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Formulae of Greeting and Farewell in the Ciceronian and Augustan Ages
FORMULAE OF GREETING AND FAREWELL IN THE CICERONIAN AND AUGUSTAN AGES

BY

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# Table of Contents

I. Introduction .................................................. 1 - 4

II. Tabulation of Formulæ ....................................... 5 - 11

III. Instances of Usage in Which the Literal Meaning of Latin Formulæ Seems to Be Prominent .................................................. 12 - 40

IV. Instances of Usage by Relative to Relative, Equal to Equal, Superior to Inferior and Inferior to Superior .................................................. 41 - 46

V. Conclusion .................................................. 47 - 48
FORMULAE OF GREETING AND FAREWELL
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INTRODUCTION.

In modern salutations and expressions of leavetaking a variety of forms is used, and each represents a more or less different idea. Although the literal meaning of our greetings has largely disappeared, we make use of particular forms, such as Good Morning, How-do-you-do, Hello, according to the degree of intimacy existing between ourselves and those whom we meet, and with respect to the circumstances and the occasion of the meeting. A student on all occasions will greet the president of his institution in a formal manner, while the greeting addressed to his associates depends upon whether the place of meeting be a formal function or a football game. In like manner the Romans employed various forms in greeting their acquaintances.

The object had in view in this investigation was to study: (1) instances of usage in which the literal meaning of Latin formulae seems to be prominent; (2) to determine, if possible, whether the formulae differ in accordance with any principle of choice when used in various relationships, as for example, by relative to relative, equal to equal, superior to inferior, or inferior to superior. For this purpose Latin literature of the Ciceronian and Augustan ages has been examined with a study of the following authors: M. Terrentius Varro, Cicero, Caesar, Lucretius, Catullus,
Nepos, Sallust, Virgil, Horace, L. Annaeus Seneca, Livy, Pompeius Trogus, Tibullus, Propertius, Ovid; also the second volume of the C. I. I. with its supplement, which includes 6350 inscriptions from Spain, the first volume having been examined by Jessie Fay Miller, A. M., University of Illinois, 1914 in her investigation of "Formulae of Greeting and Farewell in early Latin Literature".

Helpful suggestions were obtained from the following commentators and lexicons:

Ellis, R., Commentary on Catullus, Oxford, 1889.
Servius, Commentarii in Virgilium, edited by H. Albertus Lion, Göttingen, 1826, Vols I, II.
Wickham, E. C., Horace, Oxford, 1903-1904, Vols I, II.
Forcellini, Totius Latinitatis Lexicon.
Walde, Lateinisches Etymologisches Törterbuch.
Thesaurus Linguae Latinae.

Citations are made from the following editions:
Varronis De Lingua Latina, Goetz et Scholl, Teubner, 1913.

C. Iuli Caesaris Commentariorum libri tres de Bello Civili cum libris incertorum auctorum de Bello Alexandrino Africo Hispaniensis Du Pontet, Oxford, 1900.


Lucreti De Rerum Natura, Bailey, Oxford, 1898.

Catulli Carmina, R. Ellis, Oxford, 1904.


C. Sallusti Crispi, Catilina Jugurtha, Eussner, Leipzig, 1908.

Vergili Opera, Hirtzel, Oxford, 1900.

Appendix Vergiliana, Ellis, Oxford, 1907.

Q. Horati Flacci Opera, Wickham, Oxford, 1900.

L. Annaei Senecae, Oratorum et Rhetorum, Mueller, Vienna, 1837.

Titi Livi Ab Urbe Condita Libri, Weissenborn-Mueller, Teubner, Leipzig, 1901.

Justini Epitoma Historiarum Philippi Carunch Pompei Trogi, Ruehl, Tuebner, 1886.

Tibulli Carmina, Postgate, Oxford, 1905.

Sexti Properti Carmina, Phillimore, Oxford, 1901.
P. Ovidius Naso, R. Ehlwald, Teubner, 1903.
TABULATION OF FORMULAE.

There follows a tabulation showing the citation of expressions of greeting and farewell arranged according to formulae and in the order of discussion.

1. Ave

(a) Used as a farewell.

C. I. L. 1092; 3511; 4445; 6074.

Sallust, Cat. 35.

(b) Used as a greeting.

C. I. L. 1759; 1821; 1871; 3178; 4290.

Ovid, Rem. Amor. 640.

Ex Ponto IV,13,2.

Seneca, Contr. X,10,10.

(c) Unclassified.

C. I. L. 4330; 4976.

(d) Ave et Vale

Used as a farewell.

Catull. 101,10.

C. I. L. 2000;3490; 3506; 3507; 3512; 3519;3672; 3674; 3677; 3680; 3686; 3692; 5304; 6318.

2. Vale etc.

Used as a farewell.

Caesar, Bell. Gall. VIII,9.

Catull. 8,12; 11,17; 14,21; 46,9; 101,10.
Cicero, Ad Fam. 3,1; 3,2; 3,11; 4,1; 4,2; 4,4; 4,5; 4,6; 4,8; 4,11; 4,12; 4,14; 5,9; 5,10b; 5,14; 6,2; 6,4; 6,9; 6,14; 6,16; 6,19; 6,21; 6,22; 7,29; 9,24; 10,9; 10,26; 11,15; 12,1; 12,2; 12,3; 12,4; 12,5; 12,6; 12,7; 12,8; 12,9; 12,10; 12,11; 12,13; 12,14; 12,16; 13,1; 13,6a; 13,13; 13,21; 13,31; 13,33; 13,41; 13,45; 13,49; 13,50; 13,78; 14,1; 14,2; 14,3; 14,4; 14,5; 14,7; 14,8; 14,9; 14,10; 14,11; 14,12; 14,13; 14,14; 14,17; 14,20; 14,21; 14,22; 14,23; 14,24; 15,5; 15,17; 15,19; 15,21; 16,3; 16,4; 16,5; 16,6; 16,7; 16,8; 16,9; 16,10; 16,11; 16,13; 16,15; 16,17; 16,18; 16,19; 16,20; 16,22; 16,23; 16,24; 16,25; 16,26; 16,27.

Ad Att. 1,18; 4,8; 10,11; 11,7; 11,8; 11,10; 11,11; 11,13; 11,14; 11,15; 11,17a; 11,18; 11,19; 11,20; 11,21; 11,23; 11,24; 11,25.

Ad Quint. Frat. 2,4; 3,9.

De Officiis, III, 121.


C. I. I. II. 20; 84; 93; 611; 1423; 1580; 1821; 2959; 3571; 3576; 3679; 3683; 3688; 3699; 3690; 4427; 4427*; 4976-27.

Horace, Ser. II, 2, 70; 5, 110; 6, 115.

Epist. I, 6, 67; 8, 13; 13, 19.

Ovid, Amores, I, 1, 28; I, 6, 71-74; II, 1, 35; II, 6, 48; III, 15, 19.

Heroides, V, 52; IX, 165-168; XII, 56; XIII, 14; XV, 100; XX, 242; XXI, 248
Ovid, Fasti, III, 562; IV, 763, 4; VI, 415, 16.
Meta. III, 501; IV, 79; VI, 509-10; VIII, 717-18;
Tristia, I, 3, 57; I, 8, 26; III, 3, 88; III, 13, 10;
V, 13, 33-34.
Propertius, II, 13, 13; III, 1, 7; III, 21, 15-16; III, 25, 9;
IV, 4, 35-36.
Tibullus, II, 3, 67; II, 4, 2; II, 6, 9.
Virgil, Aeneid, II, 789; XI, 97-98; XI, 327.
Georgics, IV, 497.
Eclogae, III, 79.
Catalepton, V, 6-7.
Appendix, Dirae, 89-90

3. Cura ut valeas, fac ut valeas, etc.
Used as a farewell.

Cicero, Ad Fam. 7, 4; 7, 5; 7, 6; 7, 15; 7, 20; 9, 8; 10, 4;
10, 7; 10, 11; 10, 15; 10, 20; 12, 1; 12, 12; 12, 21;
12, 23; 12, 29; 13, 6; 14, 3; 14, 4; 14, 5; 14, 6; 14, 8;
14, 9; 14, 10; 14, 11; 14, 16; 14, 17; 14, 18; 14, 19;
14, 21; 14, 22; 14, 23; 14, 24; 15, 20; 16, 5; 16, 7;
16, 10; 16, 11; 16, 12; 16, 13; 16, 15; 16, 16; 16, 20;
16, 21; 16, 22;
Ad Att. 1, 5; 2, 2; 2, 7; 2, 11; 2, 23; 2, 25; 3, 2;
3, 5; 3, 7; 3, 22; 4, 8a; 4, 14; 5, 11; 6, 1; 6, 3; 9, 8;
16, 16A.
Ad Cuint. Frat. 1, 1; 2, 3; 2, 5; 3, 4: 3, 8;
4. Forms of amo, deligo and valeo

Used for farewell greeting in letters.

Cicero, Ad Fam. 5,9; 7,14; 9,22; 13,47; 15,19.

5. Vive etc.

Used as a farewell.

Catull. 61,226-7.
C. I. I. II, 6260,6; 6260,7; 6260,8.
Ovid, Tristia, III,4,4-5.
Seneca, Contr. V,1,11.
Varro, Menippeae, 346.
Virgil, Aeneid, III,493.

Eclogae, VIII,58.

Copa, 38.

6. Concedite.

Used as a farewell.

Virgil, Eclogae, X,63.

7. Sis felix.

Used as a farewell.

Tibullus, III,6,30.

8. Salutem dicit etc.

Used as a greeting.

Not only does this formula occur as a mode of address for every letter of Cicero's correspondence, but in the following citations it is incorporated within the letter:

Cicero, Ad Fam. 7,29; 8,16; 16,4; 16,8;
Cicero, Ad Att. 2,9; 2,15; 6,4; 12,3; 12,17; 12,17; 12,24; 12,26; 12,27; 12,28; 12,32; 14,3; 14,12; 14,20; 16,1.

Pro Lege Agraria, II, 53.

C. I. L. II, 1423; 2959.

Livy, XXI, 31; XXVI, 2.

Ovid, Heroides, IV, 1-2; XVI, 1; XVIII, 1.

Meta. IX, 530-31.

Tristia, III, 7, 1.

Ex Ponto, I, 3, 1; I, 7, 1; I, 8, 1; I, 8, 1; II, 2, 3; II, 5, 2; II, 6, 1-2; II, 7, 1; II, 8, 15; III, 2, 1-2; III, 1, 66; III, 1, 2; III, 5, 5; IV, 5, 23; IV, 8, 1-2.

Sallust, Hist. IV, 20.

Cat. 35.

Seneca, Contr. I; II; III; IV; VII; IX; X; I, 7, 6, 4.

9. S. V. B. E. V. etc.

Used as a greeting.

Cicero, Ad Fam. V, 1; V, 7; V, 9; V, 10a; V, 14; X, 33; X, 34; 4, 35; XI, 3; XI, 11; XII, 12; XII, 13; XII, 15; 12, 16; 14, 8; 14, 11; 14, 14; 14, 15; 14, 16; 14, 17; 14, 21; 14, 22; 14, 23; 14, 24; 15, 5; 15, 2; 15, 19.

Ad Att. 2, 9b.

10. Salve etc.

Used as a greeting.

Catull. 31, 12; 32, 15; 43, 1; 64, 23, 23b; 67, 2;
C. I. L. II, 3448; 3465; 3476; 3478; 3480; 3488; 3492; 3495; 3505; 3540; 3693; 4970, 451; 6279.

Horace, Car. I, 32, 15.

Livy, I, 7, 10.

Ovid, Meta. 13, 530; 15, 581.

Fasti, I, 11, 509-10.

Propertius, IV, 9, 71.

Tibullus, III, 4, 43.


Virgil, Georgics, II, 173.

Aeneid, V, 80-81; VII, 120-21; VIII, 301.

Catalepton, 11, 12.

11. Ave, Salve.

Used as a greeting.

C. I. L. II, 6104.

12. Salve, vale

Used as a farewell

Cicero, Ad Fam. 16, 9.

Virgil, Aeneid, XI, 97-98.


Used as a formula for a toast.

Ovid, Ars Am. 1, 601.

Fasti, 2, 637.

Tibullus, II, 1, 31.
14. Quid agis etc.
   Used as a greeting.
   Catull. 28,4.
   Cicero, Pro Plancio, 33.
   Horace, Ser. I,9,4.
       Epist. I,8,3.

15. Macte virtute esto.
   Used as a greeting.
   Cicero, Ad Att. 12,6; 15,29.
       Tusc. 1,17.
   Livy, VII,10,4; 36,5; X,40; XXIII,15.
   Virgil, Aeneid, IX, 641.

16. Num quid vis?
   Used as a farewell.
   Horace, Ser. I,9,6.
For both greeting and farewell the Romans for the most part chose expressions in which the idea of life and health was prominent, with little distinction in meaning. It is difficult to determine why vale meaning "be strong","be well" was chosen as a form of leave-taking while salve "be safe","be well" was used for a greeting. That there was little difference to the mind of the Roman may be inferred from the fact that salve was occasionally used with vale for a farewell, e.g.:

Virgil, Aeneid, XI,97-98.

Salve aeternum mihi, maxime Palla, aeternumque vale.

Ave (have) was very often used for both greeting and farewell, not only when combined with vale but when used alone. This is especially true in the Latin Inscriptions. Catullus in the final leavetaking at his brother's tomb (101,10) cries out, "Frater, ave atque vale." Examples of the same combined use of ave and vale are found:-

C. I. L. II, 5304.

AVETE VOS VIATORES ET BENE VALETE.

C. I. L. II. 3507.

TITINIA C. I.

MARTA

HIC SITAST

AVE. VALE.
Examples which I shall not quote are found also in C. I. L. II, 2000, 3506, 3519, 3672, 3674, 3677, 3680, 3692, 6318.

In Sallust, Cat. 35, have to is used as a farewell in a letter written by Catiline to Quintus Catulus, in which he justifies his course of action after defeat in the consular election, and entrusts to the protection of Catulus his wife Orestilla. The use of ave as a farewell is further exemplified in the following:

C. I. L. II, 1092; 3511; 4445; 6074.

Ave, as a greeting, occurs in the following:

Seneca, Contr. X, Praef. 10.

Pacatus rhetor cum illi Massiliae mane occurritset
schemate illum salutavit, "poteram", inquit, "dicere ave, mosche."

C. I. L. II, 1821.

AVE

HERENNIA CROCINE

CARA SUIS INCLUSA HOC TUMULO
CROCINE CARA SUIS VIXI EGO
ET ANTE ALIAE VIXERE PUELLAE
IAM SATIS EST LECTOR DISCEDES
DICAT CROCINE SIT TIBI TERRA
LEVIS VALETE SUPERI.

The use of ave as a greeting is seen also in the following:

C. I. L. II, 1759; 1871; 3178; 4290.

From the above examples it is evident that ave was used for the most part as a farewell to the dead. An anecdote told by Suetonius, Claud. 22, may help to show the ambiguity of the greeting ave among the Romans themselves. On the occasion of the sham battle provided by Claudius, the combatants greeted the emperor thus: "Ave, imperator, morituri te salutamus." Whereupon he replied; "Avete vos", which he intended as a farewell greeting to those about to die, but which they interpreted as meaning "live", and therefore refused to fight.

Vale was the most usual form of leave taking and was used with such freedom that it lost to a great extent its original meaning and became a highly stereotype form. The close
relative bade farewell to the one dying by the use of vale. With the same greeting the exile bade farewell to his country, the rejected lover departed in scorn from the door of his mistress' house, and thus the correspondent closed his letter. Servius in his Commentary on Virgil, Aeneid, XI, 97-98 quotes Varro thus:

"Varro in libris logistoricis dicit ideo mortuis 'salve' et 'vale' dici non quod aut valere aut salvi esse possunt sed quod ab his recedimus, eos numquam visuri. Ergo cum mortuo dicitur 'vale', non etymologia consideranda est sed consuetudo quod nullis 'vale' dicimus nisi a quibus recedimus."

That vale became a conventional form of farewell not only to the dying but for various occasions of parting may be learned from the following examples, where-in the idea of a long or final separation is prominent:

Catull. 3,12.
Vale, puella.

Tibullus, II,6,9.
Valeatque Venus, valeantque puella.

Tibullus, II,4,
Iam mihi, libertas illa paterna, vale.

Propertius III,21,15-16.
Romanae turres et vos valeatis, amici,
qualiscumque mihi tuque, puella, vale!

Propertius III,25,9-10.
Limina iam nostris valeant lacrimantium verbis,
nec tamen irata ianna fracta manu.
Ovid, Amores, I, 6, 71-73.

Qualiscumque vale sentique abeuntis honorem;
Lente nec admisso turpis amante, vale!
Vos quoque, crudeles rigido cum limine postes
Duraque conservae ligna, valete, fores!

Virgil, Aeneid, II, 789.

Iamque vale, et nati serva communis amorem.

Virgil, Aeneid, XI, 827.

Succedat puṣnae Troianosque arceat urbe.
Iamque vale.

Virgil, Georgics, 4, 497.

Fata vocant conditque natantia lumina somnus.
Iamque vale.

Propertius, III, 1, 7.

Ah valeat, Phoebum quicumque moratur in armis!

Ovid, Fasti, VI, 415-16.

Reddiderat causam. "valeas, anus optima", dixi,
Quod superest aevi, molle sit omne, tui.

Ovid, Fasti, IV, 763-4.

Pelle procul morbos valeant hominesque γρεγοςκε,
Et valeant viṣiles, provida turba, canes.

Ovid, Fasti, VI, 253.

Valeant mendacia vatum.

Ovid, Tristia, III, 13, 10.

Tu quoque dixisses tristis in Urbe. vale.
Inbellis elegi, genialis Musa, valete.

Clamavit moriens lingua, "Corinna, vale!"

Ovid, *Amores*, II,1,35.
Heroum claras, valete, nomina.

Ferrea cum vestris bella valete modis.

Care, vale, Cincyra, causamque intellege mortis.

C. I. L. II,3676.

I CAECILIUS
AETARA FUISTI
VALE.

C. I. L. II,3683.

H. HERNIUS
RUPUS. VALE.

C. I. L. II,1580.

TE LAPIS OBTESTOR LEVITER SUPER OSSA RESIDAS
NE NOSTRO DOLEAT CODITUS OFFICIO.
GRAECA SER HIC SITA EST
VALE.
IACUS VIR. D. D.

Similar examples are found:-

Ovid, *Heroides*, V,52; IX,165; IX,168; XII,56: XIII,14;
XV,100; XX,242.
Tristia, III,38; I,3,57; I,8,26.
Another formal use of vale is seen in the fact that it was used indiscriminately with respect to the emotion felt at parting. Tarpeia, daughter of the governor of the Roman citadel on the Capitoline, out of remorse for her crime of betraying the fortress to the enemy, bids farewell to Rome and Vesta as she goes to meet her punishment.

Propertius, IV, 4, 35-36.

Romani montes, et montibus addita Roma,
et valeat probro Vesta pudendo meo.

On the other hand Catullus joyfully bids farewell to Bithynia at the prospect of homecoming.

Catull. 46, 9.

O dulces comitum, valete, coetus.

The feeling of indifference on the part of the author toward popular criticism of his verses, provided only his girl approves of them, is seen in Propertius, II, 13, 13.

Haec ubi contigerint, populi confusa valeto fabula; nam domina iudice tutus ero.

In Catull. 11, 17 we find the author's renunciation of his mistress, Lesbia.

Cum suis vivat valeatque moechis.
A further indication of the conventional use of vale is seen in the freedom with which it was employed at the conclusion of a letter. The first two of the following references show this clearly.

Ovid, Heroides, XIX, 241-2.
Longior infirmum ne lasset epistula corpus
Clausaque consueto sit sibi fine, vale!

Ovid, Tristia, V, 13, 33-4.
Accipe quo semper finitur epistula verbo
atque meis distent ut tua fata vale!

Ovid, Heroides, XX, 248.
Quid, nisi quod cupio me iamconiungere tecum,
Restat? ut adscribat littera nostra vale.

Ovid, Heroides, IX, 165-8.
Iamque vale, seniorque pater germanaque Gorge
Et patria et patriae frater adempte tuae,
Et tu lux oculis hodierna novissima nostris
Virque (sed o possis!) et puer Hylle, vale!

Caesar, Bell. Gall. VIII, Intro.
Vale.

In the correspondence of Cicero vale is used one hundred and seven times in the conclusion of letters.

A few forms indicative of close friendship and intimacy are found which we may assume to be familiar forms, from the repetition of the greeting, the use of the recipient's name in personal address, or the use of some adjective. Etiam atque etiam vale occurs:
Other familiar forms referred to are the following:

Cicero, Ad Fam. 2,4
Mi frater, vale.

Cicero, Ad Quint. Frat. 3,7.
Vale mi suavissime et optime frater

Mi suavissime et optime frater, vale.

Cicero, Ad Quint. Frat. 2,6.
Vale, mi optime et optatissime frater, et advola.

Cicero, Ad Fam. 7,29.
Ergo, patrone mi, bene vale.

Cicero, Ad Fam. 14,2.
Valete, mea desideria, valete.

Cicero, Ad Fam. 14,3.
Vale, mea Terentia.

Cicero, Ad Fam. 14,4.
Mea Terentia, fidissima atque optima uxor et mea carissima filiola et spes, reliqua nostra, Cicero, valete.

Cicero, Ad Fam. 16,8.
Ama nos et vale (Tiro).

Cicero, Ad Fam. 16,9.
Etiam atque etiam, noster Tiro, vale.
Medico, Curio, Lysoni de te scripsi diligentissime.
Vale. Salve.

Cicero, Ad Fam. 16,26.
Ama nos et vale (Tiro).
Cicero, Ad Fam. 16,4.
Vale, mi Tiro, vale, vale et salve.
Cicero, Ad Fam. 10,26.
Vince igitur et vale. This form beside being a farewell greeting expresses Cicero's best wishes to Furnus for his success in his candidacy for the praetorship.

A different arrangement of vale, used for a farewell greeting, which was frequently found at the conclusion of a letter was cura ut valeas or some similar expression, as fac valeas or da operam valeas. It seems to have been a formal method of conclusion of old date, as si vales bene est ego quoque valeo was a formal mode of address previously common, and may have been copied from the Greek. Book II of the work on Conic Sections by Apollonius of Perga (190 B.C.) begins:-

Ἀπολλώνιος Εὐθύμων Χαίρειν. Εἰ ύμιάιεις ἐχοι ἂν καλῶς. καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ μετρίως ἐχω;

and ends καὶ εὐπτωτοι ἐπιμελεῖτο ὑμα ἤμαίανης. εἴτεχε.

The Latin formula was written for the most part without vale, although occasionally vale was added.

An examination of Cicero's correspondence shows that he did not use this expression as a formal method of concluding his letter, but that he had the literal meaning in mind. Of sixty-five usages only eleven are employed by Cicero in formal letters:-

Ad Fam. 7,4
Cura igitur ut valeas. (to Marius).

Ad Fam. 7,5.
Cura igitur ut valeas et me ut amas, ama. (to Caesar).
Six are employed by Cicero's correspondents in replies to him:—

Ad Fam. 10,4; 10,7; 10,11; 10,15; 10,20.

Fac valeas meque mutuo diligas. (Plancus to Cicero).

Ad Fam. 12,12.

Fac valeas meque ames. (Cass to Cicero).

The remaining forty-eight occur in letters to Atticus, Tiro, and his family:—

Ad Fam. 14,3.

Cur ut valeas et ita tibi persuadeas, mihi te carius
nihil esse nec umquam fuisses.

Ad Fam. 14,4.

Cura quod potes ut valeas et sic existumes me vehementius tua miseria quam mea commoveri.

Ad Fam. 14,5.

Vos, mea suavissima et optatissima Terentia, si nos amatis, curate ut valeatis.

Ad Fam. 14,9.

Tu velim tuam et Tulliae valetudinem curas.

Ad Fam. 14,10; 14,11.

Valetudinem tuam cura diligenter.

Ad Fam. 14,17.

Tu fac ut tuam et Tulliae valetudinem curas.

Ad Fam. 14,18.

Maxime autem date operam ut valeatis si nos vultis valere.

Ad Fam. 14,19.

Da operam ut valeas.

Ad Fam. 14,21.

Da operam ut convalescas.

Ad Fam. 14,22; 14,23.

Valetudinem tuam cura diligenter.

Ad Fam. 14,24.

Valetudinem tuam fac ut curas.

Ad Fam. 15,20.

Cura ut valeas meque ames amore illo tuo singulare.

Ad Fam. 16,5.

Cura igitur nihil aliud nisi ut valeas.
Ad Fam. 16, 10.
Fac plane ut valeas.

Ad Fam. 16, 11.
Tu etiam atque etiam cura ut valeas litterasque ad me mittas, quotiens cumque habebis cui des.

Ad Fam. 16, 13.
Cura, si me diligas, ut valeas et cum te bene confirmaris, ad nos venias.

Ad Fam. 16, 15.
Cura te etiam atque etiam diligenter.

Ad Fam. 16, 18.
Cura te diligenter.

Ad Fam. 16, 20.
Cura te si me amas.

Ad Fam. 16, 21.
Tu velim in primis cures et valeas ut una possumus.

Ad Fam. 16, 22.
Cura, mi Tiro, ut valeas.

Ad Att. 1, 5.
Cura ut valeas et nos ames et tibi persuades te a me fraterne amari.

Ad Att. 9, B.
Fac valeas.

Ad Att. 16, 16A.
Da operam ut valeas.

Ad Quint. Frat. 1, 1.
Reliquum est ut te orem ut valetudine tua, si me et tuos
omnis valere vis, diligentissime servias.

Ad Quint. Frat. 2,3.
Cura, mi frater, ut valeas.

Ad Quint. Frat. 2,5.
Fac mi frater, ut valeas quam primumque venias.

Ad Quint. Frat. 3,4.
Cura ut, mi suavissime et carissime frater ut valeas.

Ad Quint. Frat. 3,8.
Cura, mi carissime frater, ut valeas.

Ad Fam. 14,6; 14,8; 14,16; 16,7; 16,12.
Cura ut valeas.

Ad Att. 2,2; 2,7; 2,11; 2,23; 2,25; 3,2; 3,5; 3,7; 3,22; 4,8a; 4,14; 5,11; 6,1; 6,3; 9,8.
Cura ut valeas.

A few formulae differing from the valeo arrangement occur in letters to his friends and represent the friendly relationship existing between the correspondents.

Ad Fam. 5,9.
Tu nos fac ames. vale.

Ad Fam. 7,14.
Te valde amamus nosque a te amari cum volumus tum etiam confidimus.

Ad Fam. 9,22.
Tu me diliges et valebis.

Ad Fam. 13,47.
Tu fac, quod facis, ut me ames teque amari a me scias.
Ad Fam. 15,19.

Valebis igitur meque ut a puero fecisti, amabis.

Other formulae for expressions at leavetaking were used in this age, but occur very rarely. Several forms of vivo are found, such as vivite felix, vivat, vivite and vive used for the most part with vale.

Virgil, Aeneid, III,493.

Vivite felix quibus est fortuna peracta iam sua.

These were the words of Aeneas as he parted from Helenus and Andromache at Buthrotum. The literal meaning "to live and be fruitful, successful, happy" seems prominent here, as Aeneas doubtless had in mind the contrast of his own fate with the fortune of those from whom he was parting.

Vivite and vivat were used as forms of renunciation, while vive was a formula of leavetaking.*

Catull. 11,18.

Cum suis vivat valeatque moechis.

Horace, Ser. II,5,110.

vive valeque.

Horace, Epist. I,6,67.

vive valeque.

Virgil, Eclogae, VIII,58.

vivite silvae.

Virgil, Eclogae, X,63.

concedite silvae.

*Forcellini, Totius Latinitatis Lexicon.
Conington (l.c.) states that concedite is less courteous than vivite and quotes Plautus, Amph. 3,4,1.

Concedite atque abscedite omnes de via decedite.

A formula sis felix is found twice.
Catull. 100,8.

Sis felix, Caeli, sis in amore potens.

Tibullus, III,6,30.

Sis felix, et sint candida fata tua.

The formulae for greeting are as numerous and various as those of leavetaking.* The greeting in a letter, although practically one form, was greatly varied. It consisted of the writer's name in the nominative case, the recipient's in the dative, while the form of salutation might be expressed or implied. Variety was secured not only by difference in the order of arranging the names of both the writer and recipient, but also by adding the father's name or the grandfather's or both, and by a free use of titles. The salutation was also varied; it might be omitted or expressed by the abbreviations $S.$, Sal., S. D., S. P. D., suo S. P. D. etc. The following are representative forms of greeting:

Cicero Varroni.

Cicero Varroni Sal.
Cicero S. D. Paeto
Cicero Cassio S.
Cicero Servio S.
Tullius S. D. Terentiae suae.
Tullius Terentiae suae Sal. Plurimam.
Tullius Tironi Sal.
Tullius Tironi suo Sal.
Marcus Quinto Fratri Salutem.
M. Cicero B. D. Curio.
M. Cicero S. D. C. Furnio.
M. Cicero S. D. C. Antonio M. F. Imp.

Pease (op. cit. p. 397) asserts that the greeting is the essential part of the letter and is indicative of the feeling existing between the correspondents. In Cicero's letters the degree of familiarity may be seen in the combinations which Cicero employs for his own name and the forms of the names of the recipient. Of the three hundred and seventy-four greetings Pease groups three hundred and fifty-five into the following five classes; and from knowledge of the intimacy existing between Cicero and the well-known correspondents and from incidental hints in literature he ascertains the meaning of the forms in
each group. The number of times the greeting occurs is given in parenthesis.

1. (Praen. & Praen. (20) ) Close friendship of long standing, perhaps from boyhood.
   a. Nom. & Praen. (20)

2. (Nom. & Nom. (24) ) Intimacy of the family or the friendship of maturer years.
   a. Cogn. & Nom. (55)

3. (Cogn. & Cogn. (93) ) Cordial and friendly


   (Nom. Cogn. (5) )

The familiar forms may be made more cordial by the use of pluri-mum or suo or some adjective; and the more reserved ones may be made more formal by the use of titles, father's name, etc. The remaining nineteen instances are irregular. They are represented by the three forms:

Praen. Cogn. & Nom. (10)
Praen. Cogn. & Cogn. (7)

The form Cicero Attico Sal. (Cogn. & Cogn.) which occurs in all the letters to Atticus, Pease maintains was not the original
greeting but was adopted as a uniform style by Atticus, when he was preparing the collection for publication. Although a friendly and somewhat business-like formula it is not the one we should expect to find in letters to Atticus especially when in the case of a continued correspondence with others Cicero shows a variety of address.

A few epistolary greetings occur in other literature. These vary little from the simple form of nominative + dative + salutem expressed or implied.

Sallust, Hist. 4,20.

Rex Mithradates regi Arsaci S.

Sallust, Cat. 35

L. Catilina Q. Catulo.

Seneca, Contr. 1,7,6.4.

Pater piratis salutem.

Livy, 24,31.

Praetores Syracusani consuli Marcello.

Seneca, Contr. 1;2;3;4;7;9;10.

Seneca Novato, Senecae, Melae, filiis salutem.

C. I. L. II, 2959

CLAUDIUS QUARTINUS

II VIRIS POLPEII. SALUTEM.

C. I. L. II, 1423.

IMP. CAE. VESPASIANUS AUG. PON

TIFEX. MAXIMUS. TRIBUNICIAE

POTESTATIS. VIII. IMP. XIX. CONSUL

VIII. P. P. SALUTEM. DICIT. IIII VIRIS ET DECURIONIBUS.
Livy, 26, 2.

Propraetor senatui.

Ovid did not employ the stereotyped form of greeting and he seems to have avoided uniformity. Mittit salutem or some form of the verb saluto is often substituted for salutem dicit.

Ex Ponto, 1, 8, 1.

A tibi dilecto missam Nasone salutem accipe.

Ex Ponto, 1, 10, 1.

Naso, suo, profugus, mittit tibi, Flacce, salutem.

Ex Ponto, 2, 6, 1-2.

Carmine Graecorum qui praesens voce solebat, Tristis ab Euxinus Naso salutat aquis.

Ex Ponto, 2, 7, 1.

Esse salutatum vult te mea littera.

Ex Ponto, 2, 8, 15.

Utque salutabam num caelesti saluto

Tristia, 3, 7, 1.

Vade salutatum, subito peracta, Perillam, littera.

Mittit salutem occurs also:— Ovid, Ex Ponto, 2, 2, 3; 3, 1, 2; 3, 5, 5; 4, 8, 1-2; 1, 3, 1; Meta. 9, 530-1; Heroides 4, 1, 2; 13, 1; 16, 1.

Other forms used by Ovid occur:—

Ex Ponto, 4, 5, 23.

Aut feret Augusto solitam natoque salutem.

Ex Ponto, 3, 2, 1-2.

Quam legis a nobis missam tibi,

Cotta, salutem.
Ex Ponto, 2,5,2.
Condita disparibus numeris ego Naso Salano,
Praeputio misi verba salute meo.

Ex Ponto, 1,7,1.
Littera pro verbis mihi, Messaline, salutem
Quam legis a saevis attulit usque Getia.

Ex Ponto, 3,1,66.
Haec est pro miseri lenta salute viri.

At the close of letters of a friendly or social nature
greetings were often expressed to members or intimate friends
of the recipient's family. The same form was employed as that
of the greeting of the letter.

Cicero, Ad Fam. 7,29.
Tironem meum saluta nostris verbis.

Cicero, Ad Fam. 8,16.
Ciceroni f. s. d.

Cicero, Ad Fam. 16,4.
Lepta tibi salutem dicit et omnes.

Cicero, Ad Fam. 16,8.
Quintus f. tibi salutem dicit.

Cicero, Ad Att. 2,9.
Terentia sibi salutem καὶ Κικέρων ὁ μικρός ἀσπάζεται
Τίτων τῶν Ἀθηναίων.

Cicero, Ad Att. 2,15.
Ea (Terentia) tibi igitur et Κικέρω ἄριστοκρατικῶτας
Τοῦ Παῖς salutem dicit.
Cicero, Ad Att. 6,4.

Piliae et puellae Caeciliae bellissimae dices salutem.
Cicero, Ad Att. 12,3.

Tu Atticam, quaesoo, cura et e1 salutem et Piliae Tulliae quoque verbis plurimam.
Cicero, Ad Att. 12,17.

Atticam salvere iubere et eam cura, obsecro diligenter.
Cicero, Ad Att. 12,17.

Piliae salutem
Cicero, Ad Att. 12,24.

Et e1 (Attica) salutem dices et Piliae.
Cicero, Ad Att. 12,26; 27; 28; 32; 14,3.

Piliae, Atticae salutem.
Cicero, Ad Att. 14,12.

Quarum utrique (Attica and Pilia) salutem.
Cicero, Ad Att. 14,20.

Atticae plurimam salutem.
Cicero, Ad Att. 16,1.

Cui (Attica) et Piliae salutem.

A peculiar mode of address written after the greeting appears in many letters. The formula was varied. It might be written si vales bene est or si vales bene est ego quoque valeo or abbreviated S. V. B. E.; S. V. B. E. E. Q. V. or some similar form. As referred to above it seems to have been a survival of a mode of address which was previously common. It is constantly found in Egyptian papyri of the early centuries before Christ. The following are examples.
In Cicero's correspondence these forms are found only in letters to distant acquaintances, dignitaries and his wife Terentia. I shall quote only a few representative forms.

Ad Fam. 5,1.

Si vales benest. (Metellus Proc. to Cicero).

Ad Fam. 5,2.

Si tu exercitusque valetis benest. (Cicero to Metellus).

Ad Fam. 5,7.

S. T. E. Q. V. B. E. (Cicero to Pompey, Imperator).

Ad Fam. 5,9.

S. V. B. E. E. V. (Vatinius to Cicero).

Ad Fam. 10,33.

s.v.b.e.e.q.v. (Pollio to Cicero).

Ad Fam. 10,35.

S. v. liberique vestri v. b. e. e. q. v. (Lepidus to

Ad Fam. 12,15.

(senate and

plebeians.

Ad Fam. 11,3.

S.v.b. (Brutus and Cassius to Antony).

Ad Fam. 15,1.

S.v.v.b.e.e.q.v. (Cicero to the senate).

Ad Fam. 14,8.

Si vales, bene est, ego valeo. (to Terentia).

Ad Fam. 14,11.

S. v. b. e. v. (to Terentia).

Ad Fam. 14,14.

Si vos valetis, nos valemus. (to Terentia).

Other instances occur; Ad Fam. 5,10a; 5,14; 10,34; 12,11; 12,12; 12,13; 12,16; 14,15; 14,16; 14,17; 14,21; 14,22; 14,23; 14,24; 15,1; 15,2; 15,19; Ad Att. 9,3. (Balb. to Cicero).

A highly formal and dignified spoken greeting was taken from the verb salveo meaning "be well" or "in good health". The form might be salve, salveto, salvete or iubeo salvere. Not only was it employed as a mode of greeting but was also used in adoration to a divinity or in solemn address to any revered object. The following instances occur.

Catull. 31,12.

Salve, O venusta Sirmio.

Catull. 67,2.

Salve teque bona Iuppiter auctet ope.

Catull. 64,23-23b.

Heroes, salvete, deum genus, o bona matrum progenies, salvete iterum.

Virgil, Aeneid, 5,80-81.

Salve, sancte parens, iterum salvete recepti nequiquam cineres animaeque umbraeque paternae.

Virgil, Aeneid, 7,120-21.
Salve, fatis mihi debita tellus
vosque, o fidi Troiae, salvete penates.
Virgil, Aeneid, 8,301.

Salve, vera Iovis proles.
Horace, Car. 1,32,13.

Dulce lenimen, mihi cunque salve rite vocanti.
Virgil, Georgics, 2,173.

Salve, magna parens, frugum Saturnia tellus, magna virum.
Tibullus, 3,4,43.

Salve, cura deum.
Propertius, 4,9,71.

Sancte pater salve.
Ovid, Meta. 15,581.

"Rex," ait, "o! salve! tibi enim tibi
 cippi, tuisque!"
Ovid, Fasti, 1,11,509-10.

"Dique petitorum," dixit, "salvete locorum
 Tuque novos caelo terra datura deos!"
Ovid, Meta. 12,530.

"O salve", dixit,"Lapithaeae gloria gentis!"
Livy, 1,7,10.

Iove nate, Hercules, salve.
Livy, 1,16.

Deum deo natum, regem parentemque urbis Romanae salvere
 omnes iubent.

As mentioned above salve was occasionally used in bidding fare-
well to the dead. With the exception of Virgil, Aeneid, 11,97,
quoted above, all examples are confined to the Latin Inscriptions. I shall quote only three.

C. I. L. II, 3476.

P. LOLLIUS
P. L. PHILEMO
VIXIT. PROBUS
PROBIS PROBA
UXOR. MONUM
FECIT. SALVE.

C. I. L. II, 3480.

LUCIAE L. F.
MAELIAE
MATER PIETA
SALVE.

C. I. L. II, 3495.

PLOTIA L ET FUFIAE. L. PRUNE HAEC VOCE
FATASIT, ANCILLA. HEIC. SITASIT. HAEC
QUALIS FUERIT CONTRA PATRUM PATRO
NAM. PARENTEM. CONIUGEM. MONUMEN-
TUM. INDICAT. SALVE. SALVOS. SEIS.

Other examples are; C. I. L. II, 3448; 3465; 3478; 3488; 3492; 3505; 3540; 3693; 4970; 451.

A form of address, although not strictly a greeting, was employed by the Romans in drinking to the health of someone. This was bene followed by either the dative or the accusative of the one addressed.
Ovid, Meta. 1,601.

"Bene", dic, "dominae
Bene, cum quo dormiat illa".

Ovid, Fasti, 2,637.

"Bene vos, bene te, patriae pater
Optime Caesar.

Tibullus, 2,1,31.

Bene, Messalem.

An informal mode of address and one to which a reply
was given, thus showing that the greeting was taken to some extent
literally, was quid aquis or ut valeas. Of the former only two
examples are found in the literature of the Augustan age, and no
element of the latter but reference is made to its use in

Horace, Epist. 1,8,5, &13-14.

Si quaeret quid aquam? dic multa et pulchra minantem
vivere nec recte nec suaviter--------post haec ut
valeat quo pacto rem gerat et se ut placeat inveni
percontare, utque cohori.

Examples of the use of quid aquis are

Cicero, Pro Plancio, 33.

M. Druso, cum ille eum salutavisset et ut fit, dixis-
set "Quid aquis, Grani?" respondit "Immo vero tu,
Druse, quid aquis?"

Horace, Ser. 1,9,4-5.

"Quid aquis, dulcissime rerum?" "Suaviter, ut nunc est,"
inquam, "et cupio omnia quae vis." "Num quid vis?" oc-
cuoo.
Macte esto was a peculiar formula for greeting which seems to have originated in an old sacrificial ceremony. When wine or incense was poured upon the victim the words mactus est taurus vino or ture were spoken with the belief that the victim was in some way increased. When the same offerings were made to a god, the formula macte hoc vino inferio esto was used.* For some unknown reason the vocative, macte, came to be used more often than the nominative, mactus. The formula was used later outside of the sacred ceremonies and was adopted as a form of greeting which corresponds closely to our expressions of congratulation, or of applause or of wishing one well. The literal meaning seems to be "be increased".


Quidam notus homo cum exiret fornice, "macte virtute esto", inquit sententia dia Catonis.

Livy, Hist. VII, 10, 4.

Macte virtute ac pietate in patrem patriamque, T. Manli esto.

Livy, Hist. VII, 36, 5.

Macte virtute, milites Romani, este.

Livy, Hist. X, 40.

Tu quidem macte virtute diligentiaque esto.

Livy, Hist. XXIII, 15.

Itaque macte virtute esto.

Virgil, Aeneid, IX, 641.

Macte nova virtute puer; sic itur ad astra.

*Forcellini, Totius Latinitatis Lexicon.
Cicero, Ad Att. 12, 6.

Macte virtute!

Cicero, Tusc. 1, 17, 40.

Macte virtute!

Numquid vis? was a formula of leave taking. Although a question of real inquiry and one to which a reply was in most cases given it was used as a polite form of farewell in order to avoid abruptness.*

Horace, Ser. I, 9, 4-6.


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FORMULAE USED BETWEEN RELATIVES, EquationS, SUPERIORS AND INFERIORS.

There seems to be no principle determining the choice of greeting from relative to relative, equal to equal, superior to inferior or inferior to superior. No particular formula is limited to the use of a particular class. There follows a tabulation of the formulae used in different relationships. The greetings found on tomb-stones are not included. With the exception of C. I. L. II,5304, which is addressed to the passer-by, all seem to be addressed to the dead.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>VALE</strong></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>EQUAL TO EQUAL.</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>*********</td>
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<tr>
<td>Caesar</td>
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<td>Cicero</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tibullus</td>
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<td>Virgil</td>
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</table>

| **RELATIVE TO RELATIVE** |
| ********* |
| Cicero | 22 |
| Ovid | 8 |
| Virgil | 3 |
SUPERIOR TO INFERIOR

* * * * *

Horace 1
Ovid 2

INFERIOR TO SUPERIOR

* * * * *

Ovid 3
Propertius 1

USED TO OBJECTS

* * * * *

Catullus 1
Ovid 5
Propertius 4
Tibullus 3
Virgil 2

USED TO COUNTRY

* * * * *

Ovid 4

SALVE

* * *

EQUAL TO EQUAL

* * * * *

Catullus 3

INFERIOR TO SUPERIOR

* * * * *

Catullus 3
Livy 1
Ovid 3
Propertius 1
Virgil 4
USED TO OBJECTS

Catullus 1
Horace 1
Ovid 1

USED TO COUNTRY

Catullus 1
Virgil 1

AVE

EQUAL TO EQUAL

Sallust 1
Seneca 1
Ovid 1

RELATIVE TO RELATIVE

Catullus 1

INFERIOR TO SUPERIOR

Ovid 1

SALUTEM DICIT ETC.

EQUAL TO EQUAL

Cicero 791
Livy 2
Ovid 19
RELATIVE TO RELATIVE

Cicero 52
Seneca Rhetor 7

SUPERIOR TO INFERIOR

C. I. L. II 2
Cicero 26
Seneca Rhetor 1
Sallust 1

INFERIOR TO SUPERIOR

Ovid 1

CURA, UT VALEAS, ETC.

EQUAL TO EQUAL

Cicero 37

RELATIVE TO RELATIVE

Cicero 21

SUPERIOR TO INFERIOR

Cicero 11

SI VALES BENE EST, EGO VALEO, ETC.

EQUAL TO EQUAL

Cicero 13

RELATIVE TO RELATIVE

Cicero 10
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<th>Statement</th>
<th>Authors</th>
<th>Count</th>
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<tr>
<td>Superior to Inferior</td>
<td>Cicero</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>Inferior to Superior</td>
<td>Cicero</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>Vive, etc.</em></td>
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<td>Equal to Equal</td>
<td>Catullus</td>
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<td>Ovid</td>
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<td>Seneca Rhetor</td>
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<td>Virgil</td>
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<td>To Objects</td>
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<td><em>Bene</em></td>
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<td>Equal to Equal</td>
<td>Ovid</td>
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<td>Tibullus</td>
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<td>Inferior to Superior</td>
<td>Ovid</td>
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<td><em>Macte Virtute esto</em></td>
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<td>Equal to Equal</td>
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<td>Horace</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Livy</td>
<td>4</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
QUID AGIS, QUID GERIS, ETC.

EQUAL TO EQUAL

Catullus 1

INFERIOR TO SUPERIOR

Horace 1

NUMQUID VIS?

SUPERIOR TO INFERIOR

Horace 1

CONCEDITE

TO OBJECTS

Virgil 1
CONCLUSION.

Most of the expressions of greeting and farewell in classical Latin have lost to a great extent, if not entirely, their literal signification. Salve and vale meaning "be well" serve as greetings to the dead, as well as to the living, to country and to friends, to a door and even to a dog. Ave was used for both greeting and farewell and thus became ambiguous in meaning to the Romans themselves. Since it was used in the majority of cases for a farewell to the dead, it can hardly have retained its literal meaning "live". Salutem dicit, si vales, bene est and cura ut valeas were purely formulae used in correspondence. Macte esto, formerly a religious mode of address to a god, came to be combined with virtute for a formula of congratulation or for an expression of cheer equivalent to our "bravo". Although vivite felix (Virgil, Aeneid II, 493) seems to retain its original meaning, the remaining forms of vive are apparently mere formulae. Quid agis, numquid vis and ut valeas are apparently the only exceptions, being real questions to which real answers were given.

There is no marked difference in choice of greetings between different classes of persons. Vale was used one hundred and thirty-one times by equal to equal, thirty-three times by relative to relative, twenty times to inanimate objects, five times to native land, four times by inferior to superior and three times by superior to inferior. In the extensive correspondence of Cicero vale is used one hundred and seven times, fifty-three of which are found in letters to dignitaries or acquaintances, twenty-two in letters to his
wife Terentia and family, fifteen to his freedman Tiro and eighteen to his friend Atticus.

Close friendships and intimate relationships are shown by repetition of greeting, by use of some adjective and by personal address. The formulae themselves show no class distinction, but were employed by all.