

SOME COSMETIC RECIPES IN MEDICAL TEXTS OF LATE ANTIQUITY:
TREATMENTS FOR THE FACE IN THE *LIBRI MEDICINALES* OF AETIUS
AMIDENUS

ALGUNAS RECETAS COSMÉTICAS EN TEXTOS MÉDICOS DE LA ANTIGÜEDAD
TARDÍA: TRATAMIENTOS PARA LA CARA EN LOS *LIBRI MEDICINALES* DE AETIUS
AMIDENUS

IRENE CALÀ¹
University of Munich

Recibido: 18 de julio de 2019.

Aceptado: 11 de noviembre de 2019.

ABSTRACT

According to Galen, cosmetics is a part of medicine and for this reason, his medical works deal with many cosmetic recipes. In this paper, I discuss some cosmetic recipes of Late Antiquity in the *Libri medicinales* of Aetius Amidenus, a doctor lived during the sixth century. I give for the first time a translation of a long passage discussing treatments for the face; I then discuss some interesting points, especially concerning ingredients and sources.

KEYWORDS

Recipes; Cosmetics; Medicine; Late Antiquity; Aetius Amidenus.

RESUMEN

Según Galeno, los cosméticos son parte de la medicina y, por esta razón, su trabajo médico se ocupa de muchas recetas cosméticas. En este artículo, discuto algunas recetas cosméticas de la Antigüedad tardía en los *Libri medicinales* de Aecio de Amida, un médico que vivió durante el siglo VI. Doy por primera vez una traducción de un largo pasaje sobre tratamientos para la cara; después discuto algunos puntos interesantes, especialmente sobre los ingredientes y las fuentes.

PALABRAS CLAVE

Recetas; Cosmética; Medicina; Antigüedad Tardía; Aetius Amidenus.

¹ Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München. Medizinische Fakultät Institut für Ethik, Geschichte und Theorie der Medizin. E-mail: annadalassena@gmail.com. ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8647-5389>.

1. INTRODUCTION²

While scholars have written about cosmetics in Galen's medical works,³ only recently has the study of cosmetics in Late Antiquity started. This paper is connected to a study by Serena Buzzi and me⁴ on cosmetic recipes in Late antiquity, especially on recipes against wrinkles and suntan, in the medical works of Oribasius of Pergamon, the famous doctor of the emperor Julian, and, in the medical work of Aetius Amidenus,⁵ a doctor lived in the first half of the sixth century. I will give for the first time a translation of a long passage from the *Libri medicinales* of Aetius Amidenus, which is devoted to facial soaps and cosmetics; I will then go on to discuss some interesting points concerning ingredients, preparations, weights and, lastly, the sources used, especially the female ones.

1.1. *Cosmetics and Medicine*

In his pharmacological treatise entitled *De compositione medicamentorum secundum locos*, Galen explains the difference between «cosmetics» and «commotics». Cosmetics, he says, is a part of medicine:⁶ «The purpose of commotics is to produce artificial beauty, but the purpose of cosmetics, which is a part of the medicine, is to preserve anything natural in the body, and for this reason the result is natural beauty».⁷

² I am very grateful to my colleague Sean Coughlin for correcting my English.

³ See, for instance, Gourevitch, D., «L'esthétique médicale de Galien», *Les Études Classiques*, 55 (1987), pp. 267-290; Gourevitch, D., «Introduction. Les nouveaux sentiers pour la connaissance philologique et archéologique des médicaments antiques (composition, fabrication, contenants)», in Pardon-Labonnelie, M. (ed.), *La coupe d'Hygie. Médecine et chimie dans l'Antiquité*, Editions Universitaires de Dijon, Dijon, 2013, pp. 17-31; Boudon-Millot, V., «Galien de Pergame face au mirage de la beauté parfaite», *Bulletin de l'Association Guillaume Budé*, 2006, pp. 127-141;

Boudon-Millot, V., «Le médecin et la courtisane: la Phrynè de Galien», in Boudon-Millot, V., Dasen, V. and Maire, B. (eds.), *Femmes en médecine* [Actes de la Journée internationale d'étude organisée à l'Université René Descartes-Paris V, le 17 mars 2006, en l'honneur de Danielle Gourevitch], De Boccard, Paris, 2008, pp. 13-27, Boudon-Millot, V., «Fard et teintures capillaires: la médecine galénique entre cosmétique et commotique», in Pardon-Labonnelie, M. (ed.), *La coupe d'Hygie. Médecine et chimie dans l'Antiquité*, Editions Universitaires de Dijon, Dijon, 2013, pp. 17-31.

⁴ See Buzzi, S., Calà, I., «Le ricette cosmetiche nelle enciclopedie mediche tardoantiche», in Lehmann, L. and Martelli, M. (eds.) *Collecting recipes. Byzantine and Jewish pharmacology in Dialogue*, De Gruyter, Boston/Berlin, 2017, pp. 123-146.

⁵ On Aetius Amidenus see Calà, I., «Il medico Andreas nei Libri medicinales di Aezio Amideno», *Galenos*, 6 (2012), pp. 53-63; Calà, I., «La fortuna dei Libri medicinales di Aezio Amideno nell'Europa rinascimentale: le Annotationes di Cristobal de Horozco», *Les Études Classiques*, 80 (2012), pp. 187-205; Calà, I., «Terapie tra magia e religione. La gravidanza e il parto nei testi medici della tarda Antichità», in Santamaría Hernández, M. T. (ed.), *Traducción y Transmisión doctrinal de la medicina grecolatina desde la Antigüedad hasta el mundo moderno: nuevas aportaciones sobre autores y textos*, Ediciones de la Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, Cuenca, 2016, pp. 11-24.

⁶ Galen, *De compositione medicamentorum secundum locos*, 1.2 = ed. K. G. Kühn, *Galenii Opera omnia*, Car. Knoblochii, Leipzig, 1821-1833, vol. 12, p. 434,4-7: «Τῶ μὲν κομμωτικῶ σκοπός ἐστι κάλλος ἐπίκτητον ἐργάσασθαι, τῶ δὲ τῆς ἰατρικῆς μέρει τῶ κοσμητικῶ τὸ κατὰ φύσιν ἅπαν ἐν τῷ σώματι φυλάττειν, ᾧ καὶ τὸ κατὰ φύσιν ἔπεται κάλλος».

⁷ In this case and when there is no indication the translation is mine.

Indeed, Galen includes cosmetics as one of the various parts of the medicine, because of the importance of preserving the good condition of the body.

It is worth remembering the famous example of Phrine's beauty,⁸ in which Galen celebrates the beauty of Phrine because this beauty is authentic and natural, contrary to the other courtesans who used too much makeup.⁹ The commotic, on other hand, appears to be excluded from medicine not only in Galen's medical work, but also in the medical works of Late Antiquity. Instead, we find some cosmetic recipes useful preserving the natural beauty of the body.¹⁰

2. COSMETIC RECIPES IN THE *LIBRI MEDICINALES* OF AETIUS AMIDENUS

The medical work of Aetius Amidenus called *Libri medicinales* deals with many branches of medicine, from pharmacology, book 1, to gynaecology, book 16. We can read the recipes that we call cosmetic in various part of *Libri medicinales*: some remedies for the hair are in book 6 and in book 7; remedies for the teeth in book 8, remedies for the face in book 8 and 16, as follows:

Table 1. Cosmetics recipes in Aetius Amidenus

Book	Hair	Teeth	Face and Body
6	54: Soaps and powders able to reinforce the head 55: On alopecia 56: On hair loss 57: For loss of hair on the eyebrows 58: From the books of Galen, hair dye 59: To make blond hair 60: To make white hair 61: To make curly hair 62: About damaged hair 63: Remedies able to destroy hair 64: Remedies able to remove hair 65: Remedies able to make thin hair ¹¹		
7	69: Remedies against the growth of fresh cut hair 70: Cosmetics for the hair 80: Against the loss of eyebrows or ptilosis ¹²		
8		37: Different kind of soaps for teeth that are black, livid	1: For adorning the eyebrows

⁸ See, for a comment on this passage, Boudon-Millot, V., «Le médecin et la courtisane...», pp. 13-27 and Boudon-Millot, V., «Fard et teintures...», pp. 17-31.

⁹ Galen, *Adhortatio ad artes addiscendas*, 10 = ed. K. G. Kühn, *Galen Opera omnia*, Car. Knoblochii, Leipzig, 1821-1833, vol. 1, pp. 23,1-26,16.

¹⁰ See Buzzi-Calà 2017 Buzzi, S., Calà, I., «Le ricette cosmetiche...», pp. 123-146.

¹¹ Aetius Amidenus, *Libri medicinales*, 6.54-65 = ed. A. Olivieri, *Aetii Amideni Libri medicinales V-VIII*, in *Aedibus Academiae Litterarum*, Berlin, 1950, pp. 196,28-213,9: «νδ' Σμήγματα καὶ πάσματα πυκνωτικὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς: νε' Περὶ ἀλωπεκίας; νς' Περὶ ῥεουσῶν τριχῶν; νζ' Πρὸς ὄφρους λειποτριχούσας; νη' Ἐκ τῶν Γαληνοῦ μέλασμα; νθ' Πυρρὰς ποιῆσαι τρίχας; ζ' Λευκὰς ποιῆσαι τρίχας; ξα' Οὐλὰς ποιῆσαι τρίχας; ξβ' Περὶ τῶν φθειρόντων τὰς τρίχας; ξγ' Ἀφανιστικὰ τριχῶν; ξδ' Ψίλωθρα τριχῶν; ξε' Λεπτυντικὰ τριχῶν»

¹² Aetius Amidenus, *Libri medicinales*, 7.69-70, 80 = ed. A. Olivieri, *Aetii Amideni Libri medicinales V-VIII*, in *Aedibus Academiae Litterarum*, Berlin, 1950, pp. 318,21-320,17 and 328,6-329,10): «Ἐθ' Φάρμακα πρὸς τὸ τὰς ἐκτιλλομένας τρίχας μὴ φθίνειν; ο' Ανακολλήματα τριχῶν; π' Πρὸς μαδάρωσιν βλεφάρων ἢ πτίλωσιν».

		and porous, from Galen ¹³	<p>2: On dark circles under the eyes</p> <p>3: On unguents for the face</p> <p>4: Against facial wrinkles</p> <p>5: Against dark spots of the face</p> <p>6: Soaps for the face</p> <p>7: Plasters for entire body</p> <p>8: Drinks against bad smell of the skin</p> <p>9: Against the roughness of the chin ¹⁴</p>
16			<p>124: Against chaps and black spots on the belly provoked by childbirth, from Aspasia</p> <p>125: Extraordinary cleanser, cleansing the face and giving brightness¹⁵</p>

2.1. Soap for the Face and Cosmetics: Aetius Libri Medicinales 8.6

Aetius gives many treatments that we can call cosmetic at the beginning of book 8. The contents of the book were summarized by Photius, as follows:¹⁶

¹³ Aetius Amidenus, *Libri medicinales*, 8.37 = ed. A. Olivieri, *Aetii Amideni Libri medicinales V-VIII*, in *Aedibus Academiae Litterarum*, Berlin, 1950, pp. 451,16-454,19): «Αζ' Σμήγματα διάφορα οδόντων μελαινομένων και πελιδνομένων και ήραιωμένων Γαληνοῦ»

¹⁴ Aetius Amidenus, *Libri medicinales*, 8.1-9 = ed. A. Olivieri, *Aetii Amideni Libri medicinales V-VIII*, in *Aedibus Academiae Litterarum*, Berlin, 1950, pp. 403,2-413,21: «α' Πρὸς τὰς τῶν ὀφρῶν διακοσμήσεις; β' Περὶ ὑπώπιων; γ' Περὶ ἐπιχρισμάτων προσώπων; δ' Πρὸς τὸ μὴ ρυτιδοῦσθαι τὸ πρόσωπον; ε' Πρὸς τὰς τῆς ὄψεως μελανίας; ζ' Σμήγματα προσώπων; ζ' Καταπλάσματα παντὶ τῷ σώματι; η' Πόματα πρὸς τοὺς δυσώδη ἔχοντας τὸν χρῶτα; θ' Πρὸς τὰς τοῦ γενείου τραχύτητας».

¹⁵ Aetius Amidenus, *Libri medicinales*, 16.124-125 = ed. S. Zervos, *Aetii Sermo sextidecimus et ultimus*, Verlag von Anton. Mangos, Leipzig, 1901, pp. 159,1-161,6: «Ρκδ' Πρὸς τὸ μὴ ποιεῖν κοιλίαν ῥαγάδας και μελανίας ἐκ τοκέτου, Ασπασίας; Ρκε' Νίμμα θαυμάσιον ἀποκαθαῖρον τὴν ὄψιν και λαμπρόνον»

¹⁶ Photius, *Bibliotheca*, cod. 221 = ed. R. Henry, *Photius. Bibliothéque. Codices 186-222*, Les Belles Lettres, Paris, 2003, pp. 145-146: «Ἐν δὲ τῷ η' λέγει μὲν τι κατ' ἀρχὰς περὶ διακοσμήσεως ὀφρῶν, τί τέ ἐστι και ὅπως γίνεται τὰ ὑπώπια, και ὅπως αὐτὰ θεραπευτέον, ὅπως τε ὑπὸ ἡλίου ἢ ἀνέμου μὴ ἐπικαίτοιτο τὸ πρόσωπον, και δι' ὧν ἔστιν ἀρρυτίδωτον αὐτὸ συντηρεῖν και μελανίας ἀπαλλάττειν και ἄλλως ἐπικοσμεῖν, και τὸν τοῦ σώματος χρῶτα πρὸς εὐωδίαν μεταβάλλειν. Ἐντεῦθεν περὶ πάντων τῶν κατὰ τὸ πρόσωπον και στόμα και παρίσθημα συνισταμένων διαλαμβάνει παθῶν, ὅσα τε πρόεισι τὴν αἰτίαν ἔσωθεν λαβόντα, και ὅσα ἐκ τῶν ἐκτὸς ἐπισυμβαίνει, οἷον οδόντων τε περιέχεται ποικίλα πάθη και θεραπεία, και γλώσσης και

«In the eight book, at the beginning he discusses the manner of adorning the eyebrows; what dark circles under the eyes are, how they are formed, and how to treat them; how to prevent the deterioration of the face from tanning in the sun or wind; and how to prevent it from getting wrinkles, remove its dark colour, and embellish it in other ways; and to alter the skin of the body so that it smells sweetly. In this book, he deals with all the complaints which involve the face, mouth, and tonsils that are produced by an internal cause or arrive from an external cause; for example various afflictions located on the teeth and their treatment, those of the tongue and uvula, and in general the organs contained in the mouth; among these complaints are sore throat and pain, and complaints affecting the throat; inflammations of the tonsils are also part of these afflictions. He comments that the hanged can be resuscitated if they are still not dead; he describes subsequently arterial complaints, catarrh, and cough and prescribes soothing remedies for cough, fumigations and plasters. He deals with comfortable respiration, that of asthmatic, dyspnea, cardiac palpitation, afflictions of the lung and the chest, true and false pleurisy, and what is done to treat them».¹⁷

As we can see from the titles of the first chapters, there are many kinds of treatments, plasters, soaps, unguents and drinks, for different problems (e.g., spots, wrinkles and bad smells). These treatments are not only for the face, but also for the chin and other parts of the body as well. I have selected to discuss in this paper only chapter 6: on soaps. First, I give my own translation and then I will discuss some interest points:¹⁸

«Soaps for the face and cosmetics.

When removing the makeup they are preparing to wash the face with the soap, they have to use the described preparations.

1. Soap to give brightness to the face.

Frankincense, saltpetre, gum, of each 4 drachms, 40 peeled almonds, 24 drachms of the finest wheaten flour, 12 drachms of flour of fava beans, take up the white of egg and shape some trochisks and use with water in the bath or in a different way.

2. Famous and extraordinary cleanser for the face, it makes the face bright and polished, smooth any roughness, and it is useful for those who have elephantiasis at an early stage. Certainly use it with other remedies and on the entire body.

Mastich, frankincense, ammoniac gum, iris, of each 1 ounce, 1 ½ of tragacanth, 9 ounces of juice of unripe grapes, 10 ounces of melon seed with the moist inner parts, 29 whites of egg, 5 sextarii of the finest wheaten flour, grinding all ingredients and mixing with egg and the

γαργαρεῶνος, καὶ ἀπλῶς ὅσα τῆ περιγραφῆ συμπαλαμβάνεται τοῦ στόματος· ὧν ἔστι καὶ ἡ κυνάγχη καὶ συνάγχη, περὶ τὸν φάρυγγα συνιστάμενα πάθη. Καὶ αἱ ἀντιάδες δὲ τοῖς εἰρημένοις συμπεριέχονται. Πῶς τέ ἐστι δυνατόν ἀνακαλέσασθαι τοὺς ἀπαγχομένους, μήπω τῷ θανάτῳ παραδεδομένους. Περί τε ἀρτηριακῶν παθῶν καὶ φαρμάκων ἀναγραφὴν ποιεῖται, καὶ περὶ κατάρρου καὶ βηχός· καὶ ἀνώδυνα βηχικὰ φάρμακα γράφει, ὑποκαπνισμούς τε καὶ ἐπιθέματα. Περὶ ὀρθοπνοϊκῶν τε καὶ ἀσθματικῶν καὶ δυσπνοϊκῶν διαλαμβάνει, περὶ τε παλμῶν τῶν κατὰ τὴν καρδίαν· καὶ ἔτι περὶ τε τῶν τοῦ πνεύμονος καὶ θώρακος παθῶν διεξιὼν συμπεραίνει τὸν λόγον εἰς τὴν διδασκαλίαν τῆς πλευρίτιδος, τῆς τε οὔσης καὶ τῆς νομιζομένης, τίς τε ἑκάτερα τούτων, ὑπογράφων καὶ ὅσα εἰς θεραπείαν αὐτῶν συντελεῖ».

¹⁷ Translation by Waugh, R.L., *The ophthalmology of Aetius of Amida*, J. P. Wayenborgh, Oostende, 2000, pp. 138-139, with modifications.

¹⁸ I am adding the number to each recipe only because it is easy to referer to these in this way.

moist part of the melon and with the juice of unripe grapes, shape some flat artisks and dry, then grinding and sifting and store in a glass vase and use.

3. Cosmetic for the face. It also gives a reddish colour.

Flour of vetches, fava beans, lupines, barley, chick-pea and bulbs of narcissus, of each 1 half of Italian sextarius, 1 sextarius of the finest wheaten flour, grinding, sifting with a very fine sieve and mixing with egg white, shape some trochisks and dry in the shade. For use, take just enough, dissolve with water and use after the bath.

4. Other remedy to make bright the face and entire body, it makes polished and clean the skin.

Scraping the bark of the root of bryony, dry the rest of the root under the summer sun, then grinding, sifting, take from this ½ of an Italian choenix, the same quantity of grinded iris, the same quantity of dried peeled perfumed frankincense, 1 choenix of flour of fava beans, mixing it with white, old and fragrant wine, shape some fine trochisks and dry in the shade. For use, grind, sift and use with water.

5. Another valuable and fragrant soap of queen Cleopatra.

Costus, myrrh of troglis, iris, spikenard, amomum, mercurialis, cassia, flower of reed, of each 1 ounce, 4 pounds of perfumed frankincense; use after grinding and sifting; it is useful for entire body.

6. Another soap effective and fragrant.

Flower of reed, iris, of each 2 drachms, 1 drachm of mastich, smoothing take up thick juice of barley and make some artisks and dry in the shade; for use, dissolve with the water, and anoint at regular intervals, and wash with cold water.

7. To make bright and polished the face and the entire body.

1 Italian modius of flour of fava beans, 4 Italian sextarii of the finest wheaten flour, 4 sextarii of triturated clover, the same quantity of perfumed frankincense, the same quantity of triturated iris, ammoniac gum, costus, of each 1 pound, 1 sextarius of whites of raw fresh eggs, 2 sextarii of seed of melon with its moist part, 2 sextarii of juice of unripe grapes, mixing all the ingredients, shape some trochisks and dry in the shade. For use, dissolve with just enough water, anoint after the bath. It is useful for the dark spots that are on the neck and on other parts of the body.

8. Soap that the patrician Pelagia used to make bright the face.

6 ounces of Gallic soap, 1 ½ ounce of starch, 1 and ½ ounce of white lead, 1 half of ounce of mastich, 1 ounce of marrow of deer, 4 trockisks of white saltpetre, 3 ounces of bleached wax; soak the soap in the water in a glass vase for 5 days, changing the rain water every day and filter the soap. And then putting the soap in a new pot for half a day with new rain water, place on the embers, with slow fire, until the soap is dissolved. Then sprinkle the wax and the marrow onto it, and when both are dissolved, taking the pan, turn it continuously with a spatula, while sprinkling the mastich and the triturate starch on it; then add the white lead just pulverized with a little bit of water in a shell and grind with the hand vigorously. Put in a glass vase use liberally.

9. Soap; another in the bath.

5 pounds of Gallic soap of the first quality, 5 pounds of nitron, 1 pound of tick ammonite fumigation, 1 pound of white lead, 1 pound of burned oysters, 1 pound of burned wax, 6 ounces if mastich, 6 ounces of starch.

10. Another for black spots of the face experimented many times.

1 ½ ounce of frankincense, white lead carefully cleaned, litharge cleaned very often under the sun in a decoction of white chick-peas, fresh starch, powder of very white marble, pure mastich, white

saltpetre, of each 1 ounce, 12 ounces of Gallic soap, 10 white of eggs, prepare and use, as has been said.

11. Another extraordinary cleansing very well the face and gives the brightness.

Flour of fenugreek, earth aster, ammoniac gum, of each 3 ounces, 4 ounces of starch, 6 ounces of mastich, 6 ounces of fresh marrow of deer, 4 ounces of tragachant; soak the tragachant in milk of women or ass and smoothing put on it other ingredients just triturate and shape some trochisks and dry in the shade and use, as has been said.

12. Another soap for the face and for other parts of the body.

The internal part of castor seed, dried peeled bulbs of narcissus, of each 8 drachms, 4 drachms of the finest wheaten flour, 2 drachms of frankincense, 2 white of eggs, prepare and use, as has been said. [that is to say mixing shape some trochisks and dry in the shade. For the use solving just enough, oint after the bath.]

13. Against the wrinkling of entire body, soap from the books of Rufus.

In fact, by continually washing the wrinkled body with soap, it becomes smooth. Very fatty figs, dried peeled root of bryony, burned cuttlefish, flour of vetches, grind each separately, then also grinding drop upon enough honey and use.

14. Very fragrant soap for the entire body.

20 ounces of Cimolian earth, fine iris, Celtic nard, of each 24 drachms, turmeric, cardomom, yellow fatty styrax, of each 12 drachms. Solving the styrax with old fragrant wine have it ready, then putting the Cimolian earth in an earthenware vase, place it on the embers and when it is inflamed, add the dissolved styrax. Next, sprinkle onto it the ingredients that are dried and very fine, and mixing adequately, shape some artisks, dry in the shade, and after grinding and sifting, use».¹⁹

¹⁹ Aetius Amidenus, *Libri medicinales*, 8,6 = ed. A. Olivieri, *Aetii Amideni Libri medicinales V-VIII*, in *Aedibus Academiae Litterarum*, Berlin, 1950, pp. 407,15-410,22: «**Κμῆγματα προσώπου καὶ στίλβωματα.** ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀφαιρέσει τῶν ἐπιχρίστων πειρῶνται τὴν ὄψιν κμῆγειν, χρηστὸν ταῖς ὑπογεγραμμέναις σκευασίαις. **Κμῆγμα λαμπρυντικὸν προσώπου.** Λιβάνου, ἀφρονίτρου, κόμμεως, ἀνὰ δραχμὰς δ', ἀμύγδαλα λελεπικμένα μ', σεμιδάλεως δραχμὰς κδ', κβαμίνου ἀλεύρου δραχμὰς ιβ', ἀναλάμβανε ὡσὺ τῶ λευκῶ καὶ ἀνάπλασσε τροχίσκους καὶ χρῶ δι' ὕδατος ἀνιῶν ἐν βαλανείῳ καὶ χωρὶς βαλανείου. **Νίμμα προσώπου εὐδόκιμον θαυμάσιον,** ποιεῖ τὸ πρόσωπον λαμπρὸν καὶ τετανὸν, ἐκλεαίνει τὰς τραχύτητας πάσας, ὠφέλησε καὶ ἀρχὴν ἔχοντας ἐλεφαντιάσεως. σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις δηλονότι βοηθήμασι χρῶ αὐτῶ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶ παντὶ σώματι. **Μαστίχης, λιβάνου, ἀμμωνιακοῦ θυμιάματος, ἴρεως, ἀνὰ οὐγκίαν α', τραγακάνθησ οὐγκίαν ας', ὄμφακίου χυλοῦ οὐγκίας θ', πέπονος σπέρματος σὺν τῶ ἐν αὐτῶ ὕγρῳ οὐγκίας ι', ὠῶν τὰ λευκὰ κθ', σεμιδάλεως ἔστας ε', κόψας πάντα καὶ φυράσας τῶ λευκῶ τῶν ὠῶν καὶ τῶ ὕγρῳ τοῦ πέπονος καὶ τῶ χυλῶ τῆσ ὄμφακος, ἀνάπλαττε ἀρτίσκους πλατεῖς καὶ ξήραινε, ἔπειτα κόψας σήσας φύλαττε ἐν ὑελίνῳ σκεύει καὶ χρῶ. **Στίλβωμα προσώπου·** τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ ὑπερυθραίνει. ὀροβίνου καὶ κβαμίνου καὶ θερμίνου καὶ πιτταάνης καὶ ἐρεβίνθων ἀλεύρων καὶ ναρκίσσου βολβῶν, ἀνὰ ἔσστην Ἰταλικοῦ τὸ ἥμισυ, σεμιδάλεως ἔσστην α', κόψας σήσας λεπτοτάτῳ κοσκίνῳ καὶ φυράσας ὡσὺ τῶ λευκῶ, ἀνάπλαττε τροχίσκους καὶ ξήραινε ἐν σκιᾷ· ἐπὶ δὲ τῆσ χρήσεως αἴρων ὄσον ἔξαρκεῖ, διάλυε ὕδατι καὶ χρῶ μετὰ βαλανείου. **Ἄλλο λαμπρυντικὸν προσώπου καὶ παντὸς τοῦ σώματος, τετανὸν δὲ καὶ καθαρὸν ποιεῖ τὸν χρῶτα.** βρωνίας ρίζης τὸν φλοιὸν ἀποξύσας, ξήραινε τὸ λοιπὸν τῆσ ρίζης ἐν ἡλίῳ θερινῶ, ἔπειτα κόψας σήσας ἀλάμβανε ἐκ ταύτης Ἰταλικοῦ χοίνικος τὸ ἥμισυ, ἴρεως κεκομμένης τὸ ἴσον, μυροβαλάνου λελεπικμένης ξηρᾶς τὸ ἴσον, κβαμίνου ἀλεύρου χοίνικα α', οἶνῳ λευκῶ παλαιῶ εὐώδει φυράσας, ἀνάπλασσε τροχίσκους λεπτοὺς καὶ ξήραινε ἐν σκιᾷ· ἐν δὲ τῇ χρήσει κόπτων σήθων χρῶ μετ' ὕδατος. **Ἄλλο κμῆγμα Κλεοπάτρας βασιλίσεσ πολυτελες εὐῶδες.** Κόστων, κμῆρης τρωγλίτιδος, ἴρεως ναρδοστάχου, ἀμώμου φύλλου, κασσίας, σχοίνου ἄνθους, ἀνὰ οὐγκίαν α', μυροβαλάνου λίτρας δ', νίτρου ἀφροῦ λίτρας β', κόψας σήσας χρῶ· ποιεῖ εἰς ὄλον τὸ σῶμα. **Ἄλλο κμῆγμα ἐνεργὲς εὐῶδες.** σχοίνου ἄνθους, ἴρεως, ἀνὰ δραχμὰς β', μαστίχης δραχμὴν α', λεάνας ἀναλάμβανε πιτταάνης χυλῶ παχυτάτῳ καὶ ποιεῖ ἀρτίσκους καὶ ξήραινε ἐν σκιᾷ· ἐπὶ δὲ τῆσ χρείας ἀνέσας ὕδατι κατάχρη καὶ διαστήσας ὄραν πρόσκλυσε ὕδατι ψυχρῶ. **Πρὸς τὸ λαμπρὸν καὶ τετανὸν ποιεῖν τὸ πρόσωπον καὶ τὸ ὄλον σῶμα.** κβαμίνου ἀλεύρου**

3. SOME REMARKS ON AETIUS 8.6

The passage just translated is very interesting, for the technical terms used,²⁰ for the ingredients and, lastly, also for the sources. I will give only some remarks about the contents of this text devoted to the treatments to clean the face, to keep the correct colourful of the skin and to perfume the body. The text deals with 14 treatments, most of them are called soaps, someone generically cosmetic and some cleanser.

3.1. About the Ingredients

Only one compound ingredient is used in this section: the Gallic soap. It is mentioned three times; in the recipe of Pelagia, that is the number 8, and in the two subsequent recipes; a soap to use during the bath (recipe number 9) and another soap very useful for black spots (recipe number 10). Pliny the Elder gives is our earliest source for information about this soap, its ingredients and its

μόδιον Ἰταλικὸν α΄, σεμιδάλεως Ἰταλικὸς ζέστας δ΄, τριφύλλου κεκομμένου ζέστας δ΄, μυροβαλάνου τὸ ἴσον, ἴρεως κεκομμένης τὸ ἴσον, ἀμμωνιακοῦ θυμιάματος, κόστου, ἀνὰ λίτραν α΄, ὠῶν ὠμῶν προσφάτων ζέστην τὰ λευκὰ, πέπνος σπέρματος σὺν τῷ ὑγρῷ ζέστας β΄, ὀμφάκων χυλῶν ζέστας β΄, φυράσας ἀνάπλαττε τροχίσκους καὶ ζήραινε ἐν σκιᾷ. ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς χρείας ὕδατι διαλύων ὅσον ἐξαρκεῖ ἐπίχριε μετὰ βαλανείου. ποιεῖ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐν τῷ τραχήλῳ καὶ τῷ λοιπῷ σώματι μελανίας. **Σάπων ᾧ ἐχρήσατο Πελαγία πατρικία πρὸς τὸ λαμπρῦναι τὸ πρόσωπον.** Σάπων Γαλλικοῦ οὐγκίας ζ΄, ἀμύλου οὐγκίας ας΄, ψιμμυθίου οὐγκίαν ας΄, μαστίχης οὐγκίαν τὸ ζ΄, μυελῷ ἐλαφείου οὐγκίαν α΄, ἀφρονίτρον λευκοῦ τροχίσκους δ΄, κηροῦ τρακτοῦ οὐγκίας γ΄· πρόβρεχε τὸν σάπωνα εἰς ὕδωρ εἰς ὑελοῦν ἀγγεῖον ἡμέρας ε΄, ἀλλάσσων τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ ὄμβριον καθ’ ἡμέραν καὶ ὕλιξε τὸν σάπωνα· καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα βαλῶν εἰς χύτραν καινουργίαν τὸν σάπωνα καὶ τῆς ἡμέρας πάλιν ὕδωρ ὄμβριον, ἐπίθες ἐπ’ ἀνθράκων, χθαμαλῶ πυρί, ἕως διαλυθῆ ὁ σάπων· εἶτα ἐπίπασσε κηρὸν καὶ τὸν μυελόν, καὶ ὅταν διαλυθῶσι λαβῶν τὴν λοπάδα κίνει συνεχῶς σπάθη καὶ πᾶσσω τὴν μαστίχην καὶ τὸ ἄμυλον προλειωθέντα, εἶτα τὸ ψιμμύθιον προλελειωμένον ὀλίγῳ ὕδατι βάλλε εἰς κόγχον καὶ ἀνάκοπτε τῇ χειρὶ εὐτόνως καὶ βαλῶν εἰς ὑελοῦν ἀγγεῖον χρῶ καθολικῶς. **Σάπων· ἄλλο ἐν λουτρῷ.** Σάπωνος Γαλλικοῦ πρωτείου λίτρας ε΄, νίτρον λίτρας ε΄, κρότωνος ἀμμωνίτου θυμιάματος λίτραν α΄, ψιμμυθίου λίτραν α΄, ὄστρέων κεκαυμένων λίτραν α΄, κηροῦ κεκαυμένου λίτραν α΄, μαστίχης οὐγκίας ζ΄, ἀμύλου οὐγκίας ζ΄. **Ἄλλο πρὸς μελανίας προσόπου διὰ πολλῆς πείρας.** λιβάνου οὐγκίαν ας΄, ψιμμυθίου πεπλυμένου ἐπιμελῶς, λιθαργύρου πεπλυμένου πλειστάκις ἐν ἡλίῳ ἐν ἀφρημάτῳ λευκῶν ἐρεβίνθων, ἀμύλου προσφάτου, μαρμάρου λευκοτάτου ῥίνιςματος, μαστίχης καθαρᾶς, ἀφρονίτρον λευκῶν, σιπίας ὄστράκων, ἀνὰ οὐγκίαν α΄, Σάπωνος Γαλλικοῦ οὐγκίας ιβ΄, ὠῶν δέκα τὰ λευκὰ, σκεύαζε καὶ χρῶ, καθὰ προεῖρηται. **Ἄλλο θαυμάσιον πάνυ ἀποκαθαῖρον τὴν ὄψιν καὶ λαμπρῶνον.** Τηλίνου ἀλεύρου, γῆς ἀστερος, ἀμμωνιακοῦ θυμιάματος, ἀνὰ οὐγκίας γ΄, ἀμύλου οὐγκίας δ΄, μαστίχης οὐγκίας ζ΄, μυελῷ ἐλαφείου προσφάτου οὐγκίας ζ΄, τραγακάνθης οὐγκίας δ΄· γάλακτι γυναικείῳ ἢ ὄνειῳ ἀπόβρεχε τὴν τραγάκανθαν καὶ λεάνας ἀναλάμβανε αὐτῇ τὰ λοιπὰ λειότατα γενόμενα καὶ ἀνάπλαττε τροχίσκους καὶ ζήραινε ἐν σκιᾷ καὶ χρῶ, καθὰ προεῖρηται. **Ἄλλο σμήγμα ὄψεως καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ σώματος.** κικέας κροτώνων τοῦ ἐντός, ναρκίσσου βολβῶν ξηρῶν λελεπτικμένων, ἀνὰ δραχμὰς η΄, σεμιδάλεως δραχμὰς δ΄, λιβάνου δραχμὰς β΄, ὠῶν β τὰ λευκὰ σκεύαζε καὶ χρῶ, καθὰ προεῖρηται. [τοῦτέστι φυράσας ἀνάπλαττε τροχίσκους καὶ ζήραινε ἐν σκιᾷ. ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς χρείας διαλύων ὅσον ἐξαρκεῖ, ἐπίχριε μετὰ βαλανείου.] **Πρὸς ῥυτίδωσιν τοῦ παντός σώματος, σμήγμα ἐκ τῶν Ρούφου·** συνεχῶς γὰρ σμηχόμενον τοῦτο τὸ ῥυτὸν σῶμα περιτείνεται. σῶκα λιπαρώτατα καὶ βρυωνίας ῥίζαν λελεπτικμένην ξηρὰν, σιπίας ὄστρακον κεκαυμένον, ὀρόβων ἄλευρον, ἕκαστον ἰδίᾳ κόπτε, ἔπειτα καὶ ἀνακόπτων παράσταζε μέλιτος τὸ σύμμετρον καὶ χρῶ. **Σμήγμα ὄλου τοῦ σώματος εὐὸδες πάνυ.** γῆς κιμωλίας οὐγκίας κ΄, ἴρεως λειοτάτης, νάρδου Κελτικῆς, ἀνὰ δραχμὰς κδ΄, κυπέρων, καρδαμώμου, στύρακος ξανθοῦ λιπαροῦ, ἀνὰ δραχμὰς ιβ΄. τὸν στύρακα οἶνω παλαιῷ εὐώδει διαλύσας ἔχε ἐν ἐτοιμίῳ, ἔπειτα τὴν κιμωλίαν ἐν ὄστράκῳ βαλῶν τίθει ἐπ’ ἀνθράκων καὶ ὅταν πυρωθῆ ἔμβαλλε εἰς τὸν διαλυθέντα στύρακα, εἶτα ἐπίπασσε τὰ ξηρὰ λειότατα καὶ ἐνώσας ἱκανῶς ἀνάπλαττε ἀρτίσκους καὶ ζήραινε ἐν σκιᾷ καὶ κόψας σῆσας χρῶ».

²⁰ See Buzzi, S., Calà, I., «Le ricette cosmetiche ...», pp. 137-138.

uses:²¹ «Soap is also good, an invention of the Gallic provinces for making the hair red. It is made from suet and ash, the best from beech ash and goat suet, in two kinds, thick and liquid, both being used among the Germans, more by men than by women».²²

Also Aretaeus of Cappadocia gives details about Gallic soap in his work devoted to chronic diseases:²³ «There are many other remedies of Celts, who are now called Gauls, some pills with properties of nitron, that cleanse fine linen cloth, called «soap»; these are very good for cleaning the body in the bath». The Gallic soap is not the only soap known to doctors, but it is very famous in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, like the soap of Constantine.²⁴

For the most part, however, the ingredients used are simples and some of the vegetal simples used in these recipes are aromatics, like myrrh, cassia, frankincense and other. But I would like to focus on mineral and animal ingredients that are few in number, but very interesting. Mineral ingredients are contained in the recipes as follows:

Table 2. Mineral ingredients in the Cosmetics recipes of Aetius Amidenus

Number of recipe	Saltpetre (salnitron)	Nitron	White lead	White marble	Litharge	Earth aster	Cimoli an Earth
1	X						
8	X		X				
9		X	X				
10	X		X	X	X		
11						X	
14							X

Aetius uses the white marble, actually its powder, also in other recipes;²⁵ it is very interesting the use of this ingredient in another «cosmetic» recipe in book 16,²⁶ also this recipe is useful for the black spots on the face.

²¹ Pliny, *Natural History*, 28.191 = *Natural History, Volume VIII: Books 28-32*, translated by W.H. Jones, Loeb Classical Library, 1963, pp. 129-131: Prodest et sapo, Galliarum hoc inventum rutilandis capillis. Fit ex sebo et cinere, optimus fagino et caprino, duobus modis, spissus ac liquidus, uterque apud Germanos maiore in usu viris quam feminis.

²² Translation by W.H.S. Jones.

²³ Aretaeus, *De curatione diuturnorum morborum*, 2.13.7 = ed. C. Hude, Aretaeus, in *Aedibus Academiae scientiarum*, Berlin, 1958, p. 169.9-12: «φάρμακα δὲ ἄλλα μυρία τῶν Κελτέων, οἳ νῦν καλεῖονται Γάλλοι, τὰς λιτρώδεις τὰς ποιητὰς σφαίρας, ἧσι ῥύπτουσι τὰς ὀθόνας, κάπων ἐπίκληνη- τῆσι ῥύπτειν τὸ σκῆνος ἐν λουτρῶ ἄριστον».

²⁴ See, for instance, Mazzini, I., «Il sapone di Costantino», in Bonamente, G. and Fusco, F. (eds.), *Costantino il Grande. Dall'Antichità all'Umanesimo. Colloquio sul Cristianesimo nel mondo antico* [Macerata 18-20 Dicembre 1990], Pubblicazioni della Facoltà di lettere e filosofia. Università di Macerata, Macerata, 1992, vol. II, pp. 693-699; Callu, J.-P., «À nouveau le savon de Costantin», *Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte*, 44.4 (1995), pp. 500-502.

²⁵ There are only few cases.

²⁶ Aetius Amidenus, *Libri medicinales*, 16.124 = ed. S. Zervos, *Aetii Sermo sextidecimus et ultimus*, Verlag von Anton. Mangos, Leipzig, 1901, p. 160,18-23: «Τρίμμα πρὸς μελανίαν προσώπου διὰ πολλῆς πείρας. Λιβάνου οὐγκίαν ας', ἧτοι οὐγκίαν ας' ψιμμυθίου πεπλυμένου, λιθαργύρου πεπλυμένου, ἀμύλου, μαρμάρου ἀπὸ Προκοονήσου λευκοῦ πρίσματος ἢ ρίνισματος, μαστίχης, ἀφρονίτρου λευκοῦ, σηπίας ὀστράκου, ἀνά οὐγκίαν α', σάπωνος γαληνικοῦ οὐγκίας β' ὧν ἰ' τὰ λευκὰ ἀναλάμβανε τῷ σάπωνι, καὶ διαλυθέντων χρῶ ὡς βούλει.»

Aetius 8.6.10

Another for black spots of the face experimented many times.

- 1 ½ ounce of frankincense,
- white lead carefully cleaned,
- litharge cleaned very often under the sun in a decoction of white chick-peas,
- fresh starch,
- powder of very white marble,
- pure mastich,
- white saltpetre, of each 1 ounce,
- 12 ounces of **Gallic** soap,
- 10 white of eggs, prepare and use, as has been said.

Aetius 16.124

A detergent for the black spots of the face, experimented many times.

- 1 ½ ounce of frankincense
- or 1 ½ ounce cleaned with lead,
- cleaned litharge,
- starch,
- powder of Proconnesian marble,
- mastich,
- white saltpetre,
- **cuttlefish**, of each 1 ounce,
- 2 ounces of **Galenic** soap,
- 10 white of eggs, mix with the soap and solved use as you like.

The recipe is essentially the same: in the recipe of book 16 we have an interesting indication about the marble, from Proconnesos, in addition to the ingredients of book 6 in the recipe of book 16 we have also a cuttlefish. The apparent difference between the two kinds of soap, Gallic in the recipe of book 8 and Galenic in the recipe of book 16 is very interesting: it is probably a result of a mistake in the manuscript used by editor of book 16, because if we look, for instance, at the Latin translation by Janus Cornarius²⁷ we can read also «Gallic soap». There are also few animal ingredients, as follows:

Table 3. Animal ingredients in the cosmetic recipes of Aetius Amidenus

Number of recipe	Egg	Deer (marrow)	Oyster	Wax	Milk	Cuttlefish	Honey
1	X						
2	X						
3	X						
7	X						
8		X		X			
9			X				
10	X						
11		X			X		
12	X						
13						X	X

Like the honey, the white egg is also used to mix the ingredients, because it is very useful as a binder. Two ingredients come from the sea: the oyster and the cuttlefish. The marrow of deer is used in two recipes, here I would like to compare the second (number 11), with a same recipe contained in book 16:

²⁷ About the translations and commentaries of *Libri medicinales* in the Renaissance see Calà, I., «La fortuna dei Libri medicinales ...», pp. 187-205.

Aetius 8.6.11

Another extraordinary cleansing very well the face and gives the brightness.

- Flour of fenugreek,
 - earth aster,
 - ammoniac gum, of each 3 ounces,
 - 4 ounces of starch,
 - 6 ounces of mastich,
 - 6 ounces of fresh marrow of deer,
 - 4 ounces of tragacanth;
- soak the tragacanth in milk of **women or ass** and smoothing put on it other ingredients just triturate and shape some trochisks and dry in the shade and use, as has been said.

Aetius 16.125

Cleanser extraordinary cleansing the face and gives the brightness.

- Flour of fenugreek,
- starch,
- tragacanth, of each 4 ounces,
- earth aster*
- ammoniac gum, of each 3 ounces,
- mastich,
- fresh marrow of deer, of each 4 ounces, soak the tragacanth in milk and smoothing put on it other ingredients just triturate and shape some trochisks and dry in the shade and use. Use also the soaps just described in book 8, in which also you find prescriptions against the smell of the armpits and that of the mouth.²⁸

The recipe in book 16 is essentially the same that of in book 8; some difference about the posology and the order of the ingredients. I would like to stress that in book 16 we have a very detailed reference to recipes in book 8.

3.2. Two Recipes Ascribed to two Women: The Famous Cleopatra and Unknow Pelagia

«**5. Another valuable and fragrant soap of queen Cleopatra.** Costus, myrrh of troglis, iris, spikenard, amomum, mercurialis, cassia, flower of reed, of each 1 ounce, 4 pounds of perfumed frankincense; use after grinding and sifting; it is useful for entire body».

If the other quotation of a certain Cleopatra in the book 6 in the chapter devoted to the loss of the hair²⁹ is clearly a quotation from Galen,³⁰ the recipe here translated is know only through Aetius.³¹

²⁸ Aetius Amidenus, *Libri medicinales*, 16.125 = ed. S. Zervos, *Aetii Sermo sextidecimus et ultimus*, Verlag von Anton. Mangos, Leipzig, 1901, pp. 160,24-161,6: «Νίμμα θαυμάσιον ἀποκαθαίρον τὴν ὄψιν καὶ λαμπρύνον. Τηλίνου ἀλεύρον, ἀμύλου, τραγακάνθης, ἀνὰ οὐγκίας δ', γῆς ἀστέρος, ἀμμωνιακοῦ θυμιάματος, ἀνὰ οὐγκίας γ', μαστίχης, μυελοῦ ἐλαφείου προσφάτου, ἀνὰ οὐγκίας δ', γάλακτι ἀπόβρεχε τὴν τραγάκανθαν, καὶ λεάνας ἐπίπασσε τὰ λοιπὰ λειότατα, καὶ ἀναλαβῶν τροχίσκους ζῆραινε ἐν σκιῶ καὶ χρῶ. Χρῶ δὲ καὶ τοῖς προγεγραμμένοις σμήγμασιν ἐν τῷ ὀφθάλμῳ λόγῳ, ἐν ᾧ καὶ πρὸς τὰς τῶν μασχαλῶν δυσωδίας εὐρήσεις γεγραμμένα καὶ πρὸς τὰς τοῦ στόματος δυσωδίας»

²⁹ Aetius Amidenus, *Libri medicinales*, 6.56 = ed. A. Olivieri, *Aetii Amideni Libri medicinales V-VIII*, in *Aedibus Academiae Litterarum*, Berlin, 1950, p. 205,1-9.

³⁰ Galen, *De compositione medicamentorum secundum locos*, 1.2 = ed. K. G. Kühn, *Galenii Opera omnia*, Car. Cnoblochii, Leipzig, 1821-1833, vol. 12, pp. 432,12-434,2.

³¹ On Cleopatra's recipes see, for instance, Totelin, L., «The third Way. Galen, Pseudo-Galen, Metrodora, Cleopatra and the Gynaecological Pharmacology of Byzantium», in Lehmhaus, L.

«8. Soap that the patrician Pelagia used to make bright the face. 6 ounces of Gallic soap, 1 ½ ounce of starch, 1 ½ ounce of white lead, 1 half of ounce of mastich, 1 ounce of marrow of deer, 4 trockisks of white saltpetre, 3 ounces of bleached wax; soak the soap in the water in a glass vase for 5 days, changing the rain water every day and filter the soap. And then putting the soap in a new pot for half a day with new rain water, place on the embers, with slow fire, until the soap is dissolved. Then sprinkle the wax and the marrow onto it, and when both are dissolved, taking the pan, turn it continuously with a spatula, while sprinkling the mastich and the triturate starch on it; then add the white lead just pulverized with a little bit of water in a shell and grind with the hand vigorously. Put in a glass vase use liberally».

Concerning the woman called Pelagia by Aetius, we have no other information. It is very interesting to stress the fact that in Aetius we have some female sources, not only Cleopatra and Pelagia, for instance, a woman called Aspasia is quoted many times in the book 16.

4. CONCLUSIONS

Much work remains to be done, not only concerning cosmetics in Aetius Amidenus, but also in other medical works of Late Antiquity. A comparative study with other authors could very usefully allow us to follow the circulation of these recipes and to clarify what is the role of cosmetics in medicine from antiquity to Late Antiquity. I hope that this paper will contribute to generating interest in the medical works written after Galen of Pergamon and which are vital for understanding the transfer of knowledge in the Europe during the Middle Ages.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- BUZZI, Serena and CALÀ, Irene (2017), «Le ricette cosmetiche nelle enciclopedie mediche tardoantiche», in LEHMHAUS, L. and MARTELLI, M. (eds.) *Collecting recipes. Byzantine and Jewish pharmacology in Dialogue*, De Gruyter, Boston/Berlin, pp. 123-146.
- BOUDON-MILLOT, Veronique (2006), «Galien de Pergame face au mirage de la beauté parfaite», *Bulletin de l'Association Guillaume Budé*, pp. 127-141.
- BOUDON-MILLOT, Veronique (2008), «Le médecin et la courtisane: la Phrynè de Galien», in BOUDON-MILLOT, Veronique, DASEN, Veronique and MAIRE, Brigitte (eds.), *Femmes en médecine* [Actes de la Journée internationale d'étude organisée à l'Université René Descartes-Paris V, le 17 mars 2006, en l'honneur de Danielle Gourevitch], De Boccard, Paris, pp. 13-27.
- BOUDON-MILLOT, Veronique (2013), «Fard et teintures capillaires: la médecine galénique entre cosmétique et commôtique», in PARDON-LABONNELIE,

and Martelli, M. (eds.), *Collecting recipes. Byzantine and Jewish pharmacology in Dialogue*, De Gruyter, Boston/Berlin, 2017, pp. 103-122; Vincent, A. L., *Édition, traduction et commentaire des fragments grecs du Kosmêtikon attribué à Cléopâtre*, (M.A. thesis, a. a. 2010-2011, under direction of M.-H. Marganne).

- Muriel (ed.), *La coupe d'Hygie. Médecine et chimie dans l'Antiquité*, Editions Universitaires de Dijon, Dijon, 2013, pp. 17-31.
- CALÀ, Irene (2012), «Il medico Andreas nei *Libri medicinales* di Aezio Amideno», *Galenos*, 6, pp. 53-63.
- CALÀ, Irene (2012), «La fortuna dei *Libri medicinales* di Aezio Amideno nell'Europa rinascimentale: le *Annotationes* di Cristobal de Horozco », *Les Études Classiques*, 80, pp. 187-205.
- CALÀ, Irene (2016), «Terapie tra magia e religione. La gravidanza e il parto nei testi medici della tarda Antichità», in SANTAMARÍA HERNÁNDEZ, María Teresa (ed.), *Traducción y Transmisión doctrinal de la medicina grecolatina desde la Antigüedad hasta el mundo moderno: nuevas aportaciones sobre autores y textos*, Ediciones de la Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, Cuenca, pp. 11-24.
- CALLU, Jean-Pierre (1995), «À nouveau le savon de Costantin», *Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte*, 44.4, pp. 500-502.
- GOUREVITCH, Danielle (1987), «L'esthétique médicale de Galien», *Les Études Classiques*, 55, pp. 267-290.
- GOUREVITCH, Danielle (2013), «Introduction. Les nouveaux sentiers pour la connaissance philologique et archéologique des médicaments antiques (composition, fabrication, contenants)», in PARDON-LABONNELIE, Muriel (ed.), *La coupe d'Hygie. Médecine et chimie dans l'Antiquité*, Editions Universitaires de Dijon, Dijon, pp. 17-31.
- HENRY, René (2003), *Photius Bibliothèque Codices 186-222*, Les Belles Lettres, Paris.
- HUDE, Carolus (1958), *Aretaeus*, In aedibus Academiae Scientiarum, Berlin.
- JONES, W.H.S. (1963), *Pliny Natural History Books 28-32*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge-London.
- KÜHN, Karl Gottlob (1821-1833), *Galen Opera omnia*, Car. Knoblochii, Leipzig.
- MAZZINI, Innocenzo (1992), «Il sapone di Costantino», in Bonamente, Giorgio and Fusco, Franca (eds.), *Costantino il Grande. Dall'Antichità all'Umanesimo. Colloquio sul Cristianesimo nel mondo antico* [Macerata 18-20 Dicembre 1990], Pubblicazioni della Facoltà di lettere e filosofia. Università di Macerata, Macerata, II, pp. 693-699.
- OLIVIERI, Alessandro (1950), *Aetii Amideni Libri medicinales V-VIII*, in aedibus Academiae litterarum, Berlin.
- TOTELIN, Laurence (2017), «The third Way. Galen, Pseudo-Galen, Metrodora, Cleopatra and the Gynaecological Pharmacology of Byzantium», in LEHMHAUS, Lennart and MARTELLI, Matteo (eds.), *Collecting recipes. Byzantine and Jewish pharmacology in Dialogue*, De Gruyter, Boston/Berlin, pp. 103-122.
- VINCENT, Anne- Lise (2010-2011), *Édition, traduction et commentaire des fragments grecs du Kosmètikon attribué à Cléopâtre*, (M.A. thesis, under direction of Marie-Hélène Marganne).
- WAUGH, Richey L. (2000), *The ophthalmology of Aetius of Amida*, J. P. Wayenborgh, Oostende.
- ZERVOS, Skevos (1901), *Aetii Sermo sextidecimus et ultimus*, Verlag von Anton. Mangos, Leipzig.