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# Chemical characterization of majolica from 14th–18th century production centers on the Iberian Peninsula: a preliminary neutron activation study

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#### Abstract

Majolica pottery is one of the most characteristic tableware produced during the Medieval and Renaissance periods. Majolica technology was introduced to the Iberian Peninsula by Islamic artisans during Medieval times, and its production and popularity rapidly spread throughout Spain and eventually to other locations in Europe and the Americas. The prestige and importance of Spanish majolica was very high. Consequently, this ware was imported profusely to the Americas during the Spanish Colonial period. Nowadays, Majolica pottery serves as an important horizon marker at Spanish colonial sites. A preliminary study of Spanish-produced majolica was conducted on a set of 246 samples from the 12 primary majolica production centers on the Iberian Peninsula. The samples were analyzed by neutron activation analysis (NAA), and the resulting data were interpreted using an array of multivariate statistical procedures. Our results show a clear discrimination between different production centers. In some cases, our data allow one to distinguish amongst shards coming from the same production location suggesting different workshops or group of workshops were responsible for production of this pre-industrial pottery.

Keywords: Majolica; Neutron activation analysis; Provenance; Multivariate statistics; Iberian Peninsula; Medieval and Renaissance pottery

# 1. Introduction

Tin lead glazed pottery, also know as Majolica, is an earthenware pottery characterized by a creamy light-buff colored ceramic body and an opaque white tin-lead glaze covering the entire outer surface of the vessel. Perhaps, the most characteristic feature of majolica pottery lies in the metallic oxide decorations that are applied on top of the opaque white glaze coat. The opaque white glaze is composed of sand (e.g., quartz) and lead, which acts as a flux that decreases the temperature

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needed for melting SiO<sub>2</sub>. The glaze is opacified with particles of tin oxide (SnO<sub>2</sub>) and also by the action of extant quartz and feldspar inclusions. These inclusions, and the bubbles that result from the firing process, absorb, scatter, and/or reflect incident light, thereby giving the transparent glaze a white appearance. Due to this opacity, decoration is normally applied to the outer surfaces of the glaze coat (Molera et al., 1999; Garcia Iñañez et al., in press-d; Garcia Iñañez, 2007; Garcia Iñañez and Buxeda i Garrigós, 2007).

The term Majolica is synonymous with *maiolica*, *mayólica*, *faience*, *delftware*, *loza*, and *pisa*. The origin of the word majolica and its derivations may originate from the earthenware production of Málaga (*Malica* during Medieval times)

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in southern Spain. Alternatively, the word may originate from the role that the Spanish Mediterranean island of Mallorca served in majolica trade with Italy during Medieval and Renaissance times. Regardless of its origin, this philological aspect underscores the importance of Spanish majolica production (Farwell et al., 2003).

The antecedents of majolica must be sought in the early glazed proto-earthenware productions of the Middle East, probably in Iraq, since the ninth century AD, although opacified glazed pottery making traditions existed in Mesopotamia as early as the fifth century BC (Mason and Tite, 1997; Hill et al., 2004). The technological know-how of those productions, which were originally produced probably as coarse imitations of Chinese porcelain, was transferred to the Iberian Peninsula by Muslims. From there, majolica technology became widespread throughout the entire Iberian Peninsula during the Middle Ages, even in the New Christian kingdoms and principalities from the North and Northeast. Although an earlier tin-lead glazed earthenware existed, primarily in the Muslim Al-Andalus, the thirteenth century is generally considered as the starting point for majolica production in the Iberian Peninsula (Martínez-Caviró, 1997). Majolica pottery from the Late Medieval Age was usually decorated using black and green motifs over a white background and with gold-like decorations referred to as lusterware. The most important production centers sampled from this period (the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries) were Teruel (Aragon), Manises, and Paterna (located in the Valencia region), and Barcelona (Catalonia).

By the sixteenth century Spanish majolica production flourished as Italian-influenced decorative styles diffused into the Iberian Peninsula. Consequently, black and green motifs (green was a color generally associated with Islam influences) were progressively replaced with blue patterns, sometimes mixed with other colors, especially yellow. By the end of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries majolica polychrome was being produced throughout the Iberian Peninsula. At the same time the production of lusterware declined, both in quantity and quality. The most characteristic and important production centers from this period were Barcelona, Reus, Vilafranca del Penedès and Lleida in the Catalan area; Manises in the Valencian area; Muel and Villafeliche in Aragon; and Talavera de la Reina, Puente del Arzobispo and Sevilla in the Central and South Spain respectively (Fig. 1). As the commercial trade with the Americas and Europe increased, the port of Seville became the most important port of trade for Spain. The increased importance of Seville occurred because this city's port served as both the departure point and the final destination for most of the Spanish galleons that traded with the Americas in the socalled Carrera de Indias. Simultaneously, the importance of Sevillian majolica increased because of Seville's monopoly in the exportation of goods to the Americas. Whereas Seville became the primary production center for majolica exported outside of Spain, Talavera became the most important production center for majolica consumed within Spain. As a consequence, Talavera became the official supplier of royal tableware.

In this paper, we summarize the results from compositional analysis of 246 majolica shards obtained from the 12 primary production centers located on the Iberian Peninsula. These sites, which date from fourteenth to eighteenth centuries (Fig. 2), have been involved in the manufacture of tin-lead glazed pottery since the Middle Ages, and continue to produce majolica even today. Consequently, majolica production at a few of these places achieved high prestige due to their high quality and aesthetic value. The exportation of this pottery to the Americas, which became the case for the Seville and Talavera workshops, eventually resulted in the establishment of autochthonous workshops, such as Puebla or Mexico City, both in Mexico (Castro, 1988; Gámez Martínez, 2003; LaBrecque et al., 2003; Rodríguez-Alegría et al., 2003).

Our goal is to obtain a more precise understanding of majolica pottery production at the primary sites of the Iberian Peninsula dating from the fourteenth to eighteenth centuries or, in other words, from the appearance of majolica until the introduction of porcelain production in Spain at the end of the eighteenth century. By identifying compositional reference groups for majolica production within the Iberian Peninsula, we aspire, through future studies, to identify the provenance of majolica that was exported to areas outside of Spain, such as the Canary Islands and the Americas. The identification production centers for majolica recovered outside of Spain has important implications for understanding changing sociopolitical and economic relationships between Spain and the New World—relationships that may be at odds with historical documents of the era. The current archaeometric knowledge about tin-lead glazed pottery produced in the Iberian Peninsula is uneven. At the same time, many important works concerning majolica technology have been published, especially lusterware (Molera et al., 1993; Pérez-Arantegui et al., 2001; Fermo et al., 2002; Padeletti and Fermo, 2003; Molera et al., 2005; Pradell et al., 2005; Roqué et al., 2006). However, there is a lack of chemically defined reference groups to characterize the primary production sites. In that sense, there are just a few archaeometric works about these sites, such as Paterna (Molera et al., 1996, 2001), Barcelona, Reus and Vilafranca del Penedès (Garcia Iñañez, 2007; Garcia Iñañez and Buxeda i Garrigós, 2007; Garcia Iñañez et al., in press-b) or Talavera, Puente and Seville (Buxeda i Garrigós and Kilikoglou, 2003; Garcia Iñañez et al., in press-a). In addition, few works have previously studied the occurrence of Spanish majolica at overseas sites (e.g., the Americas), most of which refer primarily to Seville's production (Maggeti et al., 1984; Olin and Blackman, 1989; Myers et al., 1992; Vaz et al., 1997). However, when most of these provenance studies were conducted on overseas majolica, there was a significant gap in the archaeological knowledge regarding the actual kiln sites at Seville. During the past several years, however, archaeological excavations have revealed a substantial number of such kiln sitessites that can be used to establish the reference groups (Lorenzo Morilla et al., 1990; Mercado Hervás et al., 2001; Mesa Romero and Castañeda de la Paz, 2001). On the other hand, the important role played by the Canary Islands in the Atlantic trade has also been assessed by Garcia Iñañez et al. (in press-c).



Fig. 1. Main production center locations.

The archaeometric study of pre-industrial pottery production may provide insight into specific characteristics of a production center. For example, it is known from legal and commercial manuscripts that potters were organized in guilds

Century		Mai	n P	rod	ucti	on	Cen	ters	3		
12 <sup>th</sup>		4	1 4	5				1	0		
13 <sup>th</sup>	:	2		6	5 7	7	8				
14 <sup>th</sup>									1	11	2
15 <sup>th</sup>		3					9				
16 <sup>th</sup>											
17 <sup>th</sup>											
18 <sup>th</sup>											i
19 <sup>th</sup>							•				
20 <sup>th</sup>								!	-		

Fig. 2. Chronological table of the main production centers from the Iberian Peninsula. Shaded area represents production activities during the Islamic period. 1, Seville; 2, Talavera de la Reina; 3, Puente del Arzobispo; 4, Paterna; 5, Manises; 6, Barcelona; 7, Reus; 8, Lleida; 9, Vilafranca del Penedès; 10, Teruel; 11, Muel; 12, Villafeliche.

that were responsible for supplying the clay and other raw materials to their different unionized workshops. In that sense, a very standardized composition for each production center would be expected despite the existence of multiple workshops within a given city. As we discuss below, this scenario is however not always the case.

## 2. Methods

Table 1 lists a total of 246 majolica shards that were collected from the sites analyzed in this study, according to the decoration type (for a more detailed description, pictures and drawings, see Garcia Iñañez, 2007-available online at http:// www.tesienxarxa.net/TDX-0205107-115739/). All of the specimens were sampled either from extant museum collections or from contemporary archaeological excavations. Our sampling strategy was strictly focused on kiln-related materials, in order to maximize the probability that materials belonged to the respective workshops and producing towns. In that sense, we mostly sampled ceramics from archaeologically and historically documented majolica kiln dumps; although in some cases we also sampled shards from other kinds of archaeological deposits, such as the roof vaults at the old Hospital de la Santa Creu in Barcelona. Most of the samples included in this study (113) were obtained from the Museu de la Ceràmica de Barcelona, which has large reference collections for most of the primary majolica production sites in Spain. In addition, we obtained 15 shards from the Museu Comarcal Salvador Vilaseca de Reus and 15 samples from the Museu de Vilafranca

 Table 1

 Origin, chronology and decoration of the samples selected for the study

Sites	Centuries	Green & Black	Blue	Blue & Green	Blue on Blue	Blue & Yellow	Lusterware	White plain	Polychrome	Non- glazed	Total
Barcelona Drassanes	16th—17th	15 _	<b>4</b> (4) DIA071, DIA077, DIA643, DIA652	_	_	_	16 (9) DIA069, DIA073, DIA076, DIA078, DIA865, DIAX87, MJ0104, MJ0110, MJ0115	_	_	_	<b>35</b> 13
H. Santa Creu	16th—17th	_	_	_	_	_	(7) DIA534, DIA535, DIA536, DIA537, DIA539, DIA540, DIA541	_	_	_	7
Sta. Maria del Pi	14th	(15) MJ0089, MJ0090, MJ0091, MJ0094, MJ0095, MJ0190, MJ0193, MJ0197, MJ0198, MJ0087, MJ0088, MJ0092, MJ0093, MJ0096, MJ0189	_	_	_	-	_	_	_	-	15
Lleida <i>Obradors</i>	16th—17th	_	<b>11</b> (2) <i>MJ0306, MJ0307</i>	_	_	_	_	_	<b>1</b> (1) MJ0305	<b>3</b> (2) MJ0303, MJ0304	<b>15</b> 5
St. Anastasi	16th—17th	_	(5) MJ0295, MJ0296, MJ0297, MJ0308, MJ0309	_	_	_	_	_	_	_	5
Remolins	16th—17th	_	(4) MJ0299, MJ0300, MJ0301, MJ0302	_	_	_	_	_	_	(1) MJ0298	5
Manises	15th	_	_	_	-	-	(15) MJ0141, MJ0142, MJ0144, MJ0145, MJ0146, MJ0147, MJ0148, MJ0149, MJ0151, MJ0152, MJ0153, MJ0155, MJ0156, MJ0157, MJ0158	_	-	_	15
Muel	16th—17th	_	(16) MJ0045, MJ0046, MJ0047, MJ0048, MJ0049, MJ0051, MJ0053, MJ0055, MJ0056, MJ0057,	(10) MJ0035, MJ0036, MJ0037, MJ0038, MJ0039,	_	_	_	-	_	_	26

			MJ0058, MJ0059, MJ0060, MJ0062, MJ0063, MJ0064	MJ0040, MJ0041, MJ0042, MJ0043, MJ0044							
Paterna	14th	(15) MJ0121, MJ0122, MJ0123, MJ0124, MJ0125, MJ0126, MJ0127, MJ0130, MJ0131, MJ0132, MJ0133, MJ0135, MJ0136, MJ0138, MJ0139	-	_	-	-	-	-	-	-	15
Puente	16th—18th	_	(13) MJ0161, MJ0162, MJ0163, MJ0164, MJ0165, MJ0168, MJ0169, MJ0170, MJ0171, MJ0172, MJ0173, MJ0174, MJ0175	_	_	_	_	_	(1) MJ0176	(1) MJ0166	15
Reus	16th—17th	_	_	_	_	_	(2) DIA213, DIA315	(13) DIA101, DIA102, DIA103, DIA104, DIA105, DIA106, DIA107, DIA108, DIA316, DIA317, DIA320, DIA321, DIA322	_	_	15
Sevilla Pureza	16th—17th	_	13 (3) MJ0313, MJ0315, MJ0318	_	_	_	_	7 (5) MJ0316, MJ0317, MJ0321, MJ0326, MJ0332	3	_	<b>36</b> 8
Valladares	16th-17th	-	(7)	(2)	(1)	(1)	_	(2)	_	_	13

(continued on next page)

Table 1 (continued)											
Sites	Centuries	Green & Black	Blue	Blue & Green	Blue on Blue	Blue & Yellow	Lusterware	White plain	Polychrome	Non- glazed	Total
			MJ0341, MJ0345, MJ0346, MJ0349, MJ0350, MJ0352, MJ0353	MJ0330, MJ03331	MJ0342	MJ0351		MJ0339, MJ0368			
Plaza Armas	16th—17th	_	(1) MJ0367	_	(8) MJ0357, MJ0360, MJ0361, MJ0363, MJ0364, MJ0366, MJ0366,	_	_	_	_	_	9
Museu Ceràmica	15th—16th	_	(2) TRI003, TRI004	_	-	_	(1) MJ0177	_	(3) MJ0178, TRI007, TRI008	-	6
Talavera		_	8	_	_	_	_	_	_	_	14
Mirasol	16th—17th	-	(8) TAL009, TAL010, TAL011, TAL012, TAL013, TAL016, TAL017, TAL018	_	_	(4) TAL004, TAL005, TAL006, TAL007	_	_	_	_	12
Museu Ceràmica	16th-17th	-	_	(1) MJ0119	_	(1) MJ0118	_	-	_	_	2
Teruel	13th—14th	(29) MJ0001, MJ0002, MJ0003, MJ0004, MJ0005, MJ0006, MJ0007, MJ0008, MJ0009, MJ0012, MJ0013, MJ0014, MJ0015, MJ0016, MJ0019, MJ0020, MJ0021, MJ0022, MJ0023, MJ0024, MJ0025, MJ0026, MJ0027, MJ0028, MJ0029, MJ0030, MJ0031, MJ0032, MJ0034	(1) MJ0018	_	_	_	_	_	_	_	30
Vilafranca	16th—17th	-	_	_	_	_	(1) MJ0200	(14) MJ0201, MJ0202, MJ0203, MJ0204, MJ0205,	_		15

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									15									246	
									I									4	
		_,					_^		I									S	
MJ0207	MJ0208	MJ0209	MJ0210	MJ0211	MJ0212	MJ0222	MJ0230	MJ0234	I									34	
									I									35	
									Ι									9	
									Ι									6	
									Ι									13	
									(15)	MJ0066, MJ0069,	MJ0070, MJ0071,	MJ0072, MJ0073,	MJ0075, MJ0076,	MJ0077, MJ0078,	MJ0079, MJ0080,	MJ0082, MJ0084,	MJ0085	81	
									I									59	
									17th-18th										
									Villafeliche									Total	

*del Penedès.* We also collected 30 majolica fragments from three different archaeological excavations within the city of Seville (Pureza, that is linked to the famous artist Niculoso Pisano's workshop, Valladares and Plaza de Armas), generously provided by the *Museo Arqueológico de Sevilla*, where the materials are curated. Finally, we obtained 15 specimens from the *Servei Arqueològic de la ciutat de Lleida* from three different archaeological sites (Obradors, St. Anastasi and Remolins) and 12 from Talavera de la Reina that were kindly provided by Mr. Sánchez Cabezudo.

In the present study about archaeometrical characterization of majolica ware, 10 g of each collected sample was powdered in a Spex Mixer (mod. 8000) tungsten carbide cell for 12 min. Prior to grinding, glazes and exterior surfaces were mechanically removed in order to minimize contamination of glaze materials and soil. Powdered specimens were stored polyethylene vials for transportation to the laboratory.

Chemical analyses were conducted by instrumental neutron activation analysis (INAA) in the Archaeometry Laboratory of the University of Missouri Research Reactor (MURR). Prior to weighing, the powdered pottery samples were oven-dried at 100 °C for at least 24 h. Approximately 150 mg of sample were weighed into small polyvials used for short irradiations. At the same time, 200 mg of each sample was weighed into high-purity quartz vials used for long irradiations. Along with the majolica samples, reference standards of SRM-1633a (coal fly) and SRM-688 (basalt rock) were prepared, as well as quality control samples of SRM-278 (obsidian rock) and Ohio Red Clay. The latter is an in-house standard treated as an unknown.

At MURR, INAA of pottery consists of two irradiations and a total of three gamma counts. Short irradiations involve a pair of samples being transported through a pneumatic tube system into the reactor core for a 5 s neutron irradiation using a thermal flux of  $8 \times 10^{13}$  n cm<sup>-2</sup> s<sup>-1</sup>. After 25 min of decay, the samples are counted for 720 s using a high-resolution germanium detector. This count yields data for nine short-life elements: Al, Ba, Ca, Dy, K, Mn, Na, Ti and V. For the long irradiation, bundles of 50 or 100 of the encapsulated quartz vials are irradiated for 24 h at a flux of  $5 \times 10^{13}$  n cm<sup>-2</sup> s<sup>-1</sup>. Following the long irradiation, samples decay for seven days, and then are counted for 2000 s (known as "middle count") on a highresolution germanium detector coupled to an automatic sample changer. This middle count yields determination of seven medium half-life elements: As, La, Lu, Nd, Sm, U and Yb. After additional two-week decay, a second count for 9000 s is carried out on each sample. This final measurement allows quantification of 17 long-life elements: Ce, Co, Cr, Cs, Eu, Fe, Hf, Ni, Rb, Sb, Sc, Sr, Ta, Tb, Th, Zn and Zr (Glascock, 1992).

The statistical analysis of the data followed Aitchison's approach and Buxeda's observations on compositional data (Aitchison, 1986, 1996; Buxeda i Garrigós, 1999; Buxeda i Garrigós and Kilikoglou, 2003). The statistical procedure consists of the use of ratios of logarithms obtained by dividing all the components, in this case chemical components, by the component that introduces the lowest chemical variability to the entire set of specimens taking into consideration, overcoming the

compositional data problem called "close to unit sum", when data necessarily must sum 100%. Moreover, the use of logarithms compensates for differences in magnitudes between major elements, such as Al or Fe, and trace elements, such as the lanthanide or rare earth elements (e.g. La, Ce, Sm, etc.) and log-transformed data serve to make the distributions of geochemical data more nearly normal. Moreover, dividing all components by the lower one variability component also overcomes relative magnitudes problems of a given subcomposition, because after logratio transformation we tackle with the same relative magnitudes for each individual given that  $s_i/s_j = x_i/x_j$  (Mateu et al., 2003). Finally, the log ratio transformation also highlights possible perturbations in the chemical data as a result of diagenesis, contamination, or other alteration processes (Buxeda i Garrigós, 1999).

The data were examined using an array of multivariate statistical procedures. The application of multivariate statistical techniques to INAA data facilitates identification of compositional groups. Therefore, similarity of individuals, and subsequently their hypothetical provenance according to the provenance postulate (Weigand et al., 1977), was tested using squared Euclidian distance graphically represented by cluster plots that employed the centroid algorithm in the S-Plus program (MathSoft, 1999). Stepwise Discriminant Analysis (DA) was performed to assess the archaeological classifications and the chemical groups proposed by cluster analysis. Performing DA was also an option to cluster unknown provenances of unclassified specimens. In addition, Mahalanobis distance was used to describe probabilistically, when group sizes permitted, the separation between defined groups and some of those individuals that remained unclassified. Mahalanobis distance takes into account variances and covariances in the multivariate group and is analogous to expressing the distance from a univariate mean in standard deviation units. In that sense, Mahalanobis distance can also be converted into probabilities of group membership for each individual (Glascock, 1992).

Although sample preparation was conducted under great care to minimize the analytical error, the potential for contamination exists nonetheless. In that sense, a conservative approach to data interpretation is warranted. For example, we considered that the element cobalt had to be removed from consideration during the statistical treatment because the tungsten carbide cell grinder exhibits traces of Co in its chemical composition (cobalt is a known binder in tungsten alloys). Additionally, Ni concentrations were below detection limits for many of the samples and subsequently had to be removed from consideration.

Conversely, a relevant number of the analyzed majolica shards exhibited a double process of alteration and contamination documented in previous studies (Garcia Iñañez et al., in press-d; Garcia Iñañez, 2007; Garcia Iñañez and Buxeda i Garrigós, 2007). This process reports the leaching of potassium and, sometimes, rubidium, from the matrix, with a subsequent enrichment of sodium because of analcime crystallization (Schwedt et al., 2006; Garcia Iñañez, 2007, and references therein). Therefore, these alteration and contamination processes affect those components in the matrix composition, without any possibility of satisfactory correction. As a result, Na, K, and Rb were also removed from consideration during the statistical analysis.

#### 3. Results and discussion

The variability of each chemical component was first taken into account in this study and assessed by calculating the variation matrix, which provides information about those components that introduce higher variability to the data set (Table 2). In that sense, the elements As, Sr and Sb were removed due to their high variability ( $v\tau/\tau_i < 0.25$ ), which is presumably provided by possible contamination processes during burial, such is the case of As, or because many majolica exhibit yellow decoration that is essentially made of Sb. It must be pointed out that Cs was not removed despite its high variability because it plays an important role in the chemical discrimination between Talavera and Puente groups. As mentioned above, Rb, K and Na were removed because they are involved in the previously cited alteration and contamination processes and because these elements exhibit high chemical variability  $(v\tau/\tau_i < 0.46)$ . Following the exclusion of these elements, a logratio transformation was applied to the following subcomposition: Lu, Nd, Sm, U, Yb, Ce, Cr, Cs, Eu, Fe, Hf, Sc, Ta, Tb, Th, Zn, Zr, Al, Ca, Dy, Mn, Ti and V, using La as divisor because it introduces the lowest variability  $(v\tau/\tau_i)$ 0.9348) according to the variation matrix.

The results can be summarized in the cluster analysis that was performed by the squared Euclidian distance and the centroid algorithm on the cited subcomposition using La as divisor in the logratio transformation.

Examination of the resulting dendrogram shows a clear 15group structure that corresponds to the different production centers (Fig. 3). Most of the groups show clear and defined cuts from the rest. Moreover, most of the samples belonging to a given cluster also exhibit a high degree of homogeneity within their chemical composition, as can be observed by their low fusion links, pointing to a similar composition.

However, upon further examination, the dendrogram also reveals that some of the production centers exhibit chemically differentiated productions that were made during the same chronological period. In that sense, the dendrogram also shows that Muel and Teruel productions can be split into two distinct groups for each respective center (Muel 1 and 2; Teruel 1 and 2). The Teruel subgroups exhibit clear differences between themselves, like higher amounts of Hf, Sb, Zr and Mn in shards of Teruel 1, whereas Teruel 2 shows higher values of U, Cs, Rb, Ba and K than the other (Table 3). On the other hand, subgroups of Muel also exhibit clear chemical differences, as can be seen by their differentiated position in the cluster. Muel 1 has slightly higher Cs, Fe, Al, Sc and Sr amounts than Muel 2, and Muel 2 has higher concentrations of Hf and, especially, Zr, whose higher content can be related to a higher sandy phase in their pastes. Moreover, there are multiple productions in Lleida and Barcelona. The city of Lleida, placed at the northeastern part of the Iberian Peninsula, exhibits a double and contemporary majolica production

according to the chemical and archaeological data. Therefore, we can propose two chemical groups for Lleida: REM and OB/SA. Although the chemical group referred to as REM matches with those shards collected from the sixteenth and seventeenth century kiln site of carrer Cardenal Remolins, the chemical group named OB/SA clusters the shards from the seventeenth century kiln dump sites of carrer Sant Anastasi and the carrer Obradors (Pati d'en Miqueló's lot). The latter groups are archaeologically linked and located very close to one another in the old quarter of the city. It should be pointed out that the name obradors means workshops in Catalan, revealing the importance of the ancient pottery activity in this neighborhood. Chemically, the REM group exhibits lower Ca values than OB/SA, whereas its concentrations of Fe and Al are higher than the other group. Additionally, those groups also have slight differences in their Cs, U and Ba concentrations, with those values slightly higher in the REM ceramics.

In a similar manner, pottery from Barcelona also shows a multiple group structure (Fig. 3). Through the study of its materials at least two different groups can be suggested on the basis of their chemical composition: BCN-DR/PI and BCN-SC. The first group clusters pottery from two different sites with a diverse chronology. In that sense, although some of the ceramics were recovered at the vaults of the Santa Maria del Pi church, dating to the fourteenth century, the remaining samples were collected from the so-called Drassanes kiln dump, dated to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Apparently, they seem to show slight chemical differences, as it has been noticed in previous studies by XRF (Garcia Iñañez et al., in press-d; Garcia Iñañez, 2007), although their high homogeneity adds a complexity factor for effecting good discrimination between them. To the contrary, BCN-SC group clearly is differentiated from the mixed group of BCN-DR/PI, especially due to the presence higher of amounts of Ca in its shards (Table 3).

A more complicated situation has the groups of TAL and Puente, corresponding respectively to the producing towns of Talavera de la Reina and Puente del Arzobispo. These cities are geographically very close to each other and have had a very similar majolica production history during the past four centuries. There are many problems that hinder the discrimination between these production centers, especially on the basis of their decorative styles and typologies. Additionally, tableware production styles from Puente have traditionally been considered to be an imitation of the Talavera's (Sánchez-Pacheco, 1997). In that sense, and related to their close proximity, chemical data generated for several shards analyzed from both sites exhibit a similar composition (Garcia Iñañez et al., in press-a). This results in an overlapping structure by cluster analysis, labeled TAL-Puente, with all the specimens from both towns grouping together without unambiguous differentiation (Fig. 3).

In addition to the clustered shards there are 12 specimens that initially do not cluster to any identified group: DIA317, DIA537, MJ0018, MJ0037, MJ0084, MJ0104, MJ0124, MJ0130, MJ0141, MJ0317, MJ0341 and TRI004.

In order to achieve a better discrimination between the groups previously identified by cluster analysis, a stepwise discriminant analysis was performed on the chemical data set using all of the analyzed samples. The most suitable components for running the discriminant analysis were the same as those used for the cluster analysis following the logratio transformation. Therefore, stepwise discriminant analysis were performed, using the Statgraphics Plus program, on the subcomposition Lu, Nd, Sm, U, Yb, Ce, Cr, Cs, Eu, Fe, Hf, Sc, Ta, Tb, Th, Zn, Zr, Al, Ca, Dy, Mn, Ti and V, using La as the divisor in the logratio transformation (Table 2). Elements presumed to be problematic because of alteration or contamination processes, such as Na, Rb or K, and those components were also dismissed from the cluster analysis because of their high variability (e.g., As, Sr and Sb), were not considered in the stepwise discriminant analysis.

Stepwise DA provides a powerful tool to assess the groups identified by cluster analysis. Using a stepwise selection algorithm, it was determined that 16 variables (the logratio transformed components: Ca, Th, Cs, Sc, Sm, Al, Eu, Mn, Hf, U, Ta, Ba, Fe, Zn, Ce, Cr) are significant predictors of majolica groups. The 16 discriminating functions with P-values less than 0.05 are statistically significant at the 95% confidence level. The evaluation of all the shards classified regarding to the previous dendrogram has shown a very high successful score: 94.72%, in which 233 out of 246 shards match their suggested group according to the cluster analysis and the archaeological information. As a result, DA has operated in a successful way for those shards from different archaeological background, but with a similar chemical composition that results in a single chemical group in the dendrogram, such as the cases of BCN-DR/PI and TAL-Puente. Thus, unique groups for the producing towns of Talavera and Puente and the three different archaeological sites of Barcelona were identified according to their hidden chemical differences.

Therefore, 8 out of the 12 individuals labeled as unassigned (or non-clustered) were reclassified into some of the previously discussed groups. Consequently, it has been determined that DIA317 belongs to the Reus group, MJ0104 to the BCN-DR group, MJ0141 to the Manises group and MJ0341 to the Seville group despite high amounts of Ba. Additionally, MJ0037 appears to belong to the Muel 1 group, whereas sample MJ0130 matches with the Paterna group. Moreover, the shards labeled as TRI004 and MJ0317 apparently fit with the rest of the shards that form the Seville group. All these classifications agree with the expected results on archaeological grounds. Another situation is the one represented by the specimens MJ0043, MJ0089, MJ0161, TAL016 and TAL017. Those samples initially were grouped with specific reference groups according to their archaeological and chemical data. However, the stepwise DA has shown that they exhibit a better fitness with other groups, thereby being reclassified into their new ones. Thus, shard MJ0043 seems to be a better fit with the Muel 1 group than the Muel 2 group to which it was previously assigned, whereas MJ0089 matches the BCN-PI chemical group, instead of BCN-DR. Moreover, sample MJ0161 is linked archaeologically with the Puente

Table 2

Compositional variation matrix from the majolica production centers from the Iberian Peninsula

Components	As	La	Lu	Nd	Sm	U	Yb	Ce	Cr	Cs	Eu	Fe	Hf	Rb	Sb
As	0.000000	0.244651	0.263265	0.243504	0.245527	0.366413	0.254332	0.247945	0.251804	0.409604	0.241637	0.221365	0.300972	0.372576	0.346535
La	0.244651	0.000000	0.009637	0.004047	0.002106	0.065571	0.004666	0.001122	0.033072	0.177263	0.002778	0.014501	0.034255	0.088022	0.252897
Lu	0.263265	0.009637	0.000000	0.011302	0.006661	0.052122	0.009410	0.007770	0.049323	0.196291	0.012762	0.027057	0.035503	0.097829	0.270874
Nd	0.243504	0.004047	0.011302	0.000000	0.002941	0.067549	0.006423	0.003752	0.044215	0.174955	0.007279	0.019610	0.036076	0.085420	0.268638
Sm	0.245527	0.002106	0.006661	0.002941	0.000000	0.062136	0.003456	0.001460	0.041476	0.179533	0.004597	0.017340	0.030264	0.088105	0.269883
U	0.366413	0.065571	0.052122	0.067549	0.062136	0.000000	0.073054	0.060021	0.124390	0.237414	0.079118	0.100893	0.115262	0.111917	0.348289
Yb	0.254332	0.004666	0.009410	0.006423	0.003456	0.073054	0.000000	0.004688	0.045139	0.184582	0.006942	0.020274	0.027257	0.092420	0.268521
Ce	0.247945	0.001122	0.007770	0.003752	0.001460	0.060021	0.004688	0.000000	0.036770	0.180014	0.003506	0.016392	0.034021	0.085788	0.255765
Cr	0.251804	0.033072	0.049323	0.044215	0.041476	0.124390	0.045139	0.036770	0.000000	0.220120	0.025088	0.014460	0.090249	0.157230	0.219290
Cs	0.409604	0.177263	0.196291	0.174955	0.179533	0.237414	0.184582	0.180014	0.220120	0.000000	0.201969	0.190927	0.275392	0.064273	0.528840
Eu	0.241637	0.002778	0.012762	0.007279	0.004597	0.079118	0.006942	0.003506	0.025088	0.201969	0.000000	0.011544	0.030860	0.109036	0.240110
Fe	0.221365	0.014501	0.027057	0.019610	0.017340	0.100893	0.020274	0.016392	0.014460	0.190927	0.011544	0.000000	0.066811	0.119442	0.230198
Hf	0.300972	0.034255	0.035503	0.036076	0.030264	0.115262	0.027257	0.034021	0.090249	0.275392	0.030860	0.066811	0.000000	0.161719	0.302965
Rb	0.372576	0.088022	0.097829	0.085420	0.088105	0.111917	0.092420	0.085788	0.157230	0.064273	0.109036	0.119442	0.161719	0.000000	0.426512
Sb	0.346535	0.252897	0.270874	0.268638	0.269883	0.348289	0.268521	0.255765	0.219290	0.528840	0.240110	0.230198	0.302965	0.426512	0.000000
Sc	0.236091	0.010168	0.021311	0.016301	0.014687	0.083212	0.017782	0.011553	0.012944	0.180337	0.009254	0.003998	0.067333	0.103702	0.226805
Sr	0.500283	0.270001	0.268335	0.288763	0.277669	0.259916	0.297705	0.271054	0.211423	0.647991	0.255367	0.254420	0.318689	0.527408	0.425459
Та	0.252409	0.016950	0.020438	0.015322	0.012876	0.065570	0.018419	0.015069	0.063933	0.147498	0.023641	0.033152	0.052879	0.068516	0.326892
Tb	0.247481	0.009504	0.011838	0.009584	0.006198	0.070977	0.008110	0.008641	0.050915	0.184817	0.012062	0.022797	0.035401	0.094085	0.272798
Th	0.254808	0.005937	0.010321	0.006768	0.005393	0.049572	0.009631	0.004261	0.052350	0.156254	0.013805	0.024089	0.050391	0.064110	0.274039
Zn	0.277075	0.060099	0.067437	0.063570	0.063588	0.138646	0.063591	0.061150	0.053811	0.211805	0.060419	0.039565	0.142081	0.135851	0.233777
Zr	0.297867	0.034894	0.030982	0.036352	0.030570	0.096098	0.028998	0.033456	0.089129	0.277460	0.033048	0.064058	0.017423	0.158534	0.308027
Al	0.237871	0.009994	0.021384	0.013017	0.011953	0.070687	0.018412	0.010407	0.029558	0.148460	0.013903	0.011598	0.068676	0.077454	0.270815
Ba	0.363542	0.083125	0.103187	0.090558	0.091127	0.133271	0.098843	0.083117	0.108225	0.236728	0.085746	0.096723	0.146634	0.151189	0.304075
Ca	0.358518	0.148228	0.136885	0.153204	0.143934	0.184613	0.155651	0.146063	0.132996	0.414789	0.139626	0.149285	0.185144	0.333798	0.365727
Dy	0.242955	0.006159	0.009573	0.006739	0.003480	0.076856	0.006167	0.005806	0.043246	0.184833	0.007147	0.019715	0.028697	0.099154	0.275479
K	0.358393	0.060310	0.076436	0.059229	0.064656	0.101692	0.069787	0.058887	0.115529	0.158888	0.071550	0.085813	0.120503	0.059896	0.395764
Mn	0.276396	0.093565	0.098468	0.098705	0.094517	0.209334	0.091071	0.094978	0.080812	0.383493	0.079715	0.065810	0.123490	0.286466	0.221525
Na	0.495475	0.324546	0.304262	0.331248	0.315389	0.422164	0.314381	0.322161	0.265397	0.584015	0.305986	0.276929	0.364485	0.530747	0.418656
Ti	0.251251	0.011244	0.017078	0.015881	0.012899	0.081165	0.016040	0.011581	0.029212	0.201662	0.009209	0.019860	0.038167	0.116347	0.244042
V	0.246275	0.046552	0.062732	0.055876	0.056001	0.135297	0.058301	0.050416	0.015840	0.206581	0.042747	0.021798	0.125145	0.154246	0.220443
-	006022	2 125862	2 210474	2 226825	2 160426	4 042221	2 274054	2 127614	2 707047	7 516700	2 140450	2 260422	2 126716	5 021704	0.012624
T_i wt/=	0.222242	2.123002	2.3104/4	2.230623	2.100420	4.045221	2.274034	2.12/010	2.101941	1.340/88	2.140450	2.200423	0.520514	0.206129	9.013030
vuT_i	0.223343	0.955749	0.001460	0.009329	0.920778	0.492002	0.0/4//0	0.9349/8	0.754000	0.205592	0.929372	0.001709	0.074276	0.390128	0.220090
$r_{v,\tau}$	1.000272	0.994380	0.991460	0.990754	0.992480	0.947052	0.992003	0.993001	0.904105	0.8//514	0.997284	0.991/08	0.9/43/6	0.804010	0.759244
VI	1.9892/3														

In each column *i* (*i* = 1,...,*S*) are the variances after a logratio transformation using the component  $x_i$  as divisor. vt = total variation.  $\tau_i$  = total sum of variances in column *i*.  $vt/\tau_i$  = percentage of variance in the logratio covariance matrix using the component  $x_i$  as divisor due to the total variation.  $r_{v,\tau}$  = correlation between the values  $\tau_{ij}$  ( $i \neq j$ ) and the corresponding values  $\tau_i$  (j = 1,...,i – 1,i + 1,...,S).

group, but chemically is linked to the TAL one. In addition, the specimens TAL016 and TAL017, from the producing town of Talavera, apparently could be from the reference group of Puente. In any case, these small changes seem to be explained by the use of only 16 components, and not for all of them, as well as by the similarities existing between related productions. In no case they imply that the observed groups have no clear cut. On the contrary, four of the non-classified specimens, DIA537, MJ0084, MJ0124 and MJ0018, remain unclassified due to their compositional differences.

In order to assess the statistical strength of the groups suggested by the cluster analysis and confirmed by the stepwise DA, a probabilistic group assignment based on Mahalanobis distance calculations was performed. However, the low number of samples for each of the proposed groups precluded the possibility of employing all the chemical variables measured by NAA or the 16 most discriminating transformed variables for this dataset because most of the suggested groups are comprised of less than fifteen members. Thus, another scale reducing statistical technique is needed, such as Principal Components Analysis (PCA). PCA was been performed in the same way as the stepwise DA and the cluster analysis: that is employing the subcomposition Lu, Nd, Sm, U, Yb, Ce, Cr, Cs, Eu, Fe, Hf, Sc, Ta, Tb, Th, Zn, Zr, Al, Ca, Dy, Mn, Ti and V, using La as divisor in the logratio transformation (Table 2). Likewise, As, K, Na, Rb Sr, and Sb, were not included for reasons discussed above. The PCA indicated that 90% of the cumulative variance was accounted for in the first 6 principal components, resulting in a good estimation of the overall composition of the majolica shards. Given that the majolica production center groups identified by cluster analysis and DA are usually smaller in number than 16 and normally larger than 8, it was possible to calculate MD probabilities using the 6 first principal components to assess the membership probabilities for samples assigned to each group and to attempt to classify unassigned and problematic specimens. It must be highlighted that the only three groups do not agree with the number restriction rule were the chemical groups proposed for REM, BCN-SC and BCN-PI, having all of them less than 8 shards each one.

The MD calculations, once converted into membership probabilities, clearly confirm that the groups previously identified by cluster analysis and DA are statistically robust. Consequently, most of the shards are assigned with a higher probability of 5%, a theoretical limit of membership probability, to their respective chemical groups in the same way that

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Sc	Sr	Та	Tb	Th	Zn	Zr	Al	Ba	Ca	Dy	Κ	Mn	Na	Ti	V
0.236091	0.500283	0.252409	0.247481	0.254808	0.277075	0.297867	0.237871	0.363542	0.358518	0.242955	0.358393	0.276396	0.495475	0.251251	0.246275
0.010168	0.270001	0.016950	0.009504	0.005937	0.060099	0.034894	0.009994	0.083125	0.148228	0.006159	0.060310	0.093565	0.324546	0.011244	0.046552
0.021311	0.268335	0.020438	0.011838	0.010321	0.067437	0.030982	0.021384	0.103187	0.136885	0.009573	0.076436	0.098468	0.304262	0.017078	0.062732
0.016301	0.288763	0.015322	0.009584	0.006768	0.063570	0.036352	0.013017	0.090558	0.153204	0.006739	0.059229	0.098705	0.331248	0.015881	0.055876
0.014687	0.277669	0.012876	0.006198	0.005393	0.063588	0.030570	0.011953	0.091127	0.143934	0.003480	0.064656	0.094517	0.315389	0.012899	0.056001
0.083212	0.259916	0.065570	0.070977	0.049572	0.138646	0.096098	0.070687	0.133271	0.184613	0.076856	0.101692	0.209334	0.422164	0.081165	0.135297
0.017782	0.297705	0.018419	0.008110	0.009631	0.063591	0.028998	0.018412	0.098843	0.155651	0.006167	0.069787	0.091071	0.314381	0.016040	0.058301
0.011553	0.271054	0.015069	0.008641	0.004261	0.061150	0.033456	0.010407	0.083117	0.146063	0.005806	0.058887	0.094978	0.322161	0.011581	0.050416
0.012944	0.211423	0.063933	0.050915	0.052350	0.053811	0.089129	0.029558	0.108225	0.132996	0.043246	0.115529	0.080812	0.265397	0.029212	0.015840
0.180337	0.647991	0.147498	0.184817	0.156254	0.211805	0.277460	0.148460	0.236728	0.414789	0.184833	0.158888	0.383493	0.584015	0.201662	0.206581
0.009254	0.255367	0.023641	0.012062	0.013805	0.060419	0.033048	0.013903	0.085746	0.139626	0.007147	0.071550	0.079715	0.305986	0.009209	0.042747
0.003998	0.254420	0.033152	0.022797	0.024089	0.039565	0.064058	0.011598	0.096723	0.149285	0.019715	0.085813	0.065810	0.276929	0.019860	0.021798
0.067333	0.318689	0.052879	0.035401	0.050391	0.142081	0.017423	0.068676	0.146634	0.185144	0.028697	0.120503	0.123490	0.364485	0.038167	0.125145
0.103702	0.527408	0.068516	0.094085	0.064110	0.135851	0.158534	0.077454	0.151189	0.333798	0.099154	0.059896	0.286466	0.530747	0.116347	0.154246
0.226805	0.425459	0.326892	0.272798	0.274039	0.233777	0.308027	0.270815	0.304075	0.365727	0.275479	0.395764	0.221525	0.418656	0.244042	0.220443
0.000000	0.250199	0.031440	0.021324	0.017024	0.035684	0.063446	0.008019	0.083779	0.145907	0.018311	0.075236	0.076652	0.283008	0.016359	0.019117
0.250199	0.000000	0.314122	0.296976	0.297193	0.341808	0.297433	0.271591	0.340809	0.172882	0.286232	0.397096	0.290714	0.434549	0.250501	0.253066
0.031440	0.314122	0.000000	0.018141	0.012335	0.089463	0.050654	0.014619	0.115857	0.175642	0.016124	0.056981	0.148330	0.374309	0.027692	0.075433
0.021324	0.296976	0.018141	0.000000	0.011856	0.064832	0.037447	0.019641	0.104149	0.158161	0.009182	0.073902	0.094540	0.312365	0.019958	0.063423
0.017024	0.297193	0.012335	0.011856	0.000000	0.061214	0.045796	0.010076	0.085528	0.166407	0.011331	0.051568	0.115750	0.341127	0.021608	0.058308
0.035684	0.341808	0.089463	0.064832	0.061214	0.000000	0.136972	0.056005	0.120974	0.174397	0.069161	0.132204	0.074868	0.225561	0.069489	0.041655
0.063446	0.297433	0.050654	0.037447	0.045796	0.136972	0.000000	0.063220	0.144471	0.171626	0.030784	0.112343	0.125376	0.368134	0.038693	0.116106
0.008019	0.271591	0.014619	0.019641	0.010076	0.056005	0.063220	0.000000	0.087538	0.162941	0.016047	0.055829	0.112856	0.337771	0.019716	0.036439
0.083779	0.340809	0.115857	0.104149	0.085528	0.120974	0.144471	0.087538	0.000000	0.228963	0.099763	0.116959	0.167369	0.409456	0.092547	0.113768
0.145907	0.172882	0.175642	0.158161	0.166407	0.174397	0.171626	0.162941	0.228963	0.000000	0.143613	0.272362	0.152888	0.244258	0.133311	0.156351
0.018311	0.286232	0.016124	0.009182	0.011331	0.069161	0.030784	0.016047	0.099763	0.143613	0.000000	0.072897	0.093035	0.310805	0.013624	0.059081
0.075236	0.397096	0.056981	0.073902	0.051568	0.132204	0.112343	0.055829	0.116959	0.272362	0.072897	0.000000	0.223563	0.561270	0.081781	0.119263
0.076652	0.290714	0.148330	0.094540	0.115750	0.074868	0.125376	0.112856	0.167369	0.152888	0.093035	0.223563	0.000000	0.187622	0.091783	0.084306
0.283008	0.434549	0.374309	0.312365	0.341127	0.225561	0.368134	0.337771	0.409456	0.244258	0.310805	0.561270	0.187622	0.000000	0.305100	0.269357
0.016359	0.250501	0.027692	0.019958	0.021608	0.069489	0.038693	0.019716	0.092547	0.133311	0.013624	0.081781	0.091783	0.305100	0.000000	0.045443
0.019117	0.253066	0.075433	0.063423	0.058308	0.041655	0.116106	0.036439	0.113768	0.156351	0.059081	0.119263	0.084306	0.269357	0.045443	0.000000
2.160983	9.569654	2.654707	2.351107	2.288852	3.366751	3.339396	2.286497	4.488021	5.808170	2.265995	4.260588	4.337999	10.540535	2.303242	3.009364
0.920541	0.207873	0.749338	0.846101	0.869114	0.590859	0.595699	0.870009	0.443241	0.342496	0.877881	0.466901	0.458569	0.188726	0.863684	0.661028
0.994691	0.686610	0.964287	0.991683	0.979437	0.933639	0.974024	0.983339	0.980052	0.725588	0.992677	0.925300	0.780817	0.567605	0.996970	0.958884

they did by cluster analysis and DA. In the same sense, the provenance of the specimens that showed a discrepancy amongst the classification by cluster analysis of by DA are now in agreement with MD probabilities. Thus, sample DIA317 shows high membership probability with the chemical group of Reus as we would expect. At the same time, MJ0037 and MJ0043 belong to the Muel 1 group, whereas MJ0104 shows a clear membership in the BCN-DR group. Additionally, samples MJ0141 and MJ0341 exhibit high membership probability in their respective chemical groups: Manises and Seville. Moreover, the discussed provenance amongst the shards from Talavera and Puente shows a clearer panorama after MD calculations. Consequently, specimen MJ0161 from Puente del Arzobispo has been confirmed as Puente, whereas the samples TAL016 and TAL017 that where reclassified as Puente's by DA are now confirmed as Talavera products. As a result of the MD approach, sample MJ0084 is now clearly revealed as a Villafeliche product.

As is common with MD probabilities, some samples could not be assigned to any group. As a result of the number restrictions for MD calculations, DIA537 could not be compared with the rest of shards from the group of BCN-SC due to the low number of samples assigned to this group and remains unassigned. On the contrary, MJ0317 and TRI004, both archaeologically linked to Seville, exhibit a low membership probability with the reference group of Seville. Therefore, these shards must also remain unclassified. A different thing occurs with the MJ0124 and MJ0130 ceramics collected from Paterna. These samples have slight chemical differences when compared to the rest of majolicas from the same site. But, due to their geographically proximity, they showed some chemical similarities to the Manises group ceramics. The MD calculations suggest that MJ0124 belongs in fact to the Manises group, whereas sample MJ0130 remains as a Paterna product. However, this suggestion is in conflict with the archaeological data, especially about its decorative attributes (green and black) and its early chronology (fourteenth century). Hence, a conservative approach is to consider the MJ0124 shard as unclassified until such time that additional samples from this site are analyzed. Finally, the provenance of the MJ0018 ceramic is still ambiguous. The paste of this sample is lighter than the rest of the specimens analyzed from Teruel, which are redder and coarser. This aspect, translated in higher Ca amounts of the MJ0018, and might be



Fig. 3. Dendrogram resulting of the cluster analysis of NAA data of the ceramics from the main majolica production centers from the Iberian Peninsula using the Square Euclidian Distance and the centroid algorithm on the subcomposition: Lu, Nd, Sm, U, Yb, Ce, Cr, Cs, Eu, Fe, Hf, Sc, Ta, Tb, Th, Zn, Zr, Al, Ca, Dy, Mn, Ti and V, using La as divisor. BCN-SC, Barcelona Santa Creu; BCN-PI/DR, Barcelona Santa Maria del Pi and Barcelona Drassanes; TAL-Puente, Talavera de la Reina and Puente del Arzobispo; VdP, Vilafranca del Penedès; REM, Lleida Remolins; OB/SA, Lleida Obradors and Sant Anastasi.

related to a different technology process. Additionally, this shard is dated to the seventeenth century, whereas the rest of the materials collected from Teruel are from the fourteenth century. Therefore, it does not seem improbable that a technological change occurred during the Renaissance in Teruel, and that the later potters produced majolica using a different paste recipe than that used by fourteenth century potters. In order to properly address this question, it is necessary to increase the number of analyses and to include samples from Teruel that span all historical periods.

## 4. Conclusions

The study of a representative sample of majolica pottery from the 12 primary production centers located in the Iberian Peninsula reveals a clear structure that allows the chemical differentiation of each majolica production. In some cases, more than one compositional group was identified for specifics centers, such as Teruel, Muel, Lleida or Barcelona. In these cases, two or three different productions according to their chemical characteristics were identified. A good chemical identification of Spanish majolica has been achieved in this paper given that most of the analyzed specimens can be linked to specific compositional groups. Following the statistical analysis only 5 of the 246 samples remain unclassified, clearly pointing to the need for a larger number of samples in order to better characterize all the variability existing in those production centers.

Pre-industrial pottery, such as majolica ware, reflects differentiate chemical behavior from other ancient pottery and other types of contemporary ceramics. In this sense, majolica ceramics exhibit high chemical homogenization as a result of the use of standardized raw materials and probably also recipes. Those materials were usually provided by the pottery guilds to the different workshops, then becoming their products highly chemically similar regardless the number of potters that are documented from any producing town. This could be summarized in the case of the city of Barcelona, from which are documented more than 600 potters from 1450 to 1650 (Cerdà, 2001). This high density of potters and, consequently, of workshops, are not reflected in different chemical fingerprints of each production as a result of the homogenization of the raw materials provided by the guilds to their unionized workshops. Therefore, it has to be highlighted that dealing with majolica and, generically, with pre-industrial pottery other factors that just chemical analysis must be taken into account in order to differentiate different productions from a same producing city due to the role played by potters guilds during the Medieval and Renaissance periods.

Table 3	
Mean and standard deviation (SD) of the different chemical groups characterized by	v NAA from 246 majolica shards from the main production centers of the Iberian Peninsula

Component	s BCN-DR	(n = 22)	)	BCN-SC	( <i>n</i> = 5)	BCN-PI $(n = 7)$		Reus $(n = 15)$		VdP ( $n = 15$ )		Teruel 2	( <i>n</i> = 14)	Teruel 1	( <i>n</i> = 15)
	Mean		SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
As	20.22		11.29	34.57	16.76	16.91	1.79	16.15	2.27	18.56	3.95	17.94	2.00	84.90	174.01
La	38.78		1.53	35.32	1.53	41.40	0.78	30.31	1.36	42.10	0.95	39.13	1.53	39.79	3.22
Lu	0.40		0.03	0.35	0.02	0.43	0.02	0.30	0.03	0.43	0.03	0.35	0.02	0.38	0.03
Nd	33.51		2.08	31.24	2.87	34.77	1.65	25.54	1.60	36.93	2.01	34.20	1.38	33.69	3.17
Sm	6.84		0.29	6.26	0.31	7.35	0.13	5.15	0.24	7.34	0.15	7.00	0.26	6.75	0.53
U	3.38		0.34	2.42	0.21	3.41	0.26	3.21	0.65	3.77	0.26	3.31	0.54	2.74	0.34
Yb	2.96		0.18	2.68	0.26	3.32	0.27	2.03	0.10	3.11	0.11	2.78	0.15	2.95	0.22
Ce	77.15		3.58	71.31	3.68	85.03	5.01	60.05	2.76	83.85	1.82	78.60	3.21	75.17	6.24
Co	15.81		4.61	15.99	2.20	16.27	1.71	14.72	1.75	17.76	2.02	18.74	2.37	37.23	47.92
Cr	69.13		4.61	60.41	3.36	72.98	1.97	71.85	5.46	77.82	1.81	74.79	5.52	70.57	7.20
Cs	17.96		2.45	5.74	0.63	17.57	1.48	15.32	2.76	8.87	0.45	18.47	1.21	13.11	0.95
Eu	1.27		0.05	1.18	0.05	1.36	0.03	0.98	0.04	1.40	0.03	1.31	0.07	1.31	0.12
Fe (wt%)	3.52		0.22	3.08	0.20	3.77	0.09	2.98	0.11	4.25	0.09	3.89	0.30	3.59	0.27
Hf	5.07		0.34	4.97	0.26	6.60	0.39	3.14	0.23	5.03	0.36	4.94	0.26	6.83	0.39
Ni	27.95		27.34	19.61	27.16	31.11	24.21	32.59	23.35	34.80	25.75	23.61	26.32	38.28	28.60
Rb	223.78		21.00	103.17	3.80	210.25	9.25	113.42	12.13	148.61	7.58	221.25	13.41	131.09	9.86
Sb	3.15		2.26	2.53	0.29	2.24	0.12	2.08	0.73	3.05	0.46	1.67	0.09	2.66	0.16
Sc	13.55		0.65	11.81	0.54	13.90	0.39	11.66	0.69	15.89	0.37	13.71	0.95	12.75	1.21
Sr	165.17		40.41	219.53	26.92	127.15	13.65	495.61	70.29	229.18	33.15	257.40	50.79	250.19	36.06
Та	1.21		0.08	1.02	0.06	1.27	0.03	0.92	0.04	1.27	0.06	1.54	0.05	1.22	0.08
Tb	0.93		0.09	0.80	0.04	0.99	0.10	0.66	0.06	1.02	0.08	0.92	0.09	0.91	0.10
Th	13.52		0.60	11.85	0.51	14.12	0.31	10.18	0.49	14.53	0.37	13.41	0.38	12.21	0.89
Zn	117.46		19.60	91.58	10.49	112.19	15.82	78.89	12.08	126.74	4.63	78.62	7.11	60.45	6.59
Zr	126.43		18.60	133.44	21.30	162.75	23.94	91.98	18.52	147.37	20.10	125.31	18.55	165.66	15.93
Al (wt%)	7.54		0.34	6.61	0.39	7.64	0.24	6.82	0.33	8.84	0.27	9.52	0.52	7.57	0.58
Ba	541.51	$(512.6)^{a}$	136.96 (80.12) <sup>a</sup>	375.19	31.48	484.83	52.98	602.33 (435) <sup>b</sup>	633.24 (45.73) <sup>b</sup>	640.82	62.00	505.12	41.73	363.74	48.80
Ca (wt%)	10.84		1.08	17.16	1.07	8.30	0.83	17.82	0.76	8.61	0.61	6.88	0.90	6.32	0.67
Dy	4.88		0.26	4.43	0.42	5.06	0.19	3.58	0.21	5.08	0.27	4.80	0.17	4.96	0.45
K (wt%)	2.67	(3.30)*	0.76 (0.33)*	1.79	0.20	2.78 (3.03)*	0.30 (0.05)*	1.95 (2.08)*	0.28 (0.19)*	2.79 (2.84	* 0.29 (0.25)*	3.38	0.16	2.22	0.25
Mn	568.61		48.06	497.22	23.99	671.50	75.11	420.47	51.10	741.28	67.38	350.97	46.74	449.20	60.83
Na (wt%)	0.59	(0.33)	0.35 (0.07)	0.32	0.05	0.53 (0.05)*	0.16 (0.00)*	0.42 (0.37)*	0.09 (0.08)*	0.38 (0.34	)* 0.14 (0.04)*	0.19	0.04	0.17	0.04
Ti	3750.42		492.31	3484.56	221.99	4012.19	293.06	3221.87	215.24	4145.82	228.52	3781.59	209.22	3862.80	391.95
V	94.57		7.49	82.90	12.33	99.68	8.69	97.50	8.64	118.68	9.92	88.33	7.65	88.61	9.02
	Muel 1 (r	n = 11)	Muel 2 $(n =$	= 15)		Villafeliche	( <i>n</i> = 15)	Paterna	a (n = 14)	N	anises $(n = 15)$			OB/SA (r	i = 10)
	Mean	SD	Mean	SE	)	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	N	ean	SD		Mean	SD
As	28.39	10.16	16.65		1.61	10.46	5.56	18.4	4 1.	96	18.60	1.34		26.41	10.93
La	39.99	0.99	37.98		0.85	39.27	1.72	35.1	3 2.	20	35.92	0.98		34.81	2.72
Lu	0.36	0.02	0.38		0.03	0.44	0.04	0.3	7 0.	03	0.36	0.03		0.36	0.04
Nd	34.87	1.67	32.29		1.72	32.47	2.18	31.0	3 2.	32	31.26	0.82		28.43	1.96
Sm	6.91	0.16	6.59		0.13	6.81	0.28	6.3	7 0.	39	6.41	0.18		5.76	0.43
U	3.34	0.36	3.40		0.35	6.93	1.35	3.3	2 0.	32	3.30	0.34		3.28	0.21
Yb	2.72	0.08	2.77		0.08	2.75	0.19	2.6	1 0.	16	2.58	0.17		2.43	0.21
Ce	80.11	1.93	78.18	:	3.35	80.84	2.56	72.0	9 4.	64	70.39	2.41		69.63	5.66
Co	20.52	1.46	19.77		1.86	19.71	2.81	12.0	4 0.	70	15.33	2.48		24.07	3.99
													(cont	inued on r	ext page)

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Table 5 (continu
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	Muel 1 (	n = 11)	Muel	2 (n = 15)	)	Villafeliche (n =	= 15)	Paterna ( $n = 14$	-)	Manises (	n = 15)		OB/SA (n	n = 10)
	Mean	SD	Mean		SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD		Mean	SD
Cr	73.96	6.04	56.7	75	3.68	68.78	3.21	59.43	6.77	63.70	2.8	2	90.24	6.67
Cs	8.03	0.40	6.5	53	0.29	7.24	0.65	14.33	1.61	9.06	1.4	7	8.13	1.49
Eu	1.38	0.04	1.3	30	0.04	1.30	0.04	1.15	0.06	1.19	0.0	3	1.17	0.09
Fe (wt%)	3.76	0.33	2.9	98	0.08	2.92	0.13	2.92	0.11	3.20	0.1	3	3.99	0.35
Hf	5.32	0.31	6.9	93	0.28	5.86	0.33	5.31	0.32	4.88	0.3	2	3.92	0.32
Ni	30.89	22.81	15.0	)3	20.40	26.27	26.27	22.62	22.39	36.61	13.0	4	41.78	22.95
Rb	132.34	6.18	115.1	9	4.41	161.64	11.72	182.46	18.11	128.88	10.1	1	118.04	16.94
Sb	3.53	0.11	3.4	40	0.18	2.35	0.69	1.16	0.08	1.42	0.3	3	4.94	2.39
Sc	13.37	0.57	11.1	0	0.29	12.67	0.65	11.14	0.78	11.20	0.4	2	14.49	1.20
Sr	370.55	43.35	312.9	)3	32.66	635.66	44.54	183.92	50.92	355.56	42.1	3	606.37	51.16
Ta	1.17	0.04	1.1	3	0.04	1.19	0.04	1.54	0.13	1.22	0.0	5	1.18	0.11
Tb	0.85	0.05	0.8	39	0.07	0.84	0.06	0.84	0.10	0.83	0.0	6	0.76	0.04
Th	13.27	0.31	12.4	40	0.32	13.60	0.48	12.30	0.81	11.52	0.3	7	11.84	1.04
Zn	84.09	15.98	62.6	66	3.45	67.40	11.08	59.87	5.13	70.34	11.0	3	103.26	12.35
Zr	145.41	21.94	170.6	59	12.74	163.79	14.89	144.42	12.64	135.38	14.8	9	111.62	12.44
Al (wt%)	7.89	0.29	6.5	51	0.20	7.39	0.45	7.55	0.51	6.86	0.3	5	8.23	0.78
Ba	588.09	65.69	531.7	76	46.88	540.72	45.43	352.77	33.54	556.66 (3	355.82)° 828.0	$(20.71)^{\circ}$	362.42	67.94
Ca (wt%)	11.24	0.55	10.6	59	0.29	12.01	0.69	10.25	1.15	15.88	1.0	1	14.37	1.61
Dv	4.62	0.23	4.6	53	0.26	4.51	0.26	4.59	0.32	4 47	0.2	7	4.08	0.44
K (wt%)	2.65	0.24	2.4	50 (2.59)*	0.18 (0.17)*	2.77 (2.88)*	0.23 (0.19)*	2.80 (2.8)*	0.21 (0.22	)* 2.43	0.1	7	2.18	0.31
Mn	642.31	82.68	574 (	)8	36.86	335.16	22.56	278.84	12.66	476.17	52.2	, 5	651.21	22.43
Na (wt%)	0.30	0.09	0.2	27 (0 25)*	0.04 (0.04)*	0.20 (0.18)*	0.05 (0.03)*	0.20 (0.22)*	• 0.10 (0.11	)* 0.25	0.0	4	0.39	0.08
Ti	3859.31	418.97	3778 9	0	363.62	4014.24	273.30	3642.52	250.59	3339.24	236.6	2	3884.04	455.02
V	92.44	10.24	66.2	26	5.89	78.82	6.86	74.12	5.94	81.04	7.1	3	126.84	9.84
	REM $(n =$	= 5)	Puente (n	t = 15)	Talavera $(n = 14)$		Seville $(n = 34)$		MJ0018	MJ0124	MJ0317	TRI004	DIA	537
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Concentration	Concentration	Concentration	Concentrati	on Con	centration
As	38.80	7.76	21.56	2.43	22.47	9.85	18.67	11.20	15.28	11.22	10.71	17.53	30	).97
La	41.60	0.29	38.15	0.85	38.77	1.69	30.94	1.75	40.93	33.35	30.30	33.18	39	0.03
Lu	0.43	0.03	0.47	0.02	0.44	0.03	0.33	0.02	0.34	0.38	0.30	0.34	C	0.40
Nd	33.23	0.95	34.58	1.46	35.80	2.92	26.22	2.48	35.63	29.15	24.57	27.81	31	.69
Sm	6.87	0.05	7.42	0.16	7.44	0.32	5.63	0.29	7.07	6.02	5.44	5.89	6	5.88
U	4.44	0.84	5.24	0.37	4.83	0.47	2.44	0.29	3.32	3.32	2.44	2.42	3	3.45
Yb	2.83	0.22	2.97	0.11	3.01	0.21	2.35	0.18	2.51	2.39	2.32	2.58	2	2.82
Ce	83.59	0.98	79.98	1.64	79.88	3.61	61.92	3.46	84.42	69.09	60.60	64.89	77	7.39
Co	31.11	6.53	14.12	1.24	15.10	2.76	15.33	4.25	18.64	10.89	12.89	16.04	20	).26
Cr	106.11	2.51	57.92	3.32	53.08	5.38	72.40	7.15	85.46	55.72	51.28	77.30	71	.69
Cs	10.89	0.62	11.67	0.46	10.27	0.83	5.11	0.72	9.11	9.25	2.73	2.65	9	9.96
Eu	1.41	0.01	1.23	0.03	1.19	0.06	1.14	0.07	1.34	1.12	1.09	1.23	1	.30
Fe (wt%)	5.01	0.08	3.55	0.19	3.27	0.29	3.21	0.25	4.19	2.62	3.16	3.28	3	3.39
Hf	3.75	0.06	5.45	0.48	5.85	0.76	5.35	0.48	4.65	5.36	5.07	5.59	4	1.97
Ni	58.44	34.85	17.04	19.74	15.30	31.86	18.53	18.67	0.00	37.98	52.27	40.60	C	0.00
Rb	168.83	8.01	165.03	9.42	157.10	18.76	74.49	11.54	173.64	119.88	46.79	39.26	151	.39
Sb	5.15	0.22	1.86	0.69	1.76	0.78	3.09	3.30	1.75	1.26	2.74	1.48	15	5.64
Sc	18.50	0.31	12.64	0.59	11.83	0.82	11.22	0.99	15.34	10.60	10.75	12.29	13	3.72
Sr	750.22	213.22	353.97	45.64	329.46	40.15	456.15	63.98	383.28	296.94	424.31	436.71	191	.32
Та	1.32	0.04	1.50	0.06	1.47	0.15	0.93	0.06	0.98	1.25	0.89	1.06	1	.18
Tb	0.95	0.08	1.03	0.15	1.02	0.10	0.75	0.06	0.82	0.80	0.68	0.80	C	).92

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Zn	138.29	13.48	80.58	4.79	79.92	7.87	72.50	8.52	79.70	60.74	67.97	83.50	106.25
Zr	112.66	12.12	161.11	12.63	154.05	21.03	134.83	15.97	118.16	161.63	125.16	114.25	104.44
Al (wt%)	9.34	0.92	8.21	0.43	7.77	0.56	5.93	0.57	96.6	6.35	5.77	6.58	7.31
Ba	513.35	28.26	406.55	39.11	377.09	35.45	343.69 (322.5) <sup>d</sup>	129.48 (38.62) <sup>d</sup>	656.52	285.76	331.28	344.43	368.17
Ca (wt%)	8.89	0.42	12.63	0.74	13.02	0.98	14.83	1.22	9.30	15.02	11.86	14.14	14.84
Dy	4.51	0.34	5.17	0.24	5.20	0.34	4.11	0.32	4.64	4.35	3.67	4.75	4.78
K (wt%)	2.92	0.53	2.37	0.19	2.27 (2.33)*	0.34 (0.23)*	1.43 (1.57)*	0.36 (0.27)*	3.48	2.06	1.48	1.32	2.37
Mn	657.12	15.61	520.38	24.96	495.33	29.40	649.57	137.41	507.12	316.71	572.45	805.82	520.15
Na (wt%)	0.77	0.25	0.37	0.04	$0.48 (0.43)^{*}$	$0.16(0.05)^{*}$	$0.65 (0.6)^{*}$	$0.17 (0.16)^{*}$	0.16	0.29	0.32	1.03	0.41
Ti	3652.23	370.75	3835.45	361.78	3500.05	277.22	3448.54	347.88	2418.39	3772.59	3253.86	3292.51	3576.24
Λ	166.99	12.41	79.68	8.24	68.23	5.36	81.65	11.31	111.10	65.13	64.11	103.19	108.47
All values	are express	ed as ppn	n (µg/g) ex	cept those	expressed as wei	ght % in parenthe	ses. Ba values with	out taking into ac	count individu	als MJ0104 (a), ]	DIA 317 (b), MJ $\frac{1}{2}$	0141 (c), and M	10341 (d) of their
I cohecrite I	ICICICIICC &	msdnoi	icall allu su	an nieniia	VIAUOII OL N AIIU IN	a values of fioit at	alcinic ancien may	ULICA SHALUS. DCIV	-DN(m - 3), E	CIN-FI $(n - 2)$ , 1	Notes $(n - n)$ , version	If $(n - 14)$ , Muc	$1 \neq (n - 1)$ , VIIId-

feliche (n = 7); Paterna (n = 13); TAL (n = 11); and Seville (n = 18). BCN-DR, Barcelona Drassanes; BCN-PI, Barcelona Santa Maria del Pi; VdP, Vilafranca del Penedès; OB/SA, Lleida Obradors and Sant

Anastasi: REM. Lleida Remolins

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