

History as a Source of Innovation in Antimicrobial Drug Discovery

Basma Abdallah, Hassan Ait Benhassou, Laila Sbabou, Régine Janel-Bintz,

Laurence Choulier, Véronique Pitchon, Pierre Fechter

▶ To cite this version:

Basma Abdallah, Hassan Ait Benhassou, Laila Sbabou, Régine Janel-Bintz, Laurence Choulier, et al.. History as a Source of Innovation in Antimicrobial Drug Discovery. Biomedical and Pharmacology Journal, 2023, 16 (2), pp.739-752. 10.13005/bpj/2656 . hal-04237679

HAL Id: hal-04237679 https://hal.science/hal-04237679

Submitted on 19 Oct 2023

HAL is a multi-disciplinary open access archive for the deposit and dissemination of scientific research documents, whether they are published or not. The documents may come from teaching and research institutions in France or abroad, or from public or private research centers. L'archive ouverte pluridisciplinaire **HAL**, est destinée au dépôt et à la diffusion de documents scientifiques de niveau recherche, publiés ou non, émanant des établissements d'enseignement et de recherche français ou étrangers, des laboratoires publics ou privés.



Distributed under a Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License

1	History as a Source of Innovation in Antimicrobial Drug Discovery
2	
3	
4	Basma Abdallah ^{1,2,3,4*} , Hassan Ait Benhassou ¹ , Laila Sbabou ² , Régine Janel-Bintz ⁴ ,
5	Laurence Choulier ³ , Véronique Pitchon ⁵ , Pierre Fechter ^{4*}
6	
7	
8	¹ Prevention & therapeutics center, Moroccan Foundation for Science, Innovation &
9	Research (MAScIR), Rabat, Morocco.
10	² Laboratory of Microbiology and Molecular Biology, University Mohamed V Rabat,
11	Faculty of Sciences, Rabat, Morocco
12	³ CNRS, UMR 7021, Laboratoire de Bioimagerie et Pathologies, Faculté de Pharmacie,
13	Université de Strasbourg, 67401 Illkirch, France
14	⁴ CNRS, UMR 7242, Biotechnologie et Signalisation Cellulaire, Institut de Recherche
15	de l'Ecole de Biotechnologie de Strasbourg, Université de Strasbourg, 67400 Illkirch-
16	Graffenstaden, France
17	⁵ CNRS, UMR7044, Archéologie et Histoire Ancienne : Méditerranée- Europe, MISHA,
18	Université de Strasbourg, Strasbourg, France
19	*Corresponding author: P. Fechter - +33 (0)368854820 – p.fechter@unistra.fr
20	Running title: from past to present in antibiotic research
21	
22	
23	

ORCID of all authors

27	Basma Abdallah	0000-0003-4230-3512
28	Hassan Ait Benhassou	0000-0002-5815-3531
29	Laila Sbabou	0000-0002-0948-4553
30	Régine Janel-Bintz	0000-0002-6682-8551
31	Laurence Choulier	0000-0003-1493-9775
32	Véronique Pitchon	0000-0003-3657-2724
33	Pierre Fechter	0000-0001-5912-361X

36 Abstract

The proliferation and prevalence of antibiotic-resistant bacteria despite modern medicine is 37 considered as one of the most alarming threats to global health. In the fear that the antibiotics 38 that work today may not work tomorrow, there is an urgent need to search and develop newer 39 drugs or therapeutic strategies to fight against micro-organisms immune to our current 40 approaches. From time immemorial, people have sought solutions to combat infections and 41 have proposed countless remedies, traces of which can be found in manuscripts preserved over 42 the past centuries. The re-examination and exploitation of these ancient remedies might be a 43 44 key to a vast pool of potential therapeutic strategies or drug candidates against antibioticresistant pathogens. This, however, would first require the consideration of these ancient 45 solutions as scientifically pertinent leads for new therapies. The aim of this review is to give, 46 47 through a few examples, arguments in favor of rationality in the scientific approach of these past physicians as well as of a medicinal interest in studying these ancient pharmacopoeias. To 48 narrow the scope of our research, we focused on the Arab Medieval Golden Medical Age, which 49 50 went on to inspire occidental medicine hundreds of years after its preeminence. We further highlight the possibility of integrating these knowledge into innovative, modern therapeutic 51 options. 52

53

54

Keywords: Arab Medieval Pharmacopeia, natural remedies, pathogens, antibiotic resistance

56 **Introduction**

Pharmacy is born with humans, who found ways to relieve their physical suffering through 57 remedies prepared with natural ingredient. Thanks to the synergy of the gift of writing and 58 man's desire to alleviate his ailments, ancient and medieval pharmacopoeias contain 59 information on the use of medical material, that may be from plant, mineral, or animal origin. 60 It is thus still possible that these thousand-year-old pharmacopoeias hold secrets that could 61 contribute to nowadays medicines. Many leading drugs (anti-cancer, anti-malarial, painkillers, 62 63 etc.) are indeed derived from these ancestral traditional pharmacopoeias [1]. However, of the >30,000 plants with therapeutic virtues described in traditional pharmacopoeias, less than 5,000 64 have been studied [2]. The question is whether and how to exploit this vast pool of potential 65 therapeutics [3,4]. 66

In the last decade, medicinal plant research has turned to old medicinal-botanical texts, to study
the history and evolution of pharmacopoeias, and to identify lead compounds for new drug
discovery [5–8]. Despite this pivot in research focus, experiments that test the activities of entire
historical remedies are rare, difficult to conduct, and the subject of much misunderstanding.
This is due to several factors including:

- The folkloric image associated with ancient medicines. The frequent intrusion of the 72 73 magical and the sacred hinders the objective evaluation of remedies while their development remained rationally designed at its base. It may therefore seem difficult to evaluate the 74 biological effect of each of the ingredients. However, very often this interference is not 75 constitutive, but superadded: the rational/irrational association can usually be clearly separated. 76 Further, the diagnosis of a malady can also be complex, often involving supernatural aetiologies 77 alongside natural causes. In contrast to modern medicine, which seeks a direct cause for a 78 pathology, ancient systems often seek to flush out deep-seated causes. This disorganizes and 79 devalues the care provided, which is nevertheless often rational. 80

- The difficulty of transposing ancient practices into our present culture. This requires 81 82 a huge interdisciplinary research effort alongside, a dialogue between disciplines, the promotion of which is not yet obvious, a problem very well explained by Harrisson and 83 Connelly [9]. Furthermore, on the opposite of current medicines containing a single active 84 ingredient, medieval remedies are usually preparations made from several ingredients, acting 85 synergistically [10–12]. It is thus possible that each ingredient taken individually does not 86 87 carry a strong activity, but that the combination can bring a certain, desired effectiveness. While this approach is not without interest, the effectiveness of the remedy, which is the sum 88 of its multiple actions, will be more difficult to evaluate and to determine, and is not 89 necessarily favored by current research. 90

The juxtaposition of two medicines, traditional and modern. While modern medicine
has grown in power and prestige, traditional medicine fallen victim of trivialization and/
increasingly untrained body of people practicing this form of medicine over the course of many
years. This has resulted in some degradation of knowledge, and a more superficial scientific
approach. It is thus necessary to restore confidence and rationality in the study of traditional
medicines, and to find room for dialogue between both approaches, that are ultimately rather
complementary than opposed, *i.e.* [13–17].

Although discredited in recent years, traditional medicines have nevertheless been marked 98 throughout their history by a rationality, a scientific approach enabling the emergence of 99 remedies that we could quite rightly consider as innovative by modern standards despite being 100 designed millennia ago. It is important to remember that traditional practices were characterized 101 by the seal of research, carried out by prominent scientists who led to major discoveries and 102 developments. Ancient pharmacopoeias could again be considered as a relevant starting point 103 104 for the search for new remedies. This will be illustrated through a few examples from the literature. We focused on the medieval Arab period perceived as the golden age of ancient 105

medicine, and through the lens of the fight against microbial infections, one of the majormedical concerns of the medieval period.

108

109

1. Antibiotic resistance

Infections have marked human history. Even if nowadays, except for the COVID-19 pandemic, infections are considered less anxiety-provoking compared to other pathologies such as cancer, this has not always been the case: at medieval times, drinking water, cutting, or injuring oneself could lead to dangerous or even fatal infections. As these infections were a daily preoccupation, physicians also developed many leading remedies to counter them [4].

115 The advent of antibiotics, with Fleming's discovery of penicillin in 1928, a compound produced 116 by the fungus *Penicillium notatum*, revolutionized the treatment of infections [18,19], leading to the belief that microbial infections were 'over'. The use of traditional medicines was thus no 117 longer relevant and lost much of its prestige. This was nevertheless regardless of the ability of 118 119 bacteria to resist antibiotics. If microbes can produce antibiotics (most of the antibiotics used are of microbial origin), it is indeed logical that other microbes have found ways to resist these 120 same antibiotics. These resistances have then spread widely with the unreasonable use of 121 antibiotics, *i.e.* [20–22]. 122

Indeed, quite quickly after their introduction to the market, bacteria strains resistant to antibiotics were detected. This was the case for penicillin, with resistant *Staphylococcus aureus* found in the 1940s [23,24]. *Streptococcus pyogenes* resistant to sulfonamide was also readily detected in military hospitals during the second World War [25–27]. *Mycobacterium tuberculosis* with streptomycin resistance was revealed as well in 1948 [28]. Resistance to multiple drugs was first observed in the late 1950s to 1960s among enteric bacteria, like *Escherichia coli*, or other from the *Shigella* and *Salmonella* genus [29]. These resistances cause also a gradual re-emergence of pathologies like tuberculosis, since the 1980s, mainly due to
multi-drug resistant strains, enhanced by emergence of the human immunodeficiency virus
[30].

As a consequence of the pervasiveness of the above strains of bacteria, the emergence of antibiotic resistance has been rising rapidly all over the world. Ultimately, a new resistance appeared with every new antibiotic synthesized (Figure 1). Subsequently, we are now presented with an ever-increasing global health threat. In 2019, a study showed the involvement of antibiotic-resistant bacteria in the deaths of greater than 1.2 million people [31]. This may be attributed to different factors, such as the abusive use of antibiotics, as well as a shortage of new drug development by the pharmaceutical industry [32].

140 In the fear that antibiotics that are effective today might no longer be functional tomorrow, and with the rapid spread of antibiotic resistance, there is an important need to develop new 141 strategies to limit the use antibiotics and to find new therapeutic solutions. Ancient societies 142 have used and/or combined countless natural substances to treat diseases, trying, testing, and 143 improving these strategies over the course of many centuries. Keeping these facts in mind, it 144 seems only logical that they could very well serve as the basis for the discovery of new 145 therapeutic strategies. However, the establishment of interdisciplinary consortia dedicated to 146 the study of these remedies must be implemented, as well as the demonstration of the interest, 147 148 feasibility, and future prospects of such approaches.

- 149
- 150

2. Rationality in the design of remedies

151 If different pinpoint studies already highlighted some interest in studying past remedies or 152 highlighted antibiotic use from past records, *i.e.* [33–40], the consideration of these past 153 remedies as a reservoir of pertinent strategies to combat infection would require a more 154 complex and coordinated strategies, involving intense collaboration between art, social and155 experimental sciences.

156 A pioneering interdisciplinary consortium (Ancientbiotic, https://ancientbiotics.co.uk/) has been set up to study a 10th Century medical text known as 'Bald's Leechbook' containing a 157 158 plentitude of remedies. From this book, a collyrae (Table 1) has been chosen to highlight the potential of these medicines to combat infections. The goal was equally to study the medical 159 160 approaches of past physicians as much as to demonstrate the efficacy of an ancient remedy. By faithfully reproducing this remedy, the authors were able to show that it drastically limited the 161 growth of bacterial pathogens like Staphylococcus aureus, Pseudomonas aeruginosa or 162 Neisseria gonorrhoeae in vitro, and/or on a mouse model of eye infection, with a reasonable 163 164 safety profile [41–44].

165 The same studies also showed that the mixture of ingredients in Bald's eye drops is more effective than the addition of each individual components, implying that the combination of 166 specific ingredients, none of which may have significant antibacterial activity, the mixture 167 overall may still present promise. Consequently, it seems possible that some of the 168 combinations developed by these physicians were designed through rational methods. 169 Furthermore, this permits the plausibility that one could construct a remedy of therapeutic 170 potential with individually uninteresting ingredients. So, the idea would be to consider these 171 ingredients in the context of all or part of the remedies, rather than investigating each ingredient 172 individually. 173

As a follow-up of this study, the consortium also developed a software to analyze the entire manuscript on order to highlight the most promising remedies. Groups of ingredients were revealed. Some of them were often used together, such as aloe vera and sarcocolla [45]. Another recent computer analysis equally highlighted the recurring appearances of combinations of ingredients, like saffron and opium or fennel and celery seeds, when analyzing remedies for

urinary tract diseases identified in different Arabic pharmacopoeias spanning over the course 179 of > 3 centuries [46]. These re-occuring combinations point to a rational approach to the 180 development of treatments, where a base of certain ingredients would have been maintained 181 182 and used as a framework for the design of new candidates. The same ingredients could produce synergistic activity if combined, and should deserve special attention. Thanks to these studies, 183 it becomes more and more evident that the science of medicine in medieval times was the result 184 185 of a very rational and scientific approach, far from the folkloric image it usually has. Further study of remedies from other manuscripts and ancient practices will be required to confirm 186 these initial hypotheses and/or to possibly allow the identification of innovative active 187 principles from complex combinations or even unexpected materials [35,47], for example 188 through the development of other consortia. 189

190 While traditional remedies were developed from such common ingredients, many remedies also contain toxic molecules, among which the most emblematic being heavy metals, such as lead, 191 192 mercury, and arsenic. Reconsidering these remedies for future development also requires to prove that ancient physicians perfectly mastered the use of these ingredients, took into account 193 their toxicities, and did not take ill-considered risks concerning the health of their patients. One 194 195 example is lead, widely used since antiquity to prepare make-up products (including kohl) or remedies. Two recent studies have analyzed such uses, based on makeup found in Egyptian 196 tombs [48], and the reconstitution of a cutaneous remedy reported by Al Kindi (Table 1), from 197 the medieval Arab period [49]. These two studies demonstrated that ancient alchemists 198 mastered the transformation of metals and were able to confer them different therapeutic 199 potentials, depending on the transformation processes used. In the "khols" used for make-up, 200 201 litharge was transformed into laurionite and phosgenite, with pro-inflammatory properties, which prevented infections [48]. Reconstruction and analysis of the ancient remedy showed 202 203 that alchemists were also able to obtain soluble lead with anti-inflammatory properties, to promote healing [49]. Moreover, the toxicity of lead was reported as early as antiquity [50]. As an anti-infective, it was mostly used cutaenously. Such use limited the diffusion of this metal in the body, restricting it action on the local site of infection. These precautions may therefore have changed the benefit-risk balance of lead. Overall, the evidence suggests that ancient physicians knew about the inherent toxicity of toxic ingredients like metals, and handled carefully their use.

These few exemples show us that the study of the history of medicine combined with more modern investigation to characterize these remedies could prove the rationality of the approaches followed by these physicians. One of the periods where this scientific approach was at its peak, both in terms of the variety of actors and of the scientific approach, is the medieval Arab period (Table 1). The methodology applied by these scientists could still be relevant today and will be explained in the following section.

216

217

3. The Arab medieval Golden age of medicine

Among the scientific fields studied in the medieval Arab world, medicine was certainly the most studied and the most developed. It is customary to say that this was the golden age of Arab medicine with considerable scientific contributions between the 9th and 13th centuries, *i.e.* [51– 55]. Many of the achievements of Arab-Muslim physicians were based on the legacy of Greek and Roman physicians [51,56]. This effervescence of knowledge and intelligence then spread throughout the world and profoundly influenced medical theory, surgical practice and other disciplines.

225

226

228 Origin of the Golden Age

Several factors have led to this Golden Age among them being religious support. As this period 229 230 was deeply religious, such positions could easily favor, delay, or condemn medical progresses. The guidelines of the Prophet clearly for example encouraged such studies. The extension of 231 232 the Muslim Empire during this time brought out an exchange of ideas from various part of the world from India to Iran, or Spain, (Figure 2). Communication routes also became safer, 233 facilitating travel and trade. Alongside these developments, Arabic language was unified as an 234 international one, which facilitated the exchange of scholarly ideas [54]. The ancient 235 manuscripts of greek, latin or even sansktit [57] were translated in Arabic by the most 236 competent scholars. Another significantly contribution to the Golden Age was the 237 238 establishment of a paper mills in Baghdad (for a long time the nerve center of the Arab-Muslim 239 world [58]) to replace parchment (skin of animals) or papyrus (plant origin) by paper using linen. This enabled many people to gain access to books and develop their education [54]. The 240 241 most precious texts were stored in the House of Wisdom, founded in Baghdad in 1005 by the Caliph Al Mamun [56]. 242

Important advances were also made in chemistry, where Arab alchemists became familiarized with plants and developed different techniques such as distillation, crystallization, calcination, *etc* [54]. An entire outgrowth of alchemy consisted in isolating and studying a broad variety of natural sources, minerals, and compounds, to discover a magic 'elixir' or a medical potion that would preserve people from all fatal diseases.

Likewise, in microbiology, plague and leprosy were considered as infective and contagious diseases. For example, Islamic practitioners introduced the concept of quarantining (XIth century) as a form of disease control. Hygienic methods were also implemented at the same time, in the form of proper sterilization, putting in place practices such as the use of alcohol prior to surgery and skin wounds treatment [54]. Developments also occurred in pharmacology. Practitioners became acquainted with herbs, introduced new drugs such as camphor, musk, sandalwood, developed excipients, created flavoring extracts, and experimented with poisons and antidote [59,60]. The first pharmacy was established in Baghdad in 754. Four centuries later, the pharmacology science was separated from both medicine and alchemy, these disciplines becoming independent (illustrated Figure 3).

259

Medical education and institution

Physicians during this era had to follow long training courses, often being six to seven years in duration. This education comprised of an initial theoretical training in sciences, subsequently followed by clinical training in hospitals. Medical practice was even governed by a code of ethics towards patients, colleagues, and community [61,62].

Secular hospitals developed throughout the Arab world, the first being established in Damascus
in 706. These hospitals were well equipped. Patients monitoring, drug development and clinical
trials were reported and provided key record for the development of the scientific method [63].

267 *Famous figures of the Arab medicine age*

Among the era's many prominent figures was Zakarya Al-Razi, known in Latin as Rhazes 268 (Figure 2, Table 1), a pharmacologist and physician from Persian origin who headed the hospital 269 270 founded in Baghdad [64]. Zakarya Al-Razi chose to devote his life to medical research and became the founder of chemotherapy by using the mineral drugs for external and internal use 271 272 in cancers [64]. Since his youth, he was interested in alchemy, and years later he was the first 273 to introduce metal-chemical preparations such as arsenic, copper sulfate, iron sulfate, and different forms of mercury to develop new drugs [65]. He went on to write his famous book Al-274 Hawi, an encyclopedia of 30 volumes that provides a general description of disorders, fevers, 275 276 plagues, and skin diseases, that was accompanied by a complete pharmacopeia, tables of terminology, weights, and measures [65]. It is noteworthy that he was the first to use opium asan anesthetic and that he tested it on animals before administrating it to humans [64].

279 One of the most famous muslim scientist is Abdu Ali Ibn Husayn ibn Abdullah Ibn Sina, also known as Avicenna (Figure 2, Table 1). Of persian origin, from Rayy, he was known as the 280 281 prince of medicine and he developed a methodological approach that would be taught in European universities until the 19th century [64]. His book Al-Qanun fi al-Tibb -Canon of 282 Medicine- became a famous medical works, considered to represent the first pharmacopeia, 283 284 including more than 600 medicinal chemical, and physical properties [66]. In addition to these accomplishments, Avicenna was the first to describe many different microbiological diseases 285 such as anthrax and tuberculosis, and emphasized the crucial role of hygiene and dietetics [54]. 286 287 He stressed the need to study new drugs before releasing them to the patients by setting rules 288 to test their effectiveness [64].

Another interesting figure in the history of medieval science is Abu Yusuf Yaaqub Ibn Ishaq 289 Al Kindi (Figure 2, Table 1), considered as the Father of Arab philosophy. He was interested 290 291 in a variety of subjects ranging from metaphysics, philosophy and logic to optics and pharmacology [67]. Among his many medical writings, the most reputable and well-known 292 might well be the medical formulary "Aqrabadhin". This term is derived from the Greek word 293 for 'list'. The book details the pharmaceutical preparations derived from botanical sources, 294 animals, and minerals, in the form of lists of medications [67,68]. He also wrote a treatise Risala 295 296 fi ma' rifat quwwat al-adwiya al-murakkaba, translated as De gradibus, and devoted to quantify the strength of drugs by exploiting mathematical rules [69]. 297

Diya al-Din Abu Muhammad Abdallah Ibn Ahmad Ibn al Baytar (Figure 2, Table 1) is another
famous Arab scientist, a famous Muslim botanist and pharmacologist during the Medieval
times. He belonged to a scientific family. His father Ahmad Ibn Abd-al Malik taught him his
knowledge and passion for natural sciences [70]. He studied the Galenic pharmacopeia, which

was based on the identification of the active principles of medicinal plant extracts. His capital
work, entitled, *Kitab al-Gami' li-mufradat al-adwiya wa-l-agdiya* translate to 'Collection of
simple remedies and food' [69] is considered as his seminal work, based on Dioscorides, Galien,
Al-Razi and Ibn Sina, on which he applied his own observations and corrections and mentioned
the simple nutrients and about 1400 drugs based on plants, animals, and mineral reigns [70].

307 Drug development during the Arab Medieval ages

During the Medieval ages, Arabs contributed riveting interesting advances to health and 308 medicine. During this time, the use of drugs still relied upon scientific hypotheses introduced 309 by the Greeks, related to 'the theory of bodily humors'. Essentially, this theory states that 310 311 humans fell ill due to imbalances of these humors in the body [71]. Hippocrates (Figure 2, 312 Table 1) stated that the human body is made up of four substances: yellow bile, black bile, 313 water, and blood, to which he connected an element in the universe with atmospheric conditions for each substance. Arab physicians agreed with this theory [72] and affirmed that physical and 314 spiritual wellbeing is essential, and that a disease should be viewed as an opportunity to purify 315 316 and balance the emotional and physical feelings via rest, a regime of healthy food, breathing fresh air, and practicing good hygiene [73]. Even if this theory has proven incorrect, the 317 development of drugs still responded to scientific standards, and were further framed by ethic 318 rules [74]. 319

It is import to note that the origin of drug development has been based on the sum of accumulated knowledge from pre-Islamic periods, such as that of the Egyptian or Chinese medical systems, the Greek and Roman legacies still remaining the basis of the developed knowledge throughout the Arab Medieval ages. Arab physicians then improved these knowledge, enhancing also the concept of trials which is the basis of nowadays scientific approaches. Once a remedy was identified, either based on plants, animals, metals and/or minerals, its efficiency and toxicity was tested. Then, the administrated remedy could be either a simple diet or a simple drug based on plants, minerals and metals, or to a mixture of one or
more of the aforementioned (Figure 4) [74,75].

Ibn Sina largely studied the nature and qualities of simple drugs in vol. 2 of the *Canon*, he then proceeded to set rules to be respected in the drug development process. These remained the basis of testing drugs [74]:

- The drug must be cleaned from any foreign agents.
- Drugs must be tested on two different diseases to be sure of the effects.
- The mechanism of action must be monitored.
- The drug must be tested on animals then on human, because if it is carried on animals
 only, the effect on humans cannot be proven.

Altogether, it appears that Arab physicians developed a scientific method based on
experimentation, evidence-based knowledge, clinical trials, animal and/or human trials,
concepts that are also found in the contemporary scientific method.

340

341 **Conclusions - Perspectives**

342 Health care systems have always been deeply embedded in economic, religious, and societal beliefs, and therefore are reflections of their perspective eras. Where aforementioned periods 343 are religious, an inter-relationship between medicine and belief is widely found, in different 344 forms depending on the period, disturbing the perception and relevance of the medical and 345 pharmacological advances of these periods. However, these inter-relations have never 346 prevented the rational development of medicine, and all the great civilizations have developed 347 a wisdom, an art of health and healing that is, empirically solid with proofs of effectiveness. 348 This rationality reaffirmed in past scientific developments encourages to re-investigate ancient 349

practices and pharmacopoeias. The latest technological advances also allow to surmount thebarriers of the study of these ancient remedies [76–78].

352 The greatest benefit of history is the ability to collect knowledge from the past and integrate it 353 with that of today to improve future knowledge. Since ancient times, plants, insects, animals, minerals, turned out to be an exceptional large source of bioactive molecules: they have already 354 provided mankind with new first-class remedies [79]. The study of these pharmacopoeias is 355 356 now turning to more complex remedies that provide a synergy of action compared to isolated ingredients. This synergy allows therapeutic strategies to be multiplied from ingredients which, 357 taken individually, would have be of little medicinal interest. These studies are nevertheless 358 359 complex and require the establishment of important interdisciplinary networks, ranging from history to biology, to chemistry and to pharmacology. Recognition of these networks and the 360 valorization of their added value remain a challenge. 361

The Arabic Golden Age were an important period in the evolution of ancient medicines and 362 laid the foundations for a modern scientific approach. Their knowledge largely inspired 363 Western medicine from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance. The numerous manuscripts found 364 365 allowed to collect a large amount of information on medical practices and pharmacopoeias, and to follow these practices in time and space. By focusing mainly on remedies preserved over a 366 wide geographical or temporal scale, the highest potential of being of interest may be selected. 367 368 The search for antibacterial solutions is particularly well suited to this approach, as infections 369 were a daily concern in the Middle Ages, and the solutions proposed are numerous: we thus 370 have access to a vast repertoire of potential solutions. This research is even more relevant in view of the context of increasing bacterial resistance to antibiotics. The unreasonable use of 371 372 antibiotics, both in human and animal health, as a preventive measure, for pathologies that do not require antibiotics has led to a situation where the search for alternatives becomes crucial. 373 These ancient pharmacopoeias contain a vast array of information on both innovative molecules 374

and synergistic strategies making it more difficult for resistance to appear, while potentially reducing the impact on the surrounding microbiota (bactericidal molecules taken individually being less deleterious). Thus, it appears that history holds a vast repertoire of remedies that might lead to medical innovation. Another option for these remedies, some of which have been preserved throughout history, still used today in the traditional Arab pharmacopoeia, and whose efficacy has been validated historically and through today's scientific prism, is that they could find a place in an integrated healthcare offer.

Medical systems are constantly evolving. The introduction of a new medical system occurs 382 when the old one is challenged. This evolution often results in an interweaving of innovations 383 and old practices, even if the integration of ancient practices is done with parsimony or defiance 384 [80]. This has always been the case, and is still true today, a time when we are witnessing a 385 386 crisis in health care related to inadequate delivery and adaptation to changing patient expectations. This crisis of confidence amplifies the growing demand for complementary and 387 388 alternative medicines, which have their origins in ancient and/or traditional practices. This is reflected in the growing number of patients (over 70% according to the WHO) who are already 389 turning to these practices. And, even if there is a complementarity between these two forms of 390 391 wisdom, modern medicine being on one hand and traditional medicines on the other, it is their connection that seems to be problematic today. This complementarity, which stems from 392 differences in the way health and pathology are defined, studied and perceived, could also be 393 at the source of the difficulties in uniting them. As such, it is imperative to study the cultures 394 and societies that have laid the foundations of past medicine [81]. Characterizing the scientific 395 approach by which these medicine and pharmacopoeias have been developed, understanding 396 how the different health systems have intertwined with each other over time would help to 397 rationalize the debate, and ultimately, why not, lay the foundations for a modern conception of 398 a common medicine? 399

400

401	Authors contribution
402	All authors contributed similarly, and PF acted as project supervisor
403	
404	Conflict of interest
405	The authors declared no conflict of interest
406	
407	Acknowledgments
408	We would like to thank Cody Bowens for critical reading of the manuscript.
409	
410	Funding
411	This project was financially supported by the French Ministry of Europe and Foreign Affairs,
412	Ministry of Higher Education, Research and Innovation and the French Institute of Rabat (PHC
413	TOUBKAL 2019, Grant Number: 41520SE; PHC MAGHREB 2022 Grant No 47455NH; by
414	the University of Strasbourg (projet Interdisciplinaire - Emergence) Grant Number
415	CF/PN/CB/N°2017-974-3, and by the program METALLO-MIX of CNRS - Grant Number
416	21887. B. Abdallah was financed by the Mascir Foundation (Rabat), and by the PHC
417	TOUBKAL.
418	

419 **References**

420

421 1. Pan S-Y, Litscher G, Gao S-H, Zhou S-F, Yu Z-L, Chen H-Q, et al. 2014. Historical Perspective of 422 Traditional Indigenous Medical Practices: The Current Renaissance and Conservation of Herbal 423 Resources. Evid Based Complement Alternat Med 2014: 525340. 424 2. Porras G, Chassagne F, Lyles JT, Marquez L, Dettweiler M, Salam AM, et al. 2021. Ethnobotany 425 and the Role of Plant Natural Products in Antibiotic Drug Discovery. Chem Rev 121: 3495–3560. 3. 426 Krishnaprabu DS. 2020. Therapeutic potential of medicinal plants: A review. J Pharmacogn 427 *Phytochem* **9**: 2228–2233. 428 4. Perumal Samy R, Gopalakrishnakone P. 2010. Therapeutic Potential of Plants as Anti-microbials 429 for Drug Discovery. Evid Based Complement Alternat Med 7: 283–294. 430 5. Dal Cero M, Saller R, Weckerle CS. 2014. The use of the local flora in Switzerland: A comparison 431 of past and recent medicinal plant knowledge. Journal of Ethnopharmacology 151: 253–264. 6. 432 Lardos A, Heinrich M. 2013. Continuity and change in medicinal plant use: The example of 433 monasteries on Cyprus and historical iatrosophia texts. Journal of Ethnopharmacology 150: 434 202-214. 435 7. Staub PO, Casu L, Leonti M. 2016. Back to the roots: A quantitative survey of herbal drugs in 436 Dioscorides' De Materia Medica (ex Matthioli, 1568). Phytomedicine 23: 1043–1052. 437 8. Touwaide A, Appetiti E. 2013. Knowledge of Eastern materia medica (Indian and Chinese) in 438 pre-modern Mediterranean medical traditions: A study in comparative historical 439 ethnopharmacology. Journal of Ethnopharmacology 148: 361-378. 440 9. Harrison F, Connelly E. 2019. Could Medieval Medicine Help the Fight Against Antimicrobial 441 Resistance? De Gruyter. 442 10. Caiazzo I. 2019. Le mélange et la complexion chez les médecins du XIIe siècle. De l'homme, de la 443 nature et du monde. 225-240. 444 Zhou X, Seto SW, Chang D, Kiat H, Razmovski-Naumovski V, Chan K, et al. 2016. Synergistic 11. 445 Effects of Chinese Herbal Medicine: A Comprehensive Review of Methodology and Current 446 Research. Front Pharmacol 7: 201. 447 Yarnell E. 2015. Synergy in Herbal Medicines. Journal of Restorative Medicine 4: 60. 12. 448 13. Christie VM. 1991. A dialogue between practitioners of alternative (traditional) medicine and 449 modern (western) medicine in Norway. Social Science & Medicine 32: 549-552. 450 14. Drakulich A. 2018. Challenges Faced When Implementing an Integrative Care Model. Available 451 from https://www.practicalpainmanagement.com/meeting-summary/challenges-faced-when-452 implementing-integrative-care-model. Accessed Jul. 27, 2022. 453 15. Inserm pressroom. 2020. Artemisia miracle plant, really? Available from 454 https://presse.inserm.fr/en/artemisia-miracle-plant-really/40111/. Accessed Jul. 27, 2022. 455 16. Lampiao F, Chisaka J, Clements C. 2019. Communication Between Traditional Medical 456 Practitioners and Western Medical Professionals. Frontiers in Sociology 4. 457 17. Roth AD. 2016. A Dialogue on Traditional Medicine: East Meets West. China Media Research 458 **12**: 58–92. 459 18. Gaynes R. 2017. The Discovery of Penicillin—New Insights After More Than 75 Years of Clinical 460 Use. Emerg Infect Dis 23: 849-853. 461 19. Ligon BL. 2004. Penicillin: its discovery and early development. Seminars in Pediatric Infectious 462 Diseases 15: 52-57. 463 20. Aslam B, Khurshid M, Arshad MI, Muzammil S, Rasool M, Yasmeen N, et al. 2021. Antibiotic 464 Resistance: One Health One World Outlook. Front Cell Infect Microbiol 11: 771510. 465 21. Llor C, Bjerrum L. 2014. Antimicrobial resistance: risk associated with antibiotic overuse and 466 initiatives to reduce the problem. Ther Adv Drug Saf 5: 229-241. 467 McEwen SA, Collignon PJ. 2018. Antimicrobial Resistance: a One Health Perspective. Microbiol 22. 468 Spectr 6.

469 23. Barber M, Rozwadowska-Dowzenko M. 1948. Infection by penicillin-resistant staphylococci. 470 Lancet **2**: 641–644. 471 24. Lobanovska M, Pilla G. 2017. Penicillin's Discovery and Antibiotic Resistance: Lessons for the 472 Future? Yale J Biol Med 90: 135–145. 473 Damrosch DS. 1946. Chemoprophylaxis and sulfonamide resistant streptococci. J Am Med Assoc 25. 474 **130**: 124–128. 475 26. Hamburger M, Mattman LH. 1946. Susceptibility to sulfadiazine of hemolytic streptococci 476 recovered in Army camps. Am J Med 1: 23-27. 477 27. Sköld O. 2000. Sulfonamide resistance: mechanisms and trends. Drug Resist Updat 3: 155–160. 478 28. Crofton J, Mitchison DA. 1948. Streptomycin resistance in pulmonary tuberculosis. Br Med J 2: 479 1009-1015. 480 29. Watanabe T. 1963. Infective heredity of multiple drug resistance in bacteria. Bacteriol Rev 27: 481 87-115. 482 30. Levy SB, Marshall B. 2004. Antibacterial resistance worldwide: causes, challenges and 483 responses. Nat Med 10: S122–S129. 484 Murray CJ, Ikuta KS, Sharara F, Swetschinski L, Aguilar GR, Gray A, et al. 2022. Global burden of 31. 485 bacterial antimicrobial resistance in 2019: a systematic analysis. The Lancet 399: 629–655. 486 32. Michael CA, Dominey-Howes D, Labbate M. 2014. The Antimicrobial Resistance Crisis: Causes, 487 Consequences, and Management. Front Public Health 2: 145. Al-Snafi AE. 2015. Therapeutic properties of the medicinal plants: a review of their antibacterial 488 33. 489 activity (Part 1). International Journal of Pharmacy Review & Research 5: 328-337. 490 34. Bassett EJ, Keith MS, Armelagos GJ, Martin DL, Villanueva AR. 1980. Tetracycline-labeled human 491 bone from ancient Sudanese Nubia (A.D. 350). Science 209: 1532–1534. 492 35. Behroozian S, Svensson SL, Davies J. 2016. Kisameet Clay Exhibits Potent Antibacterial Activity 493 against the ESKAPE Pathogens. *mBio* 7: e01842-15. 494 36. Brennessel B, Drout MDC, Gravel R. 2005. A reassessment of the efficacy of Anglo-Saxon 495 medicine. Anglo-Saxon England 34: 183–195. 496 37. Fratini F, Cilia G, Mancini S, Felicioli A. 2016. Royal Jelly: An ancient remedy with remarkable 497 antibacterial properties. Microbiol Res 192: 130-141. 498 Gabbay GB and J. 2009. Copper, An Ancient Remedy Returning to Fight Microbial, Fungal and 38. 499 Viral Infections. Available from https://www.eurekaselect.com/93409/article. Accessed Oct. 26, 500 2020. 501 Photos-Jones E, Keane C, Jones AX, Stamatakis M, Robertson P, Hall AJ, et al. 2015. Testing 39. 502 Dioscorides' medicinal clays for their antibacterial properties: the case of Samian Earth. Journal 503 of Archaeological Science 57: 257–267. 504 Wagner CS, De Gezelle J, Robertson M, Robertson K, Wilson M, Komarnytsky S. 2017. 40. 505 Antibacterial activity of medicinal plants from The Physicians of Myddvai, a 14th century Welsh 506 medical manuscript. J Ethnopharmacol 203: 171-181. 507 41. Anonye BO, Nweke V, Furner-Pardoe J, Gabrilska R, Rafiq A, Ukachukwu F, et al. 2020. The 508 safety profile of Bald's eyesalve for the treatment of bacterial infections. Sci Rep 10: 17513. 509 Fuchs AL, Weaver AJ, Tripet BP, Ammons MCB, Teintze M, Copié V. 2018. Characterization of 42. 510 the antibacterial activity of Bald's eyesalve against drug resistant Staphylococcus aureus and 511 Pseudomonas aeruginosa. PLoS One 13: e0208108. Furner-Pardoe J, Anonye BO, Cain R, Moat J, Ortori CA, Lee C, et al. 2020. Anti-biofilm efficacy 512 43. 513 of a medieval treatment for bacterial infection requires the combination of multiple 514 ingredients. Sci Rep 10: 12687. 515 44. Harrison F, Roberts AEL, Gabrilska R, Rumbaugh KP, Lee C, Diggle SP. 2015. A 1,000-Year-Old 516 Antimicrobial Remedy with Antistaphylococcal Activity. *mBio* 6. 517 Connelly E, Del Genio CI, Harrison F. 2020. Data Mining a Medieval Medical Text Reveals 45. 518 Patterns in Ingredient Choice That Reflect Biological Activity against Infectious Agents. *mBio* 11. 519 46. Braud A, Dolques X, Fechter P, Lachiche N, Ber FL, Pitchon V. 2021. Analyzing the composition 520 of remedies in ancient pharmacopeias with FCA, p 9. . Strasbourg.

- 47. Pitchon V, Aubert E, Vonthron C, Fechter P. 2022. Chapter 14 How history can help present
 research of new antimicrobial strategies: the case of cutaneous infections' remedies containing
 metals from the Middle Age Arabic pharmacopeia, pp 459–478, *In* Chassagne F (ed.), , *Medicinal Plants as Anti-Infectives*. Academic Press.
- 48. Tapsoba I, Arbault S, Walter P, Amatore C. 2010. Finding Out Egyptian Gods' Secret Using
 Analytical Chemistry: Biomedical Properties of Egyptian Black Makeup Revealed by
 Amperometry at Single Cells. *Anal. Chem.* 82: 457–460.
- 49. Abdallah B, Seguin C, Aubert E, Ait BenHassou H, Sbabou L, Choulier L, *et al.* 2022. Past
 mastering of metal transformation enabled physicians to increase their therapeutic potential.
 Journal of Trace Elements in Medicine and Biology **71**: 126926.
- 53150.Lanoë C. 2002. La céruse dans la fabrication des cosmétiques sous l'Ancien Régime (XVIe-XVIIIe532siècles). Techniques & Culture. Revue semestrielle d'anthropologie des techniques.
- 533 51. Ahmed S, Hasan M. 2016. Muslim heritage in medicine: A concise review on Greco-Arabic 534 contribution. *Journal of Pharmacognosy and Phytochemistry* **5**: 273–283.
- 535 52. Anawati GC 1905-1994. 1974. Les Médicaments De L'Oeil Chez Hunayn Ibn Ishãq. *Arabica* 21:
 536 232.
- 537 53. Bachour HT. 2002. The Contributions Of Arabs Physicians in Dermatology. *JISHIM* **2**: 43–45.
- 538 54. Falagas ME, Zarkadoulia EA, Samonis G. 2006. Arab science in the golden age (750–1258 C.E.)
 539 and today. *The FASEB Journal* 20: 1581–1586.
- 55. Théodoridès J. 1955. La Parasitologie et la Zoologie dans l'œuvre d'Avenzoar. *Revue d'histoire des sciences* 8: 137–145.
- 56. Hajar R. 2013. The Air of History Part III: The Golden Age in Arab Islamic Medicine An
 Introduction. *Heart Views* 14: 43–46.
- 57. Kahl O. 2019. On the Transmission of Indian Medical Texts to the Arabs in the Early Middle
 545 Ages. Arabica 66: 82–97.
- 546 58. Hannawi AA. 2012. The Role of the Arabs in the Introduction of Paper into Europe. *MELA Notes*547 14–29.
- 54859.Bos G, Käs F, eds. 2021. Ibn al-Jazzār's Zād al-musāfir wa-qūt al-ḥāḍir. Provisions for the549Traveller and Nourishment for the Sedentary: Book I&II. Brill.
- 60. Hooper D, Field H. 1937. Useful plants and drugs of Iran and Iraq / by David Hooper. With notes
 by Henry Field. Chicago,.
- 552 61. Haddad FS. 1993. Arab contribution to medicine. *Bull Soc Liban Hist Med* 21–33.
- 62. Pitchon V. 2016. To feed and to care according to the dietetics orinciples: preparation and
 distribution of food and medicine in an Arabic hospital during the medieval period. *Food and History* 14: 13–33.
- 556 63. Kahl O. 2004. Fragments of an anonymous old dispensatory in ar-Razi's Kitab al-Ḥawi. *Journal of* 557 *Semitic studies* **49**: 289.
- 64. Masic I, Skrbo A, Naser N, Tandir S, Zunic L, Medjedovic S, *et al.* 2017. Contribution of Arabic
 Medicine and Pharmacy to the Development of Health Care Protection in Bosnia and
 Herzegovina the First Part. *Med Arch* **71**: 364–372.
- 561 65. Behbehani AM. 1984. Rhazes: The Original Portrayer of Smallpox. *JAMA* **252**: 3156.
- 562 66. Colgan R. 2012. Advice to the Healer: On the Art of Caring. 2nd ed. 2013 edition. Springer, New
 563 York.
- 564 67. Prioreschi P. 2002. Al-Kindi, A Precursor Of The Scientific Revolution. *JISHIM* **2**: 17–20.
- 565 68. Erdemir AD. 2018. Abu Yusuf Yaqub ibn Ishaq ibn al-Sabbah al-Kindi (Alkindi, Alchindi)'nin (803566 873) İslam Tıp Tarihindeki Yeri ve Bazı Orijinal Sonuçlar. *Turkiye Klinikleri J Med Ethics* 26: 23–
 567 34.
- 56869.Ahmed, O, Moulay, S. 2004. L'apport scientifique arabe à travers les grandes figures de l'époque569classique. Unesco.
- 570 70. Cabo Gonzalez AM, Lanly C. 1997. Ibn al-Baytār et ses apports à la botanique et à la
 571 pharmacologie dans le Kitāb al-Ğāmï. *Médiévales* 16: 23–39.

- 572 71. Kalachanis K, Michailidis IE. 2015. The Hippocratic View on Humors and Human Temperament.
 573 *European Journal of Social Behaviour* 2: 1–5.
- 574 72. Ormos I. 1987. The theory of humours in Islam (Avicenna). *Quaderni di Studi Arabi* 5/6: 601–
 575 607.
- AlRawi SN, Fetters MD. 2019. Traditional Arabic and Islamic Medicine Primary Methods in
 Applied Therapy. *GJHS* 11: 73.
- 578 74. Saad B, Said O. 2011. *Greco arb and islamic herbal medicine*. Wiley.
- 579 75. Saad B, JadAllah R, Daraghmeh H, Said O. 2009. Medicine and methods of therapy in teh arab
 580 and islamic world. Available from
- 581https://www.aaup.edu/publication/harbi.darghmeh/article/medicines-and-methods-therapy-582arab-and-islamic-world. Accessed Jul. 26, 2022.
- 583 76. Harvey AL, Edrada-Ebel R, Quinn RJ. 2015. The re-emergence of natural products for drug
 584 discovery in the genomics era. *Nat Rev Drug Discov* 14: 111–129.
- 77. Qaraghuli MMA, Alzahrani AR, Niwasabutra K, Obeid MA, Ferro VA. 2017. Where Traditional
 Drug Discovery Meets Modern Technology in the Quest for New Drugs. *Annals of Pharmacology* and Pharmaceutics 2: 1061.
- 588 78. Salam AM, Quave CL. 2018. Opportunities for plant natural products in infection control. *Curr.*589 *Opin. Microbiol.* 45: 189–194.
- 590 79. Veeresham C. 2012. Natural products derived from plants as a source of drugs. J Adv Pharm
 591 Technol Res 3: 200–201.
- 592 80. Petri RP, Delgado RE, McConnel K. 2015. Historical and Cultural Perspectives on Integrative
 593 Medicine | Medical Acupuncture. *Medical Acupuncture* 27: 309–317.
- S1. Green MH. 2009. Integrative Medicine: Incorporating Medicine and Health into the Canon of
 Medieval European History. *History Compass* 7: 1218–1245.
- 596 82. Dioscorides Pedanius, Osbaldeston TA, Wood RPA. 2000. *De materia medica: being an herbal*597 *with many other medicinal materials: written in Greek in the first century of the common era: a*598 *new indexed version in modern English*. IBIDIS, Johannesburg.
- Ahmed S, Siddiqui MUA, Mallick IA, Hasan MM. 2021. Zootherapeutics (Animal-based remedies) for urolithiasis: History, current scenario and future dimensions. *J Pharmacogn Phytochem* 10: 08–11.
- 602 84. Crawford S, Lee C. 2014. Social dimensions of medieval disease and disability / edited by Sally
 603 Crawford, Christina Lee. Archaeopress, Oxford, England.
- 604 85. Müller R, Roberts CA, Brown TA. 2015. Complications in the study of ancient tuberculosis: non-605 specificity of IS6110 PCRs. *STAR: Science & Technology of Archaeological Research* **1**: 1–8.
- 86. Tu Y. 2011. The discovery of artemisinin (qinghaosu) and gifts from Chinese medicine. *Nat Med*87. 1217–1220.

608

610	Figure Legends
611	
612	Figure 1. A timeline of the evolution of antibiotic resistance.
613	
614 615	Figure 2. Map of the Arab Empire in Medieval times. The name of famous scientists cited in the text, their time and place of birth are given.
616	
617 618	Figure 3 . Illustration of a medicine preparation. Folio from a dispersed manuscript of an Arabic translation of the <i>Materia Medica</i> of Dioscorides [56,82]
619	
620 621	Figure 4. Drug development process during the Arab medieval age, adapted from [74,83]
622	

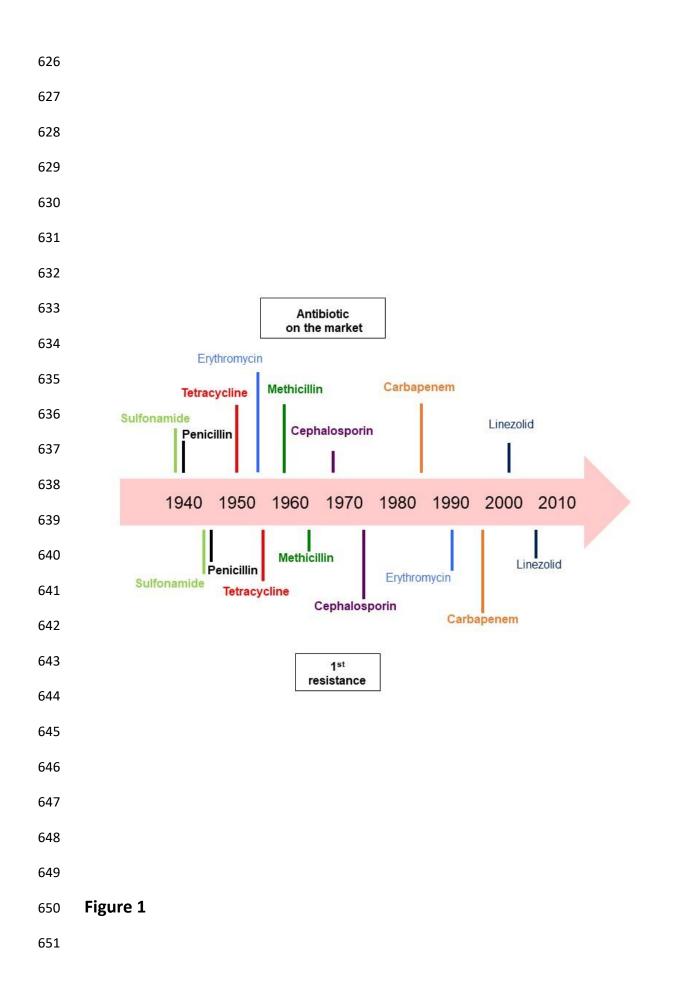
Table 1. Glossary of terms and names used in the review

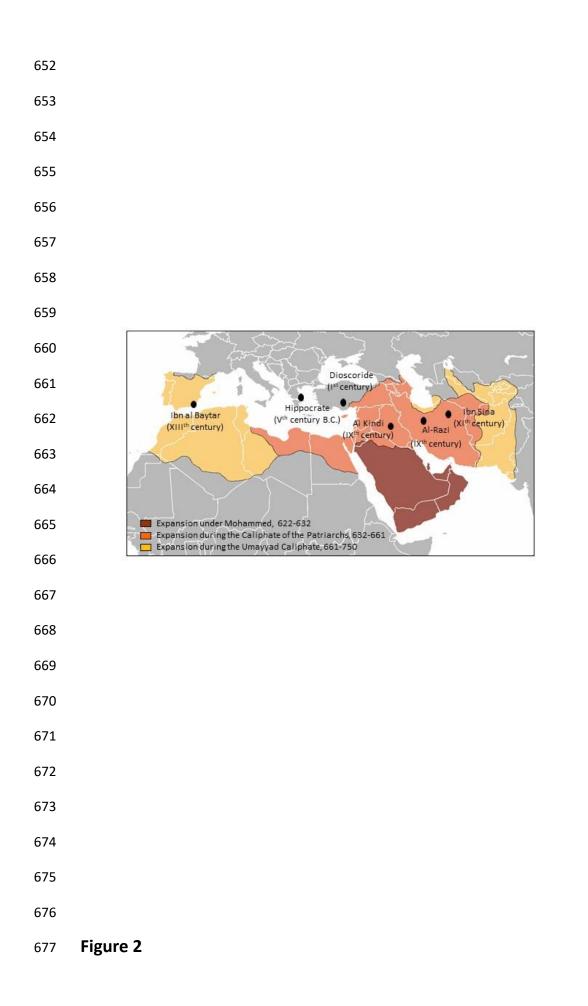
Family term	Name	Description
Infection		
	Present definition	Development in a living being of micro-organisms
		that can cause injury by multiplying and possibly
		secreting toxins or spreading through the
		bloodstream
	Past definition	Infections are described by the symptoms they cause.
		Their description should inform us on the nature of
		the infection with today standard's. This usually
		demands a broad-ranging, interdisciplinary
		approach, to study the manuscript, understand the
		description of the disease, symptoms, the curative
		ingredients and infer from these descriptions a
		plausible causing agents, that is not without
		difficulties [84–86].
Professionnals		
	Physician	A person able to practise medicine, from the
		diagnostic to the treatment (except surgery)
	Alchemist	A person who practises alchemy, the medieval
		forerunner of chemistry, concerned with the
		transformation or transmutation of matter, through
		distillation, crystallisation

	Pharmacian	A person who can prepare and sell certain medicines
		by prescription only. They were aware of the
		importance of raw materials, botanic and the
		importance of the preparation protocol precision
	scholar	A person who is highly educated or has an aptitude
		for study.
Time period		
	Antiquity	30 th century BC -5 th century
	Medieval time	5-15 th century
	Arab medical	9-13 th century
	golden age	
Famous		
figures		
	Hyppocrate	Born around 460 BC in Cos and died in 377 BC in
		Larissa, was a Greek physician of the Periclean
		century, but also a philosopher, traditionally
		considered as the father of medicine
	Dioscorides	Born between 20-40 in Anazarbe and died around 90.
		He was a Greek physician, pharmacologist and
		botanist whose work was a major source of
		knowledge about remedies of a plant, animal or
		mineral nature during the 1,500 years. He is the
		author of the treatise 'De materia medica'.
	Zakarya Al-Razi	Born in 865 in the town of Clay, died around 925 in
		Tehran was a Persian multidisciplinary scholar who

		made important contributions to modicine alabama
		made important contributions to medicine, alchemy
		and philosophy
	Abu Yusuf Yaaqub	Born in 801 in the town of Koufan, died in 873in
	Ibn Ishaq Al Kindi	Bagdad. As an encyclopaedic mind, he sought to
		synthesise, organise and evaluate all the knowledge
		of his time (philosophy, mathematics, astronomy,
		physics, chemistry, technology)
	Abdu Ali Ibn	born in 980 in Ravi, died in 1037 in Hamadan,
	Husayn Ibn	philosopher and physician, author of reference works
	Abdullah Ibn Sina	in medicine and philosophy
	Diya al-Din Abu	born around 1197 in the province of Malaga and died
	Muhammad	in 1248 in Damascus, an Arab-Andalusian physician,
	Abdallah Ibn	who published several works in which he brought
	Ahmad Ibn al	together the pharmaceutical knowledge of his time
	Baytar	
Remedies		
	collyrae from the	Make an eyesalve against a wen: take equal amounts
	Bald's Leechbook	of an Allium species and garlic, take equal amounts
		of wine and oxgall, mix with the alliums, put in a
		brass vessel, let stand for nine nights, clarify well, put
		in a horn and at night apply to the eye with a feather
		[44]

Lead-based	1 part of quicklime (CaO) and 1 part of litharge (PbO)
cutaneous remedy	are passed through a clay. They are covered with
from Al Kindi.	wine vinegar. Olive oil is added and also sheep fat. It
	is boiled together and stirred with a rod until it is
	mixed and almost black. The heating is renewed until
	the viscosity is like thick honey [49]





- **Figure 3**

