



1 **Rogation ceremonies: key to understand past drought variability**  
2 **in northeastern Spain since 1650**

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13

14 **ABSTRACT**

15 In the northeast of the Iberian Peninsula, drought recurrence, intensity, persistence and  
16 spatial variability have been mainly studied by using instrumental data covering the past  
17 ca. 60 years. Fewer studies have reconstructed drought occurrence and variability for  
18 the preinstrumental period using documentary evidence and natural proxies. In this  
19 study, we compiled a unique dataset of rogation ceremonies, religious acts to ask god  
20 for rain, from 13 cities in the northeast of Spain and investigated the annual drought  
21 variability from 1650 to 1899 AD. We converted the qualitative information into three  
22 regionally different coherent areas (Mediterranean, Ebro Valley and Mountain) with  
23 quantitative, annually resolved (December to August) drought indices according to the  
24 type of religious act. We found common periods with prolonged droughts (during the  
25 mid and late 18<sup>th</sup> century) and extreme drought years (1775, 1798, 1753, 1691 and 1817)  
26 associated with more blocking situations. A superposed epoch analysis (SEA) was  
27 performed to test the regional hydroclimatic responses after major tropical volcanic  
28 eruptions. The SEA shows a significant decrease in drought events one year after the  
29 volcanic events, which might be explained by the decrease in evapotranspiration due to  
30 decreases in surface temperatures and, consequently, the higher water availability that  
31 increases soil moisture. In addition, we discovered a common and significant drought  
32 response two years after the Tambora volcanic eruption in the three regional drought  
33 indices. Documented information on rogations thus contains important independent  
34 information to reconstruct extreme drought events for specific seasons in areas and  
35 periods for which instrumental information and other proxies are scarce.

36

37 **1. Introduction**

38 Water availability is one of the most critical factors for human activities, human  
39 wellbeing and the sustainability of natural ecosystems. Drought is an expression of a  
40 precipitation deficit, which is often longer than a season, a year or even a decade.



41 Drought leads to water shortages associated with adverse impacts on natural systems  
42 and socioeconomic activities, such as reductions in streamflow, crop failures, forest  
43 decay or restrictions on urban and irrigation water supplies (Eslamian and Eslamian,  
44 2017). Droughts represent a regular, recurrent process that occurs in almost all climate  
45 zones. In the Mediterranean region, the impacts of climate change on water resources  
46 are of significant concern (García-Ruíz et al., 2001). Spain is one of the European  
47 countries with a large risk of drought caused by high temporal and spatial variability in  
48 the distribution of the precipitation (Vicente-Serrano et al., 2014; Serrano-Notivol et al.,  
49 2017). Several recent Iberian droughts and their impacts on society and the environment  
50 have been documented in the scientific literature (e.g., Dominguez Castro et al., 2012;  
51 Trigo et al. 2013; Vicente-Serrano et al. 2014; Russo et al. 2015; Turco et al. 2017). For  
52 instance, during the period from 1990 to 1995, almost 12 million people suffered from  
53 water scarcity, the loss in agricultural production was an estimated 1 billion Euro,  
54 hydroelectric production dropped by 14.5 % and 63% of southern Spain was affected by  
55 fires (Dominguez Castro et al., 2012). One of the most recent droughts in Spain lasted  
56 from 2004 to 2005 (García-Herrera et al., 2007) and was associated with major  
57 socioeconomic impacts (hydroelectricity and cereal production decreased to 40% and  
58 60%, respectively, of the average value).

59 In the Iberian Peninsula, natural archives including tree-ring chronologies, lake  
60 sediments and speleothems have been used to infer drought variability before the  
61 instrumental period (Esper et al., 2015; Tejedor et al., 2016, 2017c; Benito et al., 2003,  
62 2008; Pauling et al. 2006; Brewer et al., 2008; Carro-Calvo et al., 2013, Abrantes et al.,  
63 2017). Nevertheless, most of the highly temporally resolved natural proxy-based  
64 reconstructions represent high-elevation conditions during specific periods of the year  
65 (mainly summer e.g., Tejedor et al., 2017c). Spain has a high amount of documentary-  
66 based data with a good degree of continuity and homogeneity for many areas, which  
67 allows the derivation of important paleo climate information at different timescales and  
68 for various territories. Garcia-Herrera et al. (2003) describe the main archives and  
69 discuss the techniques and strategies used to derive climate-relevant information from  
70 documentary records. Past drought and precipitation patterns have been inferred by  
71 exploring mainly rogation ceremonies and historical records from Catalonia (Martin-  
72 Vide and Barriendos 1995; Barriendos, 1997; Barriendos and Llasat, 2003; Trigo et al.  
73 2009), Zaragoza (Vicente-Serrano and Cuadrat, 2007), Andalusia (Rodrigo et al., 1998;  
74 2000), central Spain (Domínguez-Castro et al., 2008; 2012; 2014; 2016) and Portugal  
75 (Alcoforado et al. 2000). In northeastern Spain, the most important cities were located  
76 on the riversides of the Ebro Valley, which were surrounded by large cropland areas (Fig.  
77 1). Bad wheat and barley harvests triggered socio-economic impacts, including the  
78 impoverishment or malnutrition of families, the severe alteration of the market  
79 economy, social and political conflicts, marginality, loss of population due to emigration  
80 and starvation and diseases and epidemics, such as those caused by pests (Tejedor,  
81 2017a). Recent studies have related precipitation/drought variability in regions of Spain  
82 to wheat yield variability (Ray et al., 2015; Esper et al. 2017). The extent of impacts  
83 caused by droughts depends on the socio-environmental vulnerability of an area. This is



84 related to the nature and magnitude of the drought and the social structure of societies,  
85 such as agricultural-based societies including trades (Scandlyn et al., 2010; Esper et al.  
86 2017). During the past few centuries, Spanish society has been strongly influenced by  
87 the Catholic Church. Parishioners firmly believe in the will of God and the church to  
88 provide them with better harvests. They asked God to stop or provoke rain through  
89 rogations, a process created by bishop Mamertus in AD 469 (Fierro, 1991). The key factor  
90 in evaluating rogation ceremonies for paleo climate research is determining the severity  
91 and duration of adverse climatic phenomena based on the type of liturgical act that was  
92 organized after the deliberation and decision-making of local city councils (Barriendos,  
93 2005). Rogations are solemn petitions by believers to ask God specific requests  
94 (Barriendos 1996, 1997). *Pro pluviam* rogations were conducted to ask for precipitation  
95 during a drought, and they therefore provide an indication of drought episodes and  
96 clearly identify climatic anomalies and the duration and severity of the event (Martín-  
97 Vide & Barriendos, 1995; Barriendos, 2005). In contrast, *pro serenitate* rogations were  
98 requests for precipitation to end during periods of excessive or persistent precipitation,  
99 which caused crop failures and floods. In the Mediterranean basin, the loss of crops  
100 triggered important socio-economic consequences and was related to insufficient  
101 rainfall. Rogations were an institutional mechanism to address social stress in response  
102 to climatic anomalies or meteorological extremes (e.g. Barriendos, 2005). The municipal  
103 and ecclesiastical authorities involved in the rogation process guaranteed the reliability  
104 of the ceremony and maintained a continuous documentary record of all rogations. The  
105 duration and severity of natural phenomena that stressed society can be reflected by  
106 the different levels of liturgical ceremonies that were applied (e.g. Martín-Vide and  
107 Barriendos, 1995; Barriendos, 1997; 2005). Through these studies, we learned that the  
108 present heterogeneity of drought patterns in Spain also occurred in the past few  
109 centuries, in terms of the spatial differences (Martín-Vide, 2001, Vicente-Serrano  
110 2006b), severity and duration of the events (Pérez-Cueva and Escrivá, 1982). However,  
111 a compilation of the main historical document datasets that have been compiled over  
112 the past several years is lacking, impeding the creation of a continuous record of drought  
113 recurrences and intensities in the northeast of the Iberian Peninsula.

114 Here we compiled 13 series of historical documentary information of the *pro*  
115 *pluviam* rogation data from the Ebro Valley and the Mediterranean Coast of Catalonia  
116 (Fig. 1) from 1500 to 1945 (Tab. 1). We restricted our analysis to the period of 1650-  
117 1899 AD, as before and after this period, there are gaps in the documents. Regarding  
118 the location of the cities, they cover a wide range spanning from Barcelona, which is  
119 near the sea (9 m a.s.l.), and Teruel (915 m a.s.l.) (Fig 1). Although some periods have  
120 already been analyzed for certain cities (i.e., Zaragoza in 1600-1900 AD by Vicente-  
121 Serrano and Cuadrat, 2007; Zaragoza, Calahorra, Teruel, Vic, Cervera Girona, Barcelona,  
122 Tarragona and Tortosa in 1750-1850 AD by Dominguez-Castro et al., 2012; La Seu  
123 d'Urgell, Girona, Barcelona, Tarragona, Tortosa and Cervera in 1760-1800 AD by  
124 Barriendos and Llasat, 2003), this is the first systematic approach analyzing all existing  
125 information for northeastern Spain, including new unpublished data for Huesca (1557-  
126 1860 AD) and Barbastro (1646-1925 AD) and examining the 13 sites jointly for a period



127 of 250 years (1650-1899 AD). We analyzed droughts across the sites and identify  
128 extreme drought years and common periods in frequency and intensity. We also analyze  
129 statistical links between drought indices and major tropical volcanic events in order to  
130 determine the effects of strong eruptions on regional drought.

131

## 132 **2. Methods**

### 133 **2.1. Study area**

134 The study area comprises the northeastern part of Spain, with an area of  
135 approximately 100,000 km<sup>2</sup>, and includes three geological formations, the Pyrenees in  
136 the north, the Iberian Range in the south, and the large depression of the Ebro Valley  
137 that separates them (Fig. 1). The Ebro Valley has an average altitude of 200 m a.s.l. The  
138 Ebro Valley climate can be characterized as a Mediterranean type climate, with warm  
139 summers, cold winters and increasing continental characteristics with distance from the  
140 coast (Köppen, 1936). Some geographic aspects determine its climatic characteristics;  
141 for example, several mountainous chains isolate the valley from moist winds, preventing  
142 precipitation. Thus, in the central areas of the valley, annual precipitation is low  
143 (Cuadrat, 1999; Creus & Ferraz, 1995), with small monthly variations and an annual  
144 precipitation in the central Ebro Valley of approximately 322 mm (AEMET, 2012). In both  
145 the Pyrenees and the Iberian Range, the main climatic characteristic are related to a  
146 transition from oceanic/continental to Mediterranean conditions in the East. In addition,  
147 a gradually higher aridity towards the east and the south is caused by the barrier effect  
148 of the most frequent humid air masses (Vicente-Serrano, 2005; López-Moreno &  
149 Vicente-Serrano, 2007). Areas above 2000 m a.s.l. receive approximately 2,000 mm of  
150 precipitation annually, increasing to 2,500 mm of precipitation in the highest peaks of  
151 the mountain range (García-Ruiz, et al., 2001). The annual precipitation in the  
152 Mediterranean coast is higher than that in the middle Ebro Valley and ranges from  
153 approximately 500 mm in Tortosa to 720 mm in Gerona (Serrano-Notivoli et al., 2017).

### 154 **2.2. From historical documents to climate: Development of drought index** 155 **for each location in NE Spain from 1650 to 1899 AD**

156 Historical documents from 13 cities in the northeast of Spain were compiled into a  
157 novel dataset by using a consistent approach (Fig. 1, Tab. 1). These historical documents  
158 are the rogation ceremonies reported in the 'Actas Capitulares' of the municipal archives  
159 or main cathedrals. Rogations not only were religious acts but also were supported by  
160 the participation of several institutions; agricultural organizations and municipal and  
161 ecclesiastical authorities analyzed the situation and deliberated before deciding to hold  
162 a rogation ceremony (Vicente-Serrano and Cuadrat, 2007). Usually, the agricultural  
163 organizations would request rogations when they observed a drop in rainfall, which  
164 could result in weak crop development. Then, municipal authorities would recognize the  
165 setback and discuss the advisability of holding a rogation ceremony. Whether a rogation  
166 was celebrated or not was not arbitrary, since rogations had a price paid by public  
167 coffers. When the municipal authorities decided to hold a rogation, the order was



168 communicated to the religious authorities, who placed the rogation on the calendar of  
169 religious celebrations and organized and announced the rogation. Previous studies have  
170 reported that winter precipitation is key for the final crop production in dry-farming  
171 areas of the Ebro Valley (wheat and barley; Austin et al., 1998a, 1998b; McAneney and  
172 Arrué, 1993; Vicente-Serrano and Cuadrat, 2007). In addition to winter rogations, most  
173 of the rogations were held during the vegetation growth period (March-May) and  
174 harvest period (June-August), since the socio-economic consequences when the harvest  
175 was poor were more evident during these periods. Thus, it is reasonable to consider  
176 those rogations in an index from December to August.

177 The qualitative information contained conveyed by the rogations was transformed  
178 into a quantitative continuous monthly series following the methodology of the  
179 Millennium Project (European Commission, IP 017008-Domínguez-Castro et al., 2012).  
180 Only *pro pluviam* rogations were included in this study. According to the intensity of the  
181 religious act, we categorized the events in 4 levels from low to high intensity: 0, there is  
182 no evidence of any kind of ceremony; 1, a simple petition within the church was held; 2,  
183 intercessors were exposed within the church; and 3, a procession or pilgrimage took  
184 place in the public itineraries, the most extreme type of rogation (see Tab. 2). Although  
185 rogations have appeared in historical documents since the late 15<sup>th</sup> century and were  
186 reported up to the mid 20<sup>th</sup> century, we restricted the common period to 1650-1899 AD,  
187 since there are a substantial number of data gaps before and after this period. A  
188 continuous drought index (DI) was developed for each site by grouping the rogations at  
189 various levels. A simple approach, similar to that of Martín-Vide and Barriendos (1995)  
190 and Vicente-Serrano and Cuadrat (2007), was performed. The annual DI values were  
191 obtained by determining the weighted average of the number of level 1, 2 and 3  
192 rogations recorded between December and August in each city. The weights of levels 1,  
193 2 and 3 were 1, 2, and 3, respectively. Accordingly, the drought index for each city is a  
194 continuous quantitative value from 0, indicating the absence of drought, to a maximum  
195 of 3.

### 196 **2.3. Clustering station drought to regional drought indices from 1650 to** 197 **1899 AD**

198 To develop regional drought indices, we performed a cluster analysis (CA) that  
199 separates data into groups (clusters) with minimum variability within each cluster and  
200 maximum variability between clusters. The main benefit of performing a cluster analysis  
201 (CA) is that it allows similar data to be grouped together, which helps in the identification  
202 of common patterns between data elements. To assess the uncertainty in hierarchical  
203 cluster analysis, the R package ‘pvclust’ (Suzuki and Shimodaira, 2006) was used. For  
204 each cluster in hierarchical clustering, quantities called *p-values* are calculated via  
205 multiscale bootstrap resampling (1000 times). The *p-value* of a cluster is a value between  
206 0 and 1, which indicates how strongly the cluster is supported by the data. The package  
207 ‘pvclust’ provides two types of *p-values*: AU (approximately unbiased *p-value*) and BP  
208 (bootstrap probability) *value*. AU *p-value* is computed by multiscale bootstrap  
209 resampling and is a better approximation of an unbiased *p-value* than the BP value



210 computed by normal bootstrap resampling. The frequency of the sites falling into their  
211 original cluster is counted at different scales, and then the *p-values* are obtained by  
212 analyzing the frequency trends. Clusters with high AU values, such as those >0.95, are  
213 strongly supported by the data (Suzuki and Shimodaira, 2006). Therefore, in this study,  
214 sites belonging to the same group were merged by means of an arithmetical average  
215 (Eq.1).

$$216 \quad \text{Eq.1 Regional Drought Index } (\bar{x}) = (x_1 + x_2 + x_3 \dots)/n$$

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

#### 221 **2.4. Detecting extreme drought years and periods in the northeast of Spain** 222 **between 1650-1899 AD and links to large-scale volcanic forcing**

223 To identify the extreme drought years, we selected those years above the 99<sup>th</sup>  
224 percentile of each regional drought index and mapped them in order to find common  
225 spatial patterns. In addition, the 11-year running mean performed for each drought  
226 index helped highlight drought periods within and among the drought indices. Finally,  
227 since rogation ceremonies are a response of the population to an extreme event, we  
228 performed a superposed epoch analysis (SEA; Panofsky and Brier, 1958) of the three  
229 years before and after the volcanic event, using the package 'dplr' (Bunn, 2008) to  
230 identify possible effects on the hydroclimatic cycle caused by volcanic eruptions. The  
231 largest (Sigl et al., 2015) volcanic eruptive episodes chosen for the analysis were 1815,  
232 1783, 1809, 1695, 1836, 1832, 1884 and 1862. In addition, we performed the SEA only  
233 with the largest eruption of this period, the Tambora eruption in the year 1815.

234

### 235 **3. Results**

#### 236 **3.1. From historical documents to climate: Development of drought index for** 237 **each location in NE Spain from 1650 to 1899 AD**

238 The series presented here contain data describing the specific types of rogation  
239 ceremonies in each year, and we used the absence of rogations within each series to  
240 identify years in which no rogation ceremonies were performed, i.e., years without  
241 drought. According to the diverse types of religious acts, which were homogeneously  
242 performed throughout the Catholic territories and triggered by droughts, we developed  
243 an annual drought index (DI, including the previous December to the current August) for  
244 each location over the period of 1650-1899 AD. The annual drought index was  
245 developed based on monthly values ranging from 0 (absence of rogations), which we  
246 interpreted as a year without droughts, to 3, which we interpreted as a year with severe  
247 and long-lasting drought, especially during the growing season of cereals (spring and  
248 summer, see Tab.2). Performing a weighted average of the monthly data (see methods),  
249 we converted the ordinal data into continuous quantitative index data. As a result, we



250 developed an annual drought index (from the previous December to the current August)  
251 for each of the 13 locations that contains continuous values from 0 to 3 collected from  
252 information on the annual mean extreme droughts of each year. To study drought across  
253 the region, we performed a cluster analysis including the annual drought indices of the  
254 13 cities. These data were then used to study the hydrological responses after strong  
255 tropical eruptions.

### 256 **3.2. Clustering station drought to regional drought indices from 1650 to 1899** 257 **AD**

258 The cluster analysis (CA, see methods) using the DI of the 13 locations for the  
259 period of 1650-1899 AD revealed three significantly coherent areas, hereafter known as  
260 Mountain, Mediterranean and Ebro Valley (Fig. 2). The first cluster includes cities that  
261 are similar in altitude (Teruel, La Seu) and similar in latitude (Barbastro, Lleida, Huesca,  
262 Girona, see Fig. 1). The cities within the second and third clusters are near the Ebro River  
263 (Calahorra, Zaragoza and Tortosa) or have similar climatic conditions (Cervera, Vic,  
264 Barcelona, Tarragona). Clusters two and three suggest (Fig. 2) that the coherence of the  
265 grouping can be explained by the influence and proximity of the Mediterranean Sea  
266 (Tortosa, Cervera, Tarragona, Vic and Barcelona) and the influence of a more continental  
267 climate (Zaragoza and Calahorra). Accordingly, three new drought indices were  
268 developed by combining the individual DIs of each group; DI Mountain (DIMOU),  
269 composed of Barbastro, Teruel, Lleida, La Seu, and Gerona; DI Mediterranean (DIMED),  
270 composed of Tortosa, Cervera, Tarragona, Vic and Barcelona, and DI Ebro Valley (DIEV),  
271 composed of Zaragoza and Calahorra. The spearman correlation matrix (see Methods)  
272 for the period of 1650-1899 AD confirms the high and significant ( $p < 0.05$ ) correlations  
273 between each individual DI and its corresponding group, asserting the validity of the  
274 new DI groups (Fig. 3). The correlations among the cluster drought indices range from  
275 0.76 (between DIEV and DIMED) to  $r = 0.38$  (between DIEV and DIMOU) and  $r = 0.42$   
276 (between DIMED and DIMOU). In DIEV, both of the local DIs show similar correlations  
277 (Zaragoza,  $r = 0.73$ ; Calahorra,  $r = 0.75$ ). In the DIMED cluster, the high correlations among  
278 the members show a strong coherency. DIMOU is the most heterogeneous cluster, with  
279 correlations of  $r = 0.57$  for Barbastro and  $r = 0.33$  for La Seu. Although each individual DI  
280 within this group and within the DIMOU shows significant correlation, when individual  
281 DIs are compared between each other, some correlation values are not significant  
282 ( $p < 0.05$ ). The next step (iii) will address the selection of extreme drought years and  
283 periods within the 250 years from 1650-1899 AD using information from the cluster  
284 analysis.

### 285 **3.3. Detecting extreme drought years and periods in the northeast of Spain** 286 **between 1650-1899 AD and links to large-scale volcanic forcing**

287 According to the cluster grouping, the three new spatially averaged drought  
288 indices (DIEV, DIMED and DIMOU) are presented in Fig. 4. Mountain DI (DIMOU) had the  
289 least number of drought events and a maximum DI of 1.6 in 1650 AD. The Ebro Valley DI  
290 (DIEV) had the highest number of droughts (inferred by the highest number of positive  
291 index values) followed by the third region (Mediterranean, DI DIMED). The 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup>



292 centuries exhibited a relatively high number of strong droughts (Fig. 4). A drought  
293 period, as indicated by the high positive index values over the duration of the DIs in all  
294 three series, occurred from 1740 to 1755 AD. The lowest DIs were found at the end of  
295 the 19<sup>th</sup> century; thus, this period experienced a reduced drought frequency. The 11-  
296 year running mean shows common periods with low DI values, such as 1706-1717, 1800-  
297 1811, 1835-1846 and 1881-1892, which we infer to be ‘normal’ or without droughts. On  
298 the other hand, 1678-1689, 1745-1756, 1770-1781, and 1814-1825 are periods with  
299 continuously high DIs, indicating that significant droughts affected the crops during  
300 these periods and intense rogation performances were needed.

301 In the Ebro Valley, the most extreme years (Fig. 4) (according to the 99%  
302 percentile of the years 1650-1899) were 1775 (drought index value of 2.8), 1798 (2.7),  
303 1691 (2.6), 1753 (2.5) and 1817 (2.5). Most of these extreme drought years can also be  
304 found in the Mediterranean DI 1753 (2.6), 1775 (2.5), 1737 (2.3), 1798 (2.2) and 1817  
305 (2.2). For the DI Mountain, the extreme drought years occurred in the 17<sup>th</sup> century: 1650  
306 (1.6), 1680 (1.5), 1701 (1.5) and 1685 (1.4). These extreme drought years are spatially  
307 displayed in Fig. 5. In the years 1775 and 1798, the Ebro Valley, Mediterranean and some  
308 mountain cites suffered from severe droughts. It is notable that the year 1650 in the  
309 Mountain area presented high values of DI, while the other locations had very low DI  
310 values (DIEV=0.4; DIMED=0.8).

311 We performed a superposed epoch analysis (SEA, see methods) to study the  
312 drought response over NE Iberia to major volcanic eruptions (according to Sigl et al.,  
313 2015) (Fig. 6a). The figure shows significant decreases ( $p < 0.05$ ) in the Ebro Valley and  
314 Mediterranean DI values during the year of and one year after volcanic events. We did  
315 not find a post-volcanic drought response in the Mountain area. No significant response  
316 was found for any of the DIs two or three years after the volcanic eruptions, including  
317 the major volcanic eruptions. However, two years after the Tambora eruption in April  
318 1815, there was a significant ( $p < 0.05$ ) increase in the three drought indices (DIEV, DIMED  
319 and DIMOU) (Fig. 6b), in agreement with findings of Trigo et al. (2009).

320

#### 321 4. Discussion

322 The exploration of historical documents from the main Cathedrals or the  
323 municipal city archives, the so called ‘Actas Capitulares’, yielded the different types and  
324 payments of the rogation ceremonies that were performed in drought stress situations.  
325 In fact, it is challenging to determine whether the decrease in the number of rogations  
326 at the beginning and at the end of the 19th century is due to the lack of droughts, the  
327 loss of documents, or a loss of religiosity within these periods. For instance, after the  
328 Napoleonic invasion (1808-1814) and the arrival of new liberal ideologies (Liberal  
329 Triennial 1820-1823), there was a change in the mentality of people in the big cities.  
330 These new liberal ideas were concentrated in the places where commerce and industry  
331 began to replace agriculturally based economies, leading to strikes and social  
332 demonstrations demanding better labor rights. New societies were less dependent on  
333 agriculture; hence, in dry spells, the fear of losing crops was less evident and fewer





334 rogations were performed. In summary, the apparent low frequency of rogations in the  
335 19th century could be explained by a combination of political instability and the loss of  
336 religiosity and historical documents.

337         However, the drought indices of different cities had similar characteristics, which  
338 allowed the grouping. Clustering is a descriptive technique (Soni, 2012), the solution is  
339 not unique and the results strongly rely upon the analyst's choice of parameters and yet,  
340 we found three significant ( $p < 0.05$ ) and consistent structures across the drought  
341 stations. The fact that the main cities were located along the Ebro River, which is  
342 surrounded by vast areas of river orchards and watered crops, could have delayed the  
343 occurrence of rogation ceremonies, since the food supply of the region enables better  
344 adaptation to droughts. This might also explain the similarities between DIEV and  
345 DIMED. Compared to other drought studies based on documentary sources, the  
346 persistent drought phase affecting the Mediterranean and the Ebro Valley areas in the  
347 second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century is similar to that found in Vicente-Serrano and Cuadrat,  
348 (2007) for Zaragoza. The results for the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century also agree with  
349 the drought patterns previously described for Catalonia (Barriendos, 1997, 1998;  
350 Martín-Vide and Barriendos, 1995). Common drought periods were also found in 1650-  
351 1775 for Andalusia (Rodrigo et al., 1999, 2000) and in 1725-1800 for Zamora  
352 (Domínguez-Castro et al., 2008). In general, based on documentary sources from  
353 Mediterranean countries, the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century has the highest drought  
354 persistency and intensity, which may be because there were more blocking situations in  
355 this period (Luterbacher et al. 2002, Vicente-Serrano and Cuadrat, 2007). The period of  
356 1740-1800 AD coincides with the so-called 'Maldá anomaly period'; a phase  
357 characterized by strong climatic variability, including extreme drought and wet years  
358 (Barriendos and Llasat, 2003). The 18<sup>th</sup> century is the most coherent period, including a  
359 succession of dry periods (1740-1755), extreme years (1753, 1775 and 1798) and years  
360 with very low DIs, which we interpret as normal years. Next, the period from 1814-1825  
361 is noteworthy due to its prolonged drought. The causes of this extreme phase are still  
362 unknown. However, Prohom et al. (2016) suggested these years experienced a  
363 persistent situation of atmospheric blocking and high-pressure conditions.

364         In the Ebro Valley and the Mediterranean area, rogation ceremonies were  
365 significantly less frequent in the year of and one year after volcanic eruptions. Such  
366 patterns may be explained by the volcanic winter conditions, which are associated with  
367 reductions in temperature over the Iberian Peninsula 1-3 years after the eruption  
368 (Fischer et al., 2007; Raible et al., 2016). The lower temperature are experienced in  
369 spring and summer after volcanic eruptions compared to spring and summer conditions  
370 of nonvolcanic years. This might be related to a reduction in evapotranspiration, which  
371 reduces the risk of droughts. This reinforces the significance of volcanic events in large-  
372 scale climate changes. In addition, the lower temperatures may benefit the soil moisture  
373 of croplands.

374         Furthermore, a significant increase in the intensity of the droughts was observed  
375 two years after the eruptive Tambora event in the third cluster (Mountain, Fig. 2). The



376 normal conditions in the year of and the year after the Tambora eruption and the  
377 increased drought intensity two years after the event are in agreement with recent  
378 findings about hydroclimatic responses after volcanic eruptions (Fischer et al., 2007;  
379 Wegmann et al., 2014; Rao et al., 2017; Gao and Gao 2017) though based on tree ring  
380 data only. In addition, Gao and Gao, (2017) highlight the fact that high latitude eruptions  
381 tend to cause drier conditions in western-central Europe two years after the eruptions.  
382 Rao et al., (2017) suggested that the forced hydroclimatic response was linked to a  
383 negative phase of the East Atlantic Pattern (EAP), which causes anomalous spring uplift  
384 over the western Mediterranean. This pattern was also found in our drought index for  
385 the Tambora eruption (1815 AD), but no significant pattern was found in the NE of Spain  
386 for the other major (according to Sigl et al., 2015) volcanic eruptions. In particular, the  
387 mountain areas show less vulnerability to drought than other regions, since mountains  
388 experience less evapotranspiration, more snow accumulation and convective conditions  
389 that lead to a higher frequency of thunderstorms during the summertime. In addition,  
390 the productive activities of mountain areas are not only based on agriculture but also  
391 on animal husbandry, giving them an additional source for living in the case of extreme  
392 drought.

## 393 5. Conclusions

394 We developed a new dataset of historical documents by compiling historical  
395 records (rogation ceremonies) from 13 cities in the northeast of the Iberian Peninsula.  
396 These records were transformed into quantitative continuous data to develop drought  
397 indices (DIs). We regionalized them by creating three DIs (Ebro Valle, Mediterranean and  
398 Mountain), which cover the period from 1650 to 1899 AD. The intensity of the DI is given  
399 by the strength and magnitude of the rogation ceremony, and the spatial extent of the  
400 DI is given by the cities where the rogations were held.

401 Our study highlights three considerations: i) the spatial and temporal resolution  
402 of rogations should be taken into account, particularly when studying specific years,  
403 since the use of *pro-pluviam* rogations gives information about drought periods and not  
404 about rainfall in general. Accordingly, it must be stressed that the drought indices  
405 developed here are not precipitation reconstructions; rather, they are high-resolution  
406 extreme event reconstructions of droughts spells. Therefore, the comparison of these  
407 results with other continuous proxy records must be carried out with caution  
408 (Dominguez-Castro et al., 2008). ii) The validity of rogation ceremonies as a high-  
409 resolution climatic proxy to understand past drought variability in the coastal and  
410 lowland regions of the northeastern Mediterranean Iberian Peninsula is clearly  
411 supported by our study. This is crucial, considering that most of the high-resolution  
412 climatic reconstruction for the northern Iberian Peninsula have been developed using  
413 tree-ring records collected from high-elevation sites (>1,600 m a.s.l.) in the Pyrenees  
414 (Büntgen et al., 2008, 2017; Dorado-Liñán et al., 2012) and the Iberian Range (Esper et  
415 al., 2015, Tejedor et al., 2016, 2017a, 2017b, 2017c), thus inferring the climate of  
416 mountainous areas. lii) Particularly in the Mediterranean and in the Ebro Valley areas,  
417 imprints of volcanic eruptions are significantly detected in the drought indices derived



418 from the rogation ceremonies. These results suggest that DI is a good proxy to identify  
419 years with extreme climate conditions in the past at low elevation sites.

420 In addition, recent studies have emphasized the great precipitation (González-  
421 Hidalgo, et al., 2011; Serrano-Notivoli et al., 2017) and temperature variabilities  
422 (González-Hidalgo, et al., 2015) within reduced spaces, including those with a large  
423 altitudinal gradient, such as our study area. In addition, the rogations' historical data  
424 covers a gap within the instrumental measurement record of Spain (i.e., which starts in  
425 the 20<sup>th</sup> century). Hence, rogation data are key to understanding the full range of past  
426 climate characteristics (in lowlands and coastal areas) to accurately contextualize the  
427 current climate change. We encourage the use of further studies to better understand  
428 past droughts and their influence on societies and ecosystems; learning from the past  
429 can help adaptation in the future, especially because climate variability is predicted to  
430 increase in the same regions where climate variability historically explained most of the  
431 variability in crop yield.

432

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437

### 438 **Author Contributions statement**

439 E.T., and J.M.C. conceived the study. J.M.C. and M.B. provided the data. E.T. conducted the  
440 data analysis and wrote the paper with suggestions of all the authors.. All authors discussed  
441 the results and implications and commented on the manuscript at all stages.

### 442 **Competing interests statement**

443 The authors declare no competing interests.

444

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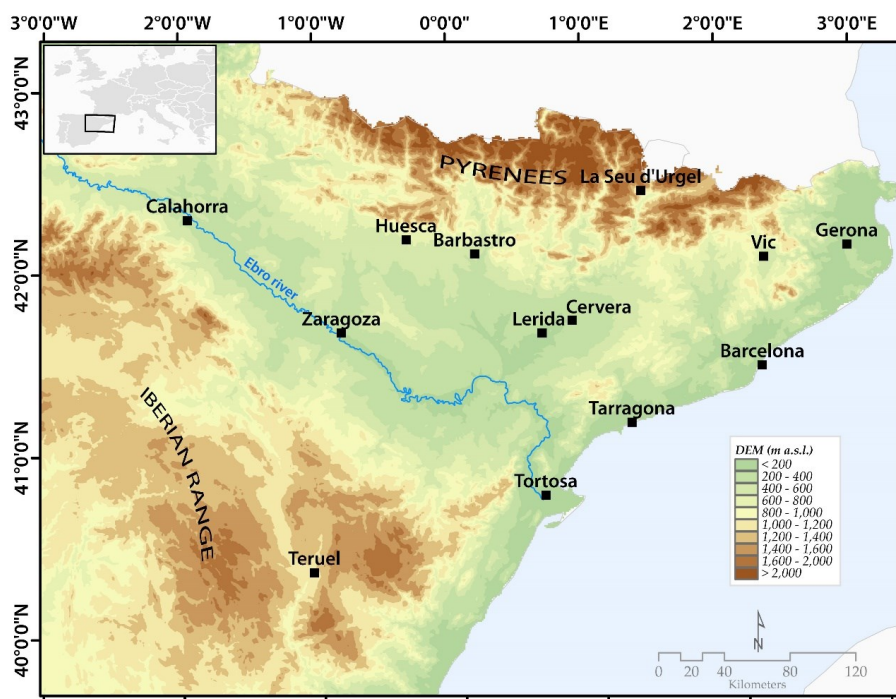
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639 **Figures and tables**



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

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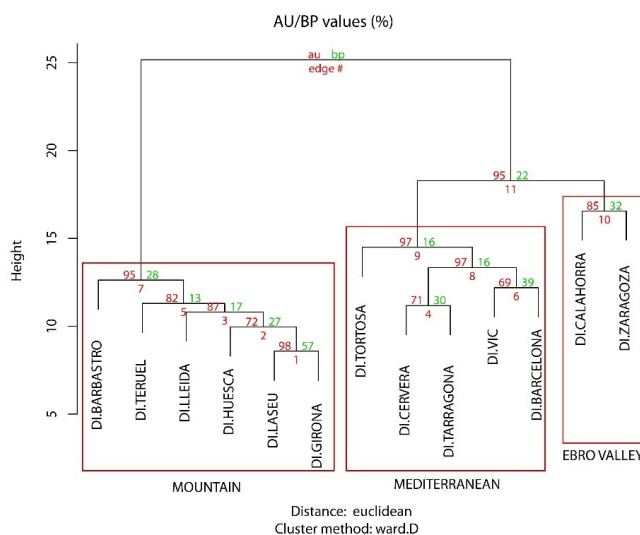


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Site	Latitude	Longitude	Altitude	Start	End	Extension
Zaragoza	41.64	-0.89	220	1589	1945	356
Teruel	40.34	-1.1	915	1609	1925	316
Barbastro	42.03	0.12	328	1646	1925	279
Calahorra	42.3	-1.96	350	1624	1900	276
Huesca	42.13	-0.4	457	1557	1860	303
Gerona	42.04	2.93	76	1438	1899	399
Barcelona	41.38	2.17	9	1521	1899	399
Tarragona	41.11	1.24	31	1650	1874	399
Tortosa	40.81	0.52	14	1565	1899	399
LaSeu	42.35	1.45	695	1539	1850	312
Vic	41.92	2.25	487	1570	1899	373
Cervera	41.67	1.27	548	1484	1850	250
Lleida	41.61	0.62	178	1650	1770	120

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

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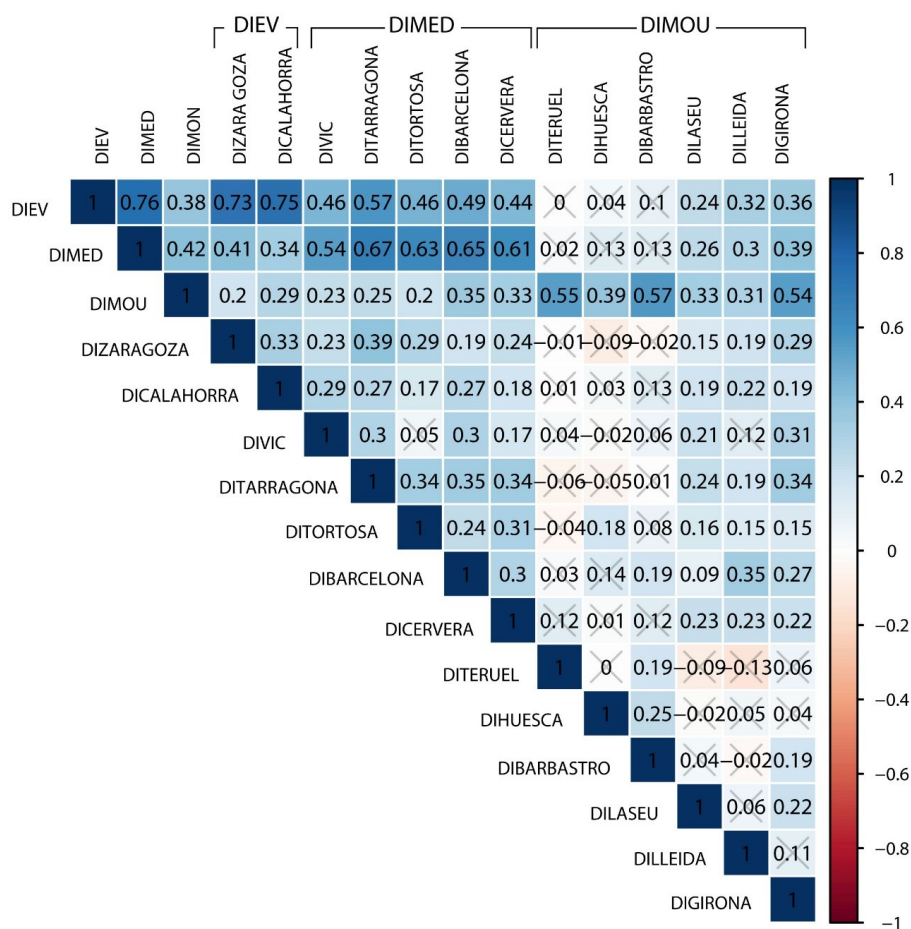


670 Figure 2. Dendrogram showing the hierarchical cluster analysis of the drought indices  
 671 developed from the historical documents for each location. The AU (approximately  
 672 unbiased *p-value*) is indicated in red and the BP (bootstrap probability) is presented in  
 673 green.

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677 Figure 3. Correlation matrix (Spearman) between the individual drought indices and the  
 678 cluster drought indices for the period of 1650-1899. Values are significant at  $p < 0.05$ ,  
 679 except those marked with a gray cross, which are not significant.

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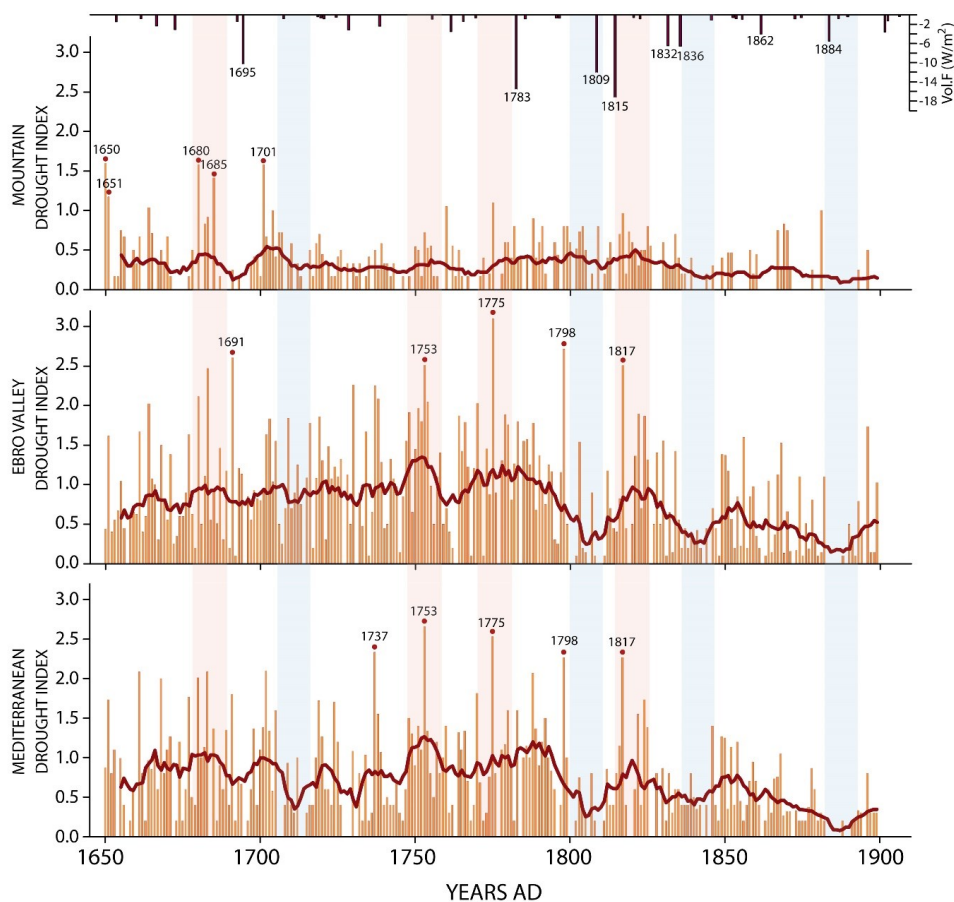
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688 Figure 4. Drought indices of the three clusters, DIMOU (Mountain), DIEV (Ebro Valley)  
 689 and DIMED (Mediterranean). Vertical orange bars represent the drought index  
 690 magnitude, 0 denotes normal conditions, and 3 denotes an extreme drought year.  
 691 The extreme drought index years are also highlighted with a red circle. Extreme volcanic  
 692 events from Sigl et al., 2015, are shown in the top panel. Vertical pink shadows indicate  
 693 extreme common (for all three clusters) drought periods, while blue shadows indicate  
 694 common periods with fewer droughts.

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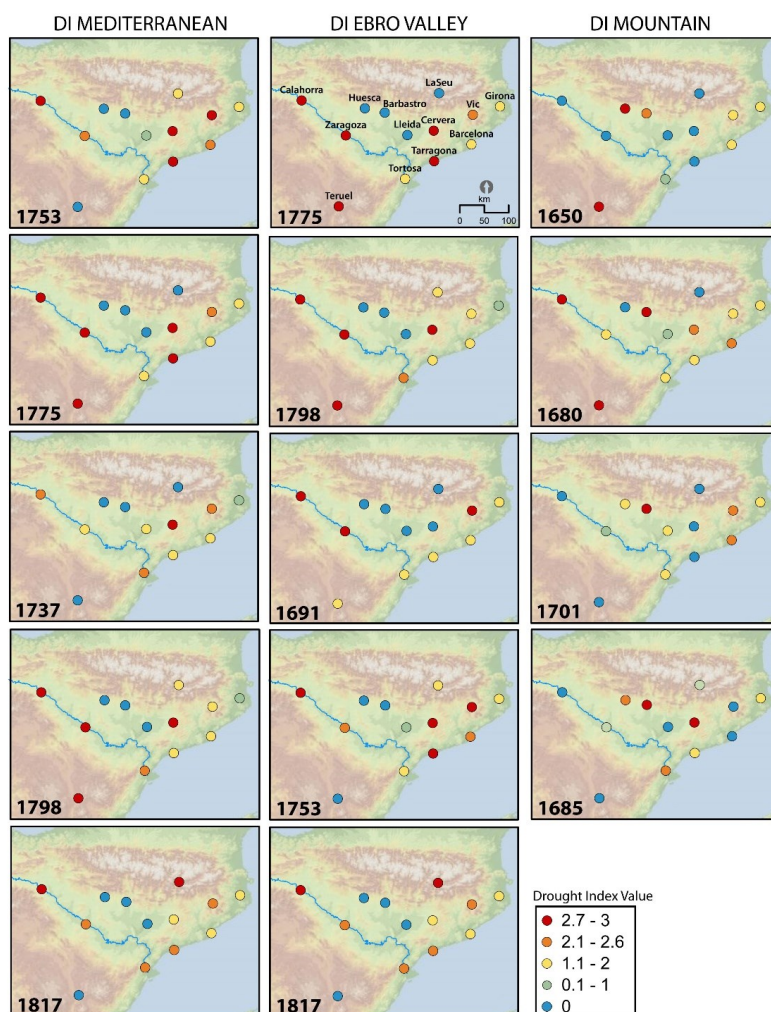
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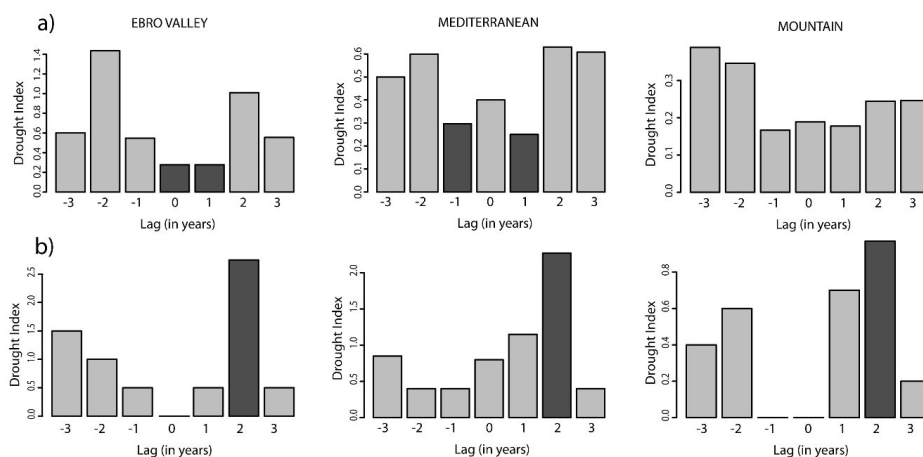
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702 Figure 5. Spatial distribution of the most extreme drought years (based on the 99<sup>th</sup>  
703 percentile of the cluster drought indices). The distribution is ordered top-down. The  
704 drought index value (magnitude) for each site within the cluster is also represented.

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707 Figure 6. a) Superposed epoch analysis (SEA) of the three regional drought indices,  
 708 DIMOU (Mountain), DIEV (Ebro Valley) and DIMED (Mediterranean), with major volcanic  
 709 events from Sigl et al., 2015. Black shadows show significance at  $p < 0.05$ , i.e., significantly  
 710 lower or higher drought index values after the volcanic event. b) SEA of only the  
 711 Tambora (1815) event showing a significant ( $p < 0.05$ ) 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 2. Rogation levels according to the type of ceremony celebrated.

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