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BELLUM OMNE FLAGRET!

Jakob Balde’s Ode 9.26 in the Context of Westphalian Peace Negotiations

Summary

Jacob Balde was in close contact with important persons such as the palatinate Maximilian I and the French diplomat D’Avaux. The latter was an influential participant of the Westphalian peace negotiations. Balde showed his political commitment by the dedication of the ninth book of his Silvae to D’Avaux. This article tries to put the publication of Silvae 9 in its historical context. Furthermore, it provides the first integral and literal translation as well as a commentary on Silvae 9.26 — the last political poem of that collection. This poem bears witness to Balde’s desire for peace, for it summons the negotiators, after a fictitiously concluded peace, not to set off fireworks, but to burn all the armaments of the war.

During the hey-days of his career, the Bavarian poet Jakob Balde stayed in the centres of political and religious power.¹ As a member of the influential order of the Jesuits (from 1623 or 1624 onwards), as a tutor of Albert Sigismund and Franz Karl (nephews of Maximilian I, the Palatine of Bavaria) and as preacher, historian, and poet at the court of Maximilian, Balde met many influential people who were involved in the Thirty Years War.² This meant that he was able to keep a close track of the seemingly endless peace negotiations from 1643 to 1648. His position at the court and his personal

experiences with the devastating war led Balde to reflect on the war in most of his works.³

He was appointed by Maximilian to write the history of Bavaria — against his will. From 1640 to 1648, Balde held the position of court historian in Munich but he was driven to despair by his censoring Maecenas as well as by his own uneasiness towards writing history. Although Balde changed the subject to a history of the Thirty Years War, in 1648 Maximilian discovered that Balde’s work had still not reached beyond the first period of the war. Consequently, the Palatine decided to relieve the Jesuit from his position. Balde gladly accepted this.⁴

Balde’s attitude towards the war changed over the years. In its first two decades, Balde proved himself a fierce patriot, propagating the true faith and the preservation of the Holy Empire.⁵ Although Maximilian and his House were often praised in Balde’s poetry, the author also emphasised that the Palatine had to submit to the emperor.⁶ However, when the war turned out to be an endless repetition of marauding and murder, Balde became one of the most spirited champions of peace.⁷ His attitude is expressed in the ninth book of the Silvae in particular. However, when the Westphalian peace treaty was made, Balde’s feelings were not univocal.⁸ On the

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³ Balde, who descended from a once renowned family, lost his last relatives during the Thirty Years War, see Dirrigl (fn. 2), p. 226.
⁴ Valentin (fn. 1), p. 58; Westermayer (fn. 2), pp. 148-164. For references to his task as historian see e.g. Lyrica 4,47; Silvae 9,4 and the enigmatic Silvae 7,16 and 17.
⁵ Cf. e.g. the ode to Mars (Lyrica 4,2). Westermayer (fn. 2), p. 188 mentions Baldes “anfeuermd und entzündend todesmuthiger Heroismus”. On pp. 118-119 he enumerates poems concerning military affairs. Valentin (fn. 1), p. 56, places Balde’s militarism in the context of Jesuitic conviction.
⁸ This reflects the tensions within the Jesuit order: some members had advised different palatines to make peace, whereas other members had condemned the peace after it had been made up, see Duhr (fn. 7), pp. 482-491. In general, the peace was more enthusiastically welcomed by Protestants than by Catholics, see e.g. Dietz-Rüdiger Moser: Friedensfeiern — Friedensfeste. In: Erfahrung
one hand, he welcomed peace, but on the other, he regretted the fact that the Alsace, his beloved region of birth, had passed into the hands of the French; Balde never returned to it.  

*The Memmiana*

In 1643, Balde published both his *Lyricorum libri quattuor epodon liber* and his *Silvae libri VII*. In both works Balde’s admiration for Horace is obvious, although the *Lyrica* show more of his influence than the *Silvae* (which title refers to Statius). However, even in the *Silvae* Horace is never entirely absent. The important role the Roman civil wars played in Horace’s poetry is similar to the role of the Thirty Years War in Balde’s works, particularly in the ninth book of the *Silvae*. Balde’s odes soon became very popular among Protestants and Catholics alike, all over Europe. Given the obscure nature of Balde’s literature, his poems were reserved for a learned audience. However, even for learned contemporaries, his poems were often so abstruse that Balde felt the need to comment on some of them.  

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10 Although Balde wrote his first ode for an official occasion in 1628, he started writing odes frequently around 1630, see Westermayer (fn 2), pp. 108 and 110.  


12 His Notae in Silvas on book 6 and his explanation of the Urania Victrix are unfortunately lost. They never appeared in print. His clarification of *Silvae*
The emblem at the end of the 1643 edition of the *Silvae* and Balde’s statement “Cantatum satis est: frangite barbita” (‘Enough has been sung; break the lyres’) suggested that he had in mind to abandon lyrical poetry. However, after seriously struggling with his health for about five months in 1644, Balde finished a second edition of the *Silvae*, which included two additional books (8 and 9), in the autumn of 1645. It was published a year later. Scholars have often explained this new edition by assuming that Balde’s renewed interest in odes was encouraged by some of his friends. Schäfer emphasises the role of Claude Mesmes, duke of Avaux: *Silvae* 9 is dedicated to him (the individual pieces 9,1;5;14 and 25 are also dedicated to D’Avaux) and this collection is called *Memmiana* — a reference to D’Avaux’s Latin name Memmius as well as to his mythical ancestor.

Balde’s friendship with this French diplomat was controversial, as appears from the preface of the Memmiana, where Balde apologises for dedicating it to D’Avaux. Presumably in order to meet his criticasters, book 8 is dedicated to the further unknown Arbogastes Harphius from the Alsace, Balde’s region of birth which the French wanted to annex. Balde and D’Avaux shared their devotion to the...
Catholic cause. They strived at a “res publica christiana”, but the Reformation and increasing hegemony of France hindered the realisation of this ideal. Several deeds of D’Avaux were contrary to the politics demanded by Mazarin. D’Avaux tended towards a lenient approach to France’s enemies, although he found it difficult to make concessions to the Protestants. D’Avaux’s colleague in Münster, Abel Servien, was more willing to follow the hardliner and patriot Mazarin. In June 1645, the duke of Longueville was added to the French delegation in order to bring the two ambassadors together. In April 1648, just a few months before the peace treaty was made, D’Avaux was recalled to France.

The good relationship between Balde and D’Avaux notwithstanding, there is no evidence for the hypothesis that D’Avaux stimulated Balde to start writing odes again. Furthermore, it seems precipitate to assume that Balde wrote two books of odes only to thank D’Avaux for his compliments on the first edition and his congratulations with his recovery, as Schäfer seems to suggest. To write an entire additional book only to complement the number of books of the Silvae to nine, the number of the Muses, seems equally improbable.

Westermayer states that it was the Jesuit and poet Martin Sibenius (1604-1668) who stimulated Balde to publish new odes and even advised him to write those in honour of D’Avaux. Unfortunately, he does not provide a reference for this assertion, but Balde seems indeed to suggest that friends had advised him to dedicate the ninth book of the Silvae to the French duke D’Avaux. It has recently been demonstrated that Sibenius had an important role within a circle of friends who were engaged in the publication of Balde’s odes. Another priest, Bartoldus Nihusius (1589-1657),

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16 Lestringant (fn. 14), pp. 94 and 101-104.
17 Schäfer (fn. 11), pp. 129-130.
18 Westermayer (fn. 2), pp. 87 and 159.
20 He might have been Balde’s agent, see Guillaume van Gemert: Balde und die Niederlande — die Niederlande und Balde. Marginalien zum editorischen
seems to have been even more important than Sibenius. In a letter dating from 16 February 1646, he asked the Dutch writer Caspar Barlaeus, who became one of Balde’s friends shortly after the 1643 publications, to correct and even to enlarge book 9 of the *Silvae* in order to prepare it for publication. Nihusius was employed by the publishers Blaeu and Elzevier, of which the latter planned to publish *Silvae* 8 and 9 before the Frankfurter Buchmesse of 1646.\(^{21}\) However, this interference in the publication of *Silvae* 8 and 9 does not reveal anything of Balde’s intentions to write the odes.\(^{22}\)

Since the second edition of the *Silvae*, and book 9 in particular, is largely dedicated to peace, it seems that the ongoing peace negotiations — during which combat continued — have inspired Balde.\(^{23}\) He published a collection of newly written odes and some older poems. It seems plausible that the positive response to these encouraged Balde to continue writing odes. Moreover, Balde knew that D’Avaux liked his poetry.\(^{24}\) He also knew that D’Avaux could influence the negotiations, since French diplomats represented the strongest military force.\(^{25}\) France had not attended the negotiations

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\(^{21}\) Van Gemert (fn. 20), pp. 383-387. About the intended corrections in his poetry “dürfte Balde wohl kaum geahnt haben”, id., p. 387.

\(^{22}\) Some of the odes might have been written long before publication of the first edition of the *Silvae*; Barlaeus already disposed of Silvae 8,1 in 1635, see Van Gemert (fn. 20), p. 386. Balde himself seems to suggest that he collected several poems in order to praise D’Avaux in his poetry, see Praef. Silv. 9 (Kühlmann [fn. 14], p. 585): “Aequissimum esse ut qui litteras amant, ab iisdem etiam celebrentur. Itaque non multo post cogitare coepi de fragmentis Citharae colligendis. Nam in parietem iam impacta erat.”


\(^{24}\) “Ex quo enim intellexi, illustrissime domine, qualiacumque nostra ad te pervenisse. Dignatum et legere et aestimare.” Praef. Silv. 9 (Kühlmann [fn. 14], p. 584). D’Avaux expressed his admiration for Balde in his correspondence with Voiture, see Westermayer (fn. 2), pp. 268-271.

\(^{25}\) Lestringant (fn. 14), p. 93. Modern critics do not doubt the sincerity of Balde’s warm feelings for D’Avaux, see id., p. 93, and Westermayer (fn. 2), pp. 178-179, although the two never met (Praef. Silv. 9 “numquam visum”, Kühlmann [fn. 14], p. 585)
before April 1644, when Balde had already published his first edition of the odes. He might have wanted to make a new attempt to influence the negotiations by means of poetry since he now had a powerful connection. He chose to write odes since this genre had proved to be successful. Although Balde was more independent and critical towards Maximilian than some of his odes might initially suggest, his publication of Silvae 8 and 9 supported Maximilian’s attempts to make peace. There is no indication of pressure from the Bavarian court to resume writing poetry. However, this cannot be excluded.

Balde’s poetical efforts to influence the peace negotiations might seem naïve. However, Barlaeus thought that Balde did contribute to peace because of his influence on D’Avaux. He explicitly praised D’Avaux’s longing for peace in a letter to Balde on 10 December 1645. It is doubtful, however, whether he assessed the situation correctly: “Es ist romantischer Glaube an die Macht der Dichtung, wenn man auf Grund der Entwicklung der Friedensverhandlungen und nach dem Zeugnis des Caspar Barlaeus annahm, D’Avaux habe sich nach Erscheinen der Memmiiana stärker für den Frieden eingesetzt.” However, in his letter to Voiture on 29 August 1646, shortly after publication of the Silvae, D’Avaux seems to strike a more conciliatory tone than before. D’Avaux writes about the “temple de la paix” which he would cement with his blood, if necessary. This phrase could be a allusion to Balde’s preface to


27 Schäfer (fn. 11), p. 130.


30 Westermayer (fn 2.), p. 177, refers to this letter. D’Avaux’s devotion to peace is revealed in the following passage: “Nous sommes ici assez empêchez à construire le temple de la paix, qui est bien d’une autre fabrique; les architects
book 9 of the *Silvae*, in which he mentioned the temple of Janus: 
“solum Jani templum clausum opto.”

It is difficult to conclude from this rather scarce and unstable evidence that Balde’s poetry had any effect. It is important, however, to acknowledge that Balde was a politically engaged poet whose poetry was read by the intellectual elite. His odes might have been one of the incentives D’Avaux needed in his competition with Servien to maintain his politics of peace at the negotiations in Münster.³¹

*Silvae 9.26*

The twenty-sixth ode of the *Memmiana* is the last political ode of Balde’s oeuvre. It consists of 116 lines, set in 29 Alcaic strophes. The ode is dedicated to the negotiators and diplomats in Münster. The whole poem is an appeal for peace. Although the poem had been written in 1645 — when the peace negotiations were still going on — the narrative is situated right after these negotiations, when the peace treaty had been made. The poem can be divided into two parts, the first (vv. 1-40) consisting of a large praeteritio: Balde dissuades the pacificators from celebrating the peace by means of traditional fireworks. Instead, he suggests that another type of fire should be made: in the second part (vv. 41-116), Balde

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³¹ Surprisingly, Wilson does not mention Balde in his recently published book on the Thirty Years War, not even in the section on the cultural impact of the war, see Wilson (fn. 15), pp. 812-821. Cf. the statement on p. 816: “It is clear that many artists produced critical works as personal attempts to come to terms with what they had witnessed or heard, rather than as acts of political commentary.” Nevertheless, Balde’s endeavour to have influence on important actors as D’Avaux (not to mention Pope Alexander VII, the former nuntius Fabio Chigi, who was a friend of Balde, cf. *Silvae* 9,17 and see Westermayer [fn. 2], pp. 185-188) went beyond an autobiographical or therapeutic motivation for writing about the war as mentioned by Wilson.
enumerates all kinds of weaponry which have to be burnt on a large stake.

Literal quotations from classical works are scarce in this ode. However, it is manifest that Balde has been influenced by classical Latin literature in a more abstract and subtle way. The Alcaic metre is a clear reference to Horace, who has used this metre in many of his odes. Already in his own time Balde was known as imitator of Horace and was consequently called Horatius Germanus.\(^{32}\) There is only one biblical reference, at the end of the poem (v. 114).

In what follows the ode is translated and commented upon. The Latin text is taken from Külhmann’s standard edition.\(^ {33}\) The only translation dates from 1795, and was made by Johann Gottfried Herder into German. This translation is belletristic, as Herder has clarified himself.\(^ {34}\) Consequently, the translation presented in this article is the first integral translation as well as the first translation into English. It aims at clarifying Balde’s Latin text more than rendering its literary value. The following commentary is the first to deal with the poem in its entirety.\(^ {35}\)

Ignes Festivi illustriissimis Pacificatoribus Monasterii congregatis ab Auctore excitati.

[Bonfires, set off by the author towards the most illustrious pacificators assembled in Münster.]

\begin{verbatim}
    Uti repertis si liceat mihi
       bonis, Quirites, non ego gloriham
    vestrosque commendem labores
    — ingenii pereunte sumtu —;
\end{verbatim}

5 fastigiatum pulveris extrui
   suasurus arcum, quem pyrius draco,

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33 The interpunction has been changed.

34 Herder’s translation is added as an appendix to this article. For a discussion of this translation, see: Jürgen Galle: Die lateinische Lyrik Jacob Baldes und die Geschichte ihrer Übertragungen. Münster: Aschendorff 1973, pp. 40-48.

35 Eckart Schäfer has shortly tackled some aspects of lines 41-56 and lines 106-116, see Schäfer (fn. 11), pp. 245-247.
[If I may use the proper phrases I have found, Quirites, I shall not commend your glory nor your efforts — thereby wasting the toil of my talent — by advising to build a lofty arch of dust, which the igneous dragon, or the swollen Centaur could hurl with projectiles right through the sky, its mouth being wide open.]

In the first stanza Balde asks permission to express what he has found. The Latin word bonis (v. 2) does not define this, but within the context of this first stanza it seems plausible that the poet is referring to appropriate words and phrases. He addresses his audience as “Quirites” (v. 2), the normal designation for Roman citizens during times of peace (officially “populus Romanus quiritesque” or “populus Romanus quiritum”). This means that the war had already come to an end. Balde dissuades his audience from celebrating this peace by means of fireworks. Fireworks, albeit not mentioned literally, are the subject of the first forty lines of the poem.

The ‘lofty arch of dust’ (“fastigiatum pulveris arcum”) refers to a trail of smoke in the air which a rocket has left behind. In early modern times, the word pulvis, normally meaning ‘dust’, could also mean ‘gunpowder’. The Pyrius draco can be interpreted as the canon which lets off the fireworks. The author seems to describe how new rockets are being shot into the trails of other rockets which have been let off a few moments earlier (“iaculetur”, v. 8). The word Centaurus of verse 7 may have been taken from Vergil’s
Aeneid 5.122: in this passage Vergil describes the games held next to the grave of Anchises. One of the ships which are mentioned is called centaurus. Consequently, Balde may refer to a boat from which the rockets (sagittis) are shot. The adjective turgens would then indicate that this boat is heavily loaded, probably with projectiles. Finally, to emphasise the intensity of the fireworks Balde has added the words hiante rictu, which is a poetical description of the open end of the gun barrel.

/non fluvii vado
10 circumsonanteis injiciam globos,
    pars clausa quorum scindat undas,
    pars gravidum medicata ventrem,

cum ludibunda strage resolverit,
    sublume luctans rumpat in aera
15 rursusque fundo mersa, rursus
    cum strepitu renuente mergi,

    amnis severi summa super volet
    fetusque nitri parturiet novos:
    hi matris insanae furorem
20 continuent, pariantque plureis.

[In the ford of the river I will not throw cannonballs sounding all round, of which a closed part may cleave the waves, of which a part, relieving its pregnant belly, may explode in the air struggling up aloft, after it has resolved into a playful mass, and either submerged into the soil, or, with the reluctant sound of a gull, may skim over the surface of the stern river and beget new offspring of nitrate: these may continue the fury of their insane mother, and bring forth many others.]

Following on the interpretation of the first stanza, Balde now portrays a specific element of the fireworks he rejects: flares and cannonballs. In this context the word globus (v. 10) can mean ‘cannonball’ or ‘bullet’. Verse 11 describes one type: a massive cannonball (“pars clausa”). Verses 12 to 20 picture another type: the canister shot. This type of cannonball is pregnant (“gravidum ventrem”, v. 12), as it were, of small pellets, and is now freed, i.e.

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39 Hoven, (fn. 38), s.v.
cured (“medicata”, v. 12), from its burden. The canister is shot (“sublime luctans”, v. 14), shatters in the sky (“rumpat in aere”, v. 14) and produces many smaller particles (“cum ludibunda strage resolverit”, v. 13). Furthermore, the author describes that some of these particles hit the ground (“fundo mersa”, v. 15) and others skim over the surface of water with the sound of a gull (“mergi”, v. 16). In other words, the canister brings forth new bullets and cannonballs (“fetus novos”, v. 18). This process is portrayed as a mother who passes on her madness to her offspring. Finally, the word nitri (v. 18) corroborates this interpretation since nitrate is one of the three components of gunpowder (next to charcoal and sulphur).

All the main verbs in the strophes are subjunctives; this emphasises the fact that what is described here is still part of a praeteritio in which Balde advices the pacificators what they should not do (“non commendem”, vv.2-3; “non iniciaim”, vv.8-9).

.stat ergo vulgus laetitiam metu
aequante plenum: et saliaribus
monstri favillis et caduco
attonitum male pascit igni. —

[Then the people are standing, filled with a fear which equals their joy: bewildered they badly revel in the Salian ashes of the monster and in the fallen fire.]

Balde now enlivens his narrative by pretending to depict a real situation; he uses indicatives instead of subjunctives (“stat”, v. 21; “pascit”, v. 24). He describes the people, who are equally overawed and delighted by the fireworks (“laetitiam metu aequante plenum”). Their delight is also echoed in the word pascit (v. 24). In this stanza two references to Horace are made. The most remarkable one is the word saliaribus (v. 22). In the famous Horatian ode 1.37, which has the same metre (Alcaic strophe), this word is put in exactly the same place of the strophe (1.37, 2). Horace’s ode deals with the joy of the Roman victory over Cleopatra. The adjective saliaris is derived from the Salii, priests of Mars, who performed a dance of

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40 A contemporary technical treatise seems to resemble the fireworks Balde describes in this passage. Leucheron vividly depicts the canister shot exploding over the surface of water: Jean Leucheron: Récréations mathématiques. Rouen: Charles Osmont 1630, part three, chapter 16.
joy before and after each war. The Salian flames ("saliaribus favillis") in verses 22-23 of Balde’s poem are a metaphor for the fireworks, in which the people are revelling. Furthermore, the word monstri (v. 23) denotes the pyrius draco of line 6. In Horace’s ode 1.37 the word monstrum refers to Cleopatra ("fatale monstrum", v. 21). Together with the first line ("nunc est bibendum") this is one of the most conspicuous passages of Horace’s poem, which makes it plausible that Balde was directly referring to this piece of poetry.

Balde also alludes to Horace’s ode 3.4.44. In that passage Horace writes about the omnipotence of Jupiter. He describes how the supreme deity defeats the Titans and their accomplices with his falling thunderbolts ("fulmine caduco"), to which Balde refers using the words caduco (v. 23) and igni (v. 24). Balde seems to allude to Horace. Possibly attonitum (v. 24) is an extra reference to Horace’s poem, since attonare can mean both ‘bewilder’ and ‘strike with lightning’.

25 Vah! Sumtuosae pompa superbiae. Formosioreis nonne volubilis nec saeva sparsuras in orbem frusta faces mihi nocte suda


[Alas! Pomp of prodigal pride! Does the rotating ether not kindle more beautiful torches in the bright night, which will not scatter awful fragments into the world? These I observe, as often as I like, for free. They hasten their movement in such a way that they slow me down; they come to a standstill in such a way that they revolve on their rapid axis.]

Balde continues his poem with an exclamation of disapproval. He condemns the idle pomp and circumstance of the fireworks. Moreover, he points to the fact that the night should not be lighted by fireworks, but only by the stars, which he describes with the adjective formosioreis (v. 26). Although Balde does not mention the stars literally in his text, he seems to point to them by means of the words nocte suda (v. 28) and accendit (v. 29). These stars are more well-formed ("formosioreis", v. 26) than the lights which the fire-
works produce. Moreover, the stars do not cause any turmoil in the sky, contrary to the fireworks.

In vv. 29-30, Balde describes how he beholds the natural light of the stars for free, as opposed to the spectacle of the fireworks. Next, Balde mentions the activity of the stars in the sky. The semantic field of movement, represented by celerant (v. 30), rapido (v. 32) and currant (v. 32), is chiastically contrasted with words denoting standstill, viz. morentur (v. 31) and resistunt (v. 31). The poet, who imagines himself to be watching the stars, sometimes pauses (“me morentur”), struck by the swiftness of the luminaries. Finally, Balde praises the natural movements of the stars, which are in no way less attractive than the spectacle of the fireworks.

In arte non est Lemniaca decus, quamquam Pyracmon membra nudus et Steropes iuvat atque Brontes.

Utcumque tortae subsilant pilae: plausus inaneis brutaque fulgura videtis. In vanum vaporem ac cineres ea scena transit.

[The charm you seek in Lemnian art, Quirites, is not to be found in fires, even though Pyracmon, with naked limbs, and Steropes and Brontes assist. In whatever way the twisted balls leap up, you observe idle bangs and heavy lightnings. This show transforms into vain smoke and ashes.]

Balde continues to display his aversion to fireworks. He refers to Vulcanus, to whom the vulcanic island of Lemnos was dedicated. The island was connected to the deity since Vulcanus had arrived there, thrown down from heaven by his father. Vulcanus, being the god of fire, can be associated with fireworks. The Lemnic art does not contain any kind of beauty whatsoever, according to Balde.

Subsequently, Balde mentions Vulcanus’ assistants in the forge, the three cyclopes, using a quotation from Vergil’s Aeneid 8,425: “Brontesque Steropesque et nudus membra Pyracmon.” Vergil was the first to mention Pyracmon; in the original tradition about the cyclopes which assisted Vulcanus (starting with Hesiod’s Theogony 139-140) Pyracmon was not mentioned. Finally, in the next strophe, Balde points to the uselessness and ephemerality of fireworks.
Mandare quod si vestra nepotibus
haesura vultis nomina posteris
magnasque menteis verus urit
laudis amor studiumque famae,

45  huc ferte taedas; et Mimigardiae
patentis extra, qua spatium iacet,
muros inaequalesque campos
Dardanium renovate bustum.

[But if you want to pass on your names to your future descendants, to remain for generations to come, and if real love for praise and thirst for glory inflames your great minds, then bring torches hither; and renew the Trojan stake outside the opened walls of Münster and the uneven plains, where space is available.]

In verse 41, the second part of the poems begins. In the first part Balde argued that letting off fireworks is not the right way to celebrate peace; it is merely an outward ostentation. To actually realise a lasting peace the people have to do something else: if they want future generations to judge them favourably (“haesura nomina nepotibus”), they will have to follow Balde’s instructions.

He summons the people to erect a stake outside the city of Münster (where the peace has been concluded), on which everything connected to the war will be burnt. The word bustum (v. 48) in connection with the Dardanium (v. 48) has been convincingly explained by Schäfer. Throughout his oeuvre, Balde uses the Trojan war as a metaphor for the Thirty Years War. In their search for military support, the Protestant Germans had invited foreign friends (the Danes and the Swedes), who turned out to be the enemies of all Germans, since the war devastated the country. For this course of events Balde uses the metaphor of the Trojan horse. Moreover, the Trojan metaphor enables Balde to put his poetry in a Horatian framework. The stake, which is a symbolic cleansing fire that frees Germany from the war, is also an allusion to busto in Horace’s ode 3.3,40. As is the case with saliaribus in verse 22, the word in busto in Horace’s ode is placed in exactly the same position of the (Alcaic) strophe as Balde’s bustum.41

41 Schäfer (fn. 11), pp. 245-6.
Neronianis non opus urbibus

iam nunc cremandis, non opus abiete
ornisque fagisque et senecta
imperitam spoliare silvam.

Stet tuta Fauni, stet Dryadum suo
loco voluptas. Cur avium casas

scrutemur imbellesque nidos
antraque quadrupedum ferarum?

[Now, there is no need for Neronian cities, that must be burnt down, there is no need to despoil the innocent forest of the fir, and the ash trees, and the beeches and its old age. Let the delight of Faunus, let the delight of the Dryades remain safe on its place. Why would we comb the houses of birds, and their peaceful nests, and the lairs of quadrupedal animals?]

In this passage, Balde makes clear that there is no need to use regular fuel for the Trojan stake he advised to erect in verse 48. Fires should not be created at the cost of burning cities (vv. 49-50), felling trees or chopping wood (vv. 50-56). The classical imagery contributes to the poetic character of the passage: the sylvan deity Faunus (v. 53) is often equated to Pan, Dryads (v. 53) are wood nymphs. The wording “casas scrutemur imbellesque nidos” (vv. 54-55) also seems to refer to the devastations of the Thirty Years War. Balde himself has never been the victim of looting and arson. The closest he has ever been to the turmoil of war, was in 1648: Bavaria was in a serious predicament and the court left the city of Munich (25 May 1648). However, Balde stayed and Munich remained unharmed.

Neronianis (v. 49) seems to refer to the great fire of Rome in 64 AD. This reference may also contain a lash at the Protestants. The fire in Rome was allegedly incited by Nero himself. Similarly, in the Catholic opinion, the war was caused by the longing for self-determination of the heretical German Protestants. Here, Balde

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42 Although Balde’s choice of words and images seems rather literary here, there might be, especially in his compassionate digression on animals in 55-56, a link to his fondness of nature, for which see Dirrigl (fn. 2), p. 239 and Westermayer (fn. 2), p. 114.

43 See Westermayer (fn. 2), pp. 172-173.
reproaches the Protestants in a similar manner to verse 48. The use of the word Neronianis is particularly pungent, since Nero was sometimes depicted as the Antichrist. Balde might have used the word to emphasise his religious irreconcilability towards the Protestants.

Bellum omne flagret!

Huc ferte flammias. Materies rogo
non deerit ingens. In cumulum struis
congesta surgant arma: peltae,
tela, rotae galeaeque et enses,
cristaeque et alti tegmina verticis,
et peila et hastae et frena et ehippia
et grande calcar (quale dorso
ferre decem nequeant Gigantes)
et militaris scuta licentiae;
tubaeque longae\textsuperscript{45} inflexaque cornua
parmaeque loricaeque et umbonum
impavidum genus ocreaeque
argenti et auri sordibus oblitae (et
quidam ocreati cum meretricibus
thorace vestitis virili)
balteaque appositaque bullae, et
vexilla turmarum. His superaddite
bigas ovanteis cumque curulis
plaustris triumphales quadrigas.
Cuncta mora est memorare verbo.

Bellum omne flagret. /

[Bring flames hither! The stake will not be lacking an enormous amount of fuel. May collected arms rise towards the top of the stake: shields, projectiles, wheels, helmets and swords, and crests, and covers of a high crown, javelins and lances and reins and shabracks and such a large spur that not even ten Giants could bear it on their backs, and the shields of

\textsuperscript{44}Nero already occurred as the Antichrist in the oeuvre of the first Christian Latin poet tout court, Commodianus: Carmen Apologeticum 827.

\textsuperscript{45}For syntactical reasons ‘longae’ is read here, with Busaenus 1660, pace Kühlmann (fn. 33), who reads ‘longa’.
military unbridledness; and long trumpets and curved horns, round shields, coats of mail and the unflinched kind of shield bosses, and greaves defiled by the filth of silver and gold — and some wear greaves while they are accompanied by mercenaries dressed in a male cuirass! — and baldrics, and knobs attached to them, and banners of squadron. Add to these: pair-horse carriages, celebrating a victory, and triumphant fours with curule waggons. It would take too long to remember everything in one word. May the whole war burn!]

Balde now enumerates what should be piled up instead of wood: the weaponry used in the war (vv. 57-77). The reference to the Giants (vv. 63-64) seems to aim at embellishing the enumeration but does not seem to go beyond the obvious meaning: the stake should be so large that even ten vigorous Giants could not bear it. Verses 69-71 form a somewhat unexpected digression on the conduct of those who use the weaponry described. Probably, Balde uses the word meretricibus (v. 70) to denote mercenaries; he disapproves of their behaviour by mentioning their dishonourable payment (“argenti et auri sordibus oblitae”, v. 69) and by comparing them to whores. Their suggested effeminate conduct is implicitly contrasted with masculine patriots who defend their native country. On the outside the mercenaries cannot be distinguished, since they wear the same masculine dress (“thorace virili”, v. 71) as the other soldiers. The excursion provides another argument against the war. After this condemnation of moral misconduct (preceded by the disapproval of luxury in vv. 68-69), Balde continues his catalogue of weapons until the passage comes to a climax in v. 77: may the whole war burn!

\[
\text{/ Sol Hyperionis} \\
\text{prognate claro sanguine, Teutonum} \\
\text{squalore deformata longo} \\
\text{regna videns, — refugumque nuper} \\
\text{torsisse vultum credite, supplicis —} \\
\text{Sol, siste vatis mollior ad preces.} \\
\text{Da, da resolvendum Gradivi} \\
\text{tristibus ex spoliis acervum} \\
\text{ardere late. Concute verticem,} \\
\text{flavisque crinem ex omnibus unicum} \\
\text{largire, detonsumque vibra} \\
\text{inque pyram Phaethontis acto}
\]
consume currus. Ardeat, ardeat
infame, detestabile, barbarum,
lugubre funestumque bellum,

[Sun, son of Hyperion, descendant of famous blood, beholding the
Teutonic realms deformed by long-lasting roughness, — and suppliants,
believe he has turned his recently averted face towards you — Sun,
stand still and be milder towards the pleas of the poet. Grant, grant that
Mars’ pile of mournful spoils, which has to be consumed, burns widely.
Shake your head, grant one of all your blond hairs, and shake this hair
off and burn your chariot in the pyre in the manner of Phaethon. Let burn,
let burn that infamous, obnoxious, barbarous, gruesome, deadly war,]

The sun, the highest symbol of warmth and light, is invoked in
order to inflame the stake. The scourges of war on German soil are
highlighted again (vv. 78-80). The sun had averted its face (“refugum vultum”, vv. 80-81), but Balde asks him to be more
lenient towards the Germans than he was during the war. The
people are depicted as begging for peace (“supplicis”, v. 81), led by
their priest and poet Balde (“vatis”, v.82). The dramatic force is
emphasised by Balde’s repetition of the verb ardere (vv. 85 and 89)
and the use of five powerful adjectives (vv. 90-91) to express his
aversion to the war. Balde suggests how to kindle the stake (vv. 85-
89): his suggestion seems to be inspired by Claudian, who, in his
poem on Phoenix, writes about the Sun: “Haec fatus propere flavis e
crinibus unum | concussa cervice iacit” (‘So speaks he, and shaking
his head casts one of his golden hairs’). The power of the sun is
emphasised; only one hair of the sun, which equals a sunray, would
suffice to set the stake on fire. Balde adds that the sun has to offer
his own chariot as well in order to fully stir up the fire. This is
compared to the way in which his son Phaethon once lost the
chariot when setting Africa on fire (vv. 88-89).

ut citius properante flamma
noxae pientur, cum tonitralibus

http://www.brillonline/subscriber/entryentry=dnp_e1116830
47 Claudian: Carmina Minora. Translation by Maurice Platnauer. London, Cam-
bridge (MA): Harvard Univ. Press 1922 (= Loeb Classical Library 135), 27.55-56.
alata nimbis fulmina decidant.

Sequantur haec, quaecumque longam
astra trahunt maculosa caudam,

terrasque purgent. Irruat, irruat
delapsus ignis, terrificus, sacer,
trisulcus in Martis cubile et
letiferas populetur arces.

Nulli machaerae, non propriis Getae
parcatur armis. Tota caloribus
solvatur in fumum suppellex.
Ipsaque cum gladio liquescat
vagina, et omnis tacta fluat chalybs.

[so that guilts will be atoned for more quickly by the precipitating flame, while winged lightnings fall down from thunderclouds. May whatever stained stars drag a long tail follow these lightnings and purify the lands. May the fallen, terrifying, sacred, triplicate fire rush and dash into the bedroom of Mars, and may it destroy deadly fortresses. Not a single sword, no arms characteristic of the Getae should be spared. May the whole weaponry go up in smoke through the heat. May the sheath itself melt together with the sword, and may every weapon used dissolve.]

This passage contains some of the most enigmatic lines of the poem. Balde describes how the imagined fire from the sun ("delapsus", v. 98) would make an end to all arguments about guilt. He may refer to the long peace negotiations in Münster and Osnabrück. In verses 93-97, Balde invokes natural phenomena to add expressiveness to his description of the annihilation of the war. Which stars are meant in vv. 95-97, remains unclear. He may have thought of a meteor or a falling star.\(^{48}\) In v. 97, Balde refers back to the repeated verb ardeat of verse 89 with a repetition of irruat to emphasise the need for a fire that strikes the war in its heart ("Martis cubile", v. 99), i.e. by destroying the weapons which were used during the war.

\(^{48}\) The phrase “trahere caudam” also occurs in Horace, Satires 2.3.53, but Balde’s verse 96 does not seem to have anything to do with the context there: Horace refers to a children’s game which involves attaching a tail to someone’s back in order to mock him.
Fortresses built to wage war should also be destroyed. Letiferas (v. 100) is added in order to avoid contradiction with the Neronian cities which should not be burnt (v. 49). The power of the fire is expressed by means of four strong adjectives, among which trisulcus refers to the different ways in which a fire can be inflamed. Balde’s diatribe against the war is continued in verses 101-105 by stressing the total destruction of weaponry. The Getae were a Thracian tribe known for their bravery and justice. As such, they symbolise Balde’s desire to destroy all weaponry, including the weapons both of the good (c.q. Catholic) soldiers and of the most fanatical warriors on both sides.

Paci, Quirites, si placet, hanc pyram
uincti sacramento dicemus.
Sit scelus eripuisse quidquam.

Audite cives, curia, milites.
Quicumque ab isto sustulerit rogo,
seu pugionem sive sicam
sive scobem cineremve ferri,

devotus umbris deterioribus,
poenas Achanis sustineat pares
extraque portas obruatur
a pueris populoque saxis.

[Let us, Quirites, if you like, dedicate this pyre to peace, while we are bound by an oath. May it be a crime to steal anything from it. Listen citizens, council, soldiers. May whoever takes away anything from the stake — be that a knife, or a dagger, or sawdust, or ash of iron —, once he has been delivered to evil spirits, endure punishments equal to Achan’s; may he be buried under stones by the children and the people, outside the gates.]

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49 Egidius Forcellini, Vincentius De-Vit, Giuseppe Furlanetto: Totius latinitatis lexikon. Tom. VI. Prati (1875), s.v. trisulcus (1b), p. 188: ‘Festus: trisulcum fulgur fuit ab antiquis dictum, quia aut incendit, aut afflat, aut terebrat’.

50 Herodotus 4,93: Herodotus’ vision was adopted by other writers until late antiquity, see Iris von Bredow: Getai. In: Der Neue Pauly (fn. 46) http://www.brillonline.nl/subscriber/entry?entry=dnp_e423650
These last strophes of the poem form a sphragis, in which the author comes to the fore again (“dicemus”, v. 107). Balde explicitly addresses his audience — the pacificators in Münster — once more by using the word Quirites (cf. vv. 2 and 106). Presumably, Balde employs the word sacramentum (v. 107) to designate the peace treaty made up in Münster. One last time he summons everyone (cives, curia, milites, v. 109) to terminate the war. For the first time in this poem Balde directly refers to the Bible. His warning not to take away any weaponry from the stake is emphasised by a reference to Achan, who stole booty which was dedicated to God (Jos 7:1,18-26).  

This last warning might also be interpreted metapoetically: the warning not to take any weaponry from the stake is then a metaphorical admonition not to take a letter or word from the poem itself. In other words: Balde’s message of peace should be respected.

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51 Cf. Schäfer (fn. 11), p. 247. He suggests influence of Horace’s Ode 3.3,57-68 in vv. 106-116. The verbal similarities as well as the similarities with respect to content are not convincing in our view (cf. id., pp. 246-247).

52 Balde would then follow a long-standing literary tradition, in which authors end their texts by warning not to change it. A famous example can be found in the Bible: Revelation 22.18-9.
Appendix: Herder’s translation of Silvae 9.26

Das Feuerwerk.

Nach geschlossenem Frieden.

Die neuerfundne prächtige Flammen-Kunst
will ich zu eurem Ruhme, Quiriten, nicht
anpreissen, daß in Sinnesbildern
Eure Verdienste zu Dampf verlodern.

Kein Ehrenbogen strale von farbgem Licht,
kein Feuerdrache neben Kentauren sprüh’
mit offnem Schlunde. Die Rakete
soll in die Lüfte nicht auswärts steigen,

und lösen sich in Sterne; der Feuerball
nicht über Wellen hüpfen und untergehn,
daß fürchtend-froh der Pöbel jauchze,
und der beleidigte Strom erröthe.

Statt solches eitlen schreckenden Aufwands Pracht
beut mir der Aether schöner Wunder dar.
Ich schaue sie umsonst, die schnellen
feurigen Welten, die droben weilen.

Um Eurer Arbeit Früchte der spätesten
Rachwelt zu melden, lasset ein Feuerwerk,
läßt ein Trojanisch-großes Grabmahl
hier uns erbauen mit glühnden Fackeln.

Zu seiner Flamme darf es Neronischer
Mordbrände nicht; sein heiliges altes Rom,
kein Buchenwald erglüh’; es seufze
keine Dryade um ihren Ulmbaum.

Zu seiner Flamme haben wir Zunders genug —
hieher des Krieges schreckliches Werkzeug! Bringt
die Panzer her, und Helm’ und Waffen,
Schwerter und Spieße, die Riesensporne

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53 Cf. Herder (fn. 37).

Daphnis 39 — 2010
und jeden Schild, der kriegenden Uebermuth
Beschützte, bringt Trommeten und Hörner, bringt
die goldnen Stiefel, die Soldaten,
unter Soldaten auch Weiber schmückten,

und Scherp’ und Gürtel; bringet die Fahnen her,
Standarten, Kriegeswagen und Kriegsgeschoß —
was säum’ ich? Bringt den ganzen Krieg her,
bringet ihn her, daß er aufwärts flamme.

O Sonne, lang’ verdunkelter heilger Glanz,
Hyperions des Mächtigen Sohn! Erhörst,
erhörtest je du deines Dichters
flehend Gebet, o so wend’, o wende
dein Stralenantlitz mit dem verzehrendsten
Lichtblick herab, und zünde den Altar an,
auf dem der Krieg, der wilde, tolle
traurige, schändliche Krieg zerstäube.

Dann reinige den Boden, o goldner Stral,
wen mit dem Schwerte du auch die Scheide selbst
verzehret hast; und Ihr, Quiriten,
gebet dem Sonnengericht die Inschrift:

“Wer einen Dolch, wer einen verbannten Speer
aus dieser heilgen fressenden Flamme stahl,
wie Achan sei er ein Verfluchter,
unter den Steinen des Volks erliegend.”