1	Experimental study of historical processing of cobalt arsenide ore for colouring
2	glazes (15-16th century Europe)
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17	Abstract
18	Cobalt was used since the early antiquity to tint glass and glazes in blue. The presence of arsenic in
19	blue decorated glazes since ~1500 onwards and absence beforehand, observed in Europe, might be
20	related to the processing of the ore: roasting of the cobalt mineral (saffre) and obtaining a glass
21	adding sand and potash (smalt) or as by-product of other metallurgical processes, e.g. silver
22	smelting slag. We have replicated the roasting of cobalt arsenide ore (CoAs $_3$ ) and the processing of
23	silver smelting as described in historical treatises following the transformations by in situ variable
24	temperature SR-XRD, PIXE and SEM. Our laboratory tests have proved that roasting cobalt arsenide
25	ore either alone or mixed with fluxes (PbO, $CaF_2$ ), $CaCO_3$ , SiO <sub>2</sub> and kaolinite was unable to remove
26	the arsenic completely. Roasting cobalt arsenide ore (saffre) alone explains the presence of arsenic
27	in the cobalt blue glasses and glazes after 1520. The product obtained as described by Agricola
28	contains less arsenic forming calcium arsenates, lead arsenates ( $Pb_5(AsO_4)_3F$ , $Pb_8As_2O_{13}$ ) and
29	calcium lead arsenates (Ca,Pb) $_{5}$ (AsO $_{4}$ ) $_{3}$ (F,Cl,OH) with an hedyphane structure, while cobalt is
30	incorporated into a glassy matrix. As the physical separation of the arsenic free cobalt vitreous
31	phase does not seem possible, these processes can explain the variable content of arsenic shown
32	by the historical blue glazes but not the arsenic free glazes. In this case, the use of an arsenic free

- 33 cobalt ore such as linnaeite is the most likely source.
- 34 Keywords: skutterudite, cobalt pigments, blue glazes, calcium lead arsenate, roasting CoAs<sub>3</sub>, saffre
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#### **1-INTRODUCTION**

40 Cobalt was used since the early antiquity to tinge glass and glazes in blue. The chemical 41 composition of blue glasses and glazes from various regions and different epochs has been 42 extensively studied. An instrumental study of glass from French archaeological sites (Gratuze et 43 al., 1992; Soulier et al., 1996) and of ceramics form France, Italy, Spain, Maghreb, Uzbekistan, Syria 44 and Egypt (Gratuze et al., 1996) has identified three major groups of cobalt pigments and gave 45 hints on the origin and processing of cobalt ore:

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The first group is characterized by the presence of Co, Zn, Pb and In (min 19 - max 587 ppm),
 with high concentration of zinc and lead. It includes objects dated from the beginning of 13<sup>th</sup>
 to the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. The village of Freiberg in the Erzgebirge, where cobalt minerals
 are associated with zinc blend and galena, has been suggested by the authors (Gratuze et al.,
 1992) as the possible source.

- The second group shows only the association of Co and Ni (Co/Ni ~ 4) with very low As content
   (min 58 max 687 ppm) and includes objects dated from around the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> and the
   beginning of 16<sup>th</sup> century. The authors suggest that it might be the result of a higher
   temperature roasting of cobalt arsenates or sulpho-arsenates.
- The third group is characterized by the presence of Co and Ni (Co/Ni~4), a high concentration
   of As (~20 times those of group 2) and Bi, and includes objects dated from the beginning of
   16<sup>th</sup> century onward. This kind of pigment is associated with the *saffre* discussed below,
   probably from Schneeberg.
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The analysis of ceramics (Gratuze et al., 1996, 2018; Pérez-Arantegui et al., 2008; Porter, 1997; Roldán et al., 2006) confirms so far these three groups. The analysis, by Particle Induced X-ray Emission (PIXE), of the blue glazes in objects of the della Robbia production, accurately dated from 1445 to 1550 (Zucchiatti et al., 2006a), allowed to add precision to the time scale. In the Della Robbia production the compositional change between the second and the third group takes place, sharply, between the years 1515 and 1521 (Pappalardo et al., 2004).

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68 The differences in composition have given rise to several hypotheses about the origin of the 69 cobalt ores and their processing, not all of which could be firmly confirmed. The presence of

70 arsenic from 1520 until the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century suggests the use of the *saffre* produced as 71 described by Kunckel in his "Ars vitraria experimentalis" published in 1679 (Kunckel, 1679). 72 Kunckel details the *saffre* fabrication process with "a metallic stone called cobalt" which is very 73 poisonous. It has to be roasted in a reverberatory oven, procuring that it emits light and a white 74 smoke (arsenic), collected along a wooden horizontal chimney. The calcined material is milled into 75 a fine powder. Part of the powder is mixed with quartz, moist and pressed inside a barrel to form 76 a compound as hard as a stone. This material, that the miners and other authors call Zaffera (the 77 saffre), is sent to Holland for the production of plates. Melzer (Melzer, 1684) refers to a specific 78 person, Peter Weidenhammer from Schneeberg, as a producer of Zaffera and to a year, 1520, in 79 which he had donated a window to the village great church. Smalt, invented around 1540–60, is a 80 potassium glass obtained by melting the roasted cobalt ore together with quartz (sand) and potash 81 or added to molten glass (Mühlethaler and Thissen, 1969, Bajnóczi, et al 2014).

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83 The peculiar Co-Ni group, identified by Soulier and coworkers (Soulier et al., 1996), that 84 included objects dated before 1520, i.e. before the *saffre* was introduced, was attributed to 85 roasting of a cobalt ore (like erythrite) at a higher temperature than those obtained in a 86 reverberatory kiln. However, it is not clear if this could explain the drop in arsenic below PIXE 87 detection limits and to the average 93 ppm given by ICP-MS. Looking at an arsenic free cobalt 88 pigment, we cannot exclude, a priori, the possibility that such a material was obtained as a by-89 product of the silver smelting. In his treatise "De re Metallica" (Agricola, Hoover & Hoover, 2011), 90 Georgius Agricola describes meticulously the silver production, from mining to purification of the 91 metal but never mentions explicitly cobalt as a by-product. However, we know that the Erzgebirge 92 silver comes in association with Co, Ni, Fe, As, Bi (Andrews, 1962, Kissin 1992). The exploitation of 93 the Erzgebirge silver mines is documented since 1168 (Freiberg) and has been the major economic 94 activity of the area until the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Cobalt ores may therefore be present in the smelting. 95 We also know that cobalt has the tendency "...to remain in the silicate melt until the closing stages 96 of the magmatic differentiation... and this same tendency is manifest in the metallurgical 97 operations when the cobalt is more likely to go into the slag" (Andrews, 1962). The question is 98 whether the metallurgic operations described by Agricola, would produce a separation of Co and 99 As. For the sake of reproducing in laboratory tests the process he describes, it is worth considering 100 some key sentences of Agricola's text translation (Agricola, Hoover & Hoover, 2011).

101 "... he [the master smelter] first throws into the furnace as many cakes melted from pyrites [the 102 metallurgical matte] as he requires to smelt the ore; then he puts in two wicker baskets full of ore 103 with litharge and hearth-lead, and stones which fuse easily by fire of the second order, all mixed 104 together; then one wicker basket full of charcoal, and lastly the slags. The furnace now being filled 105 with all the things I have mentioned, the ore is slowly smelted". "... when the lead which the 106 assistant has placed in the forehearth is melted, the master opens the tap-hole of the furnace with 107 a tapping-bar...The slag first flows from the furnace into the forehearth, and in it are stones mixed 108 with metal or with the metal adhering to them partly altered, the slag also containing earth and 109 solidified juices. After this, the material from the melted pyrites flows out, and then the molten 110 lead contained in the forehearth absorbs the gold and silver. When that which has run out has 111 stood for some time in the forehearth, in order to be able to separate one from the other, the 112 master first either skims off the slags with the hooked bar or else lifts them off with an iron fork; 113 the slags, as they are very light, float on the top. He next draws off the cakes of melted pyrites, 114 which as they are of medium weight hold the middle place; he leaves in the forehearth the alloy of 115 gold or silver with the lead, for these being the heaviest, sink to the bottom. As, however, there is 116 a difference in slags, the uppermost containing little metal, the middle more, and the lowest much, 117 he puts these away separately, ...".

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Being the cooling of the melt relatively fast in air and driven by sedimentation, we expect the heavy elements, like Bi, to go into the ingot with lead and silver, which would justify the appearance of Bi in the della Robbia glazes only in coincidence with the appearance of As, i.e. when the cobalt mineral is roasted as a whole and not melted and sedimented.

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124 In this study we have thermally processed a cobalt arsenide ore, in order to replicate as close 125 as possible the historical account of roasting (Kunckel, 1679) and we have as well thermally 126 processed mixtures of cobalt arsenide ore and other compounds to reproduce the smelting 127 process described by Agricola (Agricola, 1530). The purpose is to determine the nature of the 128 products obtained from these processing and use the results to assess or deny the various 129 hypotheses found in the literature about the effect that those processes had in the composition 130 of the cobalt pigment, in particular those regarding the partial or complete loss of arsenic.

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#### 2- EXPERIMENTAL METHODOLOGY

135 A cobalt arsenide ore, originating from Ouarzazate mines (Ahmed 2009a) in Morocco (courtesy 136 of the University Moulay Ismail of Meknes), was ground in agate mortar with granulometry below 137 80 microns: the biggest quartz and calcite grains were removed at an intermediate grinding stage. 138 The mineral composition of the cobalt arsenide ore was determined by X-Ray Diffraction (XRD). 139 The ore is an inhomogeneous aggregate of skutterudite (CoAs<sub>3</sub>) and a little clinosafflorite (CoAs<sub>2</sub>) 140 with calcite (CaCO<sub>3</sub>), quartz (SiO<sub>2</sub>) and clinochlore ( $(Mg_5AI)(Si,AI)_4$ )O<sub>10</sub>(OH)<sub>8</sub>) as gangue minerals. 141 Neither erythrite  $(Co_3(AsO_4)_2 \cdot 8H_2O)$  nor cobaltite (CoAsS) were detected (Table I). The average 142 chemical composition of the cobalt ore was determined by PIXE (Particle Induced X-ray Emission) 143 (Johansson et al., 1995), scanning a few millimetric portions of the grey and visually homogeneous 144 ore areas and averaging the results. The PIXE analysis was performed with a 3 MeV, 30 µm 145 diameter, scanning external proton micro-beam at the AGLAE accelerator of the C2RMF (Calligaro 146 et al., 2000). We collected X-rays with a two detector apparatus described in detail elsewhere 147 (Zucchiatti et al., 2000). The average composition obtained for the mineral is: 63.4 wt% As, 14.3 148 wt% Co, 3 wt% Ni, 1.6 wt%Fe, 2.4 wt%S, 7.3 wt% Si, 5.3 wt% Ca, 1 wt % Na and 0.5 wt% Al. 149 Magnesium could not be detected since its K line at 1.254 keV cannot be separated by the 150 dominant L line of arsenic at 1.282 keV but SEM-EDS confirmed its presence in the clinochlore 151 particles (Figure S1). Based on the elemental composition obtained by PIXE and assuming that all 152 the Co, Ni, As and S and part of the Fe belong to the cobalt arsenide, all the Ca to calcite (CaCO<sub>3</sub>), 153 all the Al and part of the Fe and Si to clinochlore, taking the composition measured by SEM-EDS 154 (Scanning Electron Microscope-Energy Dispersive Spectroscopy) for the clinochlore, 155 Mg<sub>3</sub>Fe<sub>2</sub>Al(Si<sub>3</sub>Al)O<sub>10</sub>(OH)<sub>8</sub>, and the remaining Si to quartz, the mineral composition has been 156 calculated to be about 71% cobalt arsenide, 12% calcite and 12% SiO<sub>2</sub> and 5% clinochlore.

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The cobalt ore was roasted alone to replicate the *saffre* production and mixed with other minerals (Table I) to mimic the mixtures that were introduced in the kiln during the silver smelting process as described by Agricola. The materials added were lead oxide (PbO) and minium (Pb<sub>3</sub>O<sub>4</sub>) (Sigma Aldrich ref. 203610 and ref. 241547, respectively) used as a flux, quartz (SiO<sub>2</sub>) (Sigma Aldrich ref. 204358), calcite (CaCO<sub>3</sub>, Sigma Aldrich ref. 239216), kaolinite (Al<sub>2</sub>Si<sub>2</sub>O<sub>5</sub>(OH)<sub>4</sub>) (Supelco ref. 1044402500), possibly present in the kiln walls for the silver smelting process. Furthermore, fluorite (CaF<sub>2</sub>) (Sigma-Aldrich ref. 449717) was added since Hoover (Agricola, Hoover & Hoover,
 2011) proposed it – with admitted difficulty and uncertainty – as the *stones which fuse easily by fire of the second order*. The mineral content of each mixture is given in Table S1 and the As, Co,
 Ni, Fe and S composition of each mixture is given in Table S2.

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169 To mimik the roasting and smelting two different procedures have been followed. In a first 170 step a static process (SP) was adopted. We roasted/melted about 200 mg of cobalt ore or 1-2 g of 171 the mixtures of Table I, inside alumina vessels, placed into a quartz tube, by means of an 172 electronically controlled oven in a forced air flux. The temperature raised at a rate of 5°C/minute 173 and was maintained at the set maximum value for a period of not less than 8 hours. The maximum 174 temperatures were 460, 650, 850 and 1000 °C. Then the oven cooled down for 10 to 12 hours 175 before the samples were extracted and analyzed by PIXE and SEM-EDS at the Centre de Recherche 176 et Restauration des Musées de France (C2RMF).

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178 Given the results of the SP investigation, we planned a *dynamic process* (DP) for further study 179 by SR-XRD (Synchrotron Radiation powder X-Ray Diffraction). The SR-XRD, time/temperature 180 resolved, was performed at the ALBA synchrotron, in Cerdanyola del Vallès (Barcelona). Mixtures 181 were ground in agate mortar with granulometry below 80 microns and 50 mg were inserted into 182 500 µm diameter quartz capillaries and heated with an air blower, while performing powder X-ray 183 diffraction. The experiment was carried on at the high-resolution station of the BL04-MSPD 184 (Materials Science and Powder Diffraction) Beamline (Fauth et al., 2013). The diffracted X-rays 185 were collected by the Mythen detector, composed of 6 modules (Dectris/PSI Detectors group) 186 with a strip-pitch of 50 µm and placed at 550 mm of the sample, covering an angular range of 40° (2 $\vartheta$ ) with 2 $\vartheta$  step of 0.6 $\cdot$ 10<sup>-2°</sup>. Sequential data collection was performed during the heating stage. 187 188 During the cooling down of the samples, datasets were acquired as fast as compatible with a 189 reasonable level of statistics, in such a way that structural changes during the cooling down could 190 also be explored. In this case, the temperature intervals corresponding to each dataset are very 191 large initially and become progressively smaller as the cooling rate moderates. The energy used 192 for the measurements was 30 keV (wavelength  $\lambda$ =0.4129 Å, determined from a NIST640d silicon 193 standard) which is convenient for the absorption of the samples, including those containing a high 194 percentage of strong absorbing elements such as Pb. The flux on sample was about 4·10<sup>12</sup> photons/s and the beam size 2 x 0.8 mm<sup>2</sup> (WxH). The end station is equipped with a 195

196 holder that spins the capillary slightly tilted (5 degrees in our case) with respect to the horizontal 197 plane to avoid powder loss while allowing gas escape from the open end. A FMB Oxford hot air 198 blower controls the temperature growth rate from room temperature (RT) to 90°C at 20°C/min, 199 90°C to 110°C at 5°C/min, 110°C to 400°C at 20°C/min and 400°C to 900°C at 10°C/min) and data 200 collection time is kept constant (40 seconds/pattern). After reaching a top of 900 °C, the blower 201 returns directly at RT, which is enough to produce a relatively fast cooling of the sample, mimicking 202 the cooling down of the melt once the kiln tap-hole was open and the melt flowed in the fore-203 heart (Agricola, 1556).

204

205 Additional SR- $\mu$ XRD measurements have been performed after heating at RT along the 206 capillaries, from the area heated by the blower to the edge and which correspond to progressively 207 lower temperatures. The aim of these measurements was to help with the identification of the 208 phases. These measurements were performed at the microdiffraction endstation of the same 209 beamline using a 15x15µm<sup>2</sup> beam (FWHM) at 29.2keV (0.4246 Å wavelength) and a 2D CCD 210 Rayonix SX165 detector. Moreover, a 17th century Catalan blue decorated glaze which contains 211 calcium lead arsenate crystals, similar to those found in the roasted mixtures, were also analysed 212 by SR- $\mu$ XRD (for more detail on sample preparation see Pradell et al. 2013). Crystals of this sample 213 were also analysed by microprobe (WDS) at Universitat de Barcelona. The experimental conditions 214 for WDS analysis were 15 kV and 15 nA and an electron beam size of 2 mm.

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### **3. THE SAFFRE PRODUCTION PROCESS: LABORATORY TESTS**

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After roasting the cobalt arsenide ore alone, in the SP process, a white uniform surface layer covered the ore and the quartz tube into which the alumina vessel was placed. The grey ore was transformed into a black compound that was easily broken and showed a complex granular structure (Figure S2). The ore in its natural state, the calcined samples and the white patina were analysed by PIXE. The white patina was almost pure arsenic. Despite the As loss, the weight ratio As/Co of the roasted compounds dropped above 460 °C, but it never went below 1, not even at the highest roasting temperature of 1000 °C, as shown in Figure 1.

225

The *DP* of the cobalt ore alone (sample m1 of Table I) was run up to 900 °C. The diffractograms taken during the experiment are shown in **Figure 2**. The diffractogram at the top corresponds to

228 the raw cobalt ore, the green diffractogram is the one taken at 573 °C (quartz alpha to quartz beta 229 transition) during heating, the red diffractogram is the one taken at the maximum temperature 230 (900 °C) and the diffractogram at the bottom corresponds to the material obtained after firing 231 measured at RT. Following the roasting we could state that skutterudite began to decompose in 232 DP at 550°C, completely disappearing at 851°C (we should notice that the temperatures indicated 233 are those at which the diffractogram patterns were taken). The presence of clinosafflorite, residual 234 before firing, increases between 717oC and 900oC following the decomposition of skutterudite. 235 Langisite, (Co,Ni)As, is also formed between 809°C and 900°C. Cobalt arsenate Co<sub>3</sub>(AsO<sub>4</sub>)<sub>2</sub> is 236 formed during heating at about 575°C and disappears at 790°C. The arsenic volatilised diffuses 237 along the capillary and precipitates in the cooler regions as  $As_2O_3$  and also as metallic As (Figure 238 3).

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With regard to the other minerals present in the ore, clinochlore decomposes at 650°C and calcite decomposes quickly between 850°C and 900°C and quartz is still detected at the end of the firing. The large peak shifts due to the thermal expansion of the compounds at high temperature makes it difficult to detect CaO. Nevertheless, calcium arsenate Ca<sub>3</sub>(AsO<sub>4</sub>)<sub>2</sub> and possibly a very low presence of calcium cobalt pyroxene, CaCoSi<sub>2</sub>O<sub>6</sub>, are formed at about 775°C persisting up to 900°C and after cooling (Figure 4a).

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247 In summary, Arsenic is not completely lost and remains in the roasted material after firing. 248 CoAs<sub>3</sub> is progressively transformed into an arsenic poorer compound during firing: from CoAs<sub>3</sub> to 249 CoAs<sub>2</sub> and finally to CoAs in agreement with some studies about decomposition/oxidation of 250 skutterudite (Ertseva & Tsymbulov, 2002; Mikhail et al., 1989; Wilson & Mikhail, 1989). Cobalt 251 arsenate (phase A in Figure 2) is formed during heating as soon as skutterudite begins to 252 decompose and is completely decomposed before 800 °C. Some of the cobalt reacts with the 253 gangue and a small amount of a calcium cobalt silicate ( $CaCoSi_2O_6$ ) is formed. Calcium arsenate is 254 formed when calcite decomposes and the CaO reacts with the arsenic oxide (Figure 2).

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The above results are in good agreement with Mikhail (Mikhail et al., 1989) study on skutterudite roasting which concluded that a complete removal of arsenic is not readily achievable under either oxidizing or inert conditions. Consequently, the presence of arsenic in the cobalt blue

- glasses and glazes from the 16<sup>th</sup> century onwards is consistent with the use of *saffre* obtained by
   the process described by Kunckel (Kunckel, 1679).
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#### 4-COBALT AS A BY-PRODUCT OF SILVER SMELTING: LABORATORY TESTS

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The phases determined for the different mixtures of Table I at the *DP* maximum temperature (900°C) are reported in Table II. The transformations observed during the firing are detailed for each of the mixtures.

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#### 268 4.1 Cobalt arsenide ore, lead oxide, fluorite mixtures

Lead oxide and fluorite are, according to Agricola after interpretation of Hoover (Georg Agricola, Agricola, Hoover & Hoover, 2011), the most important additions to the silver minerals in the smelting. They are the *fluxes of first and second order* respectively. In the smelting, the cobalt arsenides must have been a minor component of the smelt. For this reason, the mixture with the lowest cobalt ore content (m9) is reported with greater detail.

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275 The diffractograms taken during the experiment are shown in Figure 5. PbO is in the form of 276 massicot and litharge which are completely decomposed at 785°C and 827°C respectively. 277 Skutterudite is decomposed at about 584°C and the arsenic released reacts with lead and fluorine 278 producing Pb<sub>5</sub>(AsO<sub>4</sub>)<sub>3</sub>F between 535 °C and 835 °C , (letter B in Figure 5), Pb<sub>8</sub>As<sub>2</sub>O<sub>13</sub> between 560 279 °C and 835 °C (letter C in Figure 5) and Pb<sub>2</sub>OF<sub>2</sub> between 567 °C and 785 °C (letter D in Figure 5). 280 Calcium lead arsenate with the structure of hedyphane but with fluorine instead of chlorine, 281 (Ca,Pb)<sub>5</sub>(AsO<sub>4</sub>)<sub>3</sub>F, is identified between 820 °C and 900°C. We have to mention that cobalt 282 arsenates are not formed. Galena, PbS, (letter E in Figure 5) is formed by the reaction of lead with 283 the sulphur released from cobalt ore between 535 °C and 852 °C. At the end of the firing only 284 calcium lead arsenate (Ca,Pb)<sub>5</sub>(AsO<sub>4</sub>)<sub>3</sub>F and fluorite are found (Figure 4b). The most representative 285 diffractograms taken along the capillary at RT after firing are also shown in Figure 6 Elongated 286 crystals of calcium lead arsenate are seen over fluorite cubes by SEM (Figure 7a). The data 287 indicates that lead reacts with fluorite and favours the decomposition of skutterudite promoting 288 the formation of calcium lead and lead arsenates with fluorine and lead oxide with fluorine.

Finally, quartz reacts with PbO forming a glassy phase as is observed in the SEM image, Figure 7b, and is also evident as a rising background in the diffraction patterns above 840°C (Figure 5). The blue particles with various shades seen in the capillaries correspond to a vitreous phase (Figure S3). Co is determined in the blue vitreous particles confirming the results of Wood and Hsu (2019).

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296 If a larger amount of cobalt ore is added to the mixture (m2), langisite and clinosafflorite are 297 formed at intermediate temperatures (langisite appears in larger amounts than in m1) remaining 298 in the final fired product. Consequently, cobalt arsenides are still present when lower amounts of 299 lead oxide and fluorite are added. The colour of this mixture is dark blue (Figure S3).

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301 The presence of arsenate acicular crystals is often found in blue ceramic glazes after 1520 aD 302 (among other: Hancock et al, 2000; Capelli, et al., 2002; Viti et al., 2003; Zucchiatti et al., 2006b; 303 Tite 2009; Pradell et al., 2013; Van Pevenage et al., 2014; Colomban et al., 2017, 2018, 2020; de 304 Viguerie et al., 2019). In particular the presence of lead rich KNaPb arsenates (NaKPb<sub>8</sub>(AsO<sub>4</sub>)<sub>6</sub>) with 305 apatite structure have been determined by SR-XRD (Pradell et al., 2013). Van Pevenage et al. 306 (2014) found a lead arsenate similar to mimetite (Pb<sub>5</sub>(AsO4)<sub>3</sub>Cl) in the pigments of the ruan-cai 307 blue colour Chinese porcelain dating from the 18th century. Colomban et al. (2018) detected lead 308 arsenates by Raman of blue-decorated early soft-paste porcelain after 1750 and lead arsenate 309 apatite phase of the type  $Na_{1-x-y}K_xCayPb_4(AsO_4)_3$  in 17th–18th century enamelled French watches. 310 Although the presence of acicular arsenate crystals is often described, the phases have been rarely 311 unambiguously identified.

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In this study, crystalites of  $(Ca, Pb)_5(AsO_4)_3F$  have been detected for the first time. We added fluorite, and the phase formed is equivalent to hedyphane  $(Ca_2Pb_3(AsO_4)_3Cl$  but with F instead of Cl. Hedyphane has an apatite like structure and contains Cl but it may also contain OH (hydroxilhedyphane) and F (fluorhedyphane) (Pesaro, et al. 2010).

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In fact similar calcium lead arsenate crystallites were also found in Catalan Blue wares with the
 following composition (Ca<sub>2.74</sub>Pb<sub>2.26</sub>P<sub>0.39</sub>As<sub>2.61</sub>O<sub>12</sub>Cl<sub>0.19</sub>) determined by microprobe (Figure 8a and
 8b). The Rietveld refinement of this structure with Fullprof software (Rodríguez-Carvajal, 1993)

- using as starting model the described structure for hedyphane (Rouse et al., 1984) shows an
   excellent match (Figure 8c) with cell parameters a=b=9.9320(3) Å and c=7.1001(2) Å, V=606.56(3)
- 323 Å<sup>3</sup>. This verifies the formation of this type of calcium lead arsenates also in historical glazes.
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Although the amount of arsenic present in the glazes is normally very low, the precipitation of lead arsenates and in particular the arsenates with hedyphane structure is expected to happen and their presence is a marker of the use of cobalt arsenide ore.

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When the mixture m9 is fired at 1200°C in *SP* mode (definitely out of reach for 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> century smelters and also for SR-XRD air blower used) only calcium arsenate crystals are found (hexagonal prismatic and acicular) (Figure 7c) together with aggregates of tiny crystals rich in cobalt, iron and nickel (Figure 7d). Flat, approximately rectangular, calcium aluminosilicate crystallites (anorthite type) resulting from the reaction with the alumina crucible were also formed at this high temperature.

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#### 4.2 Cobalt arsenide ore, lead oxide, fluorite, quartz Mixtures

From the *DP* analysis of mixture m4 we observe that the addition of quartz favours the development of the liquid phase producing a more vitrified product (lead silicate vitreous phase). After firing at 900°C only very little langisite, (Co,Ni)As, lead fluoride arsenate Pb<sub>5</sub>(AsO<sub>4</sub>)<sub>3</sub>F and fluorhedyphane (Ca,Pb)<sub>5</sub>(AsO<sub>4</sub>)<sub>3</sub>F are present, along with quartz, cristobalite and fluorite. With a lower amount of the cobalt ore (m11) the material obtained is even more vitrified and the cobalt arsenides are residual (**Figure 4b and Figure 9**). The vitreous phase appears blue in the capillaries (**Figure S3**) which are related to the vitreous phase which incorporates the cobalt (**Figure S4**).

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4.3 Cobalt arsenide ore, lead oxide, calcite, kaolinite

Fluorite was added in the previous mixtures as a flux in silver smelting because it was mentioned in the Agricola text as *stones which fuse easily by fire of the second order*. But, fluor is not normally determined in the analyses of glazes and glass. For this reason, calcite has been added instead of fluorite. A mixture incorporating calcite and Pb<sub>3</sub>O<sub>4</sub> instead of PbO (m16, Table I) have been produced to explore the effect that different sources of Pb and Ca had in the final product. Moreover, some kaolinite, which was present in the kiln walls, was also added to check its effect in the final slag obtained.

354 The SR-XRD patterns (Figure 10 and Figure 4c) show that Pb<sub>3</sub>O<sub>4</sub> and kaolinite disappear at 355 591°C and 676°C respectively, while skutterudite and calcite decompose completely at 692°C and 356 900°C. Kaolinite  $(Al_2Si_2O_5(OH)_4)$  promotes the formation of lead feldspars (PbAl\_2Si\_2O\_8). Both the 357 stable monoclinic and the metastable hexagonal lead feldspar are formed during the firing at 358 about 700°C, and the monoclinic phase increases from 845°C to 900°C. Finally, calcium lead 359 arsenates with hedyphane structure but incorporating OH, (Ca,Pb)<sub>5</sub>(AsO<sub>4</sub>)<sub>3</sub>OH 360 (Hydroxylhedyphane) are formed at about 700°C increasing at 845°C. A glassy phase is also formed 361 (Figure S4b) but in lower amounts than in the mixtures m4 and m11. The SEM observation 362 indicates that the cobalt is concentrated in the glassy particles, as in the previous cases.

363

364

#### 5- DISCUSSION

365

Our laboratory tests have proved that roasting a rich cobalt arsenide ore at high temperature or even for a long time is unable to remove completely the arsenic from the ore. The typical composition of historical blue glazes after 1520 is perfectly compatible with the material obtained roasting of minerals from the cobalt arsenides deposits of the Erzgebirge area (Weber, 1986), to produce *saffre*, as described by Kunckel (Kunckel, 1679).

371

372 Our replication of the processes described by Agricola gave rise to the formation of a lead rich 373 silica glassy phase which incorporates cobalt in variable amounts together with calcium and lead 374 arsenates of various compositions. We have also found that the amount and composition of the 375 glassy phase depends on the amount of quartz and lead oxide and fluorite added. Adding a larger 376 amount of quartz and fluxes a most extensive glassy phase is obtained and less crystalline 377 compounds (calcium lead arsenates) are produced. As the physical separation of the different 378 phases does not appear possible, the question is then reduced to the possible commercialization 379 and use of the material obtained by this process in the production of cobalt blue glazes. 380 Considering that the glassy phase would integrate into the glaze, part of the arsenic still present 381 would be removed in the glaze firing and the remaining arsenic would either dissolve or 382 recrystallise into calcium lead arsenate, the use of the subproduct obtained to tinge lead glazes 383 could not be discarded. This could account for the variable content of arsenic shown by the 384 historical glazes. However, as fluor has not been reported in the historical glazes, either fluorite

was added in low amounts or another flux was added instead. We should mention that the presence of fluorite has been reported in the white but also blue Chinese cloissonné enamels (Colomban et al., 2020). The use of fluorite is not clear in Agricola's description of the process and other fluxes could have been added instead. In fact, the processing described by Agricola and replicated in this study produces, among other compounds, a cobalt blue glassy product not very different from *smalt*, as *smalt* is also a cobalt blue glass obtained adding quartz and a flux, in this case potash.

392

The study has also provided direct evidence of the crystallisation of an hedyphane type of calcium lead arsenates, incorporating Cl, F or OH. A phase which has been found in historical glazes, but never properly identified until now.

396

Our results indicate that an arsenic free cobalt compound could not have been produced by a higher temperature treatment of skutterudite or during the smelting of silver as described by Agricola (Agricola, Hoover & Hoover, 2011). Therefore, other sources of cobalt must be considered to explain the appearance, between the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century and the third decade of the 16<sup>th</sup> century of the CoNi with trace amounts of As pigment used to colour blue glasses and glazes.

402

Since the coeval literature describes blue pigments as coming from *la Magna* (Cennini, 1400) the minerals of the Erzgebirge must again be considered. Agricola (Agricola, 1530) gives account of the existence of different cobalt minerals but with the same *properties*, saying, in particular, that all were corrosive because of their As content. Andrews (Andrews, 1962) reports that "*the principal deposits of the Erzgebirge, consisting of smaltite, erythrite, linnaeite and asbolane in association with barites, silver and bismuth, occur in contact-metamorphosed slates underlain by granites...*".

410

An As free Co from *la Magna* could have come from the processing of linnaeite ( $Co^{2+}Co^{3+}_2S_4$ ) or asbolane ((Co,Ni)<sub>1-y</sub>( $Mn^{4+}O_2$ )<sub>2-x</sub>(OH)<sub>2-2y+2x</sub>·n( $H_2O$ ) a mixture of hydrated Co and Mn oxides). The PIXE analysis of blue glazes of the *della Robbia* production, whenever As is below PIXE detection limits, do not show sufficient Mn content to support the origin of the *saffre* from asbolane that contains more Mn (65-96%) than Co (35-4%) (Andrews R.W, 1962). In the group of *della Robbia* sculptures dated before 1520, we found a MnO/CoO ratio always below 0.20 except when 417 manganese was deliberately added to make the blue turn violet or when a black coloured glaze418 diffused into the blue glaze during firing.

419

420 As concerns linnaeite, there are significant coincidences between what is reported above for the *della Robbia* glazes (Zucchiatti et al., 2006a) and for the 9<sup>th</sup> century Islamic Samarra faiences 421 (Kleinman, 1990). Kleinmann's morphological analysis reveals the presence of pigment remnants 422 423 in three phases aggregates: a granulated nucleus, surrounded by silicate crystals in a vitreous 424 matrix. The granulated nuclei were identified as Co-Fe-Ni spinels with an extremely variable 425 composition (Co 13.90-47.69%; Fe 9.51-82.13%; Ni 1.01-59.15%). The same kind of structure will 426 reappear (Kleinmann, 1986; Kleinmann, 1987) in medieval Persian faiences. Linnaeite would fit, 427 according to Kleinmann, with the description (Allan, 1973) of a stone "... like white silver shining 428 in a sheath of hard black stone". Will fit also with the morphology observed in the della Robbia 429 blue glazes prior to 1520 and, finally, with the quite variable relation between the characterizing 430 elements Co-Fe-Ni, detected by PIXE in the As free glazes. Roasted linnaeite would fit much better 431 than arsenates or sulpho-arsenates as the origin of the specific Co-Ni group. It might be that the 432 della Robbia used, before the advent of the saffre, the same pigment that was utilized in the blue 433 and white Chinese porcelain of the early Ming period (1368-1424). This was characterized by a 434 very high Fe/Mn ratio (Wen et al., 2007) that we find as well in the analyses of the della Robbia 435 glazes (Fe<sub>2</sub>O<sub>3</sub>/MnO >15). The pigment is very similar to the one found in Middle Eastern ceramics from the 9<sup>th</sup> century onwards and could correspond to the so-called Sumali blue probably 436 437 exported, from Iran, both to the Far East and Europe.

#### 7-CONCLUSIONS

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438

440 We performed laboratory tests to investigate the production of cobalt materials in blue glazed 441 ceramics from the Renaissance. The previous analyses of ancient glass and glaze put in evidence a change of the cobalt material at the edge between the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> century. The replication of 442 443 the roasting process of a natural cobalt arsenide ore has shown that a complete removal of arsenic 444 is not obtained, which explains the presence of arsenic in the cobalt blue glasses and glazes from 445 the 16<sup>th</sup> century onwards. Our results fit very closely with the description of the process done in 446 historical texts and with the beginning of trade of a new commercial material, called *saffre*, from 447 the rich cobalt arsenides deposits of the Erzgebirge area.

449 Assuming that cobalt could have been a slag of the massive silver smelting in the Erzgebirge 450 area and following the description that Agricola gives of the silver mining and smelting, we have 451 produced various mineral mixtures and followed their transformation, mimicking the smelting 452 process. Our replication of the processes described by Agricola gave rise to the formation of a lead 453 rich glassy phase which incorporates cobalt in variable amounts together with lead arsenates 454 (Pb<sub>5</sub>(AsO<sub>4</sub>)<sub>3</sub>F, Pb<sub>8</sub>As<sub>2</sub>O<sub>13</sub>) and calcium lead arsenates (Ca,Pb)<sub>5</sub>(AsO<sub>4</sub>)<sub>3</sub>(F,Cl,OH) with an hedyphane 455 structure, while cobalt is incorporated into a glassy matrix. When kaolinite is added, lead feldspars 456 are also formed. Therefore, the separation of the cobalt from arsenic is accomplished. However, 457 as the physical separation of the cobalt glassy phase from the other crystalline compounds does 458 not appear possible, the question is then reduced to the possible commercialization and use of 459 the material obtained by this process in the production of cobalt blue glazes. Although the use of 460 this slag as a cobalt pigment to tinge lead glazes cannot be discarded, the material obtained is not 461 arsenic free and therefore, it can hardly account for the arsenic free material like the one used by 462 the *della Robbia* and other before 1515-1520.

463

464 In addition, it is not straightforward to justify a consistent production of cobalt materials with 465 the much lower abundance of linnaeite in the Erzgebirge (Seifert & Sandmann, 2006). It is worth 466 observing that the revision of available data puts in evidence some compositional similarity 467 between the della Robbia sculptures, the Near East pottery and the Chinese blue and white 468 porcelain. The similarity might be explained by the common use of arsenic free cobalt materials 469 produced, for example, from linnaeite in the Qamsar mines in Iran and traded towards the 470 Mediterranean basin and China before the massive introduction on the market of the German 471 saffre. The processing of linnaeite definitely deserves specific studies, both dynamical and 472 microscopic, as we did so far for the cobalt arsenide ore.

473

## 474 **ACKNOWLEDGMENTS**

One of us (A.Z.) is pleased to acknowledge the support of Istituto Nazionale di Fisica Nucleare of Italy and Universidad Autónoma de Madrid at the time he performed part of this work being a member of their respective staff. We are indebted to the Centre de Recherche et Restauration des Musées de France. Experiments were performed at BL04 MSPD Beamline at ALBA synchrotron Facility with the collaboration of Alba Staff (Ref. 2018092994, 2018022748, 2015091398) for financial support during part of this work. We are indebted to professors Badra and Haddad of

- 481the Moulay Ismail University of Meknes (Morocco) for providing us with the cobalt ore. J.M. and482T.P. are grateful to the project PID2019-105823RB-I00 funded by the Ministerio de Ciencia e
- 483 Innovación (Spain) and TP is grateful to Generalitat de Catalunya grant 2017SGR-0042.

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# **FIGURE CAPTIONS**

637	Figure 1 . The As and Co weight percent in the cobalt arsenide ore (mixture m1 in Table I) and at
638	different roasting temperatures determined by PIXE. Quantitative analysis was performed on
639	millimetric scanned areas. The percent errors are around 2% and do not exceed the marker size.
640	
641	Figure 2. Diffractogram evolution of cobalt arsenide ore (mixture m1 in Table I) from room
642	temperature (top pattern) to the maximum temperature of 900 $^\circ$ C (red pattern) and cooling to
643	room temperature (bottom pattern). The green diffractogram corresponds to 573 °C ( $lpha$ -quartz
644	to β-quartz transition).
645	
646	Figure 3. SR-XRD patterns corresponding to the cobalt arsenide ore (mixture m1 in Table I). (a)
647	before heating, (b) white zone of capillary (c) dark zone of capillary, (d) zone of maximum
648	heating collected at RT after cooling.
649	
650	Figure 4. Thermal stability ranges of phases of m1, m9 and m16.
651	Figure F. Different conclusion of asistance and (Table I) from a constant to the motherm)
652	<b>Figure 5</b> . Diffractogram evolution of mixture m9 (Table I) from room temperature (top pattern)
653	to the maximum temperature of 900 °C (red pattern) and cooling to room temperature (bottom
654	pattern). The mixture components at RT, are identified by the symbols in the legend. The phases
655	formed during the thermal treatment are indicated by the letter B to E.
656 657	Figure 6. SR-XRD patterns corresponding to the mixture m9 (Table I). (a) before heating, (b)
658	external zone of capillary (c) middle zone of capillary, (d) near maximum temperature of capillary
659	(e) zone of maximum heating collected at RT after cooling.
660	
661	Figure 7. SEM images of mixture m9 fired at 900°C (DP) (a) and (b) and 1200°C (c) and (d) (SP).
662	(a) Lead arsenate tiny crystals (2) grown over cubes of fluorite (1).
663	(b) Fluorite crystals (1) surrounded by lead rich vitreous phase (2).
664	(c) Calcium arsenate crystals (1) and calcium aluminosilicate crystallites (anorthite type) (2).
665	(d) Calcium arsenates crystals (1) and aggregates of tiny crystals rich in cobalt, iron and nickel (2)
666	

667 668 Figure 8. Blue decorated Catalan glaze from 18th century (SBG17). (a) Thin section of glaze. The 669 blue decoration was applied overglaze. The Ca-Pb arsenates acicular crystals ((Ca,Pb)<sub>5</sub>(AsO<sub>4</sub>)<sub>3</sub>Cl) 670 are formed in the contact between tin lead glaze and blue decoration layer. B) SEM BSE image of 671 Ca-Pb arsenates (white colour) and lead feldspars (grey colour). C) Rietveld refinement of the Ca-672 Pb arsenate apatite-like structure. 673 674 Figure 9. Diffractogram evolution of mixture m11 (Table I) from room temperature (top pattern) 675 to the maximum temperature of 900 °C (red pattern). The green diffractogram corresponds to 676 573 °C (quartz alpha to quartz beta transition). 677 678 Figure 10. Diffractogram evolution of mixture m16 (Table I) from room temperature (top 679 pattern) to the maximum temperature of 900 °C (red pattern). The green diffractogram 680 corresponds to 573 °C (quartz alpha to quartz beta transition). 681

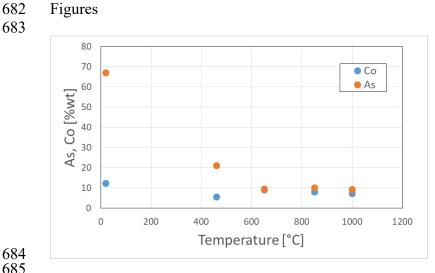
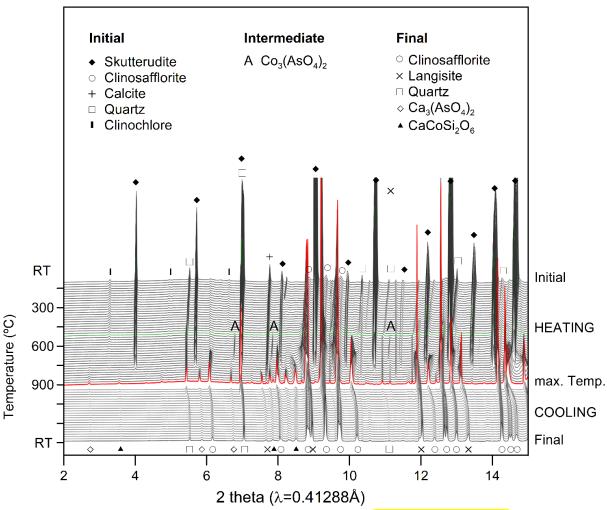
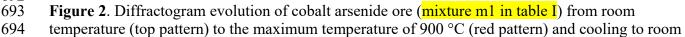




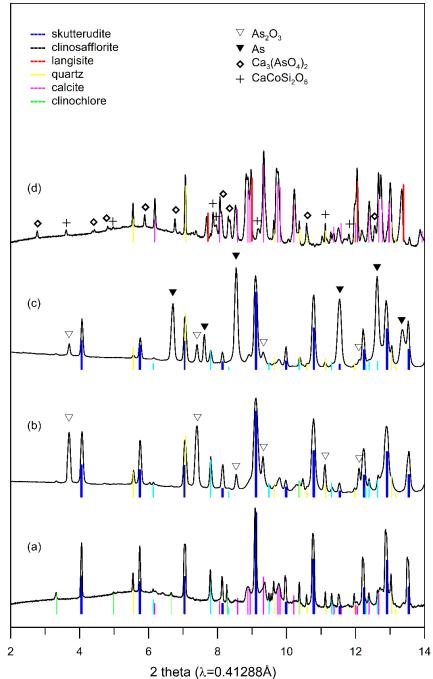
Fig.1. Co and As content (wt%) in the raw cobalt ore and at different roasting temperatures determined by PIXE.







695 temperature (bottom pattern). Green diffractogram corresponds to 573 °C ( $\alpha$ -quartz to  $\beta$ -quartz 696 697 transition).





699 Figure 3. SR-XRD patterns corresponding to the cobalt arsenide ore (mixture m1 in table I). (a)

before heating, (b) white zone of capillary (c) dark zone of capillary, (d) zone of maximum heating collected at RT after cooling. 

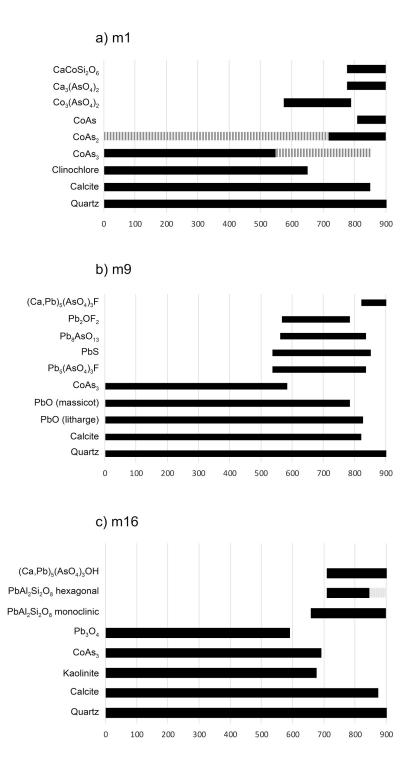




Figure 4. Thermal stability ranges of phases of m1, m9 and m16.

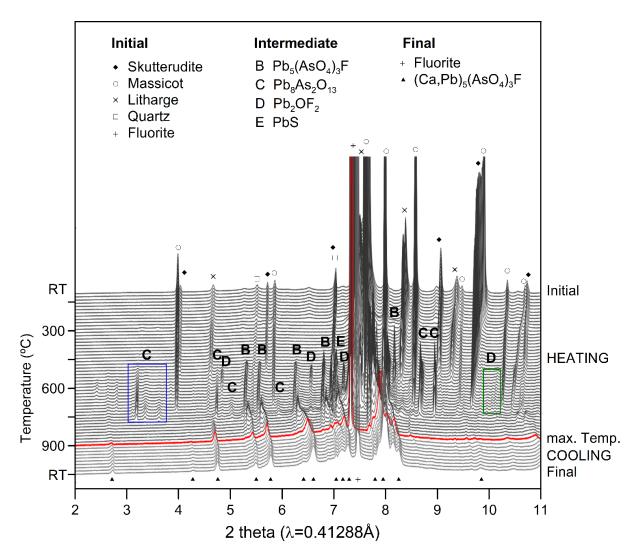


Figure 5. Diffractogram evolution of mixture m9 (Table I) from room temperature (top pattern) to
the maximum temperature of 900 °C (red pattern) and cooling to room temperature (bottom pattern).
The mixture components at RT, are identified by the symbols in the legend. The phases formed
during the thermal treatment are indicated by the letter B to E.

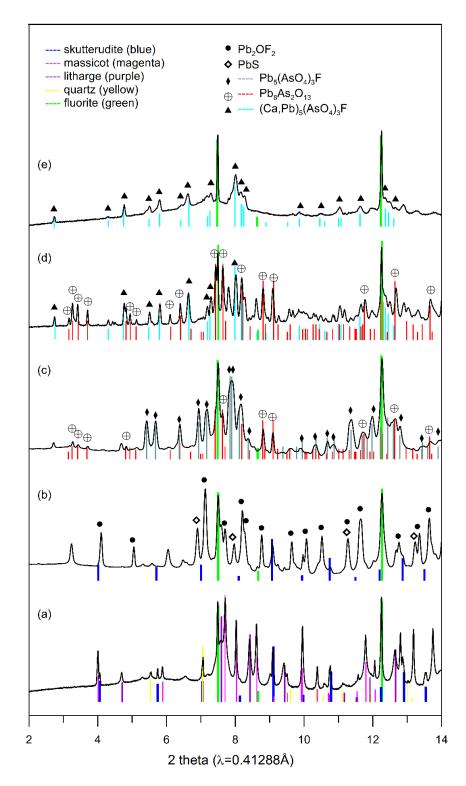
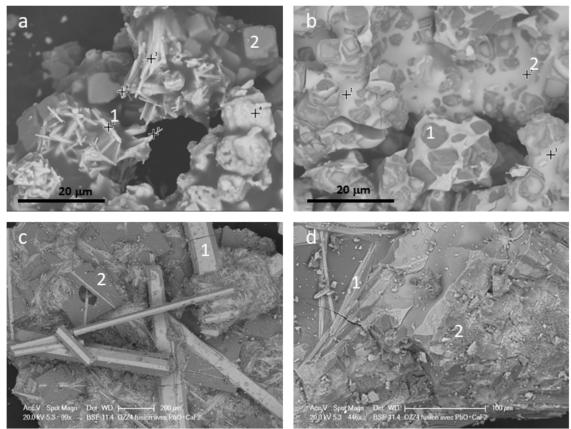




Figure 6. SR-XRD patterns corresponding to the mixture m9 (table I). (a) before heating, (b)
external zone of capillary (c) middle zone of capillary, (d) near maximum temperature of capillary
(e) zone of maximum heating collected at RT after cooling.



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   200 W 53 '92x BSF 114' 0224 Justicit were PhO 'CaF2'

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   Fig. 7. SEM images of mixture m9 fired at 900°C (DP) (a) and (b) and 1200°C (c) and (d) (SP).
- a) Lead arsenate tiny crystals (1) grown over cubes of fluorite (2).
- b) Fluorite crystals (1) surrounded by lead rich vitreous phase (2).
- c) Calcium arsenate crystals (1) and calcium aluminosilicate crystallites (anorthite type) (2).
- d) Calcium arsenates crystals (1) and aggregates of tiny crystals rich in cobalt, iron and nickel (2)
- 725 726

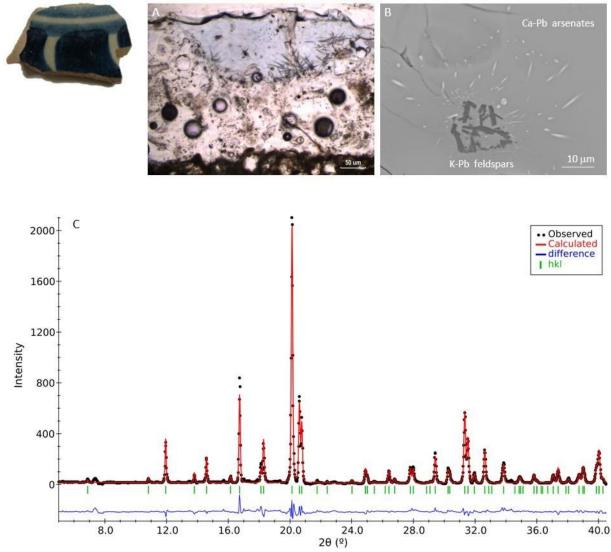
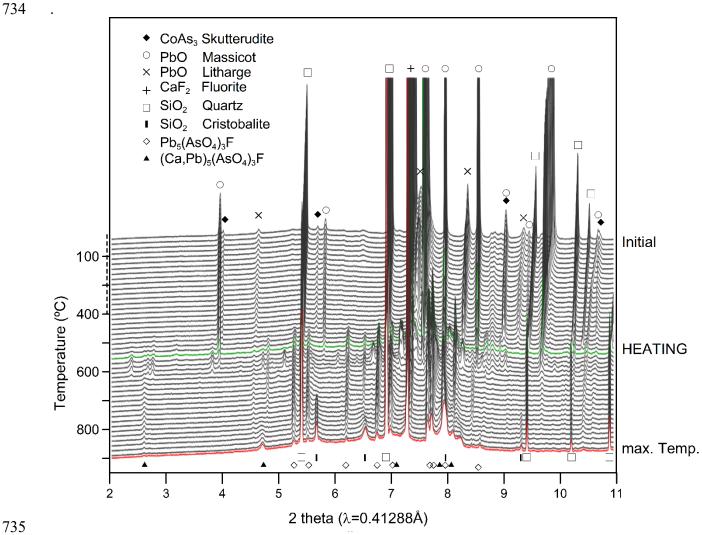
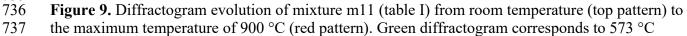


Figure 8. A) Thin section of blue decorated Catalan glaze from 18th century (SBG17). The blue decoration was applied overglaze. The Ca-Pb arsenates acicular crystals are formed in the contact between tin lead glaze and blue decoration layer. B) SEM BSE image of Ca-Pb arsenates (white colour) and lead feldspars (grey colour). C) Rietveld refinement of the Ca-Pb arsenate apatite-like structure.



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(quartz alpha to quartz beta transition).

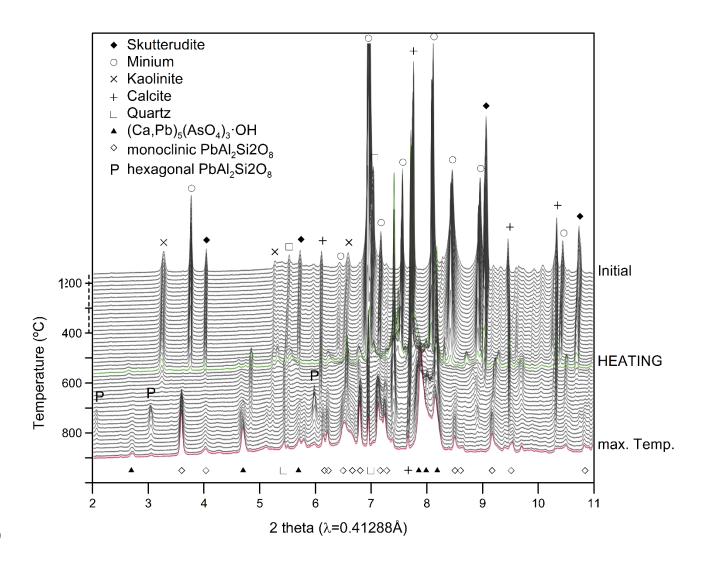


Figure 10. Diffractogram evolution of mixture m16 (table I) from room temperature (top pattern) to
 the maximum temperature of 900 °C (red pattern). Green diffractogram corresponds to 573 °C
 (quartz alpha to quartz beta transition).