

LEXIS

Poetica, retorica e comunicazione nella tradizione classica

31.2013

ADOLF M. HAKKERT EDITORE

LEXIS

Poetica, retorica e comunicazione nella tradizione classica

SOMMARIO

ARTICOLI

Riccardo Di Donato, <i>Saluto a Belfagor</i>	1
Carlo Franco, <i>Il contributo di Emilio Gabba</i>	6
Enrico Medda, <i>Ricordo di Vincenzo Di Benedetto</i>	11
Nicholas Horsfall, <i>Un ricordo di Giovanni Franco</i> , con appendice di Carlo Franco	14
Claude Calame, <i>De la pratique culturelle dominante à la philologie classique: le rôle du chœur dans la tragédie attique</i>	16
Lucia Marrucci, <i>Zeus 'Nemtor' nei 'Sette contro Tebe' (Aesch. 'Sept.' 485)</i>	29
Francesco Mambrini, <i>Les Dons de Clytemnestre et la tombe d'Agamemnon. Sur Soph. 'El.' 431-63</i>	40
Enrico Medda, <i>Statue per Menelao? Un'interpretazione di Aesch. 'Ag.' 416-9</i>	60
Daria Francobandiera, « <i>Comment faut-il le nommer?</i> » <i>Note sur l'histoire des interprétations d'Aesch. 'Ch.' 997-1000</i>	76
Pietro Totaro, <i>Venticinque anni di studi greci su "Lexis". Nota a Eschilo 'Supplici' 859 s. e 894</i> .	105
Matteo Taufer, <i>Due parziali apografi eschilei nel Laur. 32.21 (Ca) per 'Sept.' 35-68 e 'PV' 789-1093</i>	113
Matteo Taufer, <i>Aesch. 'PV' 550 ἀλαδὸν 'φέρεται' γένος: una lezione inedita nel Vallicell. B 70 (Nb)</i> .	119
Reina Marisol Troca Pereira, <i>Ifigénia em Áulide – duas afirmações: blasfémia (vs. deuses) ou realismo (vs. profetas)?</i>	122
Nadia Rosso, <i>L'ekphrasis' corale del primo stasimo dell' 'Elettra' di Euripide</i>	138
Giuseppina Basta Donzelli, <i>Nota su Euripide 'Elettra' 699</i>	156
Giacomo Mancuso, <i>Congetture inedite di Peter Elmsley all' 'Andromaca' di Euripide</i>	160
Gian Franco Nieddu, <i>Note alla 'Pace' di Aristofane</i>	170
Silvia Pagni, <i>Il coro del 'Pluto' di Aristofane: giochi paratragici</i>	189
Pierluigi Perrone, <i>Intersezioni tra lessico medico e comico: il caso di βουβών e βουβωνιάω (Aristoph. 'Vesp.' 275a-7a; Men. 'Georg.' 48.50-2)</i>	201
Francesca Guadalupe Masi, <i>Indeterminismo e autodeterminazione. Aristotele ed Epicuro</i>	213
Christos Tsagalis, <i>The Rock of Ajax: Posidippus 19.9 A-B</i>	238
Nicola Piacenza, <i>Amanti o distruttori di frutti: Leonida di Taranto ('AP' 9.563) alla luce di un epigramma adespota dell' 'Anthologia Palatina' (9.373)</i>	248
Vera Grossi, <i>Tradizioni locali attiche negli scoli a Tucidide. Note su alcuni scoli all' 'Archeologia'</i>	254
Ewa Garasińska – Wiesław Suder, <i>'Tentipellium' – An Ancient Facelift without a Scalpel?</i>	272
Lucia Pasetti, <i>L'io come personaggio: permanenza di un modulo linguistico nella ricezione dell' 'Amphitruo'</i>	284
Amedeo Alessandro Raschieri, <i>Traduzione e apprendimento retorico (Cic. 'inv.' 1.51 s.)</i>	311
Francesca Romana Berno, <i>Il compromesso impossibile. Marco Celio tra vizi e virtù</i>	321
Stefano Costa, <i>Il dovere della guerra civile tra Lucano e Gellio</i>	336
Giuseppina Magnaldi, <i>La parola-segnale nel cod. Laur. plut. 76.36 (L) di Apuleio filosofo</i>	347
Francesco Citti, <i>Un figlio o un figlio solo? Nota a Paul. 'dig.' 5.1.28.5</i>	358
Alberto Canobbio, <i>Una supplica tra serio e faceto: Marziale nel carme 13 di Sidonio Apollinare</i>	366
Alessia Fassina, <i>Sulla datazione del 'De Verbi incarnatione' ('AL' 719 R²)</i>	391
Pau Gilabert Barberà, <i>'Brideshead Revisited' (1945) by Evelyn Waugh (1903-1966): The Benefit of an Arcadian Experience in Confronting the Human Tragedy</i>	398

RECENSIONI

Arnaldo Momigliano, <i>Decimo contributo alla storia degli studi classici e del mondo antico</i> (C. Franco)	419
Anton Bierl – Wolfgang Braungart (hrsgg.), <i>Gewalt und Opfer. Im Dialog mit Walter Burkert</i> (A. Taddei)	423
Luigi Lehnus, <i>Incontri con la filologia del passato</i> (C. Franco)	429
Piero Treves, “ <i>Le piace Tacito?</i> ”. <i>Ritratti di storici antichi</i> , a c. di Carlo Franco (V. Citti)	432
Valentina Garulli, <i>Byblos Laine: Epigrafia, Letteratura, Epitafio</i> (C. Tsagalis)	435
Jonas Grethlein, <i>Das Geschichtsbild der ‘Ilias’. Eine Untersuchung aus phänomenologischer und narratologischer Perspektive</i> (C. Lucci)	438
Giulio Colesanti, <i>Questioni Teognidee. La genesi simposiale di un ‘corpus’ di elegie</i> (S. Pagni)	447
Livio Rossetti, <i>Le dialogue socratique</i> (S. Jedrkiewicz)	450
Richard Stoneman – Tristano Gargiulo (a c. di), <i>Il Romanzo di Alessandro</i> (C. Franco)	455
James H. Richardson, <i>The Fabii and the Gauls. Studies in Historical Thought and Historiography in Republican Rome</i> (A. Pistellato)	457
Alberto Cavarzere, <i>Gli arcani dell’oratore. Alcuni appunti sull’‘actio’ dei Romani</i> (A. Pistellato)	464
Bruna Pieri, ‘ <i>Intacti saltus</i> ’. <i>Studi sul III libro delle ‘Georgiche’</i> (M. Fucecchi)	468
Luca Canali – Francesca Romana Nocchi (a c. di), <i>Epigrammata Bobiensia</i> (S. Mattiacci)	473
Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, <i>L’arte del tradurre</i> (G. Ugolini)	477
<i>Leucothoe Iohannis Pascoli</i> , edidit Vincenzo Fera (S. Zivec)	479
Alfonso Traina, <i>Il singhiozzo della tacchina e altri saggi pascoliani</i> (V. Citti)	482
Giovanni Barberi Squarotti (a c. di), <i>Le ‘Odi’ di Quinto Orazio Flacco tradotte da Cesare Pavese</i> (C. Franco)	483

Direzione

VITTORIO CITTI
PAOLO MASTANDREA

Redazione

STEFANO AMENDOLA, GUIDO AVEZZÙ, FEDERICO BOSCHETTI, CLAUDIA CASALI, LIA DE FINIS, CARLO FRANCO, ALESSANDRO FRANZOI, MASSIMO MANCA, STEFANO MASO, ENRICO MEDDA, LUCA MONDIN, GABRIELLA MORETTI, MARIA ANTONIETTA NENCINI, PIETRO NOVELLI, STEFANO NOVELLI, GIOVANNA PACE, ANTONIO PISTELLATO, RENATA RACCANELLI, ANDREA RODIGHIERO, GIANCARLO SCARPA, PAOLO SCATTOLIN, LINDA SPINAZZÈ, MATTEO TAUFER

Comitato scientifico

MARIA GRAZIA BONANNO, ANGELO CASANOVA, ALBERTO CAVARZERE, GENNARO D'IPPOLITO, LOWELL EDMUNDS, PAOLO FEDELI, ENRICO FLORES, PAOLO GATTI, MAURIZIO GIANGIULIO, GIAN FRANCO GIANOTTI, PIERRE JUDET DE LA COMBE, MARIE MADELEINE MACTOUX, GIUSEPPE MASTROMARCO, GIANCARLO MAZZOLI, CARLES MIRALLES, GIAN FRANCO NIEDDU, CARLO ODO PAVESE, WOLFGANG RÖSLER, PAOLO VALESIO, MARIO VEGETTI, BERNHARD ZIMMERMANN

LEXIS – Poetica, retorica e comunicazione nella tradizione classica

<http://www.lexisonline.eu/>
info@lexisonline.eu, infolexisonline@gmail.com

Direzione e Redazione:

Università Ca' Foscari Venezia
Dipartimento di Studi Umanistici
Palazzo Malcanton Marcorà – Dorsoduro 3484/D
I-30123 Venezia

Vittorio Citti vittorio.citti@gmail.it

Paolo Mastandrea mast@unive.it

Pubblicato con il contributo del
Dipartimento di Studi Umanistici
Università Ca' Foscari Venezia

Copyright by Vittorio Citti
ISSN 2210-8823
ISBN 978-90-256-1287-0

Lexis, in accordo ai principi internazionali di trasparenza in sede di pubblicazioni di carattere scientifico, sottopone tutti i testi che giungono in redazione a un processo di doppia lettura anonima (*double-blind peer review*, ovvero *refereeing*) affidato a specialisti di Università o altri Enti italiani ed esteri. Circa l'80% dei revisori è esterno alla redazione della rivista. Ogni due anni la lista dei revisori che hanno collaborato con la rivista è pubblicata sia online sia in calce a questa pagina.

Lexis figura tra le riviste di carattere scientifico a cui è riconosciuta la classe A nella lista di valutazione pubblicata dall'**ANVUR** (*Agenzia Nazionale di Valutazione del Sistema Universitario e della Ricerca*). È inoltre censita dalla banca dati internazionale **Scopus-Elsevier**, mentre è in corso la procedura di valutazione da parte della banca dati internazionale **Web of Science-ISI**.

Informazioni per i contributori: gli articoli e le recensioni proposti alla rivista vanno inviati all'indirizzo di posta elettronica **infolexisonline@gmail.com**. Essi debbono rispettare scrupolosamente le norme editoriali della rivista, scaricabili dal sito **www.lexisonline.eu**. Qualsiasi contributo che non rispetti tali norme non sarà preso in considerazione da parte della redazione.

Revisori anni 2011-2012:

Antonio Aloni
Guido Avezzù
Giuseppina Basta Donzelli
Luigi Battezzato
Federico Boschetti
Pierangelo Buongiorno
Claude Calame
Alberto Camerotto
Alberto Cavarzere
Walter Cavini
Ettore Cingano
Paolo Cipolla
Vittorio Citti
Donatella Coppini
Lucio Cristante
Richard Dawe
Fabiana Di Brazzà
Riccardo Di Donato
Marco Fernandelli
Alessandro Franzoi
Marco Fucecchi
Carles Garriga
Alexander Garvie
Gianfranco Gianotti
Francesca Lamberti
Diego Lanza
Walter Lapini
Liana Lomiento
Giuseppina Magnaldi

Enrico Magnelli
Stefano Maso
Paolo Mastandrea
Enrico Medda
Carles Miralles
Luca Mondin
Patrizia Mureddu
Simonetta Nannini
Renato Oniga
Piergiorgio Parroni
Maria Pia Pattoni
Bruna Pieri
Renata Raccanelli
Wolfgang Rösler
Antonio Stramaglia

***Tentipellium* – An Ancient Facelift without a Scalpel?**

Every beginning
is only a sequel, after all,
and the book of events
is always open halfway through*.

For centuries humans have been taking considerable pains to improve their personal appearance. Even before the invention of the appropriate word to denote the art of beautification¹ men and women had been taking care about their appearance and harmony of their bodies. By suitable means they tried to conceal the flaws of their skin, discolorations and wrinkles.

The war waged on wrinkles would have kept many a woman awake still in antiquity – and, who knows, possibly even earlier. This struggle is especially interesting in ancient Rome where the people drew both on local achievements and the achievements of the entire known world. There are numerous references to anti-ageing cosmetics and anti-wrinkle action of diverse substances in, *e.g.*, Ovid, Martial, Pliny the Elder, but some information is to be found even in earlier authors who were active during the Republican age, for instance, in Titinius and Afranius.

It is evident from the sources that women of antiquity turned to various measures expected to help them to retain and even restore their youth. Their sheer number is suggested for example by a fragment of Martial's epigram addressed to an ageing woman: *et iaceas centum condita pyxidibus / nec tecum facies tua dormiat*². Although Martial does not specify the exact content of these small vessels we can guess that they held cosmetics based on similar or the same materials as are mentioned, *e.g.*, by Pliny the Elder and Ovid. Thus, there would have been salves or skin-care creams containing anise which, as Pliny the Elder noted, *vultum iunioyem praestat*³ (rejuvenate the face); almond oil, which *cutem erugat*⁴ (smoothes out the

* Wisława Szymborska (Szymborska 1997, 361). Acknowledgments: This quotation is included here by the authors to show that in this article they continue the research initiated by Prof. Dr. Hab. Lucyna Stankiewicz, outstanding authority on Latin literature, taking the cue from her work. At the same time they express their gratitude for her drawing focus to the subject and opening this line of inquiry. Appreciating the contribution to science made by Prof. Stankiewicz, the authors hope that, by dedicating their effort to her person, this modest publication will not offend.

¹ It is notable that at first the art of beautification and body care was associated with religious rituals and only with time developed into medical science. Thus, in the early civilizations the concept of beautification was somewhat different from the modern, broader definition of cosmetics. See Saiko 2005; Stewart 2007.

² Mart. 9.37.4 f. (Schneidewin 1853). In the English language editions of Martial this fragment is rendered as follows: 'and you lie stored away in a hundred caskets, and your face does not sleep with you' (Capps 1920, 99), or 'and lie stowed away in a hundred boxes; though even your face does not sleep with you' (Bohn 1904, 411). Since none of these translations is fully explicit let us note this fragment is understood here as referring to the removal of so many cosmetics (and, possibly, other adornments) from the face that they have to be kept in not less than 100 containers.

³ Plin. *nat.* 20.73. Unless stated otherwise the quotations from Pliny are taken from the Mayhoff 1906 edition.

wrinkles); ripe figs, recommended by Pliny as a remedy to reduce the number of wrinkles or delay their development – *minusque rugarum*⁵ –; seeds of the plant *cacalia*⁶ which, according to Pliny, when mixed with melted wax, tighten (stretch) the skin of the face – *cacaliae grana mixta cerae liquidae extendunt cutem in facie* – and remove wrinkles – *erugantque*⁷ –; or finally, daffodil (*Narcissus pseudonarcissus*) bulbs, in which are found powerful neurotoxins, which can have a relaxing effect on the skin and on the mimic muscles⁸.

There are many more references to anti-wrinkle action of some substances to be found in classical authors. While these are quite precise and clear, and one can only wonder whether these substances are really as effective as these authors claim, more reservation is raised by fragments found in a smaller number of sources which refer to the anti-wrinkle action of *tentipellium*.

Despite impressive progress made by historical and medical sciences as well as the flourishing of cosmetology we have yet to discover what exactly was *tentipellium*. We can guess at its uses but we do not know what its form was and the ways it was used⁹. The first references to *tentipellium* appear in the surviving fragments of comedies of Titinius and Afranius.

Titinius, a representative of the Roman comedy genre known as *fabula togata*, living in the period of the Roman Republic, presumably, in the first decade of the II century B.C. leaves us this piece of evidence¹⁰:

tentipellium
*Inducitur, rugae ore extenduntur*¹¹.

Thus, we have here an information that *tentipellium* was something used to smooth and remove facial wrinkles¹².

⁴ Plin. *nat.* 23.36.

⁵ Plin. *nat.* 23.57.

⁶ Researchers are not unanimous as to the identification of this plant, see Bostock – Riley 1856, footnote to Plin. *nat.* 25.85.

⁷ Plin. *nat.* 26.68.

⁸ Ovid mentions daffodil bulbs in line 63 of his *Medicamina faciei femineae: adice narcissi bis sex sine cortice bulbos* (Ehwald 1907). All subsequent references to Ovid are taken from the same edition. Hillman notes that skin-care creams with alkaloids found in daffodil bulbs (*Narcissus pseudonarcissus*) could have been used for the same purpose as botox injections are used today. Hillman 2004, 168. In modern cosmetology similar substances are described as 'botox like'. On the action of cosmetic materials mentioned by Ovid see also Garasińska 2010, 173-9.

⁹ Although recent years brought two quite extensive publications on cosmetics in antiquity they do not address this subject. The cosmetic uses of *tentipellium* are not mentioned by Saiko and by Stewart; neither do we find anything in archaeological evidence identifiable reliably with *tentipellium* used as a remedy against wrinkles – this leads us to conclude that, rather than a cosmetic device or instrument, presumably this was a cosmetic substance.

¹⁰ Classical sources known at present are insufficient to determine in more detail the years when Titinius lived. Presumably, this was little before Terence (Conte 1994, 125). For more details on the efforts made to narrow down the years of life of Titinius see, e.g., Guardi 1984, 18 f. (introduction).

¹¹ Titin. *com.* 173 f. All the cited fragments from Titinius and Afranius are taken from Ribbeck CRF, 1898.

Afranius, similarly as Titinius the representative of the Roman comedy genre *fabula togata*, active in the II century B.C., included an even less unambiguous reference in a fragment of his comedy, *Promus*¹³:

*pro manibus credo habere ego illos tentipellium*¹⁴

from which we learn that the man speaking these words believes that, instead of hands, they (the cooks, presumably) have a *tentipellium*¹⁵. Obviously, this statement should be understood as a metaphor.

Let us note that neither of these two records comes directly from its author, only from an indirect tradition. In case of the testimony of Titinius we do not even know the title of the comedy from which this sentence is taken, in case of Afranius the surviving fragments of *Promus* are too small for us to reconstruct the context.

We owe the explanation of the word *tentipellium* to Sextus Pompeius Festus, Roman grammarian writing in 2nd/3rd century A.D. Being a very extensive extract from the lexicon of Marcus Verrius Flaccus, enhanced also with comments derived from other sources, *De verborum significatu* contains descriptions of the meaning of words which by the first century were no longer in common use and consequently could be unintelligible even for the Romans. To our times only a fragment of Festus's work survives, as does a summary of his entire work made in the times of Charlemagne by Paul the Deacon¹⁶. Unfortunately, neither the information on the subject of *tentipellium* handed down by Festus, nor by Paul the Deacon are of help in identifying its nature. On the contrary, by providing two meanings of one and the same word they even broaden the range of assumptions.

In *De verborum significatu* we find the following information:

tentipellium Artorius putat esse calciamentum ferratum, quo pelles extenduntur, indeque Afranium dixisse in Promo:

*pro manibus credo habere ego illos tentipellium*¹⁷.

From this piece of writing we learn that according to Artorius (presumably, the rhetor C. Artorius Proculus), the *tentipellium* was an iron hide-stretching device used in shoemaking¹⁸. Next, Festus cites the fragment of Afranius' *togata* – *Promus* invoked earlier.

¹² That the face is meant here is indicated by the word *ore* used in the text – from *os, oris* – face or part of the face. See Teßmer 1981, coll. 1073-87.

¹³ There is no full agreement in literature as to when Afranius lived. Conte notes that Afranius is an approximate contemporary of Lucilius. Conte 1994, 125. Cf. McCarthy 1996, 33; Kenney – Clausen 1982, 820.

¹⁴ Afran. *com.* 281.

¹⁵ See footnote 41.

¹⁶ Albrecht 1992, 693 f.

¹⁷ Fest. p. 453 (Lindsay 1930). Subsequent citations from Festus are taken from the same edition. In Lindemannus p. 276 (Lindemannus 1832), in Thewrewk p. 556 (Thewrewk 1889).

¹⁸ In explicating his entries Festus refers directly to Artorius on three occasions. It is possible that this authority was C. Artorius Proculus. See Smith 1867, 541. This is explained at more length by Klebs. See Klebs 1896, col. 1461 f.

We go on to learn from Festus that:

Titinium autem (ait?) Verrius existimare¹⁹, id medicamentum esse, quo rugae extendantur cum dicat:

*tentipellium inducitur, rugae in ore extenduntur,
-cum ille τροπικῶς dixerit.*

And so, the fragment from Titinius cited earlier is provided with an additional information that the *tentipellium* was a *medicamentum*.

In Paul the Deacon we only find the information that *tentipellium* is a *genus calciamenti ferratum, quo pelles extenduntur*²⁰ – or, a shoemaking device already mentioned earlier.

The etymology of the word *tentipellium*: from *tendo* (stretch, tauten) and *pellis* (skin), while it alludes to the function of this object (substance?) it does not indicate either its form or shape. Little more is to be learnt from the definition of this word as given in dictionaries and lexicons of classical world.

In *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae latinitatis* under the heading *tentipellium* we find a reference to *Gloss. Lat. Græc.*, where the word is explained as: *medicamentum, quo pellis tenditur* and a reference to Festus²¹, next, we are referred to the entry *tenor*, meaning *instrumentum, quo utuntur ad tentionem pellium pannorumve*²².

A broad definition of *tentipellium* is given by Hofmann²³. Two meanings are given – one is a shoemaking device (*nonnullis genus est calceamenti ferratum*) the other – *medicamentum quo cutem erugabant*. The second segment of this definition is more exhaustive – we find in it information on some substances used to smoothen the skin, namely, bread (*panis*) and asses' milk (*asininum lacte*).

In Gesner there is information that *tentipellium* was a craftsman's (shoemaking device – *cerdonis instrumentum, Forceps pedibus applicatus* –, and also (drawing on the evidence from Titinius) a medication for wrinkles *medicamenta ad rugas*²⁴.

In *Dictionnaire Universel de médecine* we find information that this was a cosmetic used for removing skin wrinkles («cosmétique, qui efface les rides de la peau»)²⁵. A very similar explanation is found in *Fremdwörterbuch* edited by Beer – namely, that this was a medium for smoothing skin wrinkles («Mittel zum glättender Hautrunzeln»)²⁶.

¹⁹ Verrius – this would be Marcus Verrius Flaccus (I century B.C.-I century A.D.), Roman grammarian, appointed by Emperor Augustus to teach his grandsons, author of the lexicon *De verborum significatu* (On the Meaning of Words) the source used by Festus (II century A.D.). See Albrecht 1992, 693 f.; Conte 1994, 386 f.

²⁰ Paul. Fest. p. 453 (Lindsay 1830).

²¹ du Cange 1883-87, col. 064c.

²² du Cange 1883-87, col. 065a. At this point the *Glossarium* invokes the entry in the *Nomolexicon* of Thomas Blount (1670).

²³ Hofmann 1698, 379.

²⁴ Gesner 1749, 753.

²⁵ James 1748, 170.

²⁶ Beer 1838, 446.

The *Oxford Latin Dictionary* notes only that *tentipellium* was a device for stretching skin or leather²⁷, whereas the *Handwörterbuch* of Georges explains that the *tentipellium* was a shoemaking device used to stretch the leather, and, stressing this usage as jocular, a salve for the removal of wrinkles («der Lederspanner, womit die Schuhmacher das Leder ausdehnen und über den Leisten zu schlagen pflegen; scherzh. übtr. b. einer die Runzeln bertreibenden Hautsalbe»)²⁸. A similar definition is offered by *Handwörter der lateinischen Sprache*, ed. R. Klotz, which defines *tentipellium* as «Lederaufspannt, Lederglätte, Lederreifen» and, as a second meaning, as a salve smoothing away wrinkles («e. Salbe glätten der Runzeln»)²⁹.

Two meanings of the word *tentipellium* are provided by Forcellini's lexicon³⁰. Here too the first meaning is related to shoemaking, the second, to a medicinal or a cosmetic substance which was used in removing wrinkles: *Nomen a tendo et pellis, quo significatur forma sutoris. [...] Translate est medicamentum, quo cutis rugae extenduntur*. The lexicon refers the reader to the entry *tetanothrum*, a Greek counterpart of *tentipellium*, translated as: *medicamentum, quo rugae in cute tolluntur, et pellis extenditur; extensus: latine tentipellium*³¹.

Interestingly enough also all the other definitions of the word *tetanothrum* are associated with anti-wrinkle action and do not associate this term (although they do provide the information that this is a Greek counterpart of the Latin *tentipellium*) with shoemaking devices, as for example:

Thesaurus Graecae Linguae describes τετάνωθρον as «vim habens extendendi et erugandi cutem, et in primis cutem faciei» and «medicamenta erugatoria, sive quae rugas emendant»³².

A New Greek and English Lexicon defines τετάνωθρον as any medicinal application, or means for removing wrinkles³³, and the *Latin Dictionary* of Lewis-Short explains that this is a cosmetic for removing wrinkles³⁴.

In the written sources the term *tetanothrum* (τετάνωθρον) appears in Pliny the Elder when he discusses the action of fish glue: *utilem eam [Ichthyocollam] in capilis doloribus affirmant et tetanothris* which, as we are told, was helpful in case of headaches but also for removing wrinkles³⁵.

In Quest for a Modern *tentipellium*.

In seeking a modern cosmetic counterpart of the *tentipellium* it is worth re-examining the individual *testimonia* which, for greater ease, we list in the table below:

²⁷ Glare 1983, 1921.

²⁸ Georges 1918, col. 3064.

²⁹ Klotz 1857, 1568.

³⁰ de Vit 1875, 57.

³¹ de Vit 1875, 80.

³² Dindorf 1848-54, col. 2055.

³³ Donnegan – Patton 1836, 1239.

³⁴ Lewis – Short 1879.

³⁵ Plin. *nat.* 32.24. Let us note that in most editions the word *tetanis* rather than *tetanothris* is used, something which would change the meaning entirely. The edition used here is Harduini 1832.

'Tentipellium' – An Ancient Facelift without a Scalpel?

Author	Information on the <i>tentipellium</i>	Comments
Titinius	<i>Inducitur, rugae ore extenduntur</i>	On cosmetic use
Afranius	<i>Pro manibus credo habere ego illos tentipellium</i>	This fragment may refer both to a term associated with shoemaking and with cosmetics
Festus	<i>Tentipellium Artorius putat esse calciamentum ferratum quo pelles extenduntur, indeque Afranium dixisse in Promo: pro manibus credo habere ego illos tentipellium. Titinium autem (ait?) Verrius existimare id medicamentum esse quo rugae extendantur cum dicat: tentipellium inducitur, rugae in ore extenduntur, - cum ille τροπικῶς dixerit.</i>	The <i>tentipellium</i> is described as a term used in shoemaking On cosmetic use
Paul the Deacon	<i>genus calciamenti ferratum quo pelles extenduntur</i>	One use in shoemaking

Plate 1: References to *tentipellium* found in the written sources.

The references listed above and insights from the brief review of dictionary entries show clearly that the term *tentipellium* had two meanings: the first meaning was related to a shoemaking device, presumably, a last³⁶ while the second was closely related to cosmetics, beautification and the masking of the skin defects. The latter meaning is of special interest for historians-cosmetologists and historians investigating the subject of old age, including the ageing of the skin.

Thus, leaving aside, for the time being, the shoemaker's last it is worth taking a closer look at clues found in classical authors that are related directly to anti-wrinkle treatment. Thus, the reference in Titinius and the fragment of information found in Festus.

The presented fragment from Titinius:

tentipellium
Inducitur, rugae ore extenduntur

directly indicates the function of *tentipellium* (smoothing the facial wrinkles). Since we know that in literary works classified as *fabula togata* care was taken to preserve realistic details the protagonists were mostly people of middle and lower status and

³⁶ See Yates 1848, 545: The shoemaker's last was also called *forma* and *tentipellium*.

the characteristic feature was the common subject and style³⁷, thus, presumably, the word *tentipellium* was intelligible to by all the viewers. What we do not know, however, if this was because of its meaning or because the word was used in a specific context. Neither do we know if *tentipellium*, understood as ‘remover’ of wrinkles, was then already in use or whether only thanks to Titinius a term taken from shoemaking gained a new meaning³⁸. An information of essence to the cosmetologist which follows from the cited fragment is also that the reference has do to with facial wrinkles³⁹. Thanks to this it becomes obvious that this is a reference to cosmetic treatment related to beautification rather than to wrinkles on leather used in shoemaking. The reference to the face also suggests that the *tentipellium* was so expensive that it was not profitable to use it on larger surfaces or that – perhaps – its action was so delicate that it was not effective on wrinkles found elsewhere on the human body.

From Festus we learn that the *tentipellium* was a *medicamentum*, namely, that it belonged to a large group of substances which encompassed both drugs and cosmetics, poisons, pigments, magic potions and spices. This group is so broad because the Romans did not make a clear distinction between drugs and cosmetics, treating with similar seriousness drugs used in healing and those used in hygiene and beautification, and also they used the same resources in making drugs as well as cosmetics⁴⁰. Thus, the term *medicamentum, quo rugae extendantur* indicates that this was a remedy (which, in view of its function would be classified as a cosmetic today) which helped remove wrinkles (tautening and smoothing the by stretching).

The reference to *tentipellium* handed down by Afranius opens up a wide field for conjecture. Agreeing with researchers of the Roman comedy that the word *illos* used in the text refers to cooks⁴¹, who, it follows from the text, have a *tentipellium* instead of hands: *pro manibus credo habere ego illos tentipellium*, it is worth considering whether this fragment also, even though in Festus it is used to illustrate words which refer to a term taken from shoemaking, could not in fact refer to the meaning of the word understood as a remedy for wrinkles. Dacier, in his commentary to Festus, when he refers specifically to beautification writes that this fragment may be understood in a similar way, that is, that on women’s faces there is nothing other than makeup, or, that the heroes of Afranius’s togata, in place of hands have only

³⁷ Stankiewicz 1987, 8, 43. At the same time, Conte notes that we need to approach the realism in the togata with some caution as: «It does not appear that the authors of togata wage any programmatic battle for realism». Conte 1994, 126.

³⁸ On more than one occasion Titinius used generally known terms in a new meaning. This is explained at more length in Stankiewicz 1987, 66-9. The change in the meaning is noted also in a commentary to Titinius made by T. Guardi. See Guardi 1984, 168.

³⁹ See footnote 12.

⁴⁰ See Stewart 2007, 12; and Hillman 2004, 155.

⁴¹ One authority to connect this statement with cooks is A. Daviault: «La connaissance des textes comiques grecs et latins fait le reste et nous aide à identifier les cibles de ces deux remarques qui visent, l’une, le faciès trop ridé d’un personnage d’âge avancé, l’autre, les mains voleuses des esclaves de la Comédie, probablement des cuisiniers, que Plaute compare souvent aux griffes ou crocs des milans» (Daviault 1990, 49-61 and similarly, Stankiewicz 1999, 122).

bones clad in skin⁴². For her part, L. Stankiewicz proposes to interpret this statement as a reference to a shoemaker's last and explains that «as the last fits, or rather, must fit every shoe, so everything must stick to the hands of cooks. Consequently, this would be a metaphor according to which, the hands have the same properties as a shoemaker's last has»⁴³.

Both explanations appear to fit, but looking for support of the second meaning of *tentipellium* (that is, a remedy for wrinkles) we can one more hypothesis. Namely, knowing that the women of antiquity readily used gluey masks prepared of bread or dough, which they 'caked' onto their faces, we can warrant the claim that the hands of the cooks can be said to be caked in a similar manner. This would not alter the overall meaning of this fragment which could still be understood as an allusion to the kleptomaniac pursuits of cooks⁴⁴, but would be related to the second meaning of the word *tentipellium*.

Still in the realm of hypotheses, we can try to look for connections between the *tentipellium*, understood as a shoemaking device, and *tentipellium* understood as a *medicamentum*. Perhaps it could have been a substance, possibly used both in shoemaking and in cosmetics. In which case it would have been some sort of ointment (as mentioned in the dictionary definitions) used to softened the leather to make it easier to stretch over the shoemaker's last and which, at the same time, could have resembled a wrinkle-smoothing cosmetic. However, proof for this assumption is hard to find. Festus distinguishes clearly the two meanings of the word which are connected only by the fact that the *tentipellium* was used to stretch skin.

Seeking the modern cosmetic counterpart of *tentipellium* we have to note that the written references do not even specify whether it was a single specific product or ingredient, or whether perhaps the name referred in general to an entire group or type of substances which had a tightening effect on the skin⁴⁵. Since etymology indicates clearly the function of *tentipellium* and the only explanation given is that of *medicamentum*, we would be inclined to recognize the second variant as the more plausible. Thus, assuming that *tentipellium* was used to describe different substances, and possibly, even methods which had the effect of stretching the skin, out of many treatments and substances which are used at present and have a tightening effect the one that corresponds most to this concept would be today's concept of treatments and substances which produce the effect of a lift and lifting – increasing the tension of the skin.

A lift is a cosmetic counterpart of a facelift – the latter a procedure of plastic surgery. As there is no evidence in the sources that the women of antiquity resorted to surgery in order to remove wrinkles we cannot readily assume that *tentipellium*

⁴² Dacier 1832, 737, commentary.

⁴³ Stankiewicz 1999, 122. It is worth adding that yet another reference to this fragment is found in Neukirch 1833, 147. He writes that this could refer to strong and deformed arms: «Afranius manifesto figurate, priorem vocabuli significationem respiciens, tentipellium pro manibus deformibus ac praeduris, ut apte explicare videtur Bothius, posuit».

⁴⁴ Taking her cue from G. Przychocki, Lucyna Stankiewicz notes that cooks may have been presented as kleptomaniacs; Stankiewicz 1999, 122; Przychocki 1925.

⁴⁵ Perhaps the authors of antiquity used this term in a way that today we would use the term 'epilator' to refer to a wide range of methods and devices which have hair removal as their main function.

may be related directly to this type of treatment. Not so in case of the non-surgical lift, which procedure has the effect of smoothing the skin through the application of active substances which strongly tighten the skin. Most frequently the main element of this sort of lifting treatment are suitably composed face masks and skin-care creams, their action based on strong stimulating effect on the muscles and on inducing hyperaemia (increased blood flow). This in turn has an effect similar to that of massage, increases percutaneous absorption of active substances, ultimately producing the effect of a smoothed, well stretched skin, on which the wrinkles become less visible.

Most often, the base ingredient in substances producing a lifting effect are protein derivatives obtained from plant and animal resources: amino acids, proteins, enzymes, of which there are many: *e.g.* collagen and elastine, bovine serum albumin (BSA) derived from calf serum (although at present its importance in cosmetics and cosmetology is decreasing), fibroin – the main protein in silk, and milk proteins. Of great interest for contemporary producers of cosmetics with a lifting effect are also proteins obtained from cereal grains (*e.g.* wheat), legumes, aloe. It is notable that references to these and similar substances are encountered in Ovid and in Pliny the Elder. In *Medicamina faciei femineae* we find a suggestion that *semine tusco*⁴⁶ should be added to one of the cosmetic substances, a species of wheat popular in antiquity. In *Naturalis Historiae* we find information about the anti-wrinkle action of milk, on the cosmetic-medicinal uses of glue manufactured from calf genitalia, use of egg white (which even today some women still apply to their face to tighten the skin), or *ichthyocollam* mentioned earlier, which Pliny himself classified as a *tetanothrum*⁴⁷. Thus, we may assume that substances with a lifting effect were known many centuries ago and could have been used precisely as a medium for removing wrinkles by stretching the skin, consequently, as *tentipellium*.

Given that sources on *tentipellium* are so limited and leave some room for other feasible hypotheses, the ‘riddle’ of the anti-wrinkle uses of *tentipellium* may be expected to continue to challenge not only to historians but also physicians, biologists and cosmetologists.⁴⁸

Unpublic Medical College
Faculty of Prevention and Health
Nowowiejska 69 – 50 340 Wrocław (Poland)

Ewa Garasińska
egarasinska@gmail.com

University of Wrocław
Institute of History
Szewska 49 – 50 139 Wrocław (Poland)

Wiesław Suder
bxsuder@wp.pl

⁴⁶ Ov. *medic.* 65.

⁴⁷ Plin. *nat.* 28.18, 46.

⁴⁸ A more extensive study on this subject, including the anti-wrinkle uses of *tentipellium* is in preparation.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REFERENCES

- Albrecht 1992 = M. von Albrecht, *Geschichte der Römischen Literatur. Von Andronicus bis Boethius*, Bern 1992.
- Beer 1838 = E. Beer, *Neuestes Fremdwörterbuch zur Verdeutschung und Erklärung aller in Sprache und Schrift vorkommenden nicht deutschen Wörter, Redensarten, Kunstausdrücke und Abkürzungen: mit beständiger Angabe ihrer Betonung, Aussprache und Abstammung, so wie des Geschlechts der Hauptwörter*, I-II, Weimar 1838.
- Bohn 1904 = H.G. Bohn, *The 'Epigrams' of Martial. Translated into English Prose. Each Accompanied by One or More Verse Translations, from the Works of English Poets, and Various Other Sources*, London 1904.
- Bostock – Riley 1856 = J. Bostock – H.T. Riley, *The 'Natural History' of Pliny*, London 1856.
- du Cange 1883-87 = Ch. du Fresne sieur du Cange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis*, I-VIII, Niort 1883-87.
- Capps 1920 = E. Capps, *Martial 'Epigrams'*, I-II, London-New York 1920.
- Conte 1994 = G.B. Conte, *Latin Literature: A History*, London-Baltimore 1994.
- Dacier 1832 = A. Dacier, *Tentipellium in Pauli Diaconi excerpta et Sex. Pompeii Festi fragmenta continens*, vol. 2 of *Corpus grammaticorum Latinorum veterum*, adiecit F. Lindemannus, Lipsiae 1832.
- Daviault 1981 = A. Daviault, 'Comoedia togata'. *Fragments*, Paris 1981.
- Daviault 1990 = A. Daviault, *Quelques problèmes de traduction de textes de théâtre latin*, TTR: traduction, terminologie, rédaction 3.1, 1990, 49-61.
- Denes 1973 = T. Denes, *Quelques problèmes de la fabula togata*, BBudé 2, 1973, 194.
- Dindorf 1848-54 = L. Dindorf, s.v. Τετάνωθρον, in *ThGl* 7 (1848-54), col. 2055.
- Donnegan – Patton 1836 = J. Donnegan – R.B. Patton, *A New Greek and English Lexicon; Principally on the Plan of the Greek and German Lexicon of Schneider*, Boston-New York 1836.
- Duckworth 1994 = G.E. Duckworth, *The Nature of Roman Comedy: A Study in Popular Entertainment*, Oklahoma 1994.
- Ehwald 1907 = R. Ehwald, *Ovidius Naso Publius: 'Amores', 'Epistulae', 'Medicamina faciei femineae', 'Ars amatoria', 'Remedia amoris'*, Leipzig 1907.
- Garasińska 2010 = E. Garasińska, *Cosmetic Resources in Ovid's 'De Medicamina faciei femineae' and Their Use in Modern Cosmetology*, Postępy Kosmetologii 4, 2010, 173-9.
- Georges 1918 = K.E. Georges, *Ausführliches lateinisch-deutsches Handwörterbuch*, I-II, Hannover 1918.
- Gesner 1749 = J.M. Gesner, *Novus linguae et eruditionis Romanae thesaurus*, I-IV, Lipsiae 1749.
- Glare 1983 = P.G.W. Glare, *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, Oxford 1983.
- Guardi 1984 = T. Guardi, *Titinio e Atta. I frammenti*, Milano 1984.
- Harduni 1832 = J. Harduni, *Caii Plinii Secundi 'Historia naturalis'*, Augustae Taurinorum 1832.
- Hillman 2004 = D.Ch. Hillman, *Representations of Pharmacy in Roman Literature from Cato to Ovid*, Madison 2004 (microfilm).
- Hofmann 1698 = J. J. Hofmann, *Lexicon Universale*, vol. 4, Leiden 1698.
- James 1748 = R. James, *Dictionnaire universel de médecine, de chirurgie, de chymie, de botanique, d'anatomie, de pharmacie, d'histoire naturelle*, vol. 6, Paris 1748.

- Kenney – Clausen 1982 = E.J. Kenney – W. V. Clausen, *Latin Literature*, in *The Cambridge History of Classical Literature*, vol. 2, Cambridge 1982.
- Klebs 1896 = E. Klebs, s.v. *Artorius*, in *RE* II.2 (1896), coll. 1461 f.
- Klotz 1857 = R. Klotz, *Handwörter der lateinischen Sprache*, vol. 2, Braunschweig 1857.
- Lewis – Short 1879 = Ch.T. Lewis – Ch. Short, *A Latin Dictionary, Founded on Andrews' Edition of Freund's Latin Dictionary*, Oxford 1879.
- Lindemann 1832 = F. Lindemann, *Pauli Diaconi excerpta et Sex. Pompeii Festi fragmenta continens*, in *Corpus grammaticorum Latinorum veterum*, vol. 2, Lipsiae 1832.
- Lindsay 1930 = W.M. Lindsay, *Festus. 'De verborum significatu'*, in *Glossaria Latina*, vol. 4, Paris 1930.
- Martini 2003 = M-C. Martini, *Introduction à la dermatopharmacie et à la cosmetologie*, Paris 2003.
- Mayhoff 1906 = K.F.T. Mayhoff, *C. Plinii Secundi 'Naturalis historia'*, Lipsiae 1906.
- McCarthy 1996 = P.G. McCarthy, s.v. *Afranius*, in *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, New York 1996, 33.
- Neukirch 1833 = J.H. Neukirch, *De fabula togata Romanorum*, Leipzig 1833.
- Przychocki 1925 = G. Przychocki, *Plautus*, Kraków 1925.
- Ribbeck CRF 1898 = O. Ribbeck, *Comicorum Romanorum Fragmenta (CRF)*, in *Scaenicae Romanorum poesis fragmenta*, vol. 2, Lipsiae 1898.
- Saiko 2005 = M. Saiko, 'Cura dabit faciem'. *Kosmetik im Altertum. Literarische, kulturhistorische und medizinische Aspekte* (BAC 66), Trier 2005.
- Schneidewin 1853 = F.G. Schneidewin, *M. Val. Martialis epigrammaton libri*, Lipsiae 1853.
- Smith 1867 = W. Smith, s.v. *Proculus C. Artorius*, in *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology*, Boston 1867, 3, 541.
- Stankiewicz 1987 = L. Stankiewicz, *Titinius, représentant de la comédie romaine ('fabula togata')*, *Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis* 906 (ClassWrat XII), 1987.
- Stankiewicz 1999 = L. Stankiewicz, *La comédie de Lucius Afranius et ses liens avec les autres genres de comédies*, *Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis* 2030 (ClassWrat XXI), 1999.
- Stewart 2007 = S. Stewart, *Cosmetics and Perfumes in the Roman World*, Gloucestershire 2007.
- Szymborska 1997 = W. Szymborska, *Love At First Sight*, in *Nothing Twice. Selected Poems*, translated and selected by S. Barańczak and Clare Cavanagh, Kraków 1997.
- Teßmer 1981 = Teßmer, s.v. *Os (pars faciei)*, in *ThLL* IX.2 (1981), coll. 1073-87.
- Thewrewk 1889 = E. Thewrewk, *Sexti Pompeii Festi 'De verborum significatu' quae supersunt cum Pauli epitome*, Pars 1, Budapestini 1889.
- de Vit 1875 = V. de Vit, *Totius Latinitatis Lexicon opera et studio Aegidii Forcellini lucubratum Iosepho Furlanetto, Novo Ordine Digestum*, vol. 6, Prati 1875.
- Yates 1848 = J. Yates, s.v. *Forma*, in *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, London 1848, 545.

'Tentipellium' – An Ancient Facelift without a Scalpel?

Abstract: The Latin word *tentipellium* (from *tendo, tendere* – to stretch, and *pellis* – skin) is used in classical sources with two meanings: the first meaning is associated with the technical term from the scope of shoemaking, the second with facial wrinkles removal. References to *tentipellium* appear in two writers from the time of the Roman Republic – in Titinius and in Afranius. The word itself is explained in Sextus Pompeius Festus. In the present article we discuss pieces of written evidence containing the word *tentipellium*. A closer look is taken at those which indicate anti-wrinkle procedures. Basing on the analysis of classical sources and on treatment used at present in cosmetics and cosmetology the authors set out to discover the modern counterpart of *tentipellium*.

Keywords: *tentipellium*, wrinkles, cosmetics, history, ancient Rome.