et maximo cuique imperio maximam curam, atque adeo assiduam inesse, vos et animos vestros Serenissimi testor (Lipsius, 1600, fol. *3r).

His eagerness to contrast the current situation with other examples from antiquity, according to his theoretical principle: "similitudo et imago plurima temporum nostrorum" (Lipsius, 1581, fol.*3r). Now he compares the situation described with a nautical example, showing Palinurus as the pilot of Aeneas' ship from his departure from Troy after city's destruction. Lipsius presents him as a hero who never rested day or night at the helm of the ship: "Ut Palinurus ille in mari, non de die solum gubernabat, sed ipsa nocte [...] clauumque affixus et haerens / Nusquam amittebat, oculosque sub astra tenebat [=Verg. A. 5, 852-853]" (Lipsius, 1600, fol. *3r). This aspect of the state as a ship will be developed later in his praise of the princes Isabel Clara Eugenia and Alberto.

On the maritime topic, Curtius (1989, p. 189) evokes the tradition of nautical metaphors in Vergil (Verg. A. 81-123) and Horace (Hor. *Carm.* 1, 14). The *Aeneid* (Verg. A. 81-123) recounts the destructive effects of a storm on the ships and the fear that spreads among the crew.³¹

Next, Lipsius, continuing in this same line of unity and mutual service of ruler and subjects, mentions again the expression: "pro salute etiam singulorum" (Sen. Cl. 1, 3), taken from Seneca's discourse De Clementia (Sen. Cl. 1, 3). The erudite considers the Roman philosopher compares the government of a nation to a family, where each of them has a place. With

²⁴ (López Poza, 2008, pp. 227 -228).

²⁵ (Lipsius, 1605, p. 201).

²⁶ See: Hom. *II*. 2, 85; 243; 254; 772; 4, 413; 7, 230; 11, 187 y 202; 14, 22; 19, 35 y 251; 24, 654; *Od*. 3, 156; 4, 532; 14, 497.

²⁷ (Van der Valk, 1971, p. 323).

²⁸ Other Homeric heroes are also similarly named as "ποιμὴν λαῶν". See: Paola Tempone (2010, p. 217).

²⁹ "Ita se rempublicam gesturum ut sciret populi rem esse, non propriam" (Spart. Hist. Aug. 8, 3). The text is taken from Hadrian et al. (1921, p. 24).

³⁰ "Magna servitus est magna fortuna" (Sen. Dial. 11, 6, 4). The source is Seneca (1932, p. 372).

³¹ (Gómez Solís, 1998, p. 156).

the expression "magna familia", the humanist refers to the citizens and with the term "universus", he indicates the universal character of his statements: "Tale in Principe, cuius curam excubare[=Sen. Cl. 1, 3) Seneca³² vult pro salute etiam singulorum.] Quid tu ais? Nec satis universorum? Aio, inquit, et ut pater aliquis in magna familia, ad singulos animum atque oculos adiicit; ita verus Princeps" (Lipsius, 1600, fol. *3r). In other words, the scholar describes the functioning of a government from a cosmopolitan to an inclusive point of view.

On how a prince should rule, the scholar mentions an event that happened to Philip of Macedon with a woman who wanted to approach the emperor but was rejected by him; after the woman's response: "noli ergo mandare", the emperor recognised his mistake and changed his attitude because of the woman's warning:

Philippus Macedo, inter laudatos olim reges, admonitus huius muneris sui a foemina etiam fuit. quae ipsum adiens, desiderium aliquod expositura, cum reiiceretur et negaret sibi vacare: animose subiecit, Noli ergo imperare [=Plu. Regum 179c; D.C. 69, 6, 3]. Animose, inquam, sed vere: et rex agnouit, sed monitus a foemina (Lipsius, 1600, fols.*3r-*3v).

The Belgian attributed to Philip of Macedon the expression "noli ergo mandare" [=Plu. Regum 179c; D.C. 69, 6, 3]. In apothegm 18, Erasmus of Rotterdam relates the same event of the woman rebuking the attitude of the emperor with the phrase "Noli ergo imperare", which caused a change of mentality in Philip of Macedon. Erasmus (1606, pp. 608-609) considers what has been said and done by Philip of Macedon to be attributable to many other rulers:

Transeuntem mulier quaedam appellavit: Audi me, Caesar. Is quum respondisset, Non est otium: Illa clamavit, Noli ergo imperare [=Plu. Regum 179c; D.C. 69, 6, 3]. Ad hanc vocem restitit, et audivit mulierem. Hoc et Philippo Macedoni tribuitur: neque quicquam vetat, idem a pluribus vel dici vel fieri (Erasmus, 1606, pp. 608-609).

Likewise, Francisco de Mendoza y Bobadilla³⁴ (1508-1556) refers to the sentence quoted above: "Nolite ergo imperare" in his Comentarios al Libro de los Reyes y Sermones de tiempo. The purpose of this expression, used by Mendoza, is to teach about the commitments that a good king must make, such as attending at all times to his subjects and the needs of his subordinates. In 1596, Mendoza, Admiral of Aragon,

³² Curam eius excubare pro salute etiam singulorum Curam eius excubare pro salute etiam singulorum (Sen. Cl. 1, 3).

headed for the court of the Holy Roman Empire, then based in Prague. He did so on the instructions of King Felipe II and Archduke Alberto, the new governor of Flanders. His task was to present himself to Emperor Rudolf II and other prominent personalities to formally inform them of the Archduke's takeover of these territories. He was closely linked to the court and was one of the most notable figures of aristocratic humanism. A cultured man, he gave a considerable number of books to Felipe II for the library at El Escorial; the reason for citing this author and the possibility that Lipsio knew his work is that Mendoza was chief steward of Felipe II and Archduke Alberto. It might be seen as a wink from Lipsius to the Archdukes and the scholar-reader. The text is as follows:

Illa celeberrima ac simillima, quae de Adriano Dionysius, de Demetrio [=Philippo Macedonio][=Plu. Regum 179c; D.C. 69, 6, 3] Plutrachus, in eorum vitis retulerunt. Nam, cum utrumlibet in itinere transeuntem ad audientiam foemina interpellaret; et uterque negaret, otium sibi esse ad audiendium, libere foemina respondit: Noli ergo imperare. Significans, indignum esse imperio, qui ad audiendos subditos otium non haberet, qui non posset supplices audire. Quo responsio adeo neuter offensus est: ut potius ad eam audiendam aures statim admoveret. Propium igitur Regum est, suorum causas subditorum recognoscere ac desinere. (De Mendoça, 1634, p. 619).

Now, Lipsius mentions as Prince Albert's ancestor Rudolf I of Habsburg. He was the first Austrian emperor in the line of descent, King of the Romans from 1273 until his death. He was the first member of the House of Habsburg to accede to the German throne and is considered the founder of the dynasty's power. During his reign, he extended the Habsburg possessions to Austria and its dependencies.³⁵ The humanist praises Rudolph I as a great ruler and brings to mind some words he uttered when some soldiers tried, in very horrible manners, to push away some poor men who wanted to approach him. Here is what he had to say: "Per Deum sinite homines ad me venire. Neque enim ad imperium me vocavit summus ille imperator, ut arcula includar" (Lipsius, 1600, fol. 3v). This event contrasts with the attitude adopted by Philip of Macedonia because, unlike the Macedonian monarch, Lipsius presents him as a close person:

Ab ipso autem se Imp. Rodolfus. Ille dico, primus auctor et fons magnitudinis vestrae, a quo inclita gens austriaca per annos iam plus trecentos in hoc aeuum floret, et in omne (ita voueo) florebit. Is cum tenuiores aliquot homines aditum ad eum captarent, et satellites aspernati hoc genus, reiicerent: animaduertit, et, Per Deum, inquit (ipsa Annalium verba ponam) Sinite homines ad me venire. Neque enim ad imperium me vocavit summus ille imperator, ut arcula includar. Vocem inclitam, vocem auream, vocem vere Austriam! et in qua hoc de cura (quid enim melius addam?) concludam (Lipsius, 1600, fol. *3v).

^{33 &}quot;Πρεσβύτιδος δὲ πενιχρᾶς ἀξιούσης ἐπ' αὐτοῦ κριθῆναι καὶ πολλάκις ἐνοχλούσηξ, ἔφη 'μὴ σχολάξειν' ἡ δὲ πρεσβῦτις ἐκκραγοῦσα 'καὶ μὴ βασίλευε'". (Plu. Regum 179c). See: Plutarch (1931, p. 52); "ἔφερε γὰρ τὰ τοιαῦτα, καὶ οὐκ ἡγανάκτει εἴ τι καὶ παρὰ γνώμην καὶ πρὸς τῶν τυχόντων ώφελοῖτο. ἀμέλει γυναικὸς παριόντος αὐτοῦ ὁδῷ τινι δεομένης, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον εἶπεν αὐτῆ ὅτι "οὐ σχολάζω, ἔπειτα ὡς ἐκείνη ἀνακραγοῦσα ἔφη "καὶ μὴ βασίλευε, ἐπεστράφη τε καὶ λόγον αὐτῆ ἔδωκεν". (D.C. 69, 6, 3). See: Dion Cassius (1863, pp. 154-155).

³⁴ (Gallegos, 2014, p. 235); (Rodríguez Villa, 1899, pp. 511-515 and 603-604); (García África, 2020).

^{35 (}Vacha, 1996, p. 16).

It is important to note that in this part of the discourse the literary principle "similitudo et imago temporum" is present, as already indicated in other parts of this work, the mentioned expression is to be understood in a broad sense not limited to the historian Tacitus. In this context, he compares the Macedonian King Philip of Macedon's way of ruling with that of his ancestor Rudolf I. On the reception of this expression, formulated by Rudolf I, Laurentius Olai Wallius³⁶ (1588-1638) and later Phosphorus Austriacus³⁷ (Pseud.) take up in their writings the words pronounced by the monarch.

In the next part of his oration, Lipsius uses the locution: "quo Procedente" taken from Seneca's treatise De Clementia (1, 3); the Roman philosopher wants to suggest in the face of difficulty, the prince's reward for his service and concern is the affection and fidelity of his subjects. Then, the humanist contextualizes the expression "quo procedente" (Sen. Cl. 1, 3) and adds the following words from Seneca's speech: "non tanguam malum aut noxium animal e cubili prosilierit, diffugiunt" (Sen. Cl. 1, 3); the intention of Lipsius is to point out when adversity appears, the subjects of the prince do not escape disorderly, as if a destructive or harmful animal came out of its lair as could be observed in times of Caligula, Nero and Domitianus, let us remember they were the most hated emperors for their authoritarian attitude. In this context, the humanist mentions the previous emperors as a counterexample to indicate what a good ruler should never become; as a counterpoint to the situation just shown, the erudite mentions the following sentence of Seneca: "tanquam ad clarum et beneficum sidus certatim advolant" (Sen. Cl. 1, 3). In short, the purpose of the alluded expression used by Lipsius is to make it known the Belgic people are ready to fight for the prince without thinking about it, with haste, as if it were a luminous and benign star, totally prepared to throw themselves in his place over the daggers of the conspirators:

Pergit noster: Quo procedente.] [=Sen. Cl. 1, 3] Fructus est, qui Principes manet, ex hoc munere suo et cura. Quis ille? duplex, Beneuolentiae et Fidei, quam utramque subditi praestant. De illa, Quo procedente, inquit, non tanquam malum aut noxium animal (tigris, lupus, serpens) e cubili prosilierit, diffugiunt [=Sen. Cl. 1, 3]: quod in Caligula,

Nerone, Domitiano aliquo observare licuit, qui nunquam e cubiculo, et ex illa solitudine sua in publicum prodibant, nisi ut solicitudinem, imo et solitudinem, facerent: sed tanquam ad clarum et beneficum sidus certatim advolant. [=Sen. Cl. 1, 3]. Ita sane, aduolant, non accurrunt, certatim, non lente aut timide (Lipsius, 1600, fol. *3v).

I now turn to the passage in which the erudite addresses the archdukes as the protectors of Belgium and identifies them with Castor and Pollux, protectors of the sea and war. The scholar used a nautical metaphor when describing the many conflicts in which his country was involved. He identifies the Netherlands as a stormtossed ship (the conflicts of war) and depicts the archdukes as their saviours, who bring the ship (the Netherlands) to a safe harbour, because they bring harmony and peace. He also reworks some verses by Vergil ("tumida aequora placant, / collectasque fugant nubes, Solemque reducunt") (Verg. A. 1, 142-143), establishing a parallel between the actions of these archdukes and those of Neptune, who calmed the sea for Aeneas:

Videtisne o nostri Principes tanquam ad clara et benefica duo sidera concurrimus: tanquam ad gemellos illos Castores respicimus, in diuturna hac Belgica tempestate. Illi conspecti, nautas recreant; illi, cum nauibus insederunt, [...] tumida aequora placant, / collectasque fugant nubes, Solemque reducunt [=Verg. A. 1, 142-143]: ita vos, qui insedistis, et corpore pressisitis iam Belgicae hanc nauim, e bellorum fluctibus, ex insidiarum procellis, subducetis eam in portum (Lipsius, 1600, fol. *4r).

Regarding the nautical metaphor, it is worth mentioning a passage by Aristophanes from his play The Wasps where it is said poets always compare cities to ships: "ἀεὶ οἱ ποιηταὶ τὰς πόλεις τοῖς πλοίοις παραβάλλονσι." (Ar. V. 29). The origin of the theme of the ship of state is to be found, according to Rodríguez Adrados , in a fragment of Archilochus, the 105 W [= <fr. 105West / 56 Diehl> <Heraclit. All. 5^{40} >]; the author as mentioned earlier would be the model for the Alcaeus fragment itself (Heraclit. All. 5^{42}).

Text by Archilochus:43

Γλαῦχ', ὅρα Ἑβαθὺς γὰρ ἤδη κύμασιν ταράσσεται πόντος, ἀμφὶ δ' ἄκρα Γυρέων ὀρθὸν ἵσταται νέφος, σῆμα χειμῶνος, κιχάνει δ' ἐξ ἀελπτίης φόβος.⁴⁴

(fr. 105West / 56 (Diehl) (Heraclit. All. 5).

Text by Alcaeus: 45

τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔνθεν κῦμα κυλίνδεται, τὸ δ΄ ἔνθεν, ἄμμες δ΄ ὂν τὸ μέσσον νᾶϊ φορήμμεθα σὰν μελαίναι χείμωνι μόχθεντες μεγάλωι μάλα. 46 (Heraclit. All. 5) (fr. 326 L-P).

³⁶ "Memoria XXXXI. Rudolphus 1. imp. tenuiores ad se affectantes submoventibus cum stomacho et exclamatione dixit: Per Deum, sinite homines ad me venire. Neque enim ad imperium me vocavit summus ille imperator, ut arcula includar. Elaboratio pedestris" (Olai Wallius, 1634, fols. 291v-292v).

³⁷ "De Rudolpho I, Imperator: Atque ut ab Authore familiae huius ordiamur nemo unquam Rudolphum I. Imper. aliqua crudelitatis labe aspergere est ausus, qui tota vita humanissimus et affabilis maxime fuit, adeo ut fatellicibus suis ubique praeciperet ne quenquam, etiam pauperem, ab accessu et colloquio suo arcerent. Sinite, inquiebat, homines ad me venire. Neque enim ad imperium me vocavit summus ille imperator, ut arcula includar" (Phosphorus Austriacus, 1665, p. 297)

^{38 (}Aristophanes, 1829, p. 133).

³⁹ (Rodríguez Adrados, 1955, pp. 206-210).

⁴⁰ (Heraclides, 1782, p. 12).

⁴¹ (Berruecos Frank, B., 2018, p. 253).

⁴² (Heraclides, 1782, p. 13).

⁴³ (Heraclides, 1782, p. 12).⁴⁴ (Archilochus, 1999, p. 144).

⁴⁵ (Heraclides, 1782, p. 13).

Heraclides Ponticus, in his *Homeric Allegories*, chapter 5, is the source for the passages of Archilochus and Alceo. Archilochus⁴⁷ relates war to a raging sea, and Alcaeus⁴⁸ (fr. 326 L-P) compares an authoritarian state to a raging sea.

The humanist links back to Seneca's example from his discourse De Clementia 1, 3, specifically he brings to mind the text where Seneca alludes to the loyalty of the subjects to the prince, who are capable of dying to save the life of their prince: "Obiicere se pro illo mucronibus parati" (Sen. Cl. 1, 3). In this context, he draws a parallel between the good disposition and attitude of the Belgians, shown towards the Archdukes, with the praise for the Belgians given by Julius Caesar in his work The Gallic War: "Fortissimos Gallorum Belgas"; also mentions Plutarch's eulogies of them. In his Parallel Lives, in the book dedicated to Marcellus, in chapters VI and VII, Plutarch narrates the actions of the Gauls against Marcellus. In his descriptions, he presents the Gauls as fierce fighters who defended their King Virdomarus:

Atque haec igitur Beneuolentia est. de Fide sequitur: Obiicere se pro illo mucronibus parati.][=Sen. Cl. 1, 3] Quidni faciant? in vobis, ut dixi, vivimus: animam et spiritum hunc in anima Principum ducimus: et merito ergo pro iis obiecturi ea, imo proiecturi. Ego Serenissimi Principes, publica Belgarum voce et sensu, utraque haec offero: Beneuolentiam, inquam, et Fidem. Et simul sine iactantia addo, duas in nobis notas siue insignia ab antiquo esse: Fortitudinem, ac Fidem. Fortissimos Gallorum Belgas⁴⁹ [=Caes. Gal. 1], Iulius Caesar iam olim dixit: de Fide, idem et Plutarchus, devovere Gallos (qui mos et Hispanis) corpora vitamque suam Principibus solere: id est, ita consecrare, ut cum vivis viuerent, pro iis periclitarentur, morerentur, atque adeo cum iis. Lipsius (1600) *4r.

The Belgian ends his speech by praising the Archdukes' respect for culture; our humanist brings to mind the names of some Roman emperors, who are also considered to be cultured people. The scholar again compares situations of the present with those of the past, according to his theoretical principle "similtudo et imago temporum".

First, Lipsius alludes to Pompey's stay in Rhodes when he defeated Mithridates, implicitly pointing out his relationship with Posidonius. According to Strabo (Str. 9, 1, 6), Pompey was assembling his fleet in Rhodes and happened to attend a talk by Posidonius, a prominent philosopher of the time (Sarton, 1936, p. 430); when the Greek philosopher had finished, the Roman general asked him for a few words and the philosopher replied that he should always be the bravest and stand above the others. Plutarch (Plu. *Pomp.* 1), in

his biography of the commander, said that no Roman, except Pompey, had ever been so beloved by the people. About Tiberius, the humanist uses a few sentences from Suetonius to indicate his desire to be educated and his respect for culture "circa scholas et auditoria Professorum assiduus fuit" (Suet. Tib. 11, 3):

In eo quoque imitati magnos illos Principes: ut Cn. Pompeium, qui e bello Mithridatico victor, Rhodum veniens singillatim omnium Professorum aedes circumivit, inivit, et fasces illos laureatos priuatorum ianuis submisit. Quid Tiberius Imperator in eadem urbe? circa scholas et auditoria Professorum (Suetonii verba sunt) assiduus fuit [=Suet. Tib. 11, 3] (Lipsius, 1600, fol. *4v).

Finally, he dedicates the last words of the speech, drawing a parallel between the behaviour of the princes, who appeared unexpectedly at the University of Louvain, and that of Claudius who unexpectedly took part in *recitationes*. This emperor had a very hard upbringing, in his youth, he had devoted himself to literature and on the advice of Titus Livius he wrote a history of Carthage.⁵⁰

On Claudius' capacity for dissertation, Augustus himself remains in admiration: "Tiberium nepotem tuum placere mihi declamantem potuisse, peream nisi, mea Livia, admiror. Nam qui tam ἀσαφῶς loquatur, qui possit cum declamat σαφῶς dicere quae dicenda sunt, non video" (Suet. Claud. 4): 51

Quid Claudius Imperator? ille vero inopinatus saepe recitantibus interveniebat: quod vos Serenissimi nunc fecistis. Gratias igitur agimus, et voto eas claudimus: ut felicibus auspiciis coeptum hoc imperium diuturnum ac stabile vobis et stirpi vestrae (o Deus eam donet!) sit, cum Dei ipsius, cum vestra gloria, et publica Belgarum salute. DIXI. (Lipsius, 1600, fol.*4v).

In short, the Belgian wishes the princes a long and unbreakable reign; he is already at the end of his speech and uses a play on words, for he uses the term Claudius and a few lines further on, he uses the verb "claudimus", etymologically both come from the verb "claudere" 'to close'. Lipsius pretends to end his speech alluding to the emperor Claudius, but in reality he does not mention any speech of this Roman emperor; it is worth recalling one of his speeches: Oratio Claudii Caesaris de iure honorum Gallis dando, the text appears in the Tabula Claudiana, discovered by chance in the year 1528, in Lyon (France), in a country house, owned by Roland Gribaud, according to Tapia Zúñiga (2008, p. 177). The Lyons Tablet contains a speech in which Claudius discusses the entry of Gallic citizens into the magistracies and the Senate. While it is possible to affirm that Claudius aimed to strengthen the senate by assimilating the provincial element, it is also clear that this inclusion could not be indiscriminate but valid and lasting only for those who were willing to act

⁴⁶ (Sappho & Alcaeus, 1982, p. 320).

⁴⁷ (Heraclides, 1782, p. 12).

⁴⁸ (Heraclides, 1782, p. 13).

⁴⁹ Horum omnium fortissimi sunt Belgae (Caes. Gal.1). See: Caesar (1917, p. 2).

⁵⁰ (Martínez del Romero & Campuzano, 1842, p. 141).

⁵¹ (Suetonius, 1914, p. 12).

unconditionally in favour of the authority of the princeps. It is possible that Lipsius knew of the *Tabula Claudiana*, ⁵² either because he was aware of the discovery of this *Oratio Claudii*, or because Tacitus, much earlier, had collected the aforementioned discourse of Claudius in his work *Annales (Ann. XI*, 24).

VII. Conclusions

The Belgian humanist writes his speech to the archdukes with great erudition, always seeking to extol the figure of the archdukes. The humanist's way of proceeding in the elaboration of his discourse is to compare the present situation with other examples taken from antiquity, in accordance with his theoretical principle which he sets out in the preface to his Comentarius ad Annales C. Taciti Liber: "similitudo et imago plurima temporum nostrorum", but he employs the Latin expression "similitudo temporum" in a broad sense, not only limited to Tacitus. In this speech, our scholar leaves traces of his other works, such as De Constantia, Ad Annales Cornelii Taciti Liber Comentarius and Politica. He uses several clichés such as the idea of service on the part of the ruler, the loyalty of his subjects, the nautical metaphor of the ship, which he alludes to in several parts of the speech, the idea of the organisation of a government as if it were a human body and as if it were a family. In conclusion, Lipsius proposes the foundations of cosmopolitanism as an ideology that postulates that all human beings from different places belong to the same community, forming relationships of mutual respect based on a shared morality.

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Absence of those Affected: Decision-Making Process for Reparations for the Dam Collapse in Brumadinho

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Abstract- This article analyzes the decision-making process regarding reparations for the socio-environmental disaster resulting from the collapse of Vale's dam in Brumadinho in 2019, with the aim of answering the following question: How did the decision-making process that produced the reparation agreement for the dam collapse in Brumadinho, signed between Vale and the state of Minas Gerais, come about? And with what results? To this end, the procedural theory of democracy is used, with an emphasis on Adam Przeworski's definition of democracy as the result or the combined play of institutions and resources.

Keywords: decision-making processes, democratic deficit, socio-environmental disasters, dam collapse, court settlement.

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Keywords: decision-making processes, democratic deficit, socio-environmental disasters, dam collapse, court settlement.

Introduction

n 2019, a tailings dam at the Córrego do Feijão iron ore mine, in Brumadinho, Minas Gerais, owned by Vale S.A., broke. The disaster claimed 272 lives and displaced dozens of families, affecting 26 municipalities (MINAS GERAIS, 2022), which correspond to 1.1 million inhabitants. Additionally, it contaminated the Paraopeba river basin with heavy metals, compromising the water supply of the region and destroying its fauna, flora, and biodiversity. In 2021, a compensation agreement was reached between the government of Minas Gerais and Vale, amounting to R\$ 37.6 billion (TJMG, 2021), concerning the collective damages caused by the dam's rupture. This agreement was established under judicial secrecy.

This article aims to answer the following question: What was the decision-making process that led to the reparation agreement regarding the dam rupture in Brumadinho, signed between Vale and the State of Minas Gerais? And with what results? This disaster was not the first of its kind in Minas Gerais. In recent decades, there have been other dam failures: Itabirito, 1986 (six dead) and 2014 (three dead), Nova Lima, 2001 (five dead), Miraí, 2007 (4,000 displaced),

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Congonhas, 2008 (40 displaced families), and Mariana, 2015 (20 dead and 1,200 displaced families) (LASCHEFSKI, 2019). The failures in Brumadinho and Mariana are known as some of the largest socioenvironmental disasters in the mining sector. In Mariana, 60 million cubic meters of tailings were dumped into the Rio Doce basin, affecting 35 municipalities in the states of Minas Gerais and Espírito Santo (LASCHEFSKI, 2019). The mining company Vale was responsible for both socio-environmental crimes.

In the context of constant violations of rights by mining companies, it is noteworthy that Vale entered into three important collective damage reparation agreements with the Zema government: in Brumadinho (R\$ 37.6 billion, 2021), in Macacos (R\$ 500 million, 2022) (ALMG, 2023), and in Barão de Cocais (R\$ 527 million, 2023) (G1 MINAS, 2023). All three reparation agreements were made under the same framework: led by the Executive Branch and approved by the Judiciary, excluding the informed participation of the affected parties and their elected representatives in the Legislative Branch, thereby violating the procedures and principles of procedural democracy as practiced in the country (Dahl, 1989b).

Furthermore, it should be highlighted that the magnitude of the Brumadinho disaster led to the establishment of three Parliamentary Inquiry Committees (CPIs) to investigate responsibilities, recommend actions for damage reparation, propose measures for the prevention of similar events, and indict those responsible. All three CPIs, conducted by the Legislative Assembly of Minas Gerais (ALMG), the Chamber of Deputies (CD), and the Federal Senate (SF), preceded the negotiations that resulted in the agreement signed between the government of Minas Gerais and Vale. Nevertheless, the legislators from these three Legislative Houses, particularly the members of the CPIs, did not participate in the construction of this agreement.

This article seeks to highlight evidence of a democratic deficit in the agreement made between the government of Minas Gerais and Vale, in the context of the rupture of the dam in Brumadinho, in light of democratic theory as a decision-making process (SARTORI, 1994). The article is organized as follows: the first section presents the model that will inform the analysis of the empirical evidence at hand. The second

section examines the decision-making process of the agreement signed between the government of Minas Gerais and Vale S.A. and points out the democratic deficit resulting from the absence of the affected parties and their representatives. The third section analyzes the decisions of the agreement, indicating who gained and who lost with its results. The final considerations of the article present the analytical findings and suggest new research agendas on the topic.

The investigation developed here is based on the analysis of primary data, obtained through the examination of official documents and the conducting of 33 in-depth interviews with stakeholders. The interviews were conducted between October 2021 and January 2022, following a semi-structured questionnaire with open-ended questions. The interviewed actors are organized into three different groups: (1) members of the Executive, Legislative, and Judicial branches of the state of Minas Gerais; (2) residents of the affected communities and participants in supporting organizations; and (3) directors and employees of Vale.

The interviewees include relatives of deceased victims, quilombola leaders, family farmers, social movement activists, technical advisors, ecclesiastical leaders, representatives of justice institutions – State Public Prosecutor's Office (MPMG) and Federal Public Prosecutor's Office (MPF), State Public Defender's Office (DPMG) and the Union (DPU) – directors and high-ranking officials from the Special Directorate of Integral Reparation of Vale S.A., and representatives from the state Legislative and Executive – Coordination of the Pro Brumadinho Committee, Attorney General's Office of the State, and State Government Secretariat, among others.

Based on the interviews conducted, the objective was to identify how the decision-making process that resulted in the negotiation of the agreement unfolded and what the outcomes were. The questions were organized into four themes: (1) Popular participation and access to information; (2) Demands and needs of the communities; (3) Perceptions of the final draft of the agreement; (4) Reflections, learnings, and suggestions. It can be stated, based on the analysis of the collected data, that the democratic deficit in the decision-making process of the agreement resulted in a failure to incorporate the demands of the affected communities in the final draft.

I. DEMOCRATIC Decision-Making Process

This article will use the procedural definition of democracy, according to which this regime is characterized by a set of formal rules of the game, informed by a set of principles, namely: 1) political equality; 2) majority rule; 3) informed consent; and 4) civic competence (DAHL, 1989). There is a latitude of acceptable rules, as long as they do not violate these

democratic principles. Dahl operationalizes the procedural definition of democracy through eight criteria that operate in a continuous decision-making context (before, during, and after elections). To do this, Dahl poses the following question: what are the necessary and sufficient conditions to maximize democracy in the real world? (DAHL, 1989).

Among the requirements of Dahl's polyarchy (1989, p. 84), those that are most directly relevant to this paper include:

- The right to effective participation of citizens in a given organization, indicated by the existence of adequate and equal opportunities that guarantee the freedom to establish and/or join certain organizations, associations, and/or political parties (DAHL, 1989);
- The right of citizens to voice their preferences, even if they are contrary to the government, without fearing any form of retaliation (DAHL, 1989); the democratization of information, according to which individuals must have identical information about competing alternatives, with a wide variety of sources, transparency, and accuracy, so that they can make informed decisions (DAHL, 1989);
- And the existence of democratic institutions capable of enabling government policy (DAHL, 1989).

For Dahl, all political decisions that take place between electoral periods and, therefore, are unforeseen, are subordinate to elections, affirming the controlling nature of elections. When unforeseen issues arise that require new decision-making, they must be "governed by the seven preceding conditions, operating, however, under quite different institutional circumstances" (DAHL, 1956, p. 84).

Dahl asserts that polyarchy is a function of the political activity of the members, as long as it is well regulated by the eight conditions presented. The more the rules of the game – the eight conditions that regulate interaction within the group – are consolidated, the more polyarchic the organization (DAHL, 1989). When it comes to the decision-making process regarding compensation for the Vale dam rupture in Brumadinho, it should be analyzed against the eighth condition established by Dahl, since the socio-environmental disaster is an unforeseen phenomenon during the elections. According to the author, in these new cases, the seven preceding conditions must be respected, operating within the continuous decision-making context of the Legislative Branch.

According to Przeworski (1999), democracy is an intricate network of agent-principal type relationships, with citizens being the first and most important principals. They carry interests and preferences, which are vocalized to elected representatives through available procedures such as elections. Elected representatives, in turn, are responsible for producing

and approving public policies that are responsive to citizens' interests. For this, the translation of public policies into results is done by members of public bureaucracies, i.e., unelected public officials: therefore, citizens are the principals of the elected representatives. who are the principals of public officials, who must deliver results according to the interests preferences of citizens (PRZEWORSKI, 1999).

According to Sartori (1994), political decisions are collectivized decisions: when collectivizing a decision, decision-makers consider two main variables: decision costs and external risks. The former are the costs of the process itself, such as the time and energy expended. In contrast, external risks are incurred by those who are affected by the decision without having participated in it (SARTORI, 1994). If only the variable number of decision-makers is considered, internal costs and external risks vary inversely. However, the ideal when collectivizing a decision would be to simultaneously minimize both internal costs and external risks. To resolve this dilemma, Sartori introduces new variables: the method of formation of the decisionmaking body, its composition, and the rules of decisionmaking (SARTORI, 1994). In this case, it involves examining the exponential increase of external risks involved in the decisions that informed the agreement made between Vale and the government of Minas Gerais, due to the absence of the affected parties and their elected representatives in the decision-making process.

Subsequently, Sartori presents the concept of a committee, which will be mobilized in the analysis of the agreement signed between the State of Minas Gerais and Vale: a committee is a small, face-to-face interaction group, durable and institutionalized, whether representative or not, that makes decisions concerning a flow of decisions, constituting a continuous decisionmaking context. Generally, decisions are unanimous, not as a consequence of the use of the unanimity rule, but through the construction of consensus that occurs in well-functioning committees that operate under a code of operation that produces delayed reciprocal rewards. conducive to achieving positive-sum results (SARTORI, 1994).

This article will verify whether the group made up of the set of compromitors fits Sartori's definition and will examine whether its members produced outcomes consistent with the interests/preferences of those affected by the rupture of the Córrego do Feijão dam. Alternatively, it will consider whether they were more responsive to the interests of Vale S.A., the company responsible for the socio-environmental disaster and, nonetheless, one of the main protagonists of the reparation agreement.

The context in which decisions are made matters. According to Przeworski (1991), democracy is the expression or result of the combined play of institutions and resources. Democratic institutions operate under certain societal conditions and are affected by them. To overcome crises, tensions, and conflicts in competitive political contexts, it is essential to ensure the legitimacy of electoral processes. When the rules are clear and socially accepted, political actors engage within democratic limits and accept electoral outcomes, contributing to greater stability and, consequently, the continuity of the democratic regime (PRZEWORSKI, 1991). Another important element highlighted by the author is the high capacity of democratic regimes to respond quickly to new issues, themes, and challenges (PRZEWORSKI, 1991). This article addresses an unexpected event and its consequences. It was not on the political agenda of elected representatives to make decisions about socioenvironmental disasters/crimes of the magnitude of the Córrego do Feijão dam rupture. However, in light of what happened, it is necessary to ascertain responsibilities, contain damages, and repair losses. Who decides? How do they decide? And with what results?

The choice to mobilize approaches and authors that constitute the mainstream of procedural democracy theory, as opposed to literature more focused on processes of political participation and deliberation, relates to the goal of identifying and denouncing the democratic deficit resulting from the exclusion of the affected parties and their elected representatives from the decision-making process, despite their mobilization in political participation organizations. In other words, the democratic deficit at hand lies in the violation of the rules and principles of procedural democracy and not in the lack or insufficiency of participation and political deliberation by the affected: they organized themselves, associated, debated the relevant issues, asserted their interests, and presented their demands and claims to the compromitors. But they were not heard.

II. Decision-Making Process and Repair Agreement: Actors, Arenas, and **OUTCOMES**

The repair agreement was constructed and signed by the parties involved, namely: the Public Prosecutor's Office of the State of Minas Gerais (MPMG), the Public Defender's Office of the State of Minas Gerais (DPMG), the Federal Public Prosecutor's Office (MPF), the government of Minas Gerais, represented during the negotiations of the agreement by the Pro Brumadinho Management Committee and the Attorney General's Office of the State of Minas Gerais (AGEMG), and Vale S.A. This committee was established through Decree 176/2019 by the Governor of the State, with the purpose of coordinating various government bodies, systematizing, and supervising the planning and implementation of measures related to the comprehensive reparations process resulting from the dam collapse (MINAS GERAIS, 2021).

The committee currently consists of (a) the Governor; (b) the Vice-Governor; (c) the Secretary-General; (d) the Secretary of State for Government; and (e) the Secretary of State for Planning and Management. Its general coordination is exercised by the Deputy Secretary of the Secretariat for Planning Management, who represents public agencies and associated entities before the Executive branch, as well as monitors the execution of the various projects and programs involving different sectors and departments of the State (MINAS GERAIS, 2021).

The decree does not provide for a rotation of committee coordination. The coordinator is always the Deputy Secretary of the Secretariat for Planning and Management. Furthermore, there are no representatives of civil society in its composition (MINAS GERAIS, 2021). However, despite the name "Pro Brumadinho Committee." the unit analyzed in this article is the group of signatories presented earlier. In other words, the Pro Brumadinho Committee is merely one of the decisionmakers. After contextualizing the formation of the group, we will examine whether it can be considered a Committee (SARTORI, 1994), and if so, whether it is a democratic Committee.

As previously noted, for a group to be considered a committee, it must be a small group with face-to-face interaction. The decision-makers who negotiated the agreement consist of five institutions, in line with Sartori's (1994) definition. However, it is important to highlight that despite the involvement of only five institutions, dozens of technicians and staff were involved in the negotiations. Unfortunately, it was not possible to identify the exact number of participants, as the negotiations occurred under judicial secrecy and information regarding the decision-making process was restricted from the public. However, despite the technicians' involvement in formulating the terms of the agreement, the effective decision-makers were the representatives of the institutions comprising the group of signatories.

Regarding the Method of Constitution of the Decision-Making Body, it should be noted that the leadership positions of Justice Institutions are filled based on the political appointment of the State Governor (MPMG, 2021). The Vale team consisted of multidisciplinary professionals from the Directorate for Reparations and Development, created after the disaster. Thus, the only member of the group who took part in the agreement negotiations and was directly elected was the Governor.

For it to be considered a Committee, the decision-making of the group must be governed by the majority rule, although the unanimity rule may be exempted. In the analyzed case, it is unclear what rules were used, since the negotiations took place under

judicial secrecy. It is known that the final result was unanimity. However, the Federal Public Defender's Office (DPU), which initially participated in the negotiation rounds, withdrew from the process, asserting that the rights of the affected parties to participation were not being guaranteed. In other words, unanimity was only achieved after one of the decisionmakers deserted. After abandoning the process, the DPU went public to denounce various violations of fundamental precepts provided in the Brazilian Constitution, which were present in the agreement negotiation process, rendering it illegitimate:

(...) democratic principle (art. 1, caput. of the Constitution): dignity of the human person (art. 1, III, of the Constitution); tripartition of state functions (art. 2, caput, of the Constitution); publicity of procedural acts (art. 5, LX, of the Constitution); due legal process (art. 5, LIV, of the Constitution); publicity of public administration acts (art. 37, caput, of the Constitution); principles and rules regarding the public budget - which, due to their magnitude, violate the foundations of the Democratic State of Law (DPU, 2021,

Among the violations presented by the DPU, it stands out "the establishment of an agreement by the federative entity, the State of Minas Gerais, without the proper legislative authorization, which would violate the tripartition of state functions" (DPU, 2021, p. 6), overriding the Legislative Power.

Another characteristic of a committee is to constitute a continuous decision-making context, with interdependent decisions and delayed reciprocal compensations (Sartori, 1994). In the case of the agreement, the decision-making context is discontinuous, as it relates to a single issue: the recovery of collective damages resulting from the dam collapse. Therefore, there is little to no room for delayed reciprocal compensations, given that the agreement has already been signed and formally recognized by the Justice. Finally, committees produce positive-sum results: the results of the agreement produced a positive sum only for the parties that participated in the negotiations -MPMG, MPF, DPMG, the State Government, and Vale since the affected communities were not given the opportunity to voice their preferences through informed participation.

Table 1: Comparison of the Committee's Requirements for Sartori with the Formation of the Group of Committers

	Committee Requirements for Sartori	Group of Signatories to the Agreement	
Number of participants	3 to 40, face-to-face interaction	Five actors took part in the process of negotiating the agreement: MPMG, MPF, DPMG, the Zema government and Vale	
Method of Establishing a Decision-Making Body	Democratic Representative Non-representative	The only democratically elected representative was Governor Zema.	
Rules of Procedure	Majority rules, except unanimity rule	The decision-making rule used is unknown, as the negotiations were confidential. It is known that the final result was unanimity, but one of the actors left the negotiations during the process	
Decision-making context	Continuous; interdependent decisions; delayed reciprocal rewards; operation of the intertemporal factor	I terms of the agreement have already been	
Result Type	Positive Sum	The sum of the results was positive for the actors who took part in the negotiations. However, there were stakeholders who were excluded from the decision-making process and who consequently consumed high external risks.	

Table Elaborated up by the Author based on the Argument of Sartori, 1994.

Several groups of affected individuals, social movements, and political parties filed a Claim of Noncompliance with Fundamental Precept (ADPF) against the signed agreement, alleging the illegality of the process, as the victims did not have the right to free, prior, and informed participation and consultation (MAM, 2021). In this context, considering the noncompliance with several of the requirements outlined by Sartori, the group of signatories cannot be considered a Committee and, moreover, did not act democratically.

To understand the decision-making process for reparations following the Vale dam collapse in Brumadinho, one must consider the eighth polyarchic condition (DAHL, 1989), concerning decision-making related to unforeseen phenomena during the electoral period.

Table 2: Comparison of Dahl's Requirements with the Decision-Making Process of the Agrément

Dahl Principles		Dahl's Polyarchy Requirements		Brumadinho Decision- Making Process - Commitment Group	Absence of Those Affected	
1.	Political Equality	1.	Each head, one vote	It is not known which decision- making rule was adopted, nor whether each institution had a vote	Those affected had no right to participate, let alone vote	
		2.	Each person's vote has the same value as the votes of the others	It is not known whether there were any votes, and if so, whether they had the same value	Those affected had no right to participate, let alone vote	
2.	Sovereignty of the majority	3.	The option chosen by the majority will be declared the winner	The option chosen by the compromisers was the winner, since the final result was unanimous	The choices of those affected were not taken into account in the decision of the compromisers	
3.	Informed Consent	4.	Preferred vocalization	The committers were able to voice their preferences during the negotiation process	Those affected did not have the right to voice their preferences at the negotiating table. However, they produced documents, manifestos and organized protests against the agreement	
		5.	Democratization of Information	The signatories had access to the information needed to discuss the terms of the agreement, since they were part of the negotiating table	Those affected had no access to the content of the discussions on the agreement. The little information that did exist was leaked to the press	
4.	Civic Competence	6.	Winning alternatives replace losing ones	The alternatives chosen by the compromisers were the winners	Those affected were not taken into account when defining the winning alternatives	
		7.	The orders of the elected public servants will be executed	The legislators elected to the SF, the DC and the ALMG did not take part in the decisions made in the construction of the agreement	Those affected were not taken into account when defining the winning alternatives	
		8.	Continuous decision-making context	The legislators elected to the SF, the DC and the ALMG did not take part in the decisions made in the construction of the agreement	Those affected did not participate in the construction of the agreement, either directly or through their elected representatives	

Table elaborated up by the author based on the argument of Dahl, 1989.

In the case of the agreement between Vale and the government of Minas Gerais, no institutional public consultations were held to inform the signatories about the demands of the affected parties. Additionally, the Legislative Power was excluded from the negotiations of the agreement. Legislators, like citizens, learned about the negotiations through leaked information to the press. However, out of the total value of the agreement, 11.06 billion reais were allocated to actions to be developed by the State Executive. For this, the governor needed authorization from the ALMG for budget supplementation, since Article 161 of the state constitution requires this legal provision when the extraordinary resource exceeds 1% of the total budget (AGÊNCIA BRASIL, 2021).

Furthermore, in 2020, the ALMG approved Article 17 of State Law 23,751/2020, estimating the revenue and setting the spending ceiling for the State for the year 2021. In the wording of the article, the deputies defined that the use of resources from the repair agreements related to the Brumadinho dam collapse should be approved by the state legislature (lbid., 2021), which allowed the ALMG to minimally participate in the approval process of the portion of resources initially reserved for the Executive Power.

Thus. Zema was compelled to draft Bill 2.508/ 2021, in which he requested legislative authorization to allocate the aforementioned funds. This situation ultimately generated internal conflicts between legislators and the Executive regarding the allocation of these resources, delaying the signing of the agreement by several months. The bill presented by the governor underwent some changes, although the main projects outlined in the original wording were preserved (Ibid., 2021). The two main disagreements between the two powers related to the resources allocated for the construction of the Rodoanel and the transfers to the 853 municipalities in the state. Some legislators expressed concern regarding the socio-environmental impacts of constructing the highway, which would connect BR-040, BR-381, and BR-262.

Regarding the resource transfers to the municipalities, the Executive's proposal was that the transfers be facilitated through agreements between the municipalities and the state government (Ibid., 2021). This would enable greater control of the resources by the state Executive and ensure that the works carried out would be incorporated into the portfolio of actions implemented by the Zema government. This was a source of significant disagreement between the Legislative and Executive branches, as most legislators advocated for the direct transfer of resources to the municipalities, without the governor's intermediation. However, out of the 244 amendments proposed by legislators, only 3 were approved (Ibid., 2021).

Additionally, the context of negotiation and signing of the agreement took place under precarious conditions of information for the communities affected by the collapse. Beyond the lack of transparency, the agreement was made under judicial secrecy: the entire negotiation process occurred behind closed doors, even though the issue at hand was of broad public interest (OLIVEIRA, 2023), contributing to the democratic deficit of the decision-making process.

This informational asymmetry among the actors resulted in an outcome that did not meet the expectations and demands of the affected communities. The inequality of informational resources between the affected parties and their representatives on one hand, and the actors who participated in the decision-making process on the other, is responsible for the exponential increase in external risks affecting the disaster victims and complicating the consideration of their preferences and the realization of their interests. The problem worsens when it is noted that democratic institutions, such as the Legislative Power at the federal, state, and municipal levels, and the Executive Power at the municipal level, were not called upon to participate in the reparation process of such a large-scale socioenvironmental disaster.

THE DISJUNCTION BETWEEN THE III. DEMANDS OF THE AFFECTED AND THE RESULTS OF AN ANTI-POLYARCHIC REPARATION PROCESS

The absence of the affected individuals and their elected representatives from the negotiation rounds of the agreement ultimately weakened the final outcome of the agreement itself, as their preferences were not adequately taken into account. At the same time, it was possible to identify—through interviews and analyzed documents—the incorporation of external demands that were disconnected from the needs of the communities. The overall value of the agreement is distributed across four programs: (I) Socioeconomic Reparation Program; (II) Socio-Environmental Reparation Program; (III) Mobility Program; and (IV) Public Service Strengthening Program. Each program is subdivided into attachments separated into obligations to act and to pay (both from Vale).

In addition to these four programs, there are projects considered to have "emergency some character" (MINAS GERAIS, 2023) by the committing parties, referred to as "Special Projects." By understanding the terms of the agreement regarding the amount of resources allocated and their respective distribution across specific categories, this article also seeks to verify the compatibility of these definitions with the demands and needs of the affected communities. To this end, 33 interviews were analyzed, categorized as follows: (1) the state of Minas Gerais (Executive, Legislative, and Judiciary); (2) Affected Communities and supporting organizations; and (3) Vale. In this context, it was possible to systematize the responses obtained through interviews into six distinct categories of demands from the affected (Oliveira, 2023): (1) Socio-Environmental Reparation; (2)Socioeconomic

Reparation; (3) Dignification of Victims; (4) Justice and Criminal Accountability; (5) Memory and Truth; and (6) Right to Resistance.

The category "Socio-Environmental Reparation" encompasses demands related to the recovery of the environment, including local fauna, flora, and biodiversity. The "Socioeconomic Reparation" category refers to measures related to the revitalization of the economy. The "Dignification of Victims" category addresses measures considered fundamental concerning the guarantee of the affected individuals' basic linked individual rights rights, to compensations. Meanwhile, demands related to the guarantee of justice, accountability, and non-repetition have been systematized in the "Justice and Criminal Accountability" category. Those pertaining to the production, dissemination, and access to adequate and independent information are organized in the "Memory and Truth" category. Finally, the "Right to Resistance" category encompasses demands regarding the right to disagree, protest, and participate in the reparation process without any retaliation.

Table 3: Systematization of the Demands of the Affected Communities

Category	Demands of those Affected		
Social and Environmental Reparations	Mapping of environmental damage; Environmental and animal recovery; Reforestation of devastated areas; Recovery of the Paraopeba River;		
Socio-economic reparations	Mapping social damage; Implementing infrastructure works and improvements; Promoting family farming and tourism; Investing in education and training for children and young people; Planning urban mobility; Generating jobs and income free from mini-dependency; Telephone and internet networks; The right to leisure and culture; Maintaining emergency payments;		
Dignification of Victims	Guaranteed physical and mental health care; Guaranteed water security; Technical studies on water, soil and air quality; Guaranteed animal feed; Finding the bodies of victims; Right to public security; Guaranteed individual rights and compensation; Adequate treatment for traditional communities;		
Justice and Criminal Accountability	Fair trial and criminal accountability for the guilty; Guarantees of non-repetition; Safety and prevention of dam ruptures; Suspension of Vale's mining concessions; Definitive closure of Vale's operations in Brumadinho; Decommissioning of the Capim Branco dam; Creation of universal binding rules for companies; Sanctions for transnationals; Accountability for society; Radical change in the mining model; Guarantees of non-repetition of the crime.		
Memory and Truth	Recognition of the affected communities; Guarantee of the right to technical advice; Construction of the Memorial; Change of company uniform; Formal apology; Public information on the causes of the collapse; Tougher environmental and labor inspections; Preparation of an independent [Vale] reparation plan; Guarantee of independent technical advice, expertise and consultancy; Monitoring of the reparation process not linked to Vale; Concern about Vale's advertising and propaganda strategies; Concern about co-optation tactics and the economic power exercised by Vale; Need to ensure that the voices and stories of the affected communities are transmitted to the rest of society; Need to ensure that other communities are not deceived and do not trust illusory proposals from mining companies; Need to honor the victims of the crime with global testimony of what happened and happens on a daily basis in Brumadinho.		
Right to Resistance	Guaranteed right to demonstrate and protest without political persecution; Access to correct information; Guaranteed informed participation and negotiations on reparations; Guaranteed protection of human rights defenders and nature; Provision of information and transparency during the reparations process; Guaranteed right to self-determination of peoples; Concern about persecution and disqualification in the territories.		

Table adapted from Oliveira, 2023.

To verify whether the results achieved by the agreement are compatible with the demands of those affected, analytical frameworks were developed presenting the demands, the results, and the resources When comparing the demands Environmental Reparation with the measures outlined in the agreement, a low correspondence between them was identified. The agreement allocates 6.5 billion reais for environmental recovery, without stipulating a ceiling, should new damages be found. Arcadis, the company responsible for developing the Environmental Reparation Plan, has a history of providing services to Vale, which attests to the degree of control over the agenda by the defendant company. Furthermore, it is known that Vale has a history of fraud in its socioenvironmental studies, which was evidenced by the collapse of the dam in Brumadinho when Vale presented false documentation produced by its subsidiary TUV SUD, certifying the dam's stability (CPI ALMG, 2019; CPI CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES, 2019; CPI FEDERAL SENATE, 2019).

Additionally, the agreement bypassed the process related to mapping the socio-economic and environmental damages, which was being developed by Justice Institutions and by the judge of the 2nd Public Treasury Court of Belo Horizonte, who was responsible for the case up to that point. To contextualize this process, it is necessary to emphasize that on the same day the dam collapsed, AGEMG, along with MPMG and DPMG, filed an initial petition for Early Relief, included in case no. 5010709-36.2019.8.13.0024, requesting, among other demands, the blocking of funds in Vale's bank accounts (TJMG, 2019). This action allowed for the initiation of a series of court hearings to address the issues related to the disaster. At the same time, the affected communities began to organize committees and associations of the affected, in accordance with guidance provided by the Justice Institutions themselves (MPMG, 2019).

The right to independent technical assistance was guaranteed in a hearing held on February 20, 2019 (TJMG, 2019), based on the Terms of Reference presented to the judge of the 6th Public Treasury Court of Belo Horizonte. This Terms divided the affected territory into five regions, composed of several local committees of the affected. Each committee was to elect an entity to serve as its technical advisor. This entity, in turn, would be pre-accredited according to criteria set forth by the Justice Institutions (TJMG, 2019).

Considering that those affected by the disaster had already organized into small local groups and had been receiving specialized technical assistance since 2019, it was expected that these groups, along with the elected technical assistance, would participate in the negotiations of the reparation agreement: "it was the Justice Institutions themselves that encouraged the

creation of committees of the affected, which should have seats at the negotiation tables, as these organized groups deal daily with the reality of their communities" (Affected person from Piedade do Paraopeba, 2021).

In this context, the establishment of the agreement in 2021, without the participation of the committees of the affected and the independent technical assistance, undermined the process of self-organization of the affected. This situation, beyond being violative, is somewhat contradictory, given that the committees of the affected had already been legitimized by the Justice Institutions during the period of electing the entities that would act as technical advisors.

Moreover, the agreement also bypassed the technical committee of researchers from UFMG, which was responsible for conducting various studies and analyses in order to guide the decisions of the judge of the 2nd Public Treasury Court of Belo Horizonte. As if the fact that the expertise of the judge responsible for the case was not properly concluded and considered in the negotiations of the agreement was not enough, the established term still suppressed studies that were being conducted (TJMG, 2021). In other words, the agreement was concluded without knowledge of the full extent of the damages caused by Vale's crime (OLIVEIRA, 2023). In other words, it can be stated that the exclusion of the Independent Technical Assistance and the affected individuals from the negotiation process of the agreement ultimately represents the annulment of the reparation architecture designed by the Justice Institutions themselves and by the judge who was responsible for the case until then.

Table 4: Correspondence between the Demands of those Affected and the Results of the Agrément

Demands of those Affected	Results of the agreement	Correspondence High, medium, low or none	Resources provided ¹
Social and Environmental Reparations	Extinction of technical expertise Socio-environmental Reparation Plan for the Paraopeba River Basin Socio-environmental compensation for known damage	Low	6.5 billion
Socio-economic reparations	Projects for Brumadinho Income Transfer Program Projects for the Affected Communities	Low/Medium	8,9 billion
Dignification of Victims	Water Safety Projects Human Health Risk and Ecological Risk Evaluation (HRHRE) Studies	Low	0
Justice and Criminal Accountability	Not mentioned	None	0
Memory and Truth	Not mentioned	None	0
Right to Resistance	Not mentioned	None	0

Table elaborated up by the author, based on the agreement signed between Vale and the State of Minas Gerais, 2020.

The results of the agreement for the category "Socioeconomic Reparation" in the Brumadinho region are distributed across three attachments: Community Demand Projects; Income Transfer Program for the Affected Population; and Projects for Brumadinho. The first attachment is where the communities can, at least in theory, present projects with their demands directly to the managing entity - without the mediation of another actor. It allocates 3 billion reais for all the affected communities across the 26 municipalities of the Paraopeba river basin. The agreement provides for the participation of the affected communities in the governance of this attachment. Since it has not yet been established, it is unknown what the criteria and thematic areas for project approvals will be. This means that all demands that do not find support within other categories of the agreement will compete for resources from this attachment, encouraging competition among the affected individuals.

The second attachment, in turn, allocates 4.4 billion reais for the Income Transfer Program (PTR), which guarantees emergency aid payments for the affected individuals from the city of Brumadinho and residents of riverside communities in the Paraopeba River basin - limited to 1 km from the river's edge - including all 26 affected municipalities. The amounts of emergency aid vary depending on the place of residence of the affected individuals.

The interviews and documents analyzed confirm that the PTR - along with the Community Demand Projects - represents the attachment with the highest correspondence to the demands of the affected communities. However, there are still groups fighting to be recognized as affected in order to access the program. Furthermore, groups receiving amounts lower than the maximum are demanding full aid. Therefore, this article considers an average correspondence between demand and the results of the agreement.

Finally, the third attachment deals with the implementation of a public service strengthening program, which allocates 1.5 billion reais to assist affected municipalities and groups of affected individuals, provided that the proposal relates to the subject. To select the projects to be implemented, the state government launched a Popular Consultation. This involved an online voting process for prioritizing the submitted projects. Despite the latest census (2022) indicating a population of 38,915 inhabitants, only 2,551 people participated in the online voting. It is believed that this was primarily due to two reasons: lack of proper

¹ Amount in Brazilian Reais.

information/guidance and lack of necessary technology (access to computers and the internet in rural district areas). A total of 475 projects were submitted, of which only 40 were approved and 32 prioritized by the Public Consultation. Of this total, 20 projects are already under execution (MINAS GERAIS, 2023).

The correspondence between the demands of the affected individuals and the urban mobility and physical infrastructure projects is low, as the planned works involve regions that were not impacted by the disaster: (1) construction of the ring road in the metropolitan region of Belo Horizonte; (2) expansion of the Belo Horizonte Metro; (3) construction of bridges over the São Francisco River; and (4) improvements to state highways. In other words, it can be said that these resources are being diverted from their original purpose, as the agreement should address the needs of the territories affected by the disaster.

In addition to the ring road, several other actions- disconnected from the demands of the affected - are being implemented through the resources of the agreement. Some of these actions include the allocation of financial resources to all 853 municipalities in the state and the funding of the State Mining Plan, which directly benefits the mineral sector. By implementing various works without connection to the demands of the affected, the state government would be taking advantage of the values arising from the reparation process as if these were part of the public budget.

The theme of Dignification of Victims, the third category of demands, is urgent as it relates to meeting the basic needs of the affected individuals. Within this set are demands for health, whose correspondence with what was decided in the agreement was considered low. Through interviews, it was noted that the worsening physical and mental health of the Brumadinho population has complicated and increased the need for these kinds of care. Research conducted by the Oswaldo Cruz Foundation (Fiocruz) in 2022 provided alarming data about the contamination of children, adults, and adolescents in Brumadinho. The tests conducted identified a high concentration of heavy metals, such as arsenic, manganese, cadmium, mercury, and lead (FIOCRUZ, 2022). Additionally, data compiled in 2019 by the Municipal Health Department of Brumadinho showed an 80% increase in anxiolytic consumption and a 60% increase in antidepressant consumption compared to the previous year. This does not account for the significant increase in suicide attempts and completed cases (MINISTRY OF HEALTH, 2020).

In this same context, the correspondence between the demand for studies on water, soil, and air quality and the decisions made was also considered low. The text of the agreement states that studies will be conducted. However, it does not specify the amount allocated for this purpose, nor does it outline a specific

item within the agreement. Given the fragility of the information provided and the seriousness of the contamination problem, it was understood that the demand was not adequately met.

Although the agreement provides for a specific project for water security, the correspondence between demand and outcome was also considered low. The agreement proposes the implementation of large water catchment projects to supply the metropolitan region of Belo Horizonte. However, the demands located in the affected communities, such as the establishment of small artesian wells, are not included in this project. For this reason, the correspondence was deemed low.

In general terms, this low correspondence of demands for Victim Dignification occurred because a significant portion of these demands relates to the individual rights of those affected, and the agreement does not establish basic metrics based on a Comprehensive Damage Matrix to ensure these rights (TJMG, 2021). In this context, to this day, there are no established parameters and basic criteria for individual compensations. This means that the mining company enters into various individual agreements with the affected parties, resulting in unequal outcomes and underestimated compensations. As many of the violations of individual rights systematically recur throughout the Paraopeba River basin, it was observed that the absence of a discussion of individual rights in the agreement did not correspond to the demands voiced by those affected.

Finally, the demands of the affected parties organized under the categories of Justice and Criminal Accountability, Memory and Truth, and Right to Resistance were not addressed in the agreement. Regarding the demands for justice and guarantees of non-repetition, for example, the agreement does not provide resources for ensuring the security and monitoring of dams. Currently, according to data from the ANM, there are 39 waste dams considered unstable in Minas Gerais (CARVALHO, 2022). Not to mention that the dams that collapsed in Mariana and Brumadinho were considered "stable." This indicates that there are dozens of "ticking time bombs" scattered throughout the state, which can rupture at any moment. It is curious that an agreement for reparations for a disaster of this magnitude, which killed 272 people, does not contain a single cent earmarked for improvements in the area of dam safety.

There is no correspondence between the demands for Memory and Truth and the results of the agreement. This occurred because, with the exception of mentions of the right to independent technical assistance, none of the other demands in this category were even mentioned in the text of the agreement. However, even the right to technical assistance was not adequately secured. That is, the establishment of the agreement reduced the scope of action for the advisory

services. Whereas previously the entities had greater autonomy to advise and inform communities about their rights, currently their activities are limited to providing information related to the implementation of the established terms. In other words, to some extent, the technical advisors have lost the main function for which they were initially created. This situation is further highlighted by the 48% budget cuts to technical advisory services in the first half of 2023. Since then, several public demonstrations have been held by social movements and state and federal legislators in defense of the right to independent technical assistance, including the holding of a public hearing in the Legislative Assembly of Minas Gerais (GUAICUY, 2023).

Regarding the demands for the right to resistance, the interviewed leaders emphasized that the right to freedom of expression should be guaranteed in the reparation process. This demand arose due to various episodes of persecution, threats, defamation, and intimidation against community leaders who expressed dissent towards the positions of the company and the state government. In 2020, for example, 16 residents of Brumadinho were sued by Vale for protesting at the company's gates (MINAS GERAIS, 2020). The judge authorized a fine of 5,000 reais for each citizen participating in the protests and allowed the Military Police to gather information about the demonstrators and contain the gatherings (Ibid., 2020). Fortunately, the Public Prosecutor's Office requested the suspension of this decision. However, the company successfully intimidated the demonstrators.

IV. FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

Democratic institutions do not operate in a sociological and political vacuum. Under different conditions, the same institutions yield different results. The decision-making process of the agreement between the government of Minas Gerais and Vale took place in a context of significant strain on democracy in the country. The overall assessment of the agreement between Vale and the State of Minas Gerais leads to the conclusion that the decision-making process reflects the ongoing crisis of democracy in Brazil, at that time, under the autocratic government of Jair Messias Bolsonaro (2019-2022), which hindered the operation of checks and balances among the established powers and the exercise of democratic citizenship. Furthermore, at the subnational level, this democratic deficit was exacerbated by the stance adopted in the agreement by the Zema government and the incapacity of the ALMG to fulfill its constitutional duty to represent the population affected by the dam collapse.

The establishment of judicial agreements, conducted in secrecy and without the participation of those affected, has been a recurring practice of the Zema government and mining companies in contexts of

socio-environmental crimes. This practice weakens democracy in Minas Gerais. This does not mean that agreements should not be made, but rather that the decision-making processes established by the State and Federal constitutions must be respected, which includes a broad calendar of activities for listening to those affected, such as meetings, public hearings, seminars, etc. These activities should occur throughout the entire affected region and should produce reports and documents that reflect the demands of the affected parties.

The rights of the affected parties to effective participation in the agreement, to consideration of their preferences, and to equal access to information were violated throughout the decision-making process, and democratic institutions could not operate effectively during the negotiation of the agreement, preventing the exercise of checks and balances, due to the exclusion of the Legislative Power from the process. Furthermore, judicial secrecy increases the informational asymmetry between the agreement participants and the affected parties. It was thus confirmed that a democratic deficit occurred, as the procedures legally prescribed in democratic contexts were not utilized to manage the disaster problem, leading to a power imbalance among the actors and generating results that do not align with the interests of those affected.

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Security Implication of Crimes Committed by Police Officers, in Nairobi County, Kenya

By Martin Gitau Njuguna & Kibet Ngetich

Abstract- This study sought to examine the security implication of crime committed by police officers in Nairobi County. This was necessitated by the fact that police officers have been committing crimes yet hardly any data has been collected, maintained, disseminated or made available to inform crime management. The study assessed the nature of crimes committed by serving police officers recorded at the Milimani Criminal Courts between 2017 and 2020 and their implications on insecurity in Nairobi County, established prevalence of crimes committed by dismissed police officers recorded at the Milimani Criminal Courts between 2017 and 2020 and their implications on insecurity in Nairobi County, and established police officers' perceptions on the relationship between the causal factors of crimes committed by police officers and insecurity in Nairobi County, Kenya. The study used mixed methods study design. Questionnaires were used to collect data from 90 primary respondents and 30 Key informants. Qualitative data was analyzed using content analysis and presented thematically using verbatim quotes.

Keywords: crimes committed by police officers, recorded crimes, insecurity prevalence of crimes.

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I. Introduction

Ithough elusive to many scholars' police criminal behaviour is a global problem that developed and developing countries are grappling to deal with (Kappeler et al., 1998). According Economic Survey (2016)the National Police Service is responsible for a quarter of all crimes in the country exposing the rot in the law enforcement department. The Economic Survey 2016 report indicated that officers in uniform committed 24,647 out of the total 72,490 crimes that were reported in 2015. According to the survey, the men and women in uniform were mostly involved in drug trafficking, murder, criminal damage and economic crimes, while sex scandals had gone down from 146 in 2014 to 118 cases in 2015. "Dangerous drugs and criminal damage jointly accounted for 72.5 per cent of all reported offences in 2015," the report said, adding that the proportion of female offenders rose to 20.7 per cent compared to 18.4 per cent in 2014. Ethical behaviour and integrity are essential for ensuring that law enforcement agencies operate in a fair and just manner. Officers must treat all individuals with respect and dignity, regardless of their background or circumstances and should at all times operate in manner that does not discredit their ability to maintain public safety and security. Upholding ethical standards helps prevent bias, discrimination, and abuse of power within law enforcement (The Economic Survey, 2016).

II. A Note on Methodology

Three methods of data collections were used. administered Questionnaire was to respondents who included two sets of respondents: serving police officers charged in court and dismissed police officers charged in court. Interview method was used to collect data from K.I who included; senior Kenya Crime Research from Magistrates, Senior Police Officers and investigating officers of violent crimes committed by the officers. Content analysis is a research tool used to determine the presence of certain words or concepts within texts or sets of texts. Additionally, Researchers quantify and analyze the presence, meanings and relationships of such words and concepts, then make inferences about the messages within the texts, the writer(s), the audience, and even the culture and time of which these are a part.

III. Results and Discussions

a) Nature of Crimes Committed by Serving Police Officers between 2017 and 2020

The first objective sought to establish the nature of crimes committed by serving police officers between the years; 2017 and 2020 recorded at the Milimani criminal courts. The results are presented in Table 1.

Table 1: Nature of Crimes Committed by Serving Police Officers between 2017 and 2020

Crime Category	Nature of Crimes	Frequency(N=45)	Percentage (%)
	Armed robberies	10	8.5
Violent Crimes	Manslaughters	5	11.9
	Grievous body harm	4	21.9
	Injuries through Berserk shooting	1	1.0
	Total	20	43.3
	Frauds	2	11.9
Economic motivated	Stealing	9	9.0
	Bribery	4	8.0
	Extortion	3	11.9
	Total	18	40.8
	Drug abuse	4	7.0
Drug Related	Drug Peddling	1	3.0
	Total	5	10.0
Alcohol related	Affray	2	5.7
	Grand Total	45	100

As indicated in Table 1 crimes committed by serving police officers and recorded in courts were categorized into; violent crimes (43.3%), economic motivated crimes (40.0%), drug related (8.9%) and alcohol related crimes (2.2%). Violent crimes included; Armed robberies, Manslaughters, Rape, Assault, Sexualassault, Kidnapping, Harassment, Grievous bodily harm and Injuries through Berserk shooting. Economic motivated crimes included; Frauds, Stealing, Bribery and Extortion. Drug related crimes such as drug abuse and peddling in addition to affrays that are as a result of alcohol consumption were ranked the lowest.

Notably, these are crimes committed by hire and trained personnel of an agency that has broad constitutional mandated to legitimately prevent crimes

and maintain public security by upholding the rule of law. The police have wide-ranging mandate to protect internal security and reinforce friendly relations and public trust and not to break the laws that they were sworn to uphold, an indicator of deficits in legitimacy and abuse of authority that have an implication on national security.

b) Nature of Crimes Committed by Dismissed Police Officers between 2017 and 2020

The second objective sought to establish the nature of crimes committed by dismissed police officers recorded at the Milimani criminal courts. This data was obtained from the court registers and court files. The results are presented in Table 2.

Table 2: Nature of Crimes Committed by Dismissed Police Officers between 2017 and 2020

Crime category	Nature of crimes	Frequency (n=45)	Percentage (%)
	Armed robberies	18	40.0
Violent Crimes	Manslaughters	12	26.7
	Grievous body harm	0	0.0
	Burglaries	2	4.4
	Total	32	71.1
	Frauds	0	0.0
Economic motivated	Stealing	10	22.2
	Bribery	0	0.0
	Extortion	0	0.0

	Total	10	22.2
	Drug abuse	0	0.0
Drug Related	Drug Peddling	3	6.7
	Total	3	6.7
Alcohol related	Affray	0	0.0
	Grand Total	45	100.0

As shown in Table 2 crimes committed by dismissed police officers and recorded in courts included; violent crimes (71.1%), economic motivated crimes (22.2%) and drug related crimes ranked at 6.7%. Violent crimes included crimes such as, armed robberies, manslaughters, and burglaries. Second were the economic crimes that included; stealing only. Lastly were drug related crimes that included peddling only.

c) Police Officers' Perceptions on the Relationship between the Causal Factors of Crimes Committed by Police and Insecurity.

The last objective sought to establish police officers' perceptions on the relationship between the causal factors of crimes committed by police and insecurity. Key informants were the main voice as explained below;

With regard to situational factors a respondent stated,

Situational factors such as suspect resistance in most cases the officers assess the level of risk in specific situations and contexts such as a suspect holding a gun or some other dangerous weapon threatening to harm the police or people". Other situation that may predispose an officer to commit crimes included; their relatively lower remuneration that increased their propensity to commit crimes such as larceny, accepting stolen goods, bribery, and extortion.

Source: Male key informant in his 40s, Senior Police Officer in Nairobi, 2023.

A key informants had their perception that factors such as resistance from suspects, risks in certain situations, serious threats from suspects and poor remunerations of officers predisposes police officer to engage in law breaking activities.

Observably, as stated elsewhere in this study even though 40.0% of serving police officers committed economic motivated crimes, this is not a justification whatsoever for any officer entrusted to protect the people and uphold the rule of the law with fairness and legitimacy at all times to commit any such crimes. Policy makers may perhaps take it up and look into police officers' welfare that includes their remunerations. It is possible that a pay hike may cut this problem at the nib.

With regard to organizational factors, two major factors influenced police criminality, Low police accountability and organizational reform.

"Police operations are still shady and the level of their accountability and organizational reform still low. At this level police will operate with impunity, and get away with it. For example, with regard to organizational reforms, human resource policies such as on police welfare are still inadequate. With regard to police accountability, bodies that are mandated to ensure police accountability are largely ineffective because there are still cover up and inaction of crimes committed by police officers." (Source: Male key informant in his 40s, Senior Police Officer in Nairobi, 2023).

The above finding casts aspersion on the two major bodies mandated to ensure police accountability: the Internal Affairs Unit and the Independent Policing Oversight Authority. These are likely to be overwhelmed and dysfunctional. The Independent Policing Oversight Authority is a constitutional body in Kenya that is tasked with investigating deaths and serious injuries caused by police action and investigating police misconduct. Besides, political will may be necessary to vet all police recruitments.

With regard to communitywide factors, one major factor that influenced police criminality was rampant corruption. With regard to this variable, a Key informant stated,

"Corruption in Kenya is a society wide problem that affects the police as well. For example, it is deeply entrenched and apparently getting accepted as a "culture". It has become like cancer, now eating the moral fiber of our society. For example, in some instances senior police officers are lured by corrupt individuals to abuse their office by releasing criminals charged with serious crimes from lawful custody." (Source: Male key informant in his 30s, Senior Police Officer in Nairobi, 2023)

The above finding that corruption is a major societal problem requires the whole overarching police reforms focusing on societal education on the security and safety risks of corruption when as a result of corrupting police officers' dangerous criminals are released from lawful custody to haunt the society at large and it leads to strained relationship between police and the communities.

d) Relationship between the Causal Factors of Crimes Committed by Police and Insecurity

This study also sought to establish perceptions of the relationship between the causal factors of crimes committed by police and insecurity in Nairobi County, Kenya. To achieve this, two correlation analysis tests were carried out; to establish the nature and strength of relationship between the causal factors of crime and

their perceived influence to insecurity in society and two; perceptions of the correlation analysis between increase of criminal violations and insecurity. The results are presented as follows;

e) Perceptions of a Correlation between the Causal Factors of Crimes Committed by Police and Insecurity

A Correlation analyses were carried out to establish the nature and strength of relationship between the causal factors of crimes committed by police and insecurity. The variables of interest that were measured include, three categories of variables were assessed. These were; Situational, individual, organizational level variables. Situational variables were concerned with circumstances, individual variables were concerned with personal factors, organizational level variables were concerned with factors relating to the workplace environment. All are the three indicator variables show whether there is a relationship between each of the variable which are crimes committed by the police and insecurity. The results are presented in Table 3.

Table 3: Correlation Coefficients

Correlations:	How do you Rate	e Relationship b	etween Causal Factor	s of Crimes and Ins	security?
			Organizational Factors	Individual Factors	Situational Factors
How do you rate relationship between causal factors of crimes	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed)	1			
and insecurity	N	90			
Organizational factors	Pearson Correlation	.432**	1		
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.05			
	N	90	90		
Individual factors	Pearson Correlation	.245*	075	1	
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.01	.483		
	N	90	90	90	
Situational factors	Pearson Correlation	.405**	.151	.519**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.02	.157	.001	
	N	90	90	90	90

^{**.} Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

As indicated in in Table 3 there was a positive relationship between organizational factors that cause crime and insecurity, r (89) =0.432, p=0.05. Similarly, there was a stronger positive correlation between individual factors that cause crime and insecurity, r (83) =0.245, p=0.01. The results further showed a strong positive correlation between situational factors that lead to crime and insecurity, r (89) =0.405, p=0.02. An increase in perception on influence of organizational factors, as well as situational factors is predicted to increase perception about causal factors of crime and rise of insecurity in society.

Coefficient of Determination

Coefficient of Determination is the extent to which the change in the dependent variable can be explained by the change in the independent variables or the percentage of variation in the dependent variable that is explained by all the independent variables. And R-square value of 0.301 was established and adjusted to 0.292. This means that the independent variables could only explain 20.1% of the perceived relationship between the causes of crime and the society.

Police Officers Perceptions of what could be done to Avert Crimes by Police Officers

The section sought to establish police officer's perceptions on what could be done to avert crimes by police officers. The results are presented in Table 4.

^{*.} Correlation is significant at the 0.02 level (2-tailed).

Table 4: Police Officers Perceptions on Mitigation Measures to Avert Crime by their own Colleagues

	Response	Mean score	Percent
In a scale of 1-10 how do you rate the following mitigation measures	Tame police greed	10	100.0
against police criminality?	Come up with alternative discipline to errant police officers than dismissing or removing them from service	10	100.0
	Establish a surveillance system to monitor all dismissed police officers	10	100.0
	Benchmark with the developed world on best practices for dealing with errant police officers	9	90.0

As indicated in Table 4, in order to avert crime by police officers, whether serving or dismissed, police officers suggested mitigation measures that included; taming police greed(100%), having alternative discipline mechanisms for errant police officers than dismissing or removing them from service(100%), establishing a surveillance system to monitor all dismissed police officers (100%), and benchmarked best practices for dealing with errant police officers especially from the developed world (90%).

h) Discussion of the Findings

This section discusses the study findings in relation to previous research studies. Additionally, the section is organized according to the objectives and include comparison with other studies. The study objectives assessed the nature of crimes committed by serving police officers, and also established the prevalence of crimes committed by dismissed police officers recorded at the Milimani Criminal Courts between 2017 and 2020 and their influence to insecurity. Finally, the study established police officers' perceptions on the relationship between the causal factors of crimes committed by police and insecurity in Nairobi County, Kenya.

The Nature of Crimes Committed by Serving Police

According to this study crimes committed by serving police officers and recorded at Milimani criminal courts were categorized into; violent crimes, economic motivated crimes, drug related, and alcohol related crimes. Violent crimes included; Armed robberies, Manslaughters, Grievous body harm and Injuries through Berserk shooting. Economic motivated crimes included; Frauds, Stealing, Bribery and Extortion. Drug related crimes such as drug abuse and peddling in addition to affrays that are as a result of alcohol consumption were ranked the lowest. Notably, these are crimes committed by trained personnel of an agency that has constitutional mandated to prevent them by upholding rule of law and key policing values, an

indicator of deficits in legitimacy and hinder the credibility of the agency which have an implication on national security. This study finding lends support to findings by Box (1983), Jupp and Francis (1999) that some violent crimes such as murders and man slaughters were correlated with unjustified use of deadly force due to factors that were said to compel officers to use their firearm. According to this study situational factors were compounded by suspects' resistance in most cases and the officer's risk in specific situations and contexts such as a suspect holding a gun or some other dangerous weapon, or the suspect threatening to harm the police, people or property. This also lends support to findings by Sherman (1980) argued that police violence may occur as a result of deployment of force by officers, justified or otherwise, against any individual that results in bodily harm or even the loss of life.

With regard to economically motivated crimes, poor remuneration of officers was found to predispose officers to illegal acquiring wealth by committing crimes, such as larceny, accepting stolen goods, bribery, and extortion (Economic Survey, 2016). The temptation faced by officers to engage in drug-related criminality is immense due to officers' exposure to drugs, drug users, and drug dealers predisposed officers to become trapped in the cycle of drug peddling and criminality, because of many opportunities abounded to officers to make easy money "through payoffs, shake-downs, robberies, and opportunistic thefts (Kane and White, 2013).

As argued by McLaughlin (2019) the study found that Police officers who indulged in heavy drinking coped poorly with the stress inherent in the police profession, leading to negative encounters with community members. Besides, this is at times the cause of domestic violence between them and their spouses that in some cases are fatal. There were however concerns that drunk police officers may pick quarrels with their superiors and open fire against them ending up killing their superiors or themselves or open fire to kill

members of public to settle some known or unknown scores". As argued by Galgallo et al. (2023) this study associated alcohol taking with crime causing effects such as; ability to disintegrate ones moral character, ability to impair the judgment, ability to clouds reason, and ability to enfeebles the will. The implication here is that alcohol taking by armed police officers may thus be in itself potentially detrimental to officer's security and that of the community in the event of external or internal attacks."

Nature of Crimes Committed by Dismissed Police Officers

The second objective established the nature of crimes committed by dismissed police officers recorded at the Milimani criminal courts. These included: violent crimes, economic motivated crimes. and drug related crimes. Violent crimes which ranked the highest, and included crimes such as, armed robberies, manslaughters, grievous bodily harm and injuries through berserk shooting. Second were the economic crimes that included; frauds, stealing, tax evasion, bribery and extortion. Lastly were drug related crimes that included drug abuse and peddling. Whereas these crimes are almost similar to crimes committed by serving police officers, the study depicted a unique pattern that indicate prevalence of property related crimes committed by dismissed police officers than other typology of crimes.

The implication here is that, in cases of police dismissals from service, their family ends up missing its basic needs, children dropping out of school, engagement in drug abuse and domestic violence. All these were found to have cumulative effects that compelled desperate dismissed police officers into the option of engaging in crime. Further, as established in this study upon dismissal from work police officers hardly get any benefits. This made them develop anger which in turn fostered crime because it disrupted cognitive processing ways that impeded non-criminal coping for resistance and inculcated a propensity to justify their criminal behaviour as they believed that the injustice they suffered justifies crime (Sherman, 1980; Economic Survey, 2016; Kane and White, 2013).

Observably, whether the officers were legally or irregularly dismissed, commission of offenses such as robberies, stealing and Burglaries by the same officers makes the community more vulnerable and more insecure because their commission involve use of firearms. Whereas the core mission of the police is to prevent crimes and to ensure public safety and security, this study perceives that dismissing trained police officers for whatever reason amounts to an error and is self-defeating as they make the society more unsafe by committing more crimes. This view was exacerbated by an opinion who stated that, police officers collaborate with those who were dismissed to commit property

crimes. Whereas this observation was made with regard to property crimes other serious crimes against the state such as terror related crimes may also be committed. The implication against national security if this happens may be therefore dire.

As it was established in this study therefore an inclination to always sack may not help because it will always have an adversely effects on security organs in fighting crime. This is because sacked police officers are not only trained to prevent crimes but also to kill enemy. Crimes become very sophisticated especially if they are committed by trained and experienced criminals. Perhaps dismissed police officers should borrow best practices from developed countries regarding to dealing with errant officers so that the security of the Kenyan citizens is enhanced "According to investigating officers' perception, robberies and car thefts ranked the highest (90.0%) among the crimes committed by dismissed police officers followed by burglaries (30%) and finally abductions (20.0%). This observation also agrees with general perceptions with regard to property crimes that dismissed officers' utilized criminality as an opportunity or source of livelihood.

k) Police Officers' Perceptions on the Relationship between the Causal Factors of Crimes Committed by Police and Insecurity

The last objective established police officers' perceptions on the relationship between the causal factors of crimes committed by police and insecurity. As portended by Skogan and Frydl (2004) and Terrell's (2003) these included; situational factors, organizational factors, and community factors. Situational factors such as suspect resistance in most cases the officers assess the level of risk in specific situations and contexts such as a suspect holding a gun or some other dangerous weapon, or the suspect threatening to harm the police, people or property". Other situation factors that were said to predispose an officer to commit crimes included; their relatively lower remuneration that increased their propensity to commit crimes such as larceny, accepting stolen goods, bribery, and extortion. In some instances, killing on provocation also aptly fits in this description. Additionally, the temptation faced by officers to engage in drug-related criminality is immense due to officers' exposure to drugs, drug users, and drug dealers. Further, the study argued that it is fairly easy for officers to become trapped in the cycle of drug peddling, drug trafficking and criminality, because many opportunities abound to officers to make easy money through payoffs, shake-downs, robberies, and opportunistic thefts (World Drug Report, 2004).

With regard to organizational factors, two major factors influenced police criminality; low police accountability and organizational reform. As argued by Skogan and Frydl (2004) police operations are still

shady and the level of their accountability and organizational reform still low. At this level police will operate with impunity, and get away with it. For example, with regard to organizational reforms, human resource policies such as on police welfare are still inadequate. With regard to police accountability, bodies that are mandated to ensure police accountability are largely ineffective because there are still cover up and inaction of crimes committed by police officers. These findings casts aspersion on the two major bodies mandated to ensure police accountability: the Internal Affairs Unit and the Independent Policing Oversight Authority which were perceived to be largely overwhelmed and dysfunctional. The Independent Policing Oversight Authority in Kenya is tasked with investigating deaths and serious injuries caused by police action and investigating police misconduct. Besides, political will to vet all police recruitments was also perceived to be necessary (Skogan and Frydl, 2004).

With regard to community wide factors, one major factor that influenced police criminality was rampant corruption (Fyfe and Kane, 2006). Corruption in Kenya was seen as a society wide problem that affects the police as well. It was said to be deeply entrenched and apparently getting accepted as a "culture" and also like a cancer, eating the moral fiber of our society. It was said to lure senior police officers to abuse their office by releasing criminals charged with serious crimes from lawful custody". This according to the study a major societal problem requires the whole overarching police reforms focusing on societal education on the security and safety risks of corruption when as a result of corrupting police officers' dangerous criminals are released from custody to haunt the society (Burite and Gridneff, 2016). Further, the study observed that corruption culminates to protection of illegal activities, evidence tampering or theft and disclosure of privileged information may also be tied to greed and as such important to tame police greed. By implication, disclosure of privileged information or intelligence for example about police operations, vital installations may be very detrimental even to the safety of police officers themselves.

As argued by Ombaka (2015) this study also established perceptions of the relationship between the causal factors of crimes committed by police and insecurity in Nairobi County, Kenya. To achieve this, two correlation analysis tests were carried out; to establish the nature and strength of relationship between the causal factors of crime and their perceived implications to insecurity in society and two; perceptions of the correlation analysis between increase of criminal violations and insecurity. An increase in perception on influence of organizational factors, as well as situational factors is predicted to increase perception about causal factors of crime and rise of insecurity in society. Further,

the pattern that this study has portrayed as a general trend is that of a direct correlation between dismissed members of the police service and rise of insecurity in the Nairobi County, Kenya. Further, there was a positive relationship between criminal law violations and insecurity. As a result, the study further went ahead to assess police officers opinion of what they what thought could be done to avert crimes by police officers. Last but not least, whether serving or dismissed, police officers suggested mitigation measures that included; taming police greed, having alternative discipline mechanisms for errant police officers than dismissing or removing them from service, establishing a surveillance system to monitor all dismissed police officers, and benchmarked best practices for dealing with errant police officers especially from the developed world.

IV. Conclusion

The nature of crimes committed by serving police officers and recorded at Milimani criminal courts between the years 2017-2020 were categorized into; violent crimes, economic motivated crimes, drug related crimes and alcohol related crimes. Notably, these are crimes committed by trained personnel of an agency with constitutional mandated to enforce laws and maintain public safety and security, an indicator of deficits in legitimacy and abuse of authority that have a negative implication on national security.

The nature of crimes committed by dismissed police officers recorded at the Milimani criminal courts included; violent crimes, economic motivated crimes and drug related crimes. Whereas these crimes were almost similar to crimes committed by serving police officers, the study depicted a unique pattern that indicate prevalence of property related crimes committed by dismissed police officers than other typology of crimes. Whether the officers were legally or irregularly dismissed, commission of offenses such as robberies, stealing and burglaries by the same officers makes the community more vulnerable and more insecure because their commission involve use of firearms. Whereas the core mission of the police is to prevent crimes, this study perceives that dismissing trained police officers for whatever reason amounts to an error and is self-defeating as they make the society more unsafe by committing more crimes. This view was exacerbated by an opinion that, police officers collaborate with those who were dismissed to commit property crimes. Whereas this observation was made with regard to property crimes other serious crimes against the state such as terror related crimes may also be committed. The implication against national security if this happens may be therefore dire.

The study established four causal factors of police criminality that included; situational, individual, organizational, and community level factors. Situational

factors were largely responsible for most violent crimes and most economic motivated crimes. Serving police officers both serving were largely culpable of property crimes. According to this study, bribery ranked highest, followed by robberies. This may also be explained by too much police discretion in their call of duty to enforce property crimes while their relatively lower police pay and greed for material property increases their propensity to collect bribes. This study established a positive relationship between organizational factors that cause crime and insecurity, a stronger positive correlation between individual factors that cause crime and insecurity, and a stronger positive correlation between situational factors that lead to crime and insecurity. An increase in perception on influence of organizational factors, as well as situational factors is predicted to increase perception about causal factors of crime and rise of insecurity in society. Further, the study established a direct correlation between dismissed members of the police service and rise of insecurity in the Nairobi County, Kenya, and a positive relationship between criminal law violations and insecurity.

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Lynching and the Sacred in Latin America. Regarding "The part of Crimes" in 2666 of Roberto Bolaño

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Summery- There are collective behaviors that lead violence: one of these is lynching. It is a type of violence where mimesis act in all its power. In fact, when the crowd unites to exert violence on one, it tends to imitate the aggressiveness that arises in the other: they are all infected by the same feeling: to persecute and lynch a subject who is criminalized by the group and is symbolized as the source of evil, since he is the catalyst of common bewilderment.

Our interpretative bet is developed in three moments. First, we will make a general presentation of the theory of mimetic desire proposed by René Girard. From there we are interested in describing the motivational inputs that feed a conception of violence and that will have a foothold in the sacrificial mechanism. In a second moment we will conceptualize the theory of sacrifice and its relationship with the sacred, emphasizing the idea of the crowd and lynching. Finally, we will address from a literary interpretation the phenomenon of violence, sacrifice, and lynching that is recreated in the novel 2666 by Roberto Bolaño.

Keywords: affective interruptions, lynching, sacrifice, crowd, violence, Roberto Bolaño, 2666.

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Lynching and the Sacred in Latin America. Regarding "The Part of Crimes" in 2666 of Roberto Bolaño

Juan Sebastian Ballen Rodriguez ^a & David Saenz Guerrero ^a

Summary- There are collective behaviors that lead violence: one of these is lynching. It is a type of violence where mimesis act in all its power. In fact, when the crowd unites to exert violence on one, it tends to imitate the aggressiveness that arises in the other: they are all infected by the same feeling: to persecute and lynch a subject who is criminalized by the group and is symbolized as the source of evil, since he is the catalyst of common bewilderment.

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Keywords: affective interruptions, lynching, sacrifice, crowd, violence, Roberto Bolaño, 2666.

This happened in 1993. In January 1993. After this first corpse, the murders of women began to be counted. But it's likely that there were others before. The name of the first victim was Esperanza Gómez Saldaña and she was thirteen years old. But it is probable that she was not the first victim. Perhaps for convenience, because she was the first dead in 1993, she was the first in the list. Although, surely others died in 1992. Others were left off the list or never found, buried in unmarked graves in the desert or scattered their ashes in the middle of the night, when not even the person scattering them knew where he was, what place he had come to.

Bolaño, 2004

I. Mimetic Desire as Affective Interruption

y affective interruption we will understand a set of feelings that conspire against empathy, sincerity, and trust. Literature is the medium that best shows the dynamics of a desire that privileges rivalry and lies as strategies for the social positioning of people.

This is why, in the intellectual journey of René Girard, dialogues and interjections achieved with

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father of modern stylistics Leo Spitzer, who teaches Girard the phenomenological works carried out by Max Scheler, mainly the one dedicated to *Resentment in Morality*¹ (1938).

From Nietzschean inspiration², takes up the approach outlined by his moral vitalism and considers

studious of literary criticism were remarkable. One of

these decisive approaches occurs in the writing of

Romantic Lie and Novel Truth, which took place with the

¹ Max Scheler in his research Resentment in Morality, (highlights that one of the aspects that stand out in the phenomenological analysis of resentment has to do with hostility in the feeling of rivalry towards the other. Rancor will be the closest way to define the moral burden of resentment: "«Resentment» is, in fact, that retained anger, independent of the activity of the ego, which crosses the soul darkly, and ends up forming when feelings of hate or other hostile emotions are repeatedly revived; it does not yet contain any specific hostile design, but it nourishes with its blood all possible designs of this kind" (Scheler, 1938, p. 11). In another part of the same book, the Munich philosopher links the resentment with an abnormality effect in the mind that connects with revenge, perfidy, envy, and in general, with a rivalry feeling that points to the submission of the other as a strange and hostile being: "Resentment is a psychic self-intoxication, with welldefined causes and consequences. It is a permanent psychic attitude, which arises from systematically repressing the discharge of certain emotions and affections, which are in themselves normal and belong to the bottom of human nature; it has as a consequence the production of evaluative deceptions and corresponding or reciprocal value judgments. The emotions and affections that we must consider in the first place are: the feeling and impulse of revenge, hate, malice, envy, dislike, perfidy. The most important starting point in the formation of resentment is the impulse of revenge. The word «resentment» indicates, as has been said, that the emotions referred to here are based on the previous apprehension of the feelings of others; that is, that they are reactions motivated by the strangeness produced by the other. The reactive impulse that stands out is that of revenge, as opposed to the active and aggressive impulses, of unfriendly or hostile direction." (Scheler, 1938, p. 15).

² A Phenomenology of moral sentiment was a discovery in Nietzsche's philosophy, particularly under his repeated allusions to a history of moral sentiments that stands out in works such as "The Genealogy of Morals", Human Too Human or in Aurora. In this last work, it is worth highlighting aphorism 34, where mimetic behavior is proposed as the origin of these feelings, which, contrary to moral concepts, suggests a distancing from morality based on rational principles related to autonomy, the following of duty, etc.: "Moral feelings and moral concepts. It is evident that moral feelings are transmitted when children perceive in adults' strong propensities and aversions facing certain actions, and like monkeys, imitate propensities and aversions. In their subsequent life, where they are full of these learned and wellpracticed affections, they consider the ultimate why a matter of decency, a kind of foundation that these propensities and aversions are justified, but in them these «foundations» have nothing to do with either the origin or the degree of feeling: one merely conforms to the that resentment in its negative perspective is defined as desire of hostility and revenge (Tomelleri, 2015, p. 9). For Nietzsche,³ resentment is an irremediable experience of failure and is a reiterative aspect in the personality of the victims of the history of the hegemonic processes of cultural domination. Behind this intuition, a good part of moral philosophy travels throughout the twentieth century.

In the eyes of Paul Dumouchel (2015), Max Scheler y Peter Strawson, will be the philosophers who will assimilate and enhance in phenomenological key the view of moral resentment in Nietzsche. For example, Strawson, in his essay *Freedom and Resentment* (1962), considers that the sources of morality do not emanate from the confrontation between determinism or decisionism, voluntarism or autonomy, but from the real experiences of people subject to more immediate experiences with others. Moral experiences that allude to attitudes and emotions where a reactive or violent predisposition is present, which oscillates between gratitude and resentment:

We should think that there are many different types of relationships that we can have with other people: as participants in a common interest; as members of the same family, as colleagues, friends, lovers; as fortuitous parts of a huge range of transactions and encounters. We should then think, in regard to each of these respects, as well as others,

rule that, as a rational being, must have reasons for and against, and in particular adducible and acceptable reasons. For example, the history of moral feelings is very different to the moral concepts. The first one act before the action; the latter, only after the action, in view of the need of expressed on itself" (Nietzsche, 1996, p. 94).

Criticism made by Nietzsche against Christian moral are constant, which has by root in the point that any system of values that promotes altruism or humility as purified expressions of a universalist morality hides resentment and hate towards those who declare themselves masters of themselves. For example, in Human, All Too Human, we find arguments such as the following: "17. Moral, considered as an autonomy of human beings. A good writer who puts his heart into what he/she writes wishes that another would come and reduce him/her to nothing, expounding the same matter more clearly and giving a definitive answer to all the problems that agitate him/her. The young woman in love wants to correspond with her fidelity to her lover's infidelity. The soldier wishes to fall on the battlefield for the victory of his country, for in the triumph of the country he finds his own supreme triumph. The mother gives her child what she denies herself: sleep, food, in certain circumstances, her health and her fortune. But are all of these altruistic soul states? This moral acts with "miracles" because. according to the Schopenhauer's expression, are "impossible and, however, reals"? It is not clear that in these four cases, human beings feel more love for "something of himself/herself", for an idea, for a desire, for a creature, than for "something else of himself/herself", and that, therefore, he/she "sections" his/her being and makes one part sacrifice to the other? Is it something "essentially" different when a bad head says, "I'd rather be knocked down than give this man an inch of the way"? "The inclination to something" (desire, instinct) is found in each of these four cases, and yielding to this inclination, with all its consequences, is not, in any case, an "altruistic" action. In morality, human being is not treated as an "individuum", but as a "dividuum" (Nietzsche, pp. 1953, 49-50).

of the kind of importance we give to the attitudes and intentions towards ourselves of those with whom we associate, and of the kinds of attitudes and feelings to which we are prone *in reaction to them*. In general, we demand some degree of goodwill or respect from those who maintain such relationships with us, although the forms we ask it to take may vary widely from case to case. The range and intensity of the attitudes we adopt as a *reaction* to goodwill, its absence or its opposite do not vary less. I mentioned, specifically, resentment and gratitude: these are a couple of attitudes that are usefully opposed. But of course, there is a continuum of reactive attitudes and feelings that extend to both sides of them and—what happens to be the most comfortable area—between the two (Strawson, 1995, p. 43).

In this sense, resentment is part of an intersubjective moral theory where mimetic experiences of praise, punishment, indignation or indifference take place. Resentment is a negative moral disposition; it is a bad predisposition that arises in rivalry generated in the relationship with others. For Strawson 1995, resentment is an experience of negativity (conflict) created interindividually. The resentful person is a subject who experiences the feeling of harm under the aspect of a certain egocentric attitude, which ends up pointing to others as the perpetrators of unjustified violence:

Indignation and disapproval, as well as resentment, tend to inhibit, at least to limit, our goodwill towards the object of these attitudes; they tend to promote a suspension of goodwill, at least partially or temporarily. They do so in proportion to their strength; and its force results generally proportionate to the feeling of magnitude of the offense and to the degree to which the will of the agent is identified with it or indifferent to it (Strawson, 1995, p. 63).

Strawson agrees in these terms with Nietzsche and Scheler, for whom resentment is shown under the aspect of frustration. For these philosophers, resentment is part of a moral language that is carried out in the daily life that people live, and which, far from disappearing momentarily, permeates until it settles in long-lasting vengeful experiences, which are forces accumulated in a collective feeling of hate and discomfort, which tend to manifest themselves over time in social revenges and experiences related to collective panic and lynchings, motivational inputs for what will be a possible persecution of scapegoats (Doumouchel, 2015, pp. 15-26).

In this order of ideas, for Girard, the reading of resentment that comes from Nietzsche and passes through Scheler, mentions that the origin of the moral judgment is found in the mimetic desire, that is, in the experiences of resentment, indignation or even revenge.

Resentment is not an intrinsic property of the victims, but, as Girard has shown in *Romantic Lie*, the course of the mimetic desires of jealousy, envy and vanity affect without distinction the totality of the models of humanity represented by the fictional characters of the main modern novels. Of tracing the phenomenology

of mimetic desire that Girard proposes as philosophical analytic to modern literature, studies on resentment in Nietzsche and Max Scheler would have to consider. In both philosophical bets, resentment is presupposed by mimetic rivalry.

On the other hand, the deployment of feelings analogous to the possession of goods or persons only becomes possible in the dynamics of conflict. The life of democratic societies, which, under the plane of secularization, usually frames the social existence of people in function of an ideal of equality, freedom and fraternity, sees its promise of social justice truncated on account of resentment.

Scheler and Nietzsche agrees on a definition of resentment from the perspective of mimetic violence: and this is so because of violence of the mimetic desire in resentment is based on a self-inflicted hate that tends to be transferred to the accuser (Pintor Ramos, 1978, pp. 262-263).

The interindividual conflict of resentment is proven in the displacement of the self-hate towards a hate directed at the other. This dynamic of individual and social violence is practiced indistinctly by fictional characters studied by Girard in Romantic Lie. For the Spanish philosopher Antonio Pintor Ramos (1978), who comments on the contributions made by the aforementioned philosophers (Scheler and Nietzsche), he describes in the following way the reactive nucleus that defines resentment as follows:

A psychic self-poisoning that develops from certain affections, in themselves natural -envy and revenge, mainly-, which, when repressed externally by a feeling of impotence, act inwards and create a perennial infectious focus; this leads to an essentially reactive and passive behavior that leads to a distortion of the image of the world, to a mood of hate against values and, finally, to a falsification of the right axiological scale in favor of a subjective scale based on our particular interests (Pintor Ramos, 1978, p. 262).

As it can be seen in the aforementioned comment, the resentful person in certain way is a victim of the plague of self-disdain that contaminates the character, infesting in others the virus of this violence where self-inflicted hate and its mimetic topologies of envy and revenge predominate. The axiology of a resentful person deconstructs all the values of equality and justice that have been defended by the liberal models in the social order. For example, for Tomelleri (2015), democratic institutions and their secular aspirations of valuating neutrality or secularization are inhabited by the experiences of resentment, a mimetic desire that reveals human being's inability to abandon his/her particular selfishness to assume a general will where order, correction or justice prevail.

Nietzsche is the one who describes resentment in a negative perspective. He defines it as the disease of the weak. The resentful person is so on account of his/her own inferiority. The use of social values such as

forgiveness or mercy are disguises for vengeful behavior that hides the true intentions of the social revanchist; the resentful person is the one who takes advantage of disdain and even tolerance for the weakest as an opportunity for social recognition, a situation that makes him/her think that through deception it is possible to shorten the gap between the victims and the victimizers, the weak and the strong.

The resentful person is not a free human being. but lives in codependence with the violence of the aggressor who has despised his moral being, based on a kind of ethical egocentrism (individualism, myth of autonomy, idolatry or narcissism we would say with Girard). The philanthropy that is breathed in liberal or republican humanitarianism is not resolved in favor of solidarity with the victims, but is shown as failed resentments.

As can be seen in the analysis of the crimes in the novel 2666, the motivating power that explains resentment as a simulacrum of equality or humanitarianism, is the mimetic desire, or the psychic and moral tendency to see the other as a rival⁴. This false behavior that disguises resentment has two ways of showing itself according to the aforementioned philosophical stakes: for Nietzsche, resentment is a moral quality of the Christian, which turns weakness into a strength; for Scheler it is in bourgeois life that resentment acquires the aspects of lies and hypocrisy⁵. In this sense, Girardo's bet is inscribed in the perspective of sociological, moral and phenomenological analysis proposed by the Munich philosopher for whom the life of the bourgeois man, as described in Romantic Lie, obeys the mimetic conflict and its manifestation in the topologies of desire. These experiences of mimetic desire are identifiable in the dramas of the characters of modern novels when they go through the typically bourgeois violence of jealously, vanity, unfolding, dandyism, hypocrisy, etc. (Dumouchel, 2015, pp. 22-26).

II. THE CROWD AND SACRIFICE: ABOUT LYNCHING

Resentment, hate and in general the set of sad passions that derive from the violent mimesis are the

⁴ This can be seen in the novel we are analyzing, particularly in the attitude of the parishioners when they learned that the temple was being sacrilege by the demon-possessed penitent, while the successive crimes against women are axiologically neglected.

⁵ This is what happens, for example, in the part of the story where the body of an Afro woman is found, whose dead body lies in a garbage dump near a television factory, and those who find the body do not feel affected by the desacralization of a female human body, but because it represents a nuisance that must be disposed of. These descriptions correspond to the feelings of hypocrisy and cynicism to which the philosopher Max Scheler refers with regard to the affective lifestyle in bourgeois societies.

fuel that feeds the sacrificial dynamic. Lynching is that process where the crowd chooses a scapegoat and, in some way, founds a new social order. The crowd and lynching are part of a pact that question the theory of the political animal that rides in republican thought, as well as on the Greek and Roman formulations that have laid the foundations of the legal and political thought of Western civilization on the banners of public deliberation and the election of political representatives.

An emblematic philosopher such as Jean Jacques Rousseau placed within a set of civil values that explained the origin of the State in categories such as social contract, equality, justice or sovereignty of the people. Contrary to this political theory, Girard puts before the power of violent unanimity, which is established in society through a type of madness that blinds and reproduces the social logic of revenge: we speak of the establishing power of crowd. For our thinker, political authority is not properly the sovereignty of the people, much less the civil religion that constitutes the political power of the social contract, but the madness of unanimous violence that is expressed in the religious category of the 'crowd' (Dubouchet, 2016, p. 29).

Girard chooses his examples from the Gospel. Take for example the stories of King Herod who intended to save John the Baptist or Pilate wanting to save Jesus; however, the pressure of the crowd is stronger and it is the masses, blinded by the thirst for compensation and sacrifice, who order King Herod to give the head of John the Baptist, and it is the popular force that demands that Pilate hand over Jesus and not Barabbas. As our thinker states in *La voix mécconnue du réel* (2002): "The two political leaders end up giving in to the mimetic pressure; now they are part the crowd" (Girard, 2002, p. 186. *The translation is ours*).

The political representatives of these societies surrender to the dictates of the crowd, and all are infected by the one-dimensional power of violence. This perspective that thinks of the social order in direct relation to the unanimity of violence (which is tragic and undifferentiated) questions at the root the critical tendencies coming from Marxism and that consecrate social justice to a kind of general will or unanimous consent that acts as the foundation of the State (Dubouchet, 2016, p. 29). Popular consent is not aimed at political emancipation, but on the contrary, it is a violent force that infects everyone, including their political representatives.

In this sense, it is illuminating to locate the foundation of society in the death of the scapegoat. Above all, to distinguish the one-dimensional power that dominates in popular sentiment that demands sacrifice

as a kind of violence that enters into the dynamics of religious belief, as a political form of common sense. The link with the law is given from the unanimous violence and the celebration of the death of the scapegoat. Now, in the diverse set of authors who are part of the history of modern contractualism and in which the mimetic theory maintains a special relationship, the links with the conception of the werewolf animal by Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679) are highlighted. In fact, for the English thinker, the social contract arises in the violent transition that occurs between the state of nature and the political state. As Girard distinguishes in the *Origins of culture* (2006):

When the mimetic attraction of the rival grows, the object that is at the origin of the conflict tends progressively to fade (...), it breaks, it is destroyed, in the midst of the colossal of all those who compete for it (...) When this happens, doubles proliferate, and the mimetic crisis spreads and intensifies more and more. This is the phenomenon observed by the great English political scientist Hobbes, «who called it the struggle of all against all» (Girard, 2006, p. 62).

Hobbes is the political thinker who considers the mimetic crisis as a foundational element of the State. Taking a deeper look at this analysis, it is discovered that in the struggle of all against all, fear emerges as a social fact that moves the choice of the scapegoat. According to Dubouchet (2016), violence prevails in the state of nature. Violence is the principle of chaos that serves as an element prior to the principle of the political order that prefigures the appearance of a state social system. Also in Hobbes' political thought is the 'pact of association-submission' which gives rise to the 'pact of representation'; this translated into the language of the scapegoat is nothing more than the fear of the crowd that transfers authority to a fictitious person who represents it and who is nothing more than the State, the Leviathan, symbol of monstrous (Dubouchet, 2016, p. 31).

The crowd and sacrifice are the persecutory representation that founds social unity and generates the illusion of a social contract. This social fact reveals the original violence that goes back to the fratricide between Abel and Cain, which is the same violence that is unleashed between Eteocles and Polynices for the conquest of the Theban people and the same rupture that is identified between Romulus and Remus for the domination of the Roman people. The great difference that Girard discovers between the sacrificial story told in the Bible and that narrated by the myths and tragedies of Greek and Roman histories, is that while in the former violence is denounced, in the latter it is not only approved, but is exalted as a conquest that the virtuous boast of experiencing, the men of caste, that is, the victimizers (Dubouchet, 2016, pp. 34.-35).

The social contract is the designation of a scapegoat that seeks to put an end to mimesis by

⁶ "Les deux chefs finissent donc par céder à la pression mimétique; ils font désormais partie de la foule" (Girard, 2002, p. 186).

appropriation, thereby establishing the mimesis of reconciliation that must be prolonged as long as possible for its perpetuation in the rite. Modern visions that place the origin of the State from the ignorance of the foundation of communities linked to the sacrificial rite omit from the evidence of ethnology, according to which ancient societies practiced the establishment of a sacred kingdom whose origin is related to the model of a primordial legislator (Dubouchet, 2016, p. 35).

What does this model of the primordial legislator consist of? All research related to the immolation of political leaders in African cultures are a study assimilated by Girard in Violence and the Sacred, a work in which the French thinker gives an account of a good number of proofs from ethnography, which indicate that the axiomatic basis of societies in their primitive origins connects with a sacrificial practice that reveals for religious anthropology even for anthropology itself (Dubouchet, 2016, pp. 36-37). For Girard, and as has been proven in this second chapter of the investigation, all human institutions have made an effort to reproduce a "reconciling lynching" that, looking for new victims, is satisfied with one that would be the original one. This original victim embodies the twofold requirement of a good sacrifice: it is sacred because it claims to be the last victim of violence, thereby ensuring an end to the reproduction of mass violence of all against all, and catalyzing social reconciliation.

principal of political and religious sovereignty is discovered when the sacrificial represents the political leader or king. The monarch is neither more nor less than the good conductor of sacrifice, the 'sovereign victim'. For Dubouchet (2016), this discovery of ethnology is revealing for political theology, because it turns sovereignty into an exemplary sacrificial rite, that is, it motivates the replacement of intense violence with unanimous reconciliation. In the opinion of the French interpreter:

What confirms the origin of the monarchy's sacrifice are the humiliations and ignominy to which the king is subjected before his enthronement: there are all kinds of mistreatment, such as scourge, which makes him swallow dirty food, being more symptomatic to make him commit incest that takes on a ritual value. Girard recalls that María Antoinette was accused of incest before being taken to the guillotine⁷ (Dubouchet, 2016, p. 37).

The models of violent unanimity and that have the death of the monarch as their most distinguished sacrificial form, are related to other forms of sacrifice that are narrated in the Gospels, such as those related to death by stoning, which is the case of the adulterous woman proscribed by the Mosaic law, or that of Christ crucified. In both types of immolation, it stands out as a proven fact that the 'primordial legislation' has to do with an execution where the unanimity of the participants has been added to a collective determination that aims at the lynching of the scapegoat (Dubouchet, 2016, p. 39).

With this sacrificial vision of political power comes a vision of evil in the world where it is noted that the divine operates in the history of men by subtraction of matter or absence. As evoked by the French philosopher André Comte-Sponville (2009), with regard to the vision of evil as a way of proving the existence of God in the lives of human beings, the vision of the mystic and activist Simone Weil stands out, which is condensed in her notebooks (Cahiers, 1941-1943), a work that serves as a philosophical testament. The philosopher's thoughts are very similar to Girard's conception of violence, primarily on the theme of the crowd and the solicitude of sacrifice. In a clear evocation of the Gospel of St. John, for the poet and philosopher, the immolation of the lamb is proof of God's withdrawal from the creation of the world, a sacrificial situation that testifies not only to the existence of evil in history, but also a criticism of a vision of divinity as a stimulus for the development and moral and social progress of human society. The God who sacrifices himself is the God of subtraction, diminution or amputation. In this way his retreat has allowed evil to operate in the world:

The Creation, writes Simone Weil, is not on God's part an act of expansion of himself, but of subtraction and renunciation. God and all creatures are less than God alone. God has accepted this diminution. Emptiness of oneself, a part of being. In this act, he emptied himself of his divinity. That is why St. John says that the lamb was

From the very moment of the constitution of the world (Comte-Sponville, 2009, p. 123).

This idea of the amputated divinity, which is identified in the figure of the immolation of the king in analogy to the sacrifice of the lamb, in addition to subtracting the existence of the scapegoat from the violence of a lynching marked by the cruelty and disdain of the crowd, accounts for an idea of God as weakness and, in the last analysis, as a renunciation of the project of a perfect and finished creation. The fragile existence of the divine that is manifested in the atonement is analogous to the frailty of the scapegoat when he gives himself up to the lynching of the crowd. We will say that finitude is one of the characteristic notes of this sacrificial anthropology of the religious that shows us metaphorically that the human universal as well as the divine are vulnerable existences. Not surprisingly, all literary records, such as ethnographic ones, that describe the deficient and defective personality of the

⁷ "Ce qui confirme l'origine sacrificielle de la monarchie, ce sont les humiliations et ignominies q'on fait subir au roi Avant son intronisation: il s'agit de toutes sortes de sévices tels que le flageller, lui faire ingurgiter des nourritures immondes, le plus symptomatique étant de lui faire commette l'incest qui prend une valeur rituelle. Ainsi Girard rapelle que Marie-Antoinette fut accusée d'inceste Avant d'être conduite à la guillotine" (Dubouchet, 2016, p. 37. The translation is ours).

scapegoat, show his labile and violence-laden existence. This is how Girard describes it in an essay entitled There are not only interpretations, but there are also facts:

In order for my thesis on the scapegoat to be considered valid, it must not only confirm some mythological data, but all of them. (...) Some of the characteristics of mythological heroes indirectly confirm the founding role of the atoning persecution in the structure of mythology. (...). Many heroes have characteristics that are not specific to their individual «identity» since they appear in numerous myths, but they do indicate their identity as victims. They possess attributes that, in a primitive and closed community, single out certain individuals, giving them over to abuse and persecution. It is something banal and significant. Many mythical heroes are sick, disabled or afflicted with ailments and anomalies that, unfortunately, tend to unleash the hostility of others against them. A large number of mythical heroes limp or have lost an eye, an arm or a leg; others have characteristics that would still bother them today: they can, for example, smell tremendously bad. All this explain the fact that in the end are divinized, precisely because they have been victimized. Other heroes are so poor that they have nothing left but to beg. Others, extremely ugly or, on the contrary, so incredibly favored in terms of wealth, physical strength, personal charisma, etc., that they arouse an envy that can become the main cause of their reduction to scapegoats." (Girard, 2011, pp. 144-145).

III. Femicide and Lynching in the Part OF THE CRIMES IN 2666

One of the essential notes of Latin American literature, and in particular the one created by a writer like Roberto Bolaño in the mid-80s, alludes to its great mimetic and phenomenological potential by showing as if it were a forensic report the traces of a series of murders or femicides that occur in Mexico. In other words, Bolaño's literature shows a great capacity to manifest evil and the human way that frames it within the Latin and Central American idiosyncrasy, characterized by social contrasts and marked differences between men and women, economic inequalities and specifically by the sacrificial power exercised by violence in relation to the ways of inscribing torture on the victim's body, which unfortunately aims at the destruction of the woman's humanity.

All these analytical elements are part of the affective interruptions that make up the sacrificial process of a victim. For example, the story of the death of Esperanza Gómez Saldaña that occurs in 1993 and at the age of 13, is shocking because of its cruelty and the message of power and violence that the murderer inscribes on the victim's body: "Esperanza Gómez Saldaña had been strangled to death. She had bruises on her chin and left eye. Severe bruising on the legs and ribs. She had been raped vaginally and anally, probably more than once, as both ducts had tears and abrasions

from which she had bled profusely. (Bolaño, 2004, p. 444).

Scandal is one of the variables that identifies sacrificial deaths of women in The part of crimes in 2666. The media use these deaths as if it were a media spectacle where the modus operandi used by the perpetrator takes on more prominence, as well as the identification of his place of origin (it is suspected that the femicide is Salvadoran or Guatemalan), than the destroyed humanity of the victim.

On the other hand, in the story about Isabel Urrea it is evident that the dynamics of the sacrificial is accompanied by other analogous experiences such as disdain, indifference and in a terrifying way anonymity, which destroys the memory of the deceased, since the autopsy of her corpse is lost in the bureaucratic process between the courts:

The murder of Isabel Urrea, aired for the first three days by her radio station and by her newspaper, was attributed to a frustrated robbery, the work of a madman or a drug addict who surely wanted to take over her car. The theory also circulated that the perpetrator of the crime could be a Central American, a Guatemalan or Salvadoran, a veteran of the wars in those countries, who collected money by any means before moving to the United States. There was no autopsy, in deference to his family, and the ballistic examination was never released and in some back and forth between the courts of Santa Teresa and Hermosillo he was definitively lost. (Bolaño, 2004, p. 447).

In another death of a woman, the narrator manages to describe the coldness of the men who assist a victim. In the dialogue between the nurse, the sharpener and the paletero, the death of the woman does not produce any kind of moral or religious consideration. The female body is a nuisance and the great problem of those who assist her has to do with their responsibility:

An ambulance must be called, said the sharpener. This woman is dying. After a while, an ambulance from the hospital and the nurses wanted to know who was responsible for the transfer. The sharpener explained that he and the paletero had found her lying on the ground. I know, said the nurse, but what is interesting to know is who is responsible for her. How am I going to take responsibility for this woman if I don't even know her name? said the sharpener. Well, someone must have the responsibility, said the nurse. Have you become deaf, ox? said the sharpener as he took a huge carving knife from a drawer of his little cart. (Bolaño, 2004, pp. 447-448).

Violence against women is a type of sacrifice where the victim is not retaliated in any way. This is brought out in the story about the dead body of a woman of color, found with signs of strangulation and rape and pregnant in the garbage dump of a transnational television factory. The managers of the company, the first witnesses of the dead body found in the garbage dump of the factory and which is made up of Mexican and American men unanimously, present an undifferentiated violence, which despises the body of the deceased in a uniform way. One of these actually pays money to the police to accelerate the lifting process in face of the ambulance's delay:

The notice about the finding of the dead woman was given by the foreman of one of the plants, Multizone-West, who worked in partnership with a transnational that manufactured televisions. The police who came to look for her found three executives of the maquila industry waiting for them next to the garbage dump. Two were Mexicans and the other was American. One of the Mexicans said that they preferred that the body was picked up as soon as possible. The policeman asked where the dead body was, while its partner called the ambulance. The three executives accompanied the policeman into the dump. The four of them held their noses, but when the American uncovered it, the Mexicans followed him. The dead woman was a woman with dark skin and straight black hair down below her shoulders. She was wearing a black sweatshirt and short pants. The four men stared at her. The American bent down and with a pen moved away hear hair from the neck. It is better that the gringo does not touch her, said the policeman. I don't touch her, said the American in Spanish, I just want to see her neck. The two Mexican executives bent down and observed the marks the dead woman had on her neck. Then, they raised and looked at the time. The ambulance is late, one of them said. It's just coming, said the policeman. Well, said one of the executives, you are in charge of everything, right? The policeman said yes, of course, and put the pair of bills that the other handed him in the pocket of his regulation trousers. That night the dead woman spent it in a refrigerated chamber of the Santa Teresa hospital and the next day one of the forensic surgeon's assistants performed an autopsy. She had been strangled. She had been raped. For both conduits, the forensic surgeon's assistant noted. And she was five months pregnant. (Bolaño, 2004, pp. 449-450).

The confusion increases when femicides in the region of Santa Teresa are stopped by a church profaner: the possessed penitent. This situation shows that public opinion is a crowd, and the way in which justice operates in this type of mimetic dynamics has lynching as a favorite mechanism where the violent reaction of a collective confirms total impunity, because from one moment to the next the cruelty of death against women is forgotten, to be replaced by the protagonism exercised by an ordinary man, persecuted and blamed for his immoral behavior against sacred places: "The attack on the churches of San Rafael and San Tadeo had a greater echo in the local press than the women murdered in the previous months" (Bolaño, 2004, p. 459)

It is clear that the power of the crowd is not only motivated by social resentment but also by the ignorance that promotes spectacle that determines us as a society mediated by a communicative instance that privileges the goat over the scapegoat:

Two days later, the stranger entered the church of Santa Catalina, in the Lomas del Toro neighborhood, at a time when the enclosure was closed, and urinated and defecated on the altar, in addition to decapitating almost all the images he found in his path. The news this time came out in the national press and a journalist from La Voz de Sonora baptized the aggressor as the Possessed Penitent. (Bolaño, 2004, p. 460)

In the plane of the lynching of the crowd, this chooses a male victim who appears as a distracting agent or mediation of deception (it is the goat, which replaces the scapegoat, and serves as a deception or illusion), surpassing the femicide perpetrator and the remembrance of the true innocent victims of the crimes that occur in the territory. In other words, the murdered of women remains unpunished in such way that the aggressor is replaced by a church profaner.

IV. Conclusions

Definitely, when the monument profaner surpasses the story of the rapist, we can maintain that it is clear that evil operates by subtraction of matter, or absence of God, as Girard, Sponville and Simone Wille propose. Now, from the perspective of the narrator of the novel, the ideas of thinkers are dynamized as follows:

In May, no other women died, except for those who died of natural death, that is, of illness, old age or childbirth. But at the end of the month the case of the church profaner began. One day an unknown guy entered the church of San Rafael, on Patriotas Mexicanos Street, in the center of Santa Teresa, at the time of the first mass. The church was almost empty, only a few blessed women were crowded into the first benches, and the priest was still locked in the confessional. The church smelled incense and cheap cleaning products. The stranger sat down in one of the last benches and knelt at once, his head buried in his hands as if he were heavy or sick. Some blessed women turned to look at him and whispered between them. An old woman came out of the confessional and stood motionless contemplating the stranger, while a young woman with indigenous features entered to confess. When the priest absolved the sins of the Indian, the mass would begin. But the old woman who had come out of the confessional stared at the stranger, quiet, although sometimes she rested her body on one leg and then on the other and this made her take a few dance steps. She immediately knew that something was not right with that man and wanted to approach the other old women to warn them. As he walked down the central aisle, she saw a liquid stain spreading on the floor from the bench occupied by the stranger and perceived the smell of urine. Then, instead of continuing to walk towards where the blessed women were crowd together, she retraces his path and returned to the confessional. With her hand she knocked several times on the priest's window. I'm busy daughter, he told her. Father, said the old lady, there is a man who is defiling the house of the Lord. Yes, my daughter, I will attend you in a moment, said the priest. Father, I don't like what's going on at all, do something, for the love of God. As she spoke, the old lady seemed to dance. In a moment daughter, a little of patient, I'm busy, said the priest. Father, there is a man who is relieving himself in the church, said the old lady. The priest put his head out through the threadbare curtains and searched in the yellowish gloom for the stranger, and then he left the confessional and the woman with indigenous features also came out of the confessional and the three of them remained motionless looking at the stranger who moaned weakly and did not stop urinating, wetting his pants and causing a river of urine that ran into the atrium, confirming that the corridor, as the priest feared, had a worrying slope. Then he went to call the sacristan, who was drinking coffee sitting at the table and seemed tired, and both approached the stranger to reproach him for his behavior and proceed to throw him out of the church. The stranger saw their shadows and looked at them with tearfilled eyes and asked them to leave him alone. Almost immediately a knife appeared in his hand and while the blessed women in the first benches shouted, he stabbed the sacristan. (Bolaño, 2004, pp. 453-454)

Those who attack women - who are the real victims in Bolaño's story – are governed by the principle of mimetic desire, given that with the passage of time in Santa Teresa, the aggressors imitate the way in which murderers kill their victims: they imitate violence against women, they imitate the places where they throw their dead bodies. In short, they imitate a modus operandi where the woman's body is the place where sacrificial violence is inscribed, despite a sacrifice without transcendence.

To sum up, lynching is a type of sacrifice where the crowd is fed by the negative affections of resentment, hate and disdain. We could call these motivational inputs as the set of sad passions that make an affective interruption of a sacrificial process where peace and reconciliation do not take place.

Therefore, in order to analyze the relationship between lynching and the sacred in a more in-depth way, we have chosen to analyze a case study of Latin American literature: 2666 of Roberto Bolaño. It has been discovered that in the part of *The Crimes*, there is a character, called by the press and the people, the Possessed Penitent. This is entered into a Catholic temple while the locals pray, or sleep. First, he chooses the place of the assembly to urinate, days later, in other temples, he chooses the altar and other sacred places, to make stools. The citizens are outraged, to the point that, if they find the whereabouts of the Penitent, we infer that they would resort to lynching. This penitent is not just any penitent, is a possessed penitent. Having this characteristic, he needs to be the object of sacrifice, in other words, lynching.

However, in the city where these events occur, Santa Teresa (Mexico), the dead bodies of women who have been murdered, impaled, raped and tortured are found daily on the roads. Such a situation does not generate indignation in the citizenry, to the point that it can be interpreted that the people only want to find the Possessed Penitent to lynch him.

Likewise, it has been stated throughout the essay that, for the inhabitants of Santa Teresa, the sacred is not the lives of women, but the purity of the Catholic temple. Therefore, we appreciate there that lynching is one of the ways that Latin American culture has had to appease the anger that the violation of the sacred produces.

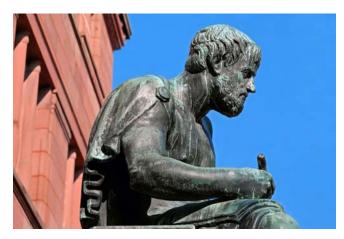
In the Colombian context, lynchings generally occur when there has been a theft, robbery, which allows us to say that, what is sacred in this context, is the violation of private property. Nor is there outrage over the violent deaths that have occurred in recent



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The following is the official style and template developed for publication of a research paper. Authors are not required to follow this style during the submission of the paper. It is just for reference purposes.



Manuscript Style Instruction (Optional)

- Microsoft Word Document Setting Instructions.
- Font type of all text should be Swis721 Lt BT.
- Page size: 8.27" x 11", left margin: 0.65, right margin: 0.65, bottom margin: 0.75.
- Paper title should be in one column of font size 24.
- Author name in font size of 11 in one column.
- Abstract: font size 9 with the word "Abstract" in bold italics.
- Main text: font size 10 with two justified columns.
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The recommended size of an original research paper is under 15,000 words and review papers under 7,000 words. Research articles should be less than 10,000 words. Research papers are usually longer than review papers. Review papers are reports of significant research (typically less than 7,000 words, including tables, figures, and references)

A research paper must include:

- a) A title which should be relevant to the theme of the paper.
- b) A summary, known as an abstract (less than 150 words), containing the major results and conclusions.
- c) Up to 10 keywords that precisely identify the paper's subject, purpose, and focus.
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- f) Results which should be presented concisely by well-designed tables and figures.
- g) Suitable statistical data should also be given.
- h) All data must have been gathered with attention to numerical detail in the planning stage.

Design has been recognized to be essential to experiments for a considerable time, and the editor has decided that any paper that appears not to have adequate numerical treatments of the data will be returned unrefereed.

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- j) There should be brief acknowledgments.
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The abstract is the foundation of the research paper. It should be clear and concise and must contain the objective of the paper and inferences drawn. It is advised to not include big mathematical equations or complicated jargon.

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One should start brainstorming lists of potential keywords before even beginning searching. Think about the most important concepts related to research work. Ask, "What words would a source have to include to be truly valuable in a research paper?" Then consider synonyms for the important words.

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Numerical methods used should be transparent and, where appropriate, supported by references.

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Verbs have to be in agreement with their subjects. In a research paper, do not start sentences with conjunctions or finish them with prepositions. When writing formally, it is advisable to never split an infinitive because someone will (wrongly) complain. Avoid clichés like a disease. Always shun irritating alliteration. Use language which is simple and straightforward. Put together a neat summary.

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INFORMAL GUIDELINES OF RESEARCH PAPER WRITING

Key points to remember:

- Submit all work in its final form.
- Write your paper in the form which is presented in the guidelines using the template.
- Please note the criteria peer reviewers will use for grading the final paper.

Final points:

One purpose of organizing a research paper is to let people interpret your efforts selectively. The journal requires the following sections, submitted in the order listed, with each section starting on a new page:

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The discussion section:

This will provide understanding of the data and projections as to the implications of the results. The use of good quality references throughout the paper will give the effort trustworthiness by representing an alertness to prior workings.

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- Submitting a manuscript with pages out of sequence.
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- Align the primary line of each section.
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Choose a revealing title. It should be short and include the name(s) and address(es) of all authors. It should not have acronyms or abbreviations or exceed two printed lines.

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Reason for writing the article—theory, overall issue, purpose.

- Fundamental goal.
- To-the-point depiction of the research.
- Consequences, including definite statistics—if the consequences are quantitative in nature, account for this; results of any numerical analysis should be reported. Significant conclusions or questions that emerge from the research.

Approach:

- Single section and succinct.
- An outline of the job done is always written in past tense.
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- Exact spelling, clarity of sentences and phrases, and appropriate reporting of quantities (proper units, important statistics) are just as significant in an abstract as they are anywhere else.

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The introduction should "introduce" the manuscript. The reviewer should be presented with sufficient background information to be capable of comprehending and calculating the purpose of your study without having to refer to other works. The basis for the study should be offered. Give the most important references, but avoid making a comprehensive appraisal of the topic. Describe the problem visibly. If the problem is not acknowledged in a logical, reasonable way, the reviewer will give no attention to your results. Speak in common terms about techniques used to explain the problem, if needed, but do not present any particulars about the protocols here.



The following approach can create a valuable beginning:

- o Explain the value (significance) of the study.
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- Present a justification. State your particular theory(-ies) or aim(s), and describe the logic that led you to choose them.
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Approach:

Use past tense except for when referring to recognized facts. After all, the manuscript will be submitted after the entire job is done. Sort out your thoughts; manufacture one key point for every section. If you make the four points listed above, you will need at least four paragraphs. Present surrounding information only when it is necessary to support a situation. The reviewer does not desire to read everything you know about a topic. Shape the theory specifically—do not take a broad view.

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Materials:

Materials may be reported in part of a section or else they may be recognized along with your measures.

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- Describe the method entirely.
- o To be succinct, present methods under headings dedicated to specific dealings or groups of measures.
- Simplify—detail how procedures were completed, not how they were performed on a particular day.
- o If well-known procedures were used, account for the procedure by name, possibly with a reference, and that's all.

Approach:

It is embarrassing to use vigorous voice when documenting methods without using first person, which would focus the reviewer's interest on the researcher rather than the job. As a result, when writing up the methods, most authors use third person passive voice.

Use standard style in this and every other part of the paper—avoid familiar lists, and use full sentences.

What to keep away from:

- o Resources and methods are not a set of information.
- o Skip all descriptive information and surroundings—save it for the argument.
- o Leave out information that is immaterial to a third party.



Results:

The principle of a results segment is to present and demonstrate your conclusion. Create this part as entirely objective details of the outcome, and save all understanding for the discussion.

The page length of this segment is set by the sum and types of data to be reported. Use statistics and tables, if suitable, to present consequences most efficiently.

You must clearly differentiate material which would usually be incorporated in a study editorial from any unprocessed data or additional appendix matter that would not be available. In fact, such matters should not be submitted at all except if requested by the instructor.

Content:

- o Sum up your conclusions in text and demonstrate them, if suitable, with figures and tables.
- o In the manuscript, explain each of your consequences, and point the reader to remarks that are most appropriate.
- o Present a background, such as by describing the question that was addressed by creation of an exacting study.
- Explain results of control experiments and give remarks that are not accessible in a prescribed figure or table, if appropriate.
- Examine your data, then prepare the analyzed (transformed) data in the form of a figure (graph), table, or manuscript.

What to stay away from:

- Do not discuss or infer your outcome, report surrounding information, or try to explain anything.
- Do not include raw data or intermediate calculations in a research manuscript.
- o Do not present similar data more than once.
- o A manuscript should complement any figures or tables, not duplicate information.
- Never confuse figures with tables—there is a difference.

Approach:

As always, use past tense when you submit your results, and put the whole thing in a reasonable order.

Put figures and tables, appropriately numbered, in order at the end of the report.

If you desire, you may place your figures and tables properly within the text of your results section.

Figures and tables:

If you put figures and tables at the end of some details, make certain that they are visibly distinguished from any attached appendix materials, such as raw facts. Whatever the position, each table must be titled, numbered one after the other, and include a heading. All figures and tables must be divided from the text.

Discussion:

The discussion is expected to be the trickiest segment to write. A lot of papers submitted to the journal are discarded based on problems with the discussion. There is no rule for how long an argument should be.

Position your understanding of the outcome visibly to lead the reviewer through your conclusions, and then finish the paper with a summing up of the implications of the study. The purpose here is to offer an understanding of your results and support all of your conclusions, using facts from your research and generally accepted information, if suitable. The implication of results should be fully described.

Infer your data in the conversation in suitable depth. This means that when you clarify an observable fact, you must explain mechanisms that may account for the observation. If your results vary from your prospect, make clear why that may have happened. If your results agree, then explain the theory that the proof supported. It is never suitable to just state that the data approved the prospect, and let it drop at that. Make a decision as to whether each premise is supported or discarded or if you cannot make a conclusion with assurance. Do not just dismiss a study or part of a study as "uncertain."



Research papers are not acknowledged if the work is imperfect. Draw what conclusions you can based upon the results that you have, and take care of the study as a finished work.

- o You may propose future guidelines, such as how an experiment might be personalized to accomplish a new idea.
- o Give details of all of your remarks as much as possible, focusing on mechanisms.
- o Make a decision as to whether the tentative design sufficiently addressed the theory and whether or not it was correctly restricted. Try to present substitute explanations if they are sensible alternatives.
- One piece of research will not counter an overall question, so maintain the large picture in mind. Where do you go next? The best studies unlock new avenues of study. What questions remain?
- o Recommendations for detailed papers will offer supplementary suggestions.

Approach:

When you refer to information, differentiate data generated by your own studies from other available information. Present work done by specific persons (including you) in past tense.

Describe generally acknowledged facts and main beliefs in present tense.

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Discussion	Well organized, meaningful specification, sound conclusion, logical and concise explanation, highly structured paragraph reference cited	Wordy, unclear conclusion, spurious	Conclusion is not cited, unorganized, difficult to comprehend
References	Complete and correct format, well organized	Beside the point, Incomplete	Wrong format and structuring



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