

Rogation ceremonies: A key to understanding past drought variability in north-eastern Spain since 1650

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ABSTRACT

In the northeast of the Iberian Peninsula, few studies have reconstructed drought occurrence and variability for the pre-instrumental period using documentary evidence and natural proxies. In this study, we compiled a unique dataset of rogation ceremonies - religious acts asking God for rain - from 13 cities in the north-east of Spain and investigated the annual drought variability from 1650 to 1899 AD. Three regionally different coherent areas (Mediterranean, Ebro Valley and Mountain) were detected. Both the Barcelona and the regional Mediterranean drought indices were compared with the instrumental series of Barcelona for the overlapping period (1787-1899), where we discovered a highly significant and stable correlation with the Standardized Precipitation Index of May with a 4-month lag ($r=-0.46$ and $r=-0.53$; $p<0.001$, respectively). We found common periods with prolonged droughts (during the mid and late 18th century) and extreme drought years (1775, 1798, 1753, 1691 and 1817) associated with more atmospheric blocking situations. A superposed epoch analysis (SEA) was performed showing a significant decrease in drought events one year after the volcanic events, which might be explained by the decrease in evapotranspiration due to reduction in surface temperatures and, consequently, the higher availability of water that increases soil moisture. In addition, we discovered a common and significant drought response in the three regional drought indices two years after the Tambora volcanic eruption. Our study suggests that documented information on rogations contains important independent evidence to reconstruct extreme drought events in areas and periods for which instrumental information and other proxies are scarce. However, drought index at Mountain areas presents various limitations and its interpretation must be treated with caution.

1. Introduction

Water availability is one of the most critical factors for human activities, human wellbeing and the sustainability of natural ecosystems. Drought is an expression of a

41 precipitation deficit, which often lasts longer than a season, a year or even a decade.
42 Drought leads to water shortages associated with adverse impacts on natural systems
43 and socioeconomic activities, such as reductions in streamflow, crop failures, forest
44 decay or restrictions on urban and irrigation water supplies (Eslamian and Eslamian,
45 2017). Droughts represent a regular, recurrent process that occurs in almost all climate
46 zones. In the Mediterranean region, the impacts of climate change on water resources
47 give significant cause for concern. Spain is one of the European countries with a large
48 risk of drought caused by high temporal and spatial variability in the distribution of
49 precipitation (Vicente-Serrano et al., 2014; Serrano-Notivol et al., 2017). Several recent
50 Iberian droughts and their impacts on society and the environment have been
51 documented in the scientific literature (e.g., Dominguez Castro et al., 2012; Trigo et al.
52 2013; Vicente-Serrano et al. 2014; Russo et al. 2015; Turco et al. 2017). For instance,
53 during the period from 1990 to 1995, almost 12 million people suffered from water
54 scarcity, the loss in agricultural production was an estimated 1 billion Euro, hydroelectric
55 production dropped by 14.5 % and 63% of southern Spain was affected by fires
56 (Dominguez Castro et al., 2012). One of the most recent droughts in Spain lasted from
57 2004 to 2005 (García-Herrera et al., 2007) and was associated with major socioeconomic
58 impacts (hydroelectricity and cereal production decreased to 40% and 60%,
59 respectively, of the average value).

60 In other European regions, drought intensity and frequency have been widely
61 studied, since their socio-economic and environmental impacts are expected to worsen
62 with climate change (e.g. Spinoni et al., 2018; Hanel et al., 2018). Long-term studies
63 using instrumental meteorological observations have helped in understanding European
64 drought patterns at various spatial and temporal scales (e.g. Spinoni et al., 2015; Stagge
65 et al., 2017). In addition, natural proxy data have provided a multi-centennial long-term
66 perspective in Europe by developing high-resolution drought indices derived mostly
67 from tree-ring records (e.g. Büntgen et al., 2010, 2011; Cook et al., 2015; Dobrovolný et
68 al. 2018). Finally, documentary records utilized in historical climatology have
69 complemented the understanding of droughts across Europe (e.g. Brázdil et al., 2005,
70 2010, 2018). These studies, covering the last few centuries, usually focus on specific
71 periods of extreme droughts and their societal impacts (e.g. Diodato and Bellochi, 2011;
72 Domínguez-Castro et al., 2012) and yet, studies attempting to develop continuous
73 drought indices for the last few centuries, inferred from documentary evidence, remain
74 an exception (e.g. Brázdil et al., 2013, 2016, 2018, 2019; Dobrovolný et al., 2015a,b;
75 Možný et al., 2016; Mikšovský et al., 2019).

76 In the Iberian Peninsula, natural archives including tree-ring chronologies, lake
77 sediments and speleothems have been used to deduce drought variability before the
78 instrumental period (Esper et al., 2015; Tejedor et al., 2016, 2017c; Benito et al., 2003,
79 2008; Pauling et al. 2006; Brewer et al., 2008; Carro-Calvo et al., 2013, Abrantes et al.,
80 2017, Andreu-Hayles et al., 2017). Nevertheless, most of the highly temporally resolved
81 natural proxy-based reconstructions represent high-elevation conditions during specific
82 periods of the year (mainly summer e.g. Tejedor et al., 2017c). Spain has a large amount
83 of documentary-based data with a good degree of continuity and homogeneity for many
84 areas, which enables important paleo climate information to be derived at different
85 timescales and for various territories. Garcia-Herrera et al. (2003) describe the main

86 archives and discuss the techniques and strategies used to derive climate-relevant
87 information from documentary records. Past drought and precipitation patterns have
88 been inferred by exploring mainly rogation ceremonies and historical records from
89 Catalonia (Martin-Vide and Barriendos 1995; Barriendos, 1997; Barriendos and Llasat,
90 2003; Trigo et al. 2009), Zaragoza (Vicente-Serrano and Cuadrat, 2007), Andalusia
91 (Rodrigo et al., 1998; 2000), central Spain (Domínguez-Castro et al., 2008; 2012; 2014;
92 2016) and Portugal (Alcoforado et al. 2000). In north-eastern Spain, the most important
93 cities were located on the riverbanks of the Ebro Valley, which were surrounded by large
94 areas of cropland (Fig. 1). Bad wheat and barley harvests triggered socio-economic
95 impacts, including the impoverishment or malnutrition of whole families, severe
96 alteration of the market economy, social and political conflicts, marginality, loss of
97 population due to emigration and starvation, and diseases and epidemics, such as those
98 caused by pests (Tejedor, 2017a). Recent studies have related precipitation/drought
99 variability in regions of Spain to wheat yield variability (Ray et al., 2015; Esper et al.
100 2017). The extent of impacts caused by droughts depends on the socio-environmental
101 vulnerability of an area, and is related to the nature and magnitude of the drought and
102 the structure of societies, such as agricultural-based societies including trades (Scandlyn
103 et al., 2010; Esper et al. 2017).

104 During the past few centuries, Spanish society has been strongly influenced by
105 the Catholic Church. Parishioners firmly believed in the will of God and the church to
106 provide them with better harvests. They asked God to stop or provide rain through
107 rogations, a process created by bishop Mamertus in AD 469 (Fierro, 1991). The key factor
108 in evaluating rogation ceremonies for paleo-climate research is determining the severity
109 and duration of adverse climatic phenomena based on the type of liturgical act that was
110 organized after deliberation and decision-making by local city councils (Barriendos,
111 2005). Rogations are solemn petitions by believers asking God to grant specific requests
112 (Barriendos 1996, 1997). Then, *pro-pluviam* rogations were conducted to ask for
113 precipitation during a drought, and they therefore provide an indication of drought
114 episodes and clearly identify climatic anomalies and the duration and severity of the
115 event (Martín-Vide & Barriendos, 1995; Barriendos, 2005). In contrast, *pro-serenitate*
116 rogations were requests for precipitation to end during periods of excessive or
117 persistent rain causing crop failures and floods. In the Mediterranean basin, the loss of
118 crops triggered severe socio-economic problems and was related to insufficient rainfall.
119 Rogations were an institutional mechanism to address social stress in response to
120 climatic anomalies or meteorological extremes (e.g. Barriendos, 2005). The municipal
121 and ecclesiastical authorities involved in the rogation process guaranteed the reliability
122 of the ceremony and maintained a continuous documentary record of all rogations. The
123 duration and severity of natural phenomena that stressed society is reflected in the
124 different levels of liturgical ceremonies that were applied (e.g. Martin-Vide and
125 Barriendos, 1995; Barriendos, 1997; 2005). Through these studies, we learned that the
126 present heterogeneity of drought patterns in Spain also occurred over the past few
127 centuries, in terms of the spatial differences, severity and duration of the events
128 (Martin-Vide, 2001, Vicente-Serrano 2006b). Nevertheless, the fact that no compilation

129 has been made of the main historical document datasets assembled over the past
130 several years is impeding the creation of a continuous record of drought recurrences
131 and intensities in the north-east of the Iberian Peninsula.

132 Here we compiled 13 series of historical documentary information of the *pro-*
133 *pluviam* rogation data from the Ebro Valley and the Mediterranean Coast of Catalonia
134 (Fig. 1) from 1438 to 1945 (Tab. 1). The cities cover a wide range of elevations from
135 Barcelona, which is near the sea (9 m a.s.l.), to Teruel (915 m a.s.l.) (Fig 1). Although
136 some periods have already been analyzed for certain cities (i.e., Zaragoza in 1600-1900
137 AD by Vicente-Serrano and Cuadrat, 2007; Zaragoza, Calahorra, Teruel, Vic, Cervera
138 Girona, Barcelona, Tarragona and Tortosa in 1750-1850 AD by Dominguez-Castro et al.,
139 2012; La Seu d'Urgell, Girona, Barcelona, Tarragona, Tortosa and Cervera in 1760-1800
140 AD by Barriendos and Llasat, 2003), this is the first systematic approach that analyzes all
141 existing information for north-eastern Spain, including new, unpublished data for
142 Huesca (1557-1860 AD) and Barbastro (1646-1925 AD) and examines the 13 sites jointly
143 over a period of 250 years (1650-1899 AD). We analyzed droughts across the sites and
144 identified extreme drought years and common periods in frequency and intensity. We
145 also analyzed statistical links between drought indices and major tropical volcanic
146 events in order to determine the effects of strong eruptions on regional droughts.

147

148 **2. Methods**

149 **2.1. Study area**

150 The study area comprises the north-eastern part of Spain, with an area of
151 approximately 100,000 km², and includes three geological units, the Pyrenees in the
152 north, the Iberian Range in the south, and the large depression of the Ebro Valley
153 separating the two (Fig. 1). The Ebro Valley has an average altitude of 200 m a.s.l. and
154 its climate can be characterized as Mediterranean-type, with warm summers, cold
155 winters and continental characteristics increasing with distance inland. Certain
156 geographic aspects determine its climatic characteristics; for example, several mountain
157 chains isolate the valley from moist winds, preventing precipitation. Thus, in the central
158 areas of the valley, annual precipitation is low, with small monthly variations and an
159 annual precipitation in the central Ebro Valley of approximately 322 mm (Serrano-
160 Notivoli et al., 2017). In both the Pyrenees and the Iberian Range, the main climatic
161 characteristics are related to a transition from oceanic/continental to Mediterranean
162 conditions in the east. In addition, the barrier effect of the most frequent humid air
163 masses causes gradually higher aridity towards the east and south (Vicente-Serrano,
164 2005; López-Moreno & Vicente-Serrano, 2007). Areas above 2000 m a.s.l. receive
165 approximately 2,000 mm of precipitation annually, increasing to 2,500 mm in the
166 highest peaks of the mountain range (García-Ruiz, et al., 2001). Annual precipitation in
167 the Mediterranean coast is higher than that in the central Ebro Valley and ranges from
168 approximately 500 mm in Tortosa to 720 mm in Girona (Serrano-Notivoli et al., 2017).

169 **2.2. From historical documents to climate: Development of a drought index**
170 **for each location in NE Spain from 1650 to 1899 AD**

171 Historical documents from 13 cities in the northeast of Spain were compiled into a
172 novel dataset by using a consistent approach (Fig. 1, Tab. 1, Tab. 2). These historical
173 documents are the rogation ceremonies reported in the 'Actas Capitulares' of the
174 municipal archives or main cathedrals. The documents (described in Table 2) range from
175 461 years of continuous data in Girona, to 120 years in Lleida, with an average of 311
176 years of data on each station. Rogations were not only religious acts but also supported
177 by the participation of several institutions; agricultural organizations and municipal and
178 ecclesiastical authorities analyzed the situation and deliberated before deciding to hold
179 a rogation ceremony (Vicente-Serrano and Cuadrat, 2007). Usually, the agricultural
180 organizations would request rogations when they observed a decrease in rainfall, which
181 could result in weak crop development. The municipal authorities would then recognize
182 the predicament and discuss the advisability of holding a rogation ceremony. Whether
183 a rogation was celebrated or not was not arbitrary, since the cost was paid from the
184 public coffers. When the municipal authorities decided to hold a rogation, the order was
185 communicated to the religious authorities, who placed it on the calendar of religious
186 celebrations and organized and announced the event. Previous studies have reported
187 that winter precipitation is key for the final crop production in dry-farming areas of the
188 Ebro Valley (wheat and barley; Austin et al., 1998a, 1998b; McAneny and Arrué, 1993;
189 Vicente-Serrano and Cuadrat, 2007). In addition to winter rogations, most of the others
190 were held during the period of crop growth (March-May) and harvesting (June-August),
191 since the socio-economic consequences when the harvest was poor were more evident
192 at those times. Thus, it is reasonable to view rogations in an index from December to
193 August. Finally, from the various types of droughts, we will be referring to a combination
194 between meteorological and agricultural droughts. The rogation was not only
195 agronomical or focused on a drought or agricultural problem. They already inferred that
196 the problem was meteorological and therefore they always asked for timely rain,
197 appropriate rain, or consistent rain. In other words, they asked for the occurrence of a
198 meteorological phenomenon. In consequence, the follow-up or sentinel that gives them
199 information is agricultural, but their answer is by a meteorological anomaly, and they
200 ask for the development of a normalized meteorology, that in consequence will allow a
201 development of the appropriate agriculture.

202 The qualitative information contained in the rogations was transformed into a semi-
203 quantitative, continuous monthly series following the methodology of the Millennium
204 Project (European Commission, IP 017008-Domínguez-Castro et al., 2012). Only *pro-*
205 *pluviam* rogations were included in this study. According to the intensity of the religious
206 act, which were uniform ceremonies performed throughout the Catholic territories and
207 triggered by droughts, we categorized the events in 4 levels from low to high intensity:
208 0, there is no evidence of any kind of ceremony; 1, a simple petition within the church
209 was held; 2, intercessors were exposed within the church; and 3, a procession or
210 pilgrimage took place in the public itineraries, the most extreme type of rogation (see
211 Tab. 3). Although rogations have appeared in historical documents since the late 15th

212 century and were reported up to the mid-20th century, we restricted the common period
213 to 1650-1899 AD, since there are a substantial number of data gaps before and after this
214 period, although some stations do not cover the full period. A continuous drought index
215 (DI) was developed for each site by grouping the rogations at various levels. A simple
216 approach, similar to that of Martín-Vide and Barriendos (1995) and Vicente-Serrano and
217 Cuadrat (2007), was chosen. The annual DI values were obtained by determining the
218 weighted average of the number of levels 1, 2 and 3 rogations recorded between
219 December and August in each city. The weights of levels 1, 2 and 3 were 1, 2, and 3,
220 respectively. Accordingly, the drought index for each city is a continuous semi-
221 quantitative value from 0, indicating the absence of drought, to a maximum of 3 (Figure
222 2A).

223

224 **2.3. Clustering station drought to regional drought indices from 1650 to** 225 **1899 AD**

226 To evaluate similarities among local stations, we performed a cluster analysis (CA)
227 that separates data into groups (clusters) with minimum variability within each cluster
228 and maximum variability between clusters. We selected the period of common data
229 1650-1770 to perform the cluster analysis. The main benefit of a cluster analysis (CA) is
230 that it allows similar data to be grouped together, which helps to identify common
231 patterns between data elements. To assess the uncertainty in hierarchical cluster
232 analysis, the R package 'pvclust' (Suzuki and Shimodaira, 2006) was used. We used the
233 Ward's method in which the proximity between two clusters is the magnitude by which
234 the summed squares in their joint cluster will be greater than the combined summed
235 square in these two clusters $SS_{12} - (SS_1 + SS_2)$ (Ward, 1963; Everitt et al., 2001). Next, the
236 root of the square difference between co-ordinates of a pair of objects was computed
237 with its Euclidian distance. Finally, for each cluster within the hierarchical clustering,
238 quantities called *p-values* were calculated via multiscale bootstrap resampling (1000
239 times). Bootstrapping techniques do not require assumptions such as normality in
240 original data (Efron, 1979) and thus represent a suitable approach to the semi-
241 quantitative characteristics of drought indices (DI) derived from historical documents.
242 The *p-value* of a cluster is between 0 and 1, which indicates how strongly the cluster is
243 supported by the data. The package 'pvclust' provides two types of *p-values*: AU
244 (approximately unbiased *p-value*) and BP (bootstrap probability) *value*. AU *p-value* is
245 computed by multiscale bootstrap resampling and is a better approximation of an
246 unbiased *p-value* than the BP value computed by normal bootstrap resampling. The
247 frequency of the sites falling into their original cluster is counted at different scales, and
248 then the *p-values* are obtained by analyzing the frequency trends. Clusters with high AU
249 values, such as those >0.95 , are strongly supported by the data (Suzuki and Shimodaira,
250 2006). Therefore, in this study, sites belonging to the same group were merged by
251 means of an arithmetical average (Eq.1).

252 Eq.1 *Regional Drought Index* $(\bar{x}) = (x_1 + x_2 + x_3 \dots)/n$

253 where x_n represents each individual annual drought index, and n is the number of
254 drought indices per cluster. To evaluate the relationship of each site's rogations, we then
255 performed a matrix correlation (Spearman) between the new groups derived from the
256 cluster and each individual drought index for the 1650-1899 period.

257 **2.4. Validation of the regional drought indices against overlapping** 258 **instrumental series.**

259 To better understand the relationship between the derived drought indices and the
260 instrumental series, we used the longest instrumental precipitation and temperature
261 series covering the period 1786-2014 AD (Prohom et al., 2012; Prohom et al., 2015) for
262 the city of Barcelona and thus overlapping the rogation ceremony period of the local DI
263 of Barcelona (DIBARCELONA) from 1786 to 1899 AD. However, the instrumental series
264 was homogenized and completed including data from cities nearby and along the
265 Mediterranean coast (see Prohom et al., 2015 for details). Therefore, the instrumental
266 series contains coherent regional information from a Mediterranean section similar to
267 our regional drought indices stations located along the Mediterranean coast. We then
268 calculated the Standardized Precipitation Index (SPI, McKee et al., 1993) and the
269 Standardized Evapotranspiration and Precipitation Index (SPEI, Vicente-Serrano et al.,
270 2010). SPEI was calculated with the R Package 'SPEI' (Begueria et al., 2014). From the
271 various ways of calculating evapotranspiration we chose Thornwaite, which only
272 requires temperature and latitude as input. Next, we calculated the Spearman
273 correlation between the drought indices of the Mediterranean coast and the SPI/SPEI at
274 different time scales including a maximum lag of 12 months covering the period 1787-
275 1899. Further exploration of the relationship between the drought indices inferred from
276 historical documents and the instrumental drought indices through time were
277 performed by 30- and 50-year moving correlations. Finally, to avoid the circularity
278 problem we performed the same analysis leaving one local station out each time.

279 **2.5. Detecting extreme drought years and periods in the north-east of Spain** 280 **between 1650-1899 AD and links to large-scale volcanic forcing**

281 To identify the extreme drought years, we selected those above the 99th percentile
282 of each regional drought index and mapped them in order to find common spatial
283 patterns. In addition, the 11-year running mean performed for each drought index
284 helped highlight drought periods within and among the drought indices. Finally, since
285 rogation ceremonies are a response of the population to an extreme event, we
286 performed a superposed epoch analysis (SEA; Panofsky and Brier, 1958) of the three
287 years before and after the volcanic event, using the package 'dplR' (Bunn, 2008) to
288 identify possible effects on the hydroclimatic cycle caused by volcanic eruptions. The
289 method involves sorting data into categories dependent on a key-date (volcanic events).
290 For each category, the year of the eruption is assigned as year 0, and we selected the
291 values of the drought indices for the three years prior to the eruption and three years
292 following in order to obtain a SEA matrix (number of volcanic events multiplied by 7).
293 For each particular event, the anomalies with respect to the pre-eruption average were
294 calculated to obtain a composite with all the events for the 7 years. Statistical

295 significance of the SEA was tested by a Monte-Carlo simulation based on the null
296 hypothesis of finding no association between the eruptions and the climatic variables
297 studied. Random years are chosen for each category as pseudo-event years, and the
298 average values are calculated for -3 to +3, the same as for real eruptions. This process is
299 repeated to create 10,000 randomly-generated composite matrices, which are sorted,
300 and a random composite distribution is created for each column in the matrix (i.e. year
301 relative to the eruption year 0). The distributions are then used to statistically compare
302 the extent to which the existing composites are anomalous. We used these distributions
303 to test the significance of the actual composites at a 99% confidence level. The largest
304 volcanic eruptive episodes (Sigl et al., 2015) chosen for the analysis were 1815, 1783,
305 1809, 1695, 1836, 1832, 1884 and 1862. In addition, we performed the SEA only with
306 the largest eruption of this period, the Tambora eruption in the year 1815.

307

308 **3. Results**

309 **3.1. From historical documents to climate: Development of a drought index for** 310 **each location in NE Spain from 1650 to 1899 AD**

311 We converted the ordinal data into continuous semi-quantitative index data by
312 performing a weighted average of the monthly data (see methods). As a result, we
313 developed an annual drought index (from the previous December to the current August)
314 containing continuous values from 0 to 3 collected from information on the annual mean
315 extreme droughts of each year for each of the 13 locations. The empirical cumulative
316 distribution function (EDCF, Fig.2A) confirmed that the new drought indices can be
317 treated as a continuous variable, since the drought index can take almost infinite values
318 in the range from 0 to 3 (Fig.2B). To study drought across the region, we performed a
319 cluster analysis including the annual drought indices of the 13 cities. These data were
320 then used to study the hydrological responses after strong tropical eruptions.

321 **3.2. Clustering station drought to regional drought indices from 1650 to 1899** 322 **AD**

323 The cluster analysis (CA, see methods) using the DI of the 13 locations and after
324 applied to the complete period until 1899 revealed three significant and physically
325 coherent areas, hereafter known as Mountain, Mediterranean and Ebro Valley (Fig. 3).
326 The first cluster includes cities with a similar altitude (Teruel, La Seu) and similar in
327 latitude (Barbastro, Lleida, Huesca, Girona, see Fig. 1). The cities within the second and
328 third clusters are near the Ebro River (Calahorra, Zaragoza and Tortosa) or have similar
329 climatic conditions (Cervera, Vic, Barcelona, Tarragona). Clusters two and three suggest
330 (Fig. 3) that the coherence of the grouping can be explained by the influence and
331 proximity of the Mediterranean Sea (Tortosa, Cervera, Tarragona, Vic and Barcelona)
332 and the influence of a more continental climate (Zaragoza and Calahorra). Accordingly,
333 three regional drought indices were developed by combining the individual DIs of each
334 group; DI Mountain (DIMOU), composed of Barbastro, Teruel, Lleida, La Seu, and Girona;
335 DI Mediterranean (DIMED), composed of Tortosa, Cervera, Tarragona, Vic and

336 Barcelona, and DI Ebro Valley (DIEV), comprising Zaragoza and Calahorra. The resulting
337 drought indices in regional DI series can also vary from 0 to 3 but show a relatively
338 continuous distribution range (Figure 2B).

339 The Spearman correlation matrix for the period 1650-1899 AD confirms the high
340 and significant ($p < 0.05$) correlations between each individual DI and its corresponding
341 group, confirming the validity of the new DI groups (Fig. 4). The correlations among the
342 cluster drought indices range from 0.76 (between DIEV and DIMED) to $r = 0.38$ (between
343 DIEV and DIMOU) and $r = 0.42$ (between DIMED and DIMOU). In DIEV, both of the local
344 DIs show similar correlations (Zaragoza, $r = 0.73$; Calahorra, $r = 0.75$). In the DIMED cluster,
345 the high correlations among the members show strong coherency. DIMOU is the most
346 heterogeneous cluster, with correlations of $r = 0.57$ for Barbastro and $r = 0.33$ for La Seu.
347 Although each individual DI within this group and within the DIMOU shows significant
348 correlation, individual DIs compared one to another reveal some correlation values not
349 to be significant ($p < 0.05$).

350 **3.3. Validation of the regional drought indices against overlapping instrumental** 351 **series.**

352 The highest Spearman correlation ($r = -0.46$; $p < 0.001$) between the Barcelona
353 drought index and the instrumental SPI over the full 113-year period (1787-1899 AD;
354 Fig.5C) was found for the SPI of May with a lag of 4 months (SPI_{MAY_4} hereafter). A slightly
355 lower, though still significant correlation was obtained from the SPEI of May with a lag
356 of 4 months ($SPEI_{MAY_4}$) ($r = -0.41$; $p < 0.001$, Fig.5D). The regional Mediterranean drought
357 index shows moderately higher correlations with the instrumental SPI ($r = -0.53$; $p < 0.001$)
358 and SPEI ($r = -0.50$; $p < 0.001$) computed for the same period and time scale. The moving
359 correlations analyses between DIMED, DIBARCELONA and SPI_{MAY_4} for 30 and 50 years
360 (Fig.5A; Fig.5B) presented significant values through the full period. However, the
361 agreement is especially higher and stable during the period 1787-1834. After 1835
362 despite that correlations remain significant, the instability is higher, and the agreement
363 decreased.

364 Furthermore, when the analysis was performed leaving one station out each time
365 (Fig. S1), the results remain significant ($p < 0.001$) and the correlation in all cases is above
366 0.45. The next step (iv) will address the selection of extreme drought years and periods
367 within the 250 years from 1650-1899 AD using information from the cluster analysis.

368 **3.4. Detecting extreme drought years and periods in the north-east of Spain** 369 **between 1650-1899 AD and links to large-scale volcanic forcing**

370 According to the cluster grouping, the three new spatially averaged drought
371 indices (DIEV, DIMED and DIMOU) are presented in Fig. 6. Mountain DI (DIMOU) had the
372 least number of drought events and a maximum DI of 1.6 in 1650 AD. The Ebro Valley DI
373 (DIEV) had the highest number of droughts (derived from the highest number of positive
374 index values) followed by the third region (Mediterranean DI, DIMED). The 17th and 18th
375 centuries exhibited a relatively large number of severe droughts (Fig. 6). High positive
376 index values over the duration of the DIs in all three series indicate that a drought period

377 occurred from 1740 to 1755 AD. The lowest DIs were found at the end of the 19th
378 century, meaning that droughts were less frequent in this period. The 11-year running
379 mean shows common periods with low DI values, such as 1706-1717, 1800-1811, 1835-
380 1846 and 1881-1892, which we infer to be 'normal' or drought-free. On the other hand,
381 1678-1689, 1745-1756, 1770-1781, and 1814-1825 are periods with continuously high
382 DIs, indicating that significant droughts affected the crops during these periods and
383 intense rogation ceremonies were needed.

384 In the Ebro Valley, the most extreme years (Fig. 6) (according to the 99%
385 percentile of the years 1650-1899) were 1775 (drought index value of 2.8), 1798 (2.7),
386 1691 (2.6), 1753 (2.5) and 1817 (2.5). Most of these extreme drought years can also be
387 found in DIMED 1753 (2.6), 1775 (2.5), 1737 (2.3), 1798 (2.2) and 1817 (2.2). In DIMOU,
388 the extreme drought years occurred in the 17th century: 1650 (1.6), 1680 (1.5), 1701
389 (1.5) and 1685 (1.4), and are spatially displayed in Fig. 7. In the years 1775 and 1798, the
390 Ebro Valley, Mediterranean and some mountain cites suffered from severe droughts. It
391 is notable that the year 1650 in the Mountain area presented high values of DI, while
392 the other locations had very low DI values (DIEV=0.4; DIMED=0.8).

393 We performed a superposed epoch analysis (SEA, see methods) to study the
394 drought response over north-east Iberia to major volcanic eruptions (Fig. 8a). The figure
395 shows significant decreases ($p<0.05$) in the Ebro Valley and Mediterranean DI values
396 during the year a volcanic event occurred and for the following year. We did not find a
397 post-volcanic drought response in the Mountain area. No significant response was found
398 for any of the DIs two or three years after the volcanic eruptions, including the major
399 ones. However, two years after the Tambora eruption in April 1815, there was a
400 significant ($p<0.05$) increase in the three drought indices (DIEV, DIMED and DIMOU) (Fig.
401 8b).

402

403 **4. Discussion**

404 In the northeast Iberian Peninsula, drought recurrence, intensity, persistence
405 and spatial variability have mainly been studied by using instrumental data covering the
406 past ca. 60 years (Vicente-Serrano et al., 2014; Serrano-Notivoli et al., 2017). In addition,
407 natural proxy data, including specially tree-ring chronologies, have been used to infer
408 drought variability before the instrumental period (Esper et al., 2015; Tejedor et al.,
409 2016, 2017c; Andreu-Hayles et al., 2017). Nevertheless, most of such highly temporally
410 resolved natural proxy-based reconstructions represent high-elevation conditions
411 during specific periods of the year and as a consequence, drought behavior in large low
412 elevation areas remains poorly explored. In these areas however, documentary records
413 as rogation ceremonies, have demonstrated potential to complement the
414 understanding of droughts across Europe (e.g. Brázdil et al., 2005, 2010, 2018).

415 Still, rogation ceremonies need to be considered as a "cultural" proxy affected by
416 a certain degree of subjectivity due to the perception of people about hydroclimate

417 events. In consequence, the analysis must be cautious, taking into account their
418 historical and sociological nature. Further limitations are related to their binomial
419 character (occurrence or not of rogation ceremonies), the cumulative character of
420 drought and then the difficulty of the interpretation of sequential rogations or the
421 restrictions to perform a rigorous calibration-verification approach due to a lack of
422 overlapping periods with observational weather series.

423 Despite these limitation, and potential variations in the timing of occurrence of
424 rogations in different areas or periods due to differences/variations in agricultural
425 practices, we developed drought indices (DI) derived from rogations occurred from early
426 winter to August that can be considered as reliable drought proxies (even if only in some
427 environments and some specific historical periods). More specifically, we found that i)
428 DI series exhibit a coherent regional pattern but their reliability is lower in mountain
429 areas, ii) Represent a useful climate proxy for at least the period 1650-1830`s but its
430 reliability decreases thereafter.

431 Due to the cumulative character of drought, the delays between drought and
432 rogation occurrence and their differential influence on different agricultural species and
433 environmental conditions an accurate definition of the temporal scale in drought that is
434 represented by the rogation is challenging. In this paper, for comparative purposes, a
435 conservative approach is used by combining rogations occurred from December to
436 August in an index trying to account for general drought conditions occurred during the
437 whole crop growing season across the whole study area (spring and summer) but also
438 including previous conditions that may have impact in final production (spring and
439 winter rogations are likely to reflect drought conditions occurred in winter and previous
440 autumn).

441 Further limitations when dealing with historical documents as a climatic proxy
442 are related to converting binomial qualitative information (occurrence or not of rogation
443 ceremonies) into quantitative data (e.g. Vicente-Serrano and Cuadrat, 2007;
444 Dominguez-Castro et al., 2008). Here, we followed the methodology proposed in the
445 Millennium Project (European Commission, IP 017008) and also applied in Domínguez-
446 Castro et al., (2012). According to such proceedings and considering both the occurrence
447 or otherwise of rogation ceremonies and the intensity of the religious acts, the
448 information contained in historical documents can be transformed into a semi-
449 quantitative time series (including continuous values from 0 to 3). To that extent, the
450 ECDF analysis helped in understanding the nature of the historical documents when
451 transformed into semi-quantitative data, confirming that they can be treated as a
452 continuous variable. We then aggregated the annual values to develop a continuous
453 semi-quantitative drought index (DI) where values can range from zero (absence of
454 drought) to a maximum of 3 (severe drought). This set of procedures technically solves
455 the structural problem of the data. However, we have added complexity to its
456 interpretation since, for example, an index of level 2 does not necessarily imply that a
457 drought was twice as intense as a drought classified as level 1, nor that the change in
458 the intensity of droughts from level 1 to level 2 or from level 2 to 3 has to be necessarily

459 equivalent. Yet, we can infer with much confidence that if there was a drought of level
460 2 it is because those types of ceremonies of level 1, if occur, did not work, and therefore
461 the drought was still an issue for the development of the crops i.e., there is a progressive
462 drying, but it does not have to be twice as intense. Hence, this must be taken into
463 account when interpreting the indices.

464 The confirmation of rogation ceremonies as a valid drought proxy requires an
465 additional procedure -the calibration/verification approach. However, continuous
466 rogation documents end in the 19th century, whereas instrumental weather data
467 generally begins in the 20th century (Gonzalez-Hidalgo et al., 2011). In the study area,
468 only the continuous and homogenized instrumental temperature and precipitation
469 series of Barcelona (Prohom et al., 2012; 2015) overlap the existing drought indices. Our
470 results suggest that rogation ceremonies are not only valid as local indicators (good
471 calibration/ verification with the local DIBARCELONA), but they also have regional
472 representativeness (DIMED) and provide valuable climatic information (good
473 calibration/ verification with the regional DIMED). To the best of our knowledge, this is
474 the first time that rogation ceremonies in the Iberian Peninsula have been calibrated
475 with such a long instrumental period. The correlation is maximized in May, the key
476 month for the harvest to develop properly. In addition, the 4-month lag confirms the
477 importance of the end of winter and spring precipitation for good crop growth. The high
478 DIMED correlation ($r=-0.53$; $p<0.001$) indicates not only that this cluster captures the
479 Mediterranean drought signal, but also that it can be used as a semi-quantitative proxy,
480 with verification results similar to the standards required in dendroclimatology (Fritts et
481 al., 1990).

482 In spite of being statistically valid for the whole analyzed period, the suitability
483 of the drought index significantly varies in time. The agreement with instrumental
484 weather data is especially higher during the period 1787-1834 but decrease thereafter.
485 It is challenging to determine whether the decrease in the number of rogations after
486 1835 is due to the lack of droughts, the loss of documents, or a loss of religiosity. For
487 instance, after the Napoleonic invasion (1808-1814) and the arrival of new liberal
488 ideologies (Liberal Triennial 1820-1823), there was a change in the mentality of people
489 in the big cities. These new liberal ideas were concentrated in the places where
490 commerce and industry began to replace agriculturally based economies, leading to
491 strikes and social demonstrations demanding better labor rights. New societies were
492 less dependent on agriculture; hence, in dry spells, the fear of losing crops was less
493 evident and fewer rogations were performed. In short, the apparent decrease of
494 rogations in the 19th century could be explained by a combination of political instability
495 in the main cities and the loss of religiosity and historical documents. Nevertheless, the
496 institutional controls in pre-industrial society were so strict that many of its constituent
497 parts remained unchanged for centuries, and rogation ceremonies are one of such
498 elements. This can be explained by two different factors. First, rogation ceremonies are
499 used within the framework of the Roman Church Liturgy, so changes can only be defined
500 and ordered by the Vatican authorities. If there is a will to change criteria affecting the
501 substance of liturgical ceremonies, all involved institutions must record considerations,

502 petitions and decisions in official documents from official meetings, supported by public
503 notaries. In addition, changes must be motivated from the highest institutional level
504 (Pope) to the regional authorities (Bishops) and local institutions (Chapters, parishes...).
505 This system was too complex to favor changes. A second mechanism guarantees the
506 stability of the rogation system: if any minor or important change in rogations was
507 instigated at local level by the population or local institutions, this interference directly
508 affected the Roman Church Liturgy. Then, it was a change not to be taken lightly as the
509 Inquisition Court would start judicial proceedings and could bring a criminal charge of
510 heresy. The punishment was so hard that neither institutions nor the people were
511 interested in introducing changes in rogations.

512 To further calibrate the potential of this source of information as a climatic proxy,
513 we need to consider the existence of coherent spatial patterns in the distribution of
514 droughts. The instrumental climate data is subject to quality controls to determine the
515 extent to which patterns reflect elements of the climatic cycle or may be due to errors
516 of measurement, transcription of information etc (e.g. Alexanderson, 1986). In this
517 paper, the local series are compared with the regional reference series as a basic
518 element of quality control (e.g. Serrano-Notivolí et al., 2017). The interpretation of other
519 proxies, such as tree-ring records are subject to similar quality control procedures to
520 guarantee the spatial representativeness of the information they contain (e.g. Esper et
521 al., 2015; Duchesne et al., 2017; Tejedor et al., 2017c).

522 We were aware of the potential drawbacks and dealt with the problem of analyzing
523 the spatial representativeness of the rogation series through a cluster analysis. We thus
524 identified the extent to which the local rogation series show similar patterns to those
525 observed in neighboring records and can, therefore, be considered as representative of
526 the climate behavior at a sub-regional scale. Clustering is a descriptive technique (Soni,
527 2012), the solution is not unique, and the results strongly rely upon the analyst's choice
528 of parameter. However, we found three significant ($p < 0.05$) and consistent structures
529 across the drought indices based on historical documents. DIEV shows a robust and
530 coherent cluster associated with droughts in the Ebro Valley area, including the cities of
531 Zaragoza and Calahorra. The high correlation among the local drought indices suggests
532 an underlying coherent climatic signal. DIMED shows also a robust and coherent cluster
533 associated with droughts in the Mediterranean coast area, including high correlation
534 between the local drought Indices of Tortosa, Tarragona, Barcelona, Vic and Cervera.
535 The high correlation between DIEV and DIMED suggests similar climatic characteristics.
536 Furthermore, the main cities among these two clusters share similar agrarian and
537 political structures that support the comparison. Still, we know from observations that,
538 although DIEV and DIMED locations have similar climatic characteristics, the
539 Mediterranean coast locations have slightly higher precipitation totals, which is
540 supported by the cluster. One is reflecting the Ebro Valley conditions and the other is
541 reflecting a more Mediterranean-like climate. Therefore, our final grouping is not only
542 statistically significant, but it has also a geographical/physical meaning.

543 We found that DIMON shows a less robust and complex structure. This cluster
544 includes local drought indices located in mountain or near mountain environments.
545 Although there is a high correlation between the local DIs and the regional DIMOU
546 suggesting a common climatic signal, the low correlation among local drought indices
547 might be explained by the fact that the productive system of the mountain areas is not
548 only based on agriculture, but also on animal husbandry, giving them an additional
549 resource for survival in cases of extreme drought. Therefore, the DIMOU cluster might
550 not only be collecting climatic information but also diverse agricultural practices or even
551 species, translated into a weaker regional common pattern. For instance, Cervera and
552 Lleida share similar annual precipitation totals, but belong to the Mediterranean and the
553 Mountain drought indices respectively. Lleida is located in a valley with an artificial
554 irrigation system since the Muslim period, which is fed by the river Segre (one of the
555 largest tributaries to the Ebro river). The drought in the Pyrenees is connected with a
556 shortage of water for the production of energy in the mills, as well as to satisfy irrigated
557 agriculture. However, the irrigation system itself allowed Lleida to manage the resource
558 and hold out much longer. Therefore, only the most severe droughts, and even those in
559 an attenuated form, were perceived in the city. Cervera, located in the Mediterranean
560 mountains, in the so-called pre-littoral system and its foothills, has a different
561 precipitation dynamic that is more sensitive to the arrival of humid air from the
562 Mediterranean. In addition, Lleida had a robust irrigation system that Cervera did not
563 have. The droughts in Cervera are more akin to the "Mediterranean" ones and thus its
564 presence in the Mediterranean drought index seems to be consistent.

565 DIMOU has a weaker climatological support and thus it should be interpreted with
566 particular caution. Yet, this important constraint in the interpretation of DIMOU is not
567 problematic from a practical point of view, since it represents an area in which there are
568 other proxy records (e.g. tree-rings) covering a wide spatio-temporal scale and valuable
569 as drought proxies (e.g. Tejedor et al., 2016; 2017c). The consistency of the clusters in
570 the Ebro Valley and the coastal zones (DIMED and DIEV) is especially encouraging and
571 reflects the high potential of rogations as a drought proxy. It is precisely in these areas
572 that there are no relict forests, due to human intervention, and therefore no centennial
573 tree-ring reconstructions can be performed to infer past climates. Consequently, in
574 these environments, the information from historical documents is especially relevant.

575 These findings open a new line of research that the authors will continue exploring
576 in future studies. We believe that these results highlight the validity of the drought
577 indices to be taken as continuous variables. In addition, the analysis confirmed that the
578 grouping made by the cluster analysis demonstrates spatial coherency among the
579 historical documents. For some places such as the mountain areas, where the
580 population had other ways of life in addition to agriculture, *pro-pluviam* rogation
581 ceremonies may have a weaker climatic significance. However, *pro-pluviam* rogations
582 may be especially relevant in valleys and coastal areas where there are no other climatic
583 proxies. The exploration of historical documents from the main Cathedrals or municipal
584 city archives, the Actas Capitulares, yielded the different types and payments of the
585 rogation ceremonies that were performed in drought-stressed situations.

586 Despite general limitations, our results are comparable and in agreement with
587 other drought studies based on documentary sources describing the persistent drought
588 phase affecting the Mediterranean and the Ebro Valley areas in the second half of the
589 18th century (as found in Vicente-Serrano and Cuadrat, (2007) for Zaragoza). The results
590 for the second half of the 18th century also agree with the drought patterns previously
591 described for Catalonia (Barriendos, 1997, 1998; Martín-Vide and Barriendos, 1995).
592 Common drought periods were also found in 1650-1775 for Andalusia (Rodrigo et al.,
593 1999, 2000) and in 1725-1800 for Zamora (Domínguez-Castro et al., 2008). In general,
594 based on documentary sources from Mediterranean countries, the second half of the
595 18th century has the highest drought persistency and intensity, which may be because
596 there were more blocking situations in this period (Luterbacher et al. 2002, Vicente-
597 Serrano and Cuadrat, 2007). The period of 1740-1800 AD coincides with the so-called
598 ‘Maldá anomaly period’; a phase characterized by strong climatic variability, including
599 extreme drought and wet years (Barriendos and Llasat, 2003). The 18th century is the
600 most coherent period, including a succession of dry periods (1740-1755), extreme years
601 (1753, 1775 and 1798) and years with very low DIs, which we interpret as normal years.
602 Next, the period from 1814-1825 is noteworthy due to its prolonged drought. The causes
603 of this extreme phase are still unknown although Prohom et al. (2016) suggested that
604 there was a persistent situation of atmospheric blocking and high-pressure conditions
605 at the time.

606 Results are also in line with described hydroclimatic responses to volcanic
607 forcing. In the Ebro Valley and the Mediterranean area, rogation ceremonies were
608 significantly less frequent in the year of volcanic eruptions and for the following year.
609 Such patterns may be explained by the volcanic winter conditions, which are associated
610 with reductions in temperature over the Iberian Peninsula 1-3 years after the eruption
611 (Fischer et al., 2007; Raible et al., 2016). The lower temperature is experienced in spring
612 and summer after volcanic eruptions compared to spring and summer conditions of non-
613 volcanic years. This might be related to a reduction in evapotranspiration, which reduces
614 the risk of droughts. This reinforces the significance of volcanic events in large-scale
615 climate changes. Furthermore, a significant increase in the intensity of the droughts was
616 observed two years after the Tambora eruption in the three clusters (Fig.8) in agreement
617 with findings by Trigo et al., (2009). This result is similar to that of a previous study using
618 rogation ceremonies in the Iberian Peninsula, although it was based on individual and
619 not regional drought indices (Dominguez-Castro et al., 2010). In addition, the normal
620 conditions in the year of the Tambora eruption and the following year, and the increased
621 drought intensity two years after the event, are in agreement with recent findings on
622 hydroclimatic responses after volcanic eruptions (Fischer et al., 2007; Wegmann et al.,
623 2014; Rao et al., 2017; Gao and Gao 2017), although based on tree ring data only. In
624 addition, Gao and Gao, (2017) highlight the fact that high-latitude eruptions tend to
625 cause drier conditions in western-central Europe two years after the eruptions. Rao et
626 al., (2017) suggested that the forced hydroclimatic response was linked to a negative
627 phase of the East Atlantic Pattern (EAP), which causes anomalous spring uplift over the
628 western Mediterranean. This pattern was also found in our drought index for the

629 Tambora eruption (1815 AD), but no significant pattern was found in north-east Spain
630 for the other major (according to Sigl et al., 2015) volcanic eruptions. In particular, the
631 mountain areas show less vulnerability to drought compared to the other regions. This
632 is mainly due to the fact, that mountainous regions experience less evapotranspiration,
633 more snow accumulation and convective conditions that lead to a higher frequency of
634 thunderstorms during the summertime. Volcanic forcing, however, may differentially
635 modulate seasonal climate conditions by their influence on the North Atlantic Oscillation
636 and in the East Atlantic circulation patterns. This seasonal detail cannot be clarified in
637 our research due to the annual scale used to compute the drought indices.

638

639 **5. Conclusions**

640 We developed a new dataset of historical documents by compiling historical
641 records (rogation ceremonies) from 13 cities in the northeast of the Iberian Peninsula.
642 These records were transformed into semi-quantitative continuous data to develop
643 drought indices (DIs). We regionalized them by creating three DIs (Ebro Valley,
644 Mediterranean and Mountain) covering the period from 1650 to 1899 AD. The intensity
645 of the DI is given by the strength and magnitude of the rogation ceremony, and the
646 spatial extent of the DI is given by the cities where the rogations were held.

647 Our study highlights three considerations: i) the spatial and temporal resolution
648 of rogations should be taken into account, particularly when studying specific years,
649 since the use of *pro-pluviam* rogations gives information about drought periods and not
650 about rainfall in general. Accordingly, it must be stressed that the drought indices
651 developed here are not precipitation reconstructions; rather, they are high-resolution
652 extreme event reconstructions of droughts spells. The comparison of these results with
653 other continuous proxy records must be carried out with caution (Dominguez-Castro et
654 al., 2008), although here we found a very high and stable correlation with the
655 instrumental series for the overlapping period, which opens new lines of research. ii)
656 The validity of rogation ceremonies as a high-resolution climatic proxy to understand
657 past drought variability in the coastal and lowland regions of the north-eastern
658 Mediterranean Iberian Peninsula is clearly supported by our study. This is crucial,
659 considering that most of the high-resolution climatic reconstructions for the northern
660 Iberian Peninsula have been developed using tree-ring records collected from high-
661 elevation sites (>1,600 m a.s.l.) in the Pyrenees (Büntgen et al., 2008, 2017; Dorado-
662 Liñán et al., 2012) and the Iberian Range (Esper et al., 2015, Tejedor et al., 2016, 2017a,
663 2017b, 2017c), to deduce the climate of mountainous areas. iii) Particularly in the
664 Mediterranean and in the Ebro Valley areas, significant imprints of volcanic eruptions
665 are found in the drought indices derived from the rogation ceremonies. These results
666 suggest that DI is a good proxy to identify years with extreme climate conditions in the
667 past at low elevation sites.

668 In addition, recent studies have emphasized the great precipitation (González-
669 Hidalgo, et al., 2011; Serrano-Notivoli et al., 2017) and temperature variabilities
670 (González-Hidalgo, et al., 2015) within reduced spaces, including those with a large

671 altitudinal gradient, such as our study area. Finally, the historical data from rogations
672 covers a gap within the instrumental measurement record of Spain (i.e., which starts in
673 the 20th century). Hence, rogation data are key to understanding the full range of past
674 climate characteristics (in lowlands and coastal areas), in order to accurately
675 contextualize current climate change. We encourage the use of further studies to better
676 understand past droughts and their influence on societies and ecosystems; learning
677 from the past can help to adapt to future scenarios, especially because climate variability
678 is predicted to increase in the same regions where it has historically explained most of
679 the variability in crop yields.

680

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683

684 **Author contributions.**

685 E.T., and J.M.C. conceived the study. J.M.C. and M.B. provided the data. E.T. and M.d.L.
686 conducted the data analysis, and E.T. wrote the paper with suggestions of all the
687 authors. All authors discussed the results and implications and commented on the
688 manuscript at all stages.

689

690 **Competing interests.**

691 The authors declare no competing interests.

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695 **Data availability.**

696 The datasets generated during and/or analysed during the current study are available
697 from the corresponding author on reasonable request.

698

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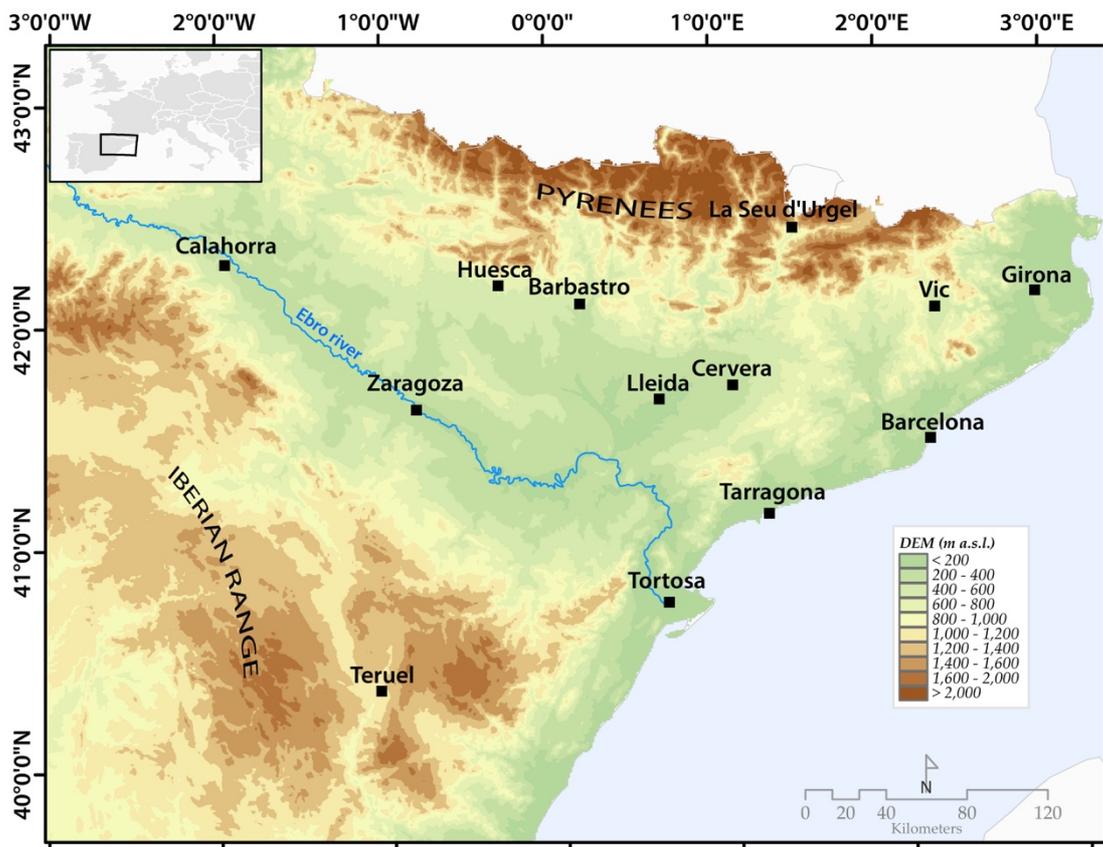
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965 Figure 1. Location of the historical documents in the northeast of Spain.

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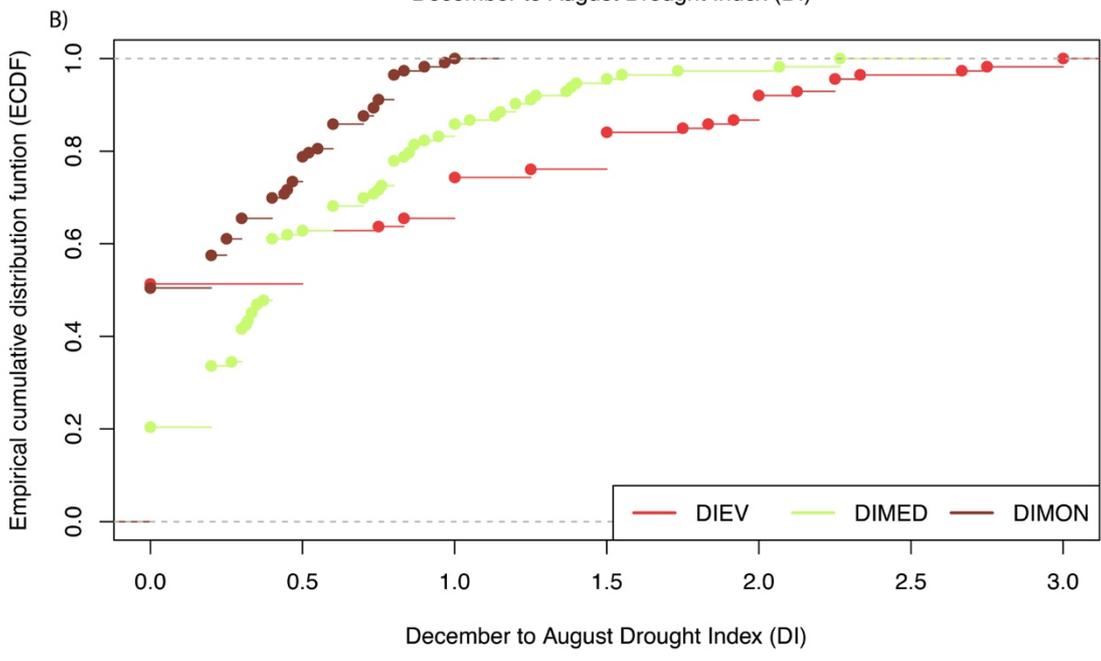
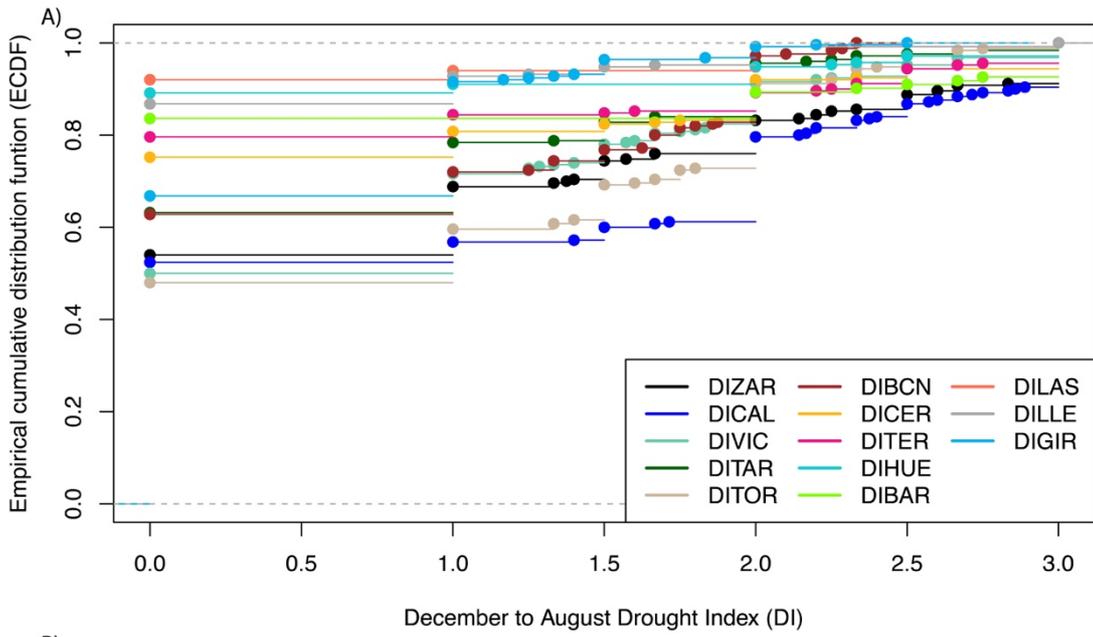
	Site	Latitude (degrees)	Longitude (degrees)	Altitude (m.a.s.l.)	Start (Years AD)	End	Extension (years)
969							
970	<i>Zaragoza</i>	41.64	-0.89	220	1589	1945	356
971	<i>Teruel</i>	40.34	-1.1	915	1609	1925	316
	<i>Barbastro</i>	42.03	0.12	328	1646	1925	279
972	<i>Calahorra</i>	42.3	-1.96	350	1624	1900	276
973	<i>Huesca</i>	42.13	-0.4	457	1557	1860	303
974	<i>Girona</i>	42.04	2.93	76	1438	1899	461
975	<i>Barcelona</i>	41.38	2.17	9	1521	1899	378
	<i>Tarragona</i>	41.11	1.24	31	1650	1874	224
976	<i>Tortosa</i>	40.81	0.52	14	1565	1899	334
977	<i>LaSeu</i>	42.35	1.45	695	1539	1850	311
978	<i>Vic</i>	41.92	2.25	487	1570	1899	329
979	<i>Cervera</i>	41.67	1.27	548	1484	1850	366
	<i>Lleida</i>	41.61	0.62	178	1650	1770	120
980							

981 Table 1. Historical document characteristics in the northeast of Spain.

982

984	Teruel
985	• Chapter Acts of the Holy Church and Cathedral of Teruel, 1604-1928, 28 vols.
986	Barbastro
987	• Cathedral Archive of Barbastro 'Libro de Gestis', Barbastro (Huesca), 1598-1925, 23 vols.
988	Barcelona
989	• City Council Historical Archive of Barcelona (AHMB), "Manual de Novells Ardits" o "Dietari de l'Antic Consell Barceloni", 49 vols.,
990	1390-1839.
991	• City Council Historical Archive of Barcelona (AHMB), "Acords", 146 vols., 1714-1839.
992	• City Council Administrative Archive of Barcelona (AACB), "Actes del Ple", 100 vols., 1840-1900.
993	• Chapter Acts of the Cathedral Historical Archive of Barcelona (ACCB), "Exemplaria", 6 vols., 1536-1814.
994	• More than 20 private and institutional dietaries.
995	Calahorra
996	• Chapter Acts of the Cathedral Historical Archive of Calahorra (La Rioja), 1451-1913, 35 vols.
997	• Archives of Convento de Santo Domingo 1782–1797. First volume. 158 pages.
998	Cervera
999	• Regional Historical Archive of Cervera (AHCC), Comunitat de preveres, "Consells", 12 vols., 1460-1899.
1000	• Regional Historical Archive of Cervera (AHCC), "Llibre Verd del Racional", 1 vol., 1448-1637.
1001	• Regional Historical Archive of Cervera (AHCC), "Llibres de Consells", 212 vols., 1500-1850.
1002	Gerona
1003	• City Council Historical Archive of Girona (AHMG), "Manuals d'Acords", 409 vols., 1421-1850.
1004	Huesca
1005	• Chapter Acts of the Cathedral Historical Archive of Huesca, 1557-1860, 15 vols.
1006	La Seu d'Urgell
1007	• City Council Historical Archive of La Seu d'Urgell (AHMSU), "Llibres de consells i resolucions", 47 vols., 1434-1936.
1008	Lleida
1009	• National Library of Madrid (BNM), Manuscript 18496, "Llibre de Notes Assenyalades de la Ciutat de Lleida", 1 vol.
1010	• Chapter Acts of the Cathedral Historical Archive of Lleida (ACL), "Actes Capitulars", 109 vols., 1445-1923.
1011	Tarragona
1012	• City Council Historical Archive of Tarragona (AHMT), "Llibres d'Acords", 92 vols., 1800-1874.
1013	• Departmental Historical Archive of Tarragona (AHPT), "Liber Consiliorum", 286 vols., 1358-1799.
1014	• Regional Historical Archive of Reus (AHCR), "Actes Municipals", 10 vols., 1493-1618.
1015	• Regional Historical Archive of Reus (AHCR), Comunitat de Preveres de Sant Pere, "Llibre de resolucions", 2 vols., 1450-1617.
1016	Tortosa
1017	• City Council Historical Archive of Tortosa (AHMTO), "Llibres de provisions i acords municipals", 119 vols., 1348-1855.
1018	• Chapter Acts of the Cathedral Historical Archive of Tortosa (ACCTO), "Actes Capitulars", 217 vols., 1566-1853.
1019	Vic
1020	• Chapter Acts of the Cathedral Historical Archive of Vic (AEV, ACCV), "Liber porterii", 10 vols., 1392-1585.
1021	• Chapter Acts of the Cathedral Historical Archive of Vic (AEV, ACCV), "Secretariae Liber", 30 vols., 1586-1909.
1022	• City Council Historical Archive of Vic (AHMV), "Indice de los Acuerdos de la Ciudad de Vich des del año 1424", 2 vols., 1424-1833.
1023	• City Council Historical Archive of Vic (AHMV), "Llibre d'Acords", 49 vols., 1424-1837.
1024	Zaragoza
1025	• Chapter Acts of the Cathedral Historical Archive 'Libro de Actas del Archivo de la Basílica del Pilar', 1516–1668, 17 vols. 2.600
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1030 Table 2. Documentary references for administrative public documentary sources used
 1031 for rogation monthly indices (all documents are generated and initialed by public
 1032 notaries). Noted that only the official documents are shown. Each documentary record
 1033 is given reliability load with the public notary rubric that acts like secretary. This
 1034 procedure is currently still in force for the same type of document, which is still
 1035 generated at present time.



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1038 Figure 2. The empirical cumulative distribution function (ECDF), used to describe a
 1039 sample of observations of a given variable. Its value at a given point is equal to the
 1040 proportion of observations from the sample that are less than or equal to that point.
 1041 ECDF performed for the local drought indices (A) and the regional drought indices (B).

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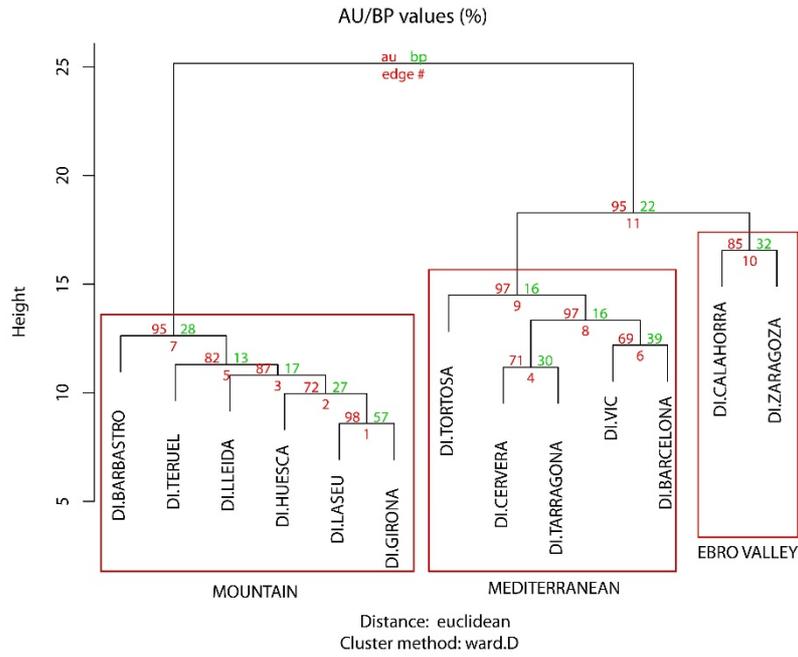
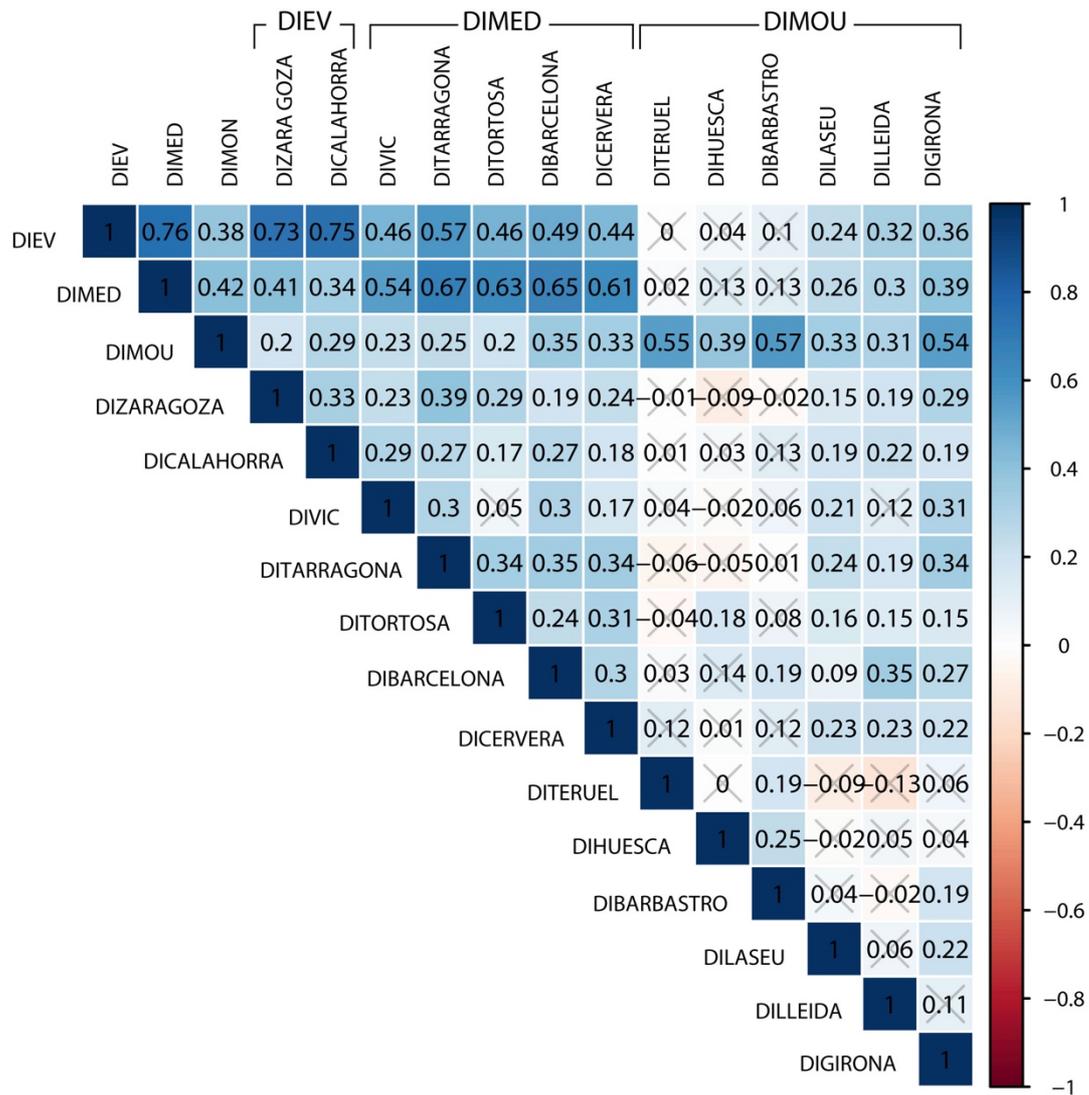


Figure 3. Dendrogram showing the hierarchical cluster analysis of the drought indices developed from the historical documents for each location. The AU (approximately unbiased *p-value*) is indicated in red and the BP (bootstrap probability) is presented in green.



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1065 Figure 4. Correlation matrix (Spearman) between the individual drought indices and the
 1066 cluster drought indices for the period of 1650-1899. Values are significant at $p < 0.05$,
 1067 except those marked with a gray cross, which are not significant.

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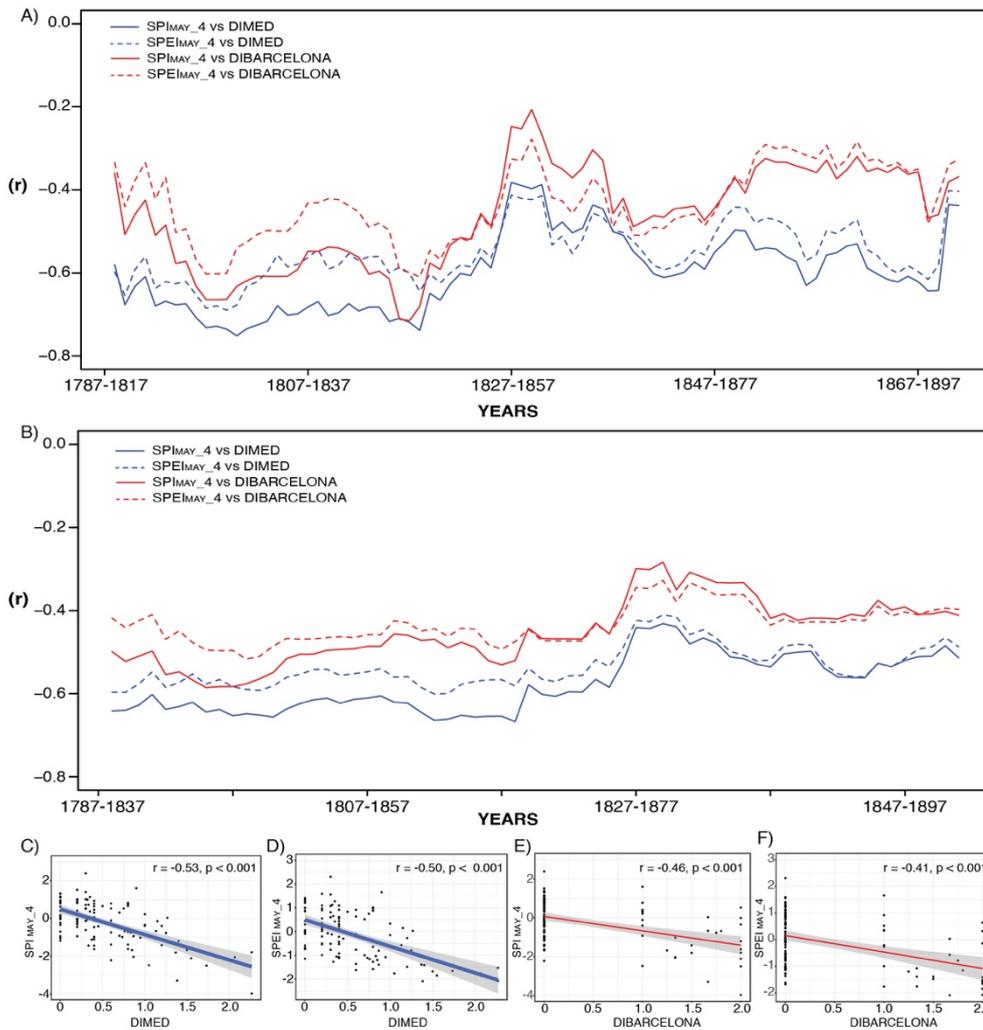
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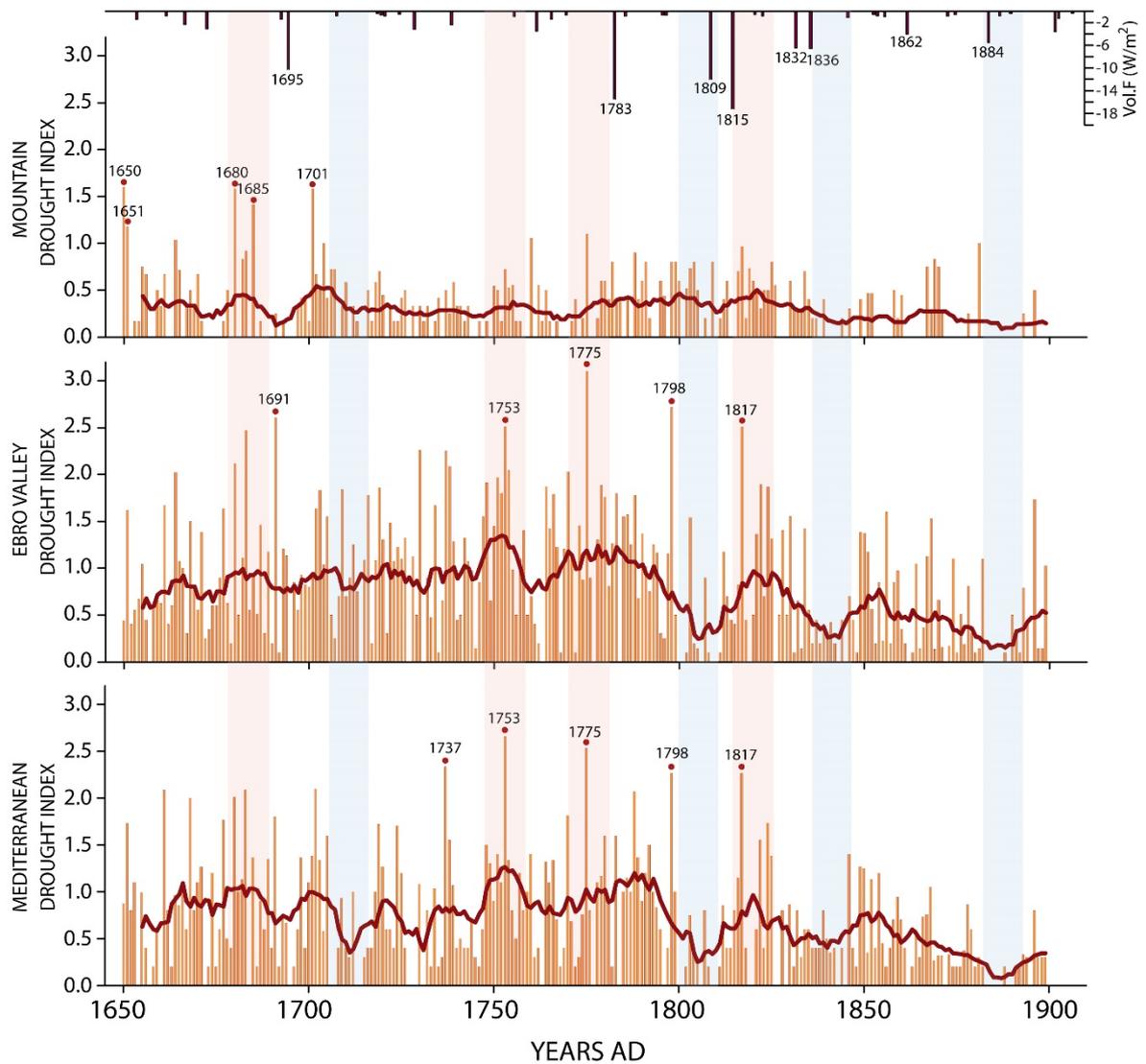
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1077 Figure 5. A) 30y moving correlation between DIMED, DIBARCELONA and the
 1078 instrumental computed SPI and SPEI. B) Same but 50y moving correlations. C)
 1079 Correlation (Spearman) between DIMED and SPI_{MAY_4} for the full period (1787-1899).
 1080 D) Correlation between DIMED and SPEI_{MAY_4} for the full period (1787-1899). E)
 1081 Correlation between DIBARCELONA and SPI_{MAY_4} for the full period (1787-1899). F)
 1082 Correlation between DIBARCELONA and SPEI_{MAY_4} for the full period (1787-1899).

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1087 Figure 6. Drought indices of the three clusters, DIMOU (Mountain), DIEV (Ebro Valley)
 1088 and DIMED (Mediterranean). Vertical orange bars represent the drought index
 1089 magnitude, 0 denotes normal conditions, and 3 denotes an extreme drought year. The
 1090 extreme drought index years are also highlighted with a red circle. Extreme volcanic
 1091 events from Sigl et al., 2015, are shown in the top panel. Vertical pink shadows indicate
 1092 extreme common (for all three clusters) drought periods, while blue shadows indicate
 1093 common periods with fewer droughts.

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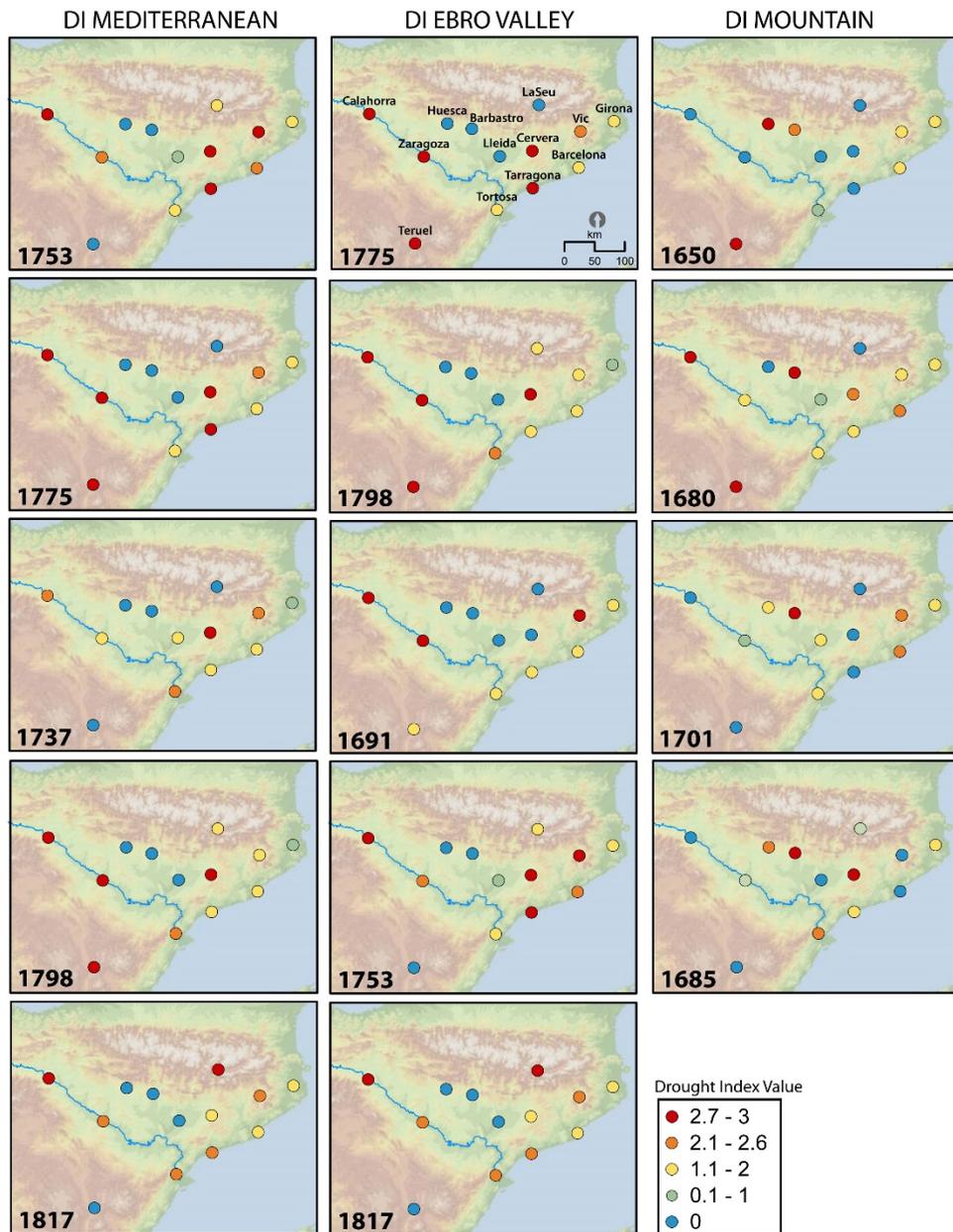
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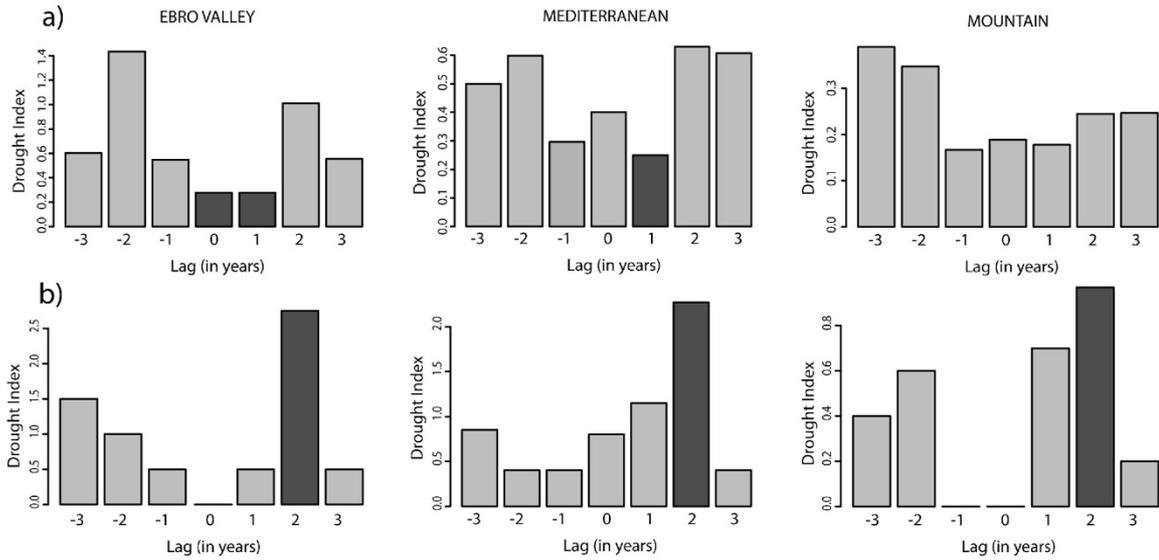
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1101 Figure 7. Spatial distribution of the most extreme drought years (based on the 99th
 1102 percentile of the cluster drought indices). The distribution is ordered top-down. The
 1103 drought index value (magnitude) for each site within the cluster is also represented.
 1104 The legend of the drought index value is based on the 30th, 60th, 70th and 90th
 1105 percentiles.

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1108 Figure 8. a) Superposed epoch analysis (SEA) of the three regional drought indices,
 1109 DIMOU (Mountain), DIEV (Ebro Valley) and DIMED (Mediterranean), with major volcanic
 1110 events from Sigl et al., 2015. Black shadows show significance at $p < 0.01$, i.e., significantly
 1111 lower or higher drought index values after the volcanic event. b) SEA of only the
 1112 Tambora (1815) event showing a significant ($p < 0.01$) increase in the drought index.

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Level	Type of ceremony
0	No ceremonies
1	Petition within the church
2	Masses and processions with the intercessor within the church
3	Pilgrimage to the intercessor of other sanctuary or church

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Table 3. Rogation levels according to the type of ceremony celebrated.

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