IDENTIFICATION AND INTERPRETATION OF ENSO IMPACTS IN THE PERUVIAN HISTORICAL DOCUMENTARY RECORD: INSIGHT INTO CLIMATE CHANGES IN PERU

L. Ortlieb¹ & A-M. Hocqenghem²

¹ LOCEAN, UMR 7159 CNRS-IRD-Univ. P. & M. Curie-MNHN, Centre IRD France-Nord, 32 Avenue Henri Varagnat, 93143 Bondy cedex, Francia. Luc.Ortlieb@ird.fr

² CNRS-Institut Français d'Etudes Andines, Lima, Perú.

EL NIÑO CHRONOLOGIES FROM DOCUMENTARY HISTORICAL RECORDS FROM PERU

Since the first mentions of the "El Niño" climatic and oceanographic alterations observed along the coast of northernmost Peru (Carranza, 1891; Carrillo, 1893), a quite abundant literature has been devoted to this phenomenon in Peru, and in other areas that are impacted by oceanographic and meteorological consequences of ENSO (El Niño-Southern Oscillation). Major contributions dealing with past climate anomalies related to El Niño, mainly strong rainfalls occurring in the austral summer in Piura and the Sechura Desert coupled to a warming of the coastal waters (and associated effects), were provided by Eguiguren, (1894), Murphy (1923, 1925), Petersen (1935) and Schweigger (1964). The first attempts to reconstruct El Niño occurrences from documentary data were made by Quinn and collaborators (Quinn et al. 1987; Quinn and Neal, 1992, Quinn, 1993). Quinn largely based his reconstructions of El Niño occurrences on evidence from Peru, namely reports of anomalous rainfalls (or snowfalls), climatically induced diseases, length of ship travels, mass mortality of fishes, etc. In his later works (Quinn and Neal, 1992, Quinn, 1993), he included more evidence from other nearby countries (Bolivia, Chile, and the northeastern Brazil). For many years, it has been considered that Quinn's chronologies of El Niño (and ENSO) events were the reference on which could be calibrated other works.

However, in several previous works (e.g. Hocquenghem & Ortlieb, 1992; Ortlieb, 2000, 2002; Ortlieb et al., 2002), we discussed the reliability of number of the proposed reconstructed El Niño events, particularly those related to evidence from Peru. A cautious reappraisal of the documentary information used by Quinn and collaborators, including a critical evaluation of each of the historical sources led us to eliminate a number of so-called El Niño events (in Quinn's series). Beside, it was shown that in many cases, the only written evidence used by Quinn dealt with climate and hydrological anomalies which cannot be (anymore) considered as clearly diagnostic for El Niño conditions: the best examples being the floods ("huaycos") of the Rimac and other rivers in Central Peru, or strong snowfalls in the Andes of southern Peru (Ortlieb, 2000). Recent climatic researches (e.g. Rome-Gaspaldy & Ronchail, 1998), as well as the information obtained during the last two strong El Niño events of 1982-83 and 1997-98, indicate clearly that only the rainfall excess in summer occurring along the coastal area of northwestern Peru can be considered as diagnostic for former El Niño conditions. Thus, other rainfall and meteorological anomalies reported from the central and southern coast of Peru, or in the Peruvian Andes, should not reliably be linked to El Niño (or La Niña) conditions, if there are no evidence for coincident rainfall anomalies from northern Peru and southern Ecuador.

Following an alternative approach consisting in an analysis of archival material from the Trujillo area, Garcia Herrera et al. (2008) recently proposed another chronological sequence of "Peruvian" El Niño events for the period 1525-1900 (Table 1). The authors heavily relied upon historical information which concerns almost exclusively the La Libertad Department. The Garcia et al. El Niño chronology includes only a few former events of large magnitude, that were not documented in the Trujillo area but had been reconstructed on the basis of evidence from more northern areas (Piura, and southern Ecuador).

Several recent works aimed to compile high-resolution paleoclimatic data to produce multiproxy records of ENSO events in the last ~five centuries. These works commonly include data from ice-cores, corals, treerings and documentary researches (Gergis & Fowler, 2008; McGregor et al., 2009; Wilson et al., 2010). One of these multiproxy El Niño sequence, reconstructed by Gergis and Fowler (2008), partially integrates, among other documentary data, the information from Quinn & Neal

| Quinn, 1993 | Gergis & Fowler, 2008 | Garcia Herrera et al., 2008 | Ortlieb & Hocquenghem in prep | South America | Multi- proxy data | Peru (Trujillo) 1688 | Peru & S- Ecuador | South Americ | Multi- ca proxy data 1838 | Peru (Trujillo) | Peru & S- Ecuador |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|------------------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|
| South America | Multi- proxy data | Peru (Trujillo) | Peru & S- Ecuador | 1692 | 1692 | 1689 | | 1844 1845 | 1844 1845 | | 1844 1845 |
| 1525 1526 | 1525 1526 1527 | | | 1695 1697 | 1694 1695 | | | 1846 | 1846 1847 1848 | | (1846) |
| 1531 1542 | 1527 | | | 1701 1704 | 1700 | 1700 1701 | 1701 | 1850 1852 | 1852 1853 | | (1850) |
| 1535 1539 1540 | 1539 1540 | | (1539) | 1707 1708 | 1707 | | | 1854 | 1856 | | |
| 1541 1544 | 1544 | | | 1709 | 1709 1710 1712 | (1712) | | 1857 1858 1860 | 1857 1858 1860 | | 1857 |
| 1546 1547 | | (1550) | (1546) | 1713 | 1713 1714 | (1713) | | 1862 | | 1861 1862 | (1862) |
| 1552 | 4554 | (1551) | | 1715 1716 | | 1717 | | 1864 | 1864 1865 | (1863) | 1864 |
| 1558 | 1554 1 556 1558 | (1558) | | 1718 | 1718 1719 | (1718) 1719 | (1718) | 1866 1867 | 1866 | | 1866 |
| 1559 1560 1561 | 1559 | (1559) | | 1720 | 1720 1721 1722 | 1720 (1722) | 1720 | 1868 | 1868 | (1869) (1870) | |
| 1565 | 1563 1565 | | | 1723 | 1723 1724 | (1723) (1725) | | 1871 1874 | 1874 | | 1871 (1875) |
| 1567 1568 | 1567 | (1569) | 1568 | | 1726 | (1726) 1727 | | 1877 | 1876 1877 | (1876) (1877) | 1877 |
| 1574 | 1574 | (1570) (1574) | (1574) | 1728 | 1728 1729 | 1728 (1730) | 1728 | 1878 1880 | 1878 | (1878) (1879) | 1878 (1880) |
| 1578 | | (1575) 1577 1578 | 1578 | 1734 1737 | 1734 1737 | (1731) | (1707) | 1884 | 1881 | (1883) (1884) | |
| 1579 1581 1582 | | | | 1744 | 1738 1744 | (1737) (1738) | (1737) | 1887 | 1884 1885 | (1004) | 1884 1887 |
| | 1583 1584 | | | 1747 | 1746 1747 1748 | | 1747 (1748) | 1888 1889 | 1888 1889 | (1888) (1889) 1890 | 1888 |
| 1585 1589 1590 | 1585 | | | 1751 | 1753 | | () | 1891 | 1891 1896 | 1891 (1896) | 1891 |
| 1591 | 1591 1594 | (1593) (1594) | (1593) | 1754 1755 1758 | 1754 | | | 1897 1899 1900 | 1897 1899 1900 | (1897) (1899) (1900) | (1897) 1899 (1900) |
| 1596 | 1596 | (1595) (1596) | 1596 | 1761 1765 | 1766 | (1765) (1766) | 1761 | 1902 | 1901 1902 1903 | | (1902) |
| 1600 | 1597 1601 | | | 1768 | 1768 1769 | (1100) | | 1904 1905 | 1904 1905 | | |
| 1604 1607 1608 | 1607 1608 | | | 1772 | 1770 | (1772) (1773) | | 1907 1910 | 1906 | | (1910) |
| 1614 | 1609 1614 | | | 1776 1777 1778 | 1777 | | | 1911 1912 | 1911 1912 1913 | | |
| 1618 1619 | 1618 1619 | 1617 1618 (1619) | (1617) | 1782 1783 | 1782 1783 | | | 1914 1915 | 1914 1915 | | (1914) (1915) |
| 1621 | 1620 1621 | (1620) | (4000) | 1785 1786 | 1784 | 1784 1785 1786 | 1784 1785 | 1917 1918 1919 | 1918 1919 | | (1917) |
| 1624 | | (1623) (1624) | (1622) (1624) | 1791 | 1791 | 1787 1790 1791 | 1791 | 1923 | 1920 1924 | | |
| 1630 | 1630 | 1625 1626 | | 1791 | 1792 1793 | (1793) | 1/91 | 1925 1926 | 1924 1925 1926 | | (1925) |
| | 1635 | 1633 1634 | | | 1794 1798 1799 | (1794) 1799 | | Tab | le. Comparis | on of rec | onstructed |
| 1635 | 1635 1638 1639 | (1638) (1639) | | 1803 | 1803 | 1800 (1802) (1803) | | | iño sequence clusively, on | - | |
| 1640 1641 | 1641 1642 | | | 1804 1806 | 1804 1806 | (1003) | 1804 | fi | om Peru: co outh-America | l.1) last s | eries of |
| | | (1644) (1645) | | 1807 1810 | 1807 | (1811) | | pul | blished by Q | uinn (199 | 93), col.2) |
| 1647 | 1646 1648 | | | 1811 | 1812 | (1812) (1813) | (1014) | | Garcia Herre ence based o | | |
| 1650 | 1650 1651 | | | 1814 | 1814 1815 1816 | (1814) (1816) | (1814) | | 3) multiproxy is and Fowle | | |
| 1652 1655 | 1652 1659 | | | 1817 1819 | 1817 | (1817) (1818) (1819) | 1817 1819 | Ō | rtlieb-Hocqu used only on | enghem s | equence |
| 1661 | 1660 1 661 1665 | 1660 1661 | | 1821 1824 | 1824 | . , | (1821) (1824) | prep |). Years in p | arenthesi | is (col. 2 & |
| 1671 | 1669 | | (1678) | 1828 | 1829 | (1827) (1828) | 1828 | while | correspond i e those in bol | d design | ate event of |
| 1681 1684 | 1684 | 1005 | (| 1890 1832 | 1832 1833 | (1833) | (1832) | тс | ijor (and exc | eptional) | ıntensity |
| 1687 | 1687 | 1685 1686 | 1686 | 1837 | 1837 | (1834) | 1837 | | | | |

(1992) and Ortlieb (2000) (Table 1). All these attempts to produce a chronology of El Niño events actually show that no consensus is obtained. Actually, it becomes clear, now, that for different reasons (changes in teleconnection patterns, variation of modality of ENSO manifestations, distinction between the recently defined "Eastern Pacific El Niño" and "Modoki El Niño", interaction between ENSO and Pacific Decadal Oscillation, etc.), it will probably be impossible to build-up a consolidated sequence of El Niño events of the last centuries in any particular area, including Peru.

ON-GOING YEARLY RECONSTRUCTION OF POSSIBLE FORMER EL NIÑO MANIFESTATIONS IN PERU

Even though it becomes illusory to establish "the" chronological sequence of El Niño events through an analysis of meteorological and oceanographic anomalies occurred in Peru, it remains useful and pertinent to gather documentary information of the last ~5 centuries at a yearly time-scale. Such work is in progress and should be published in 2011 (Ortlieb & Hocquenghem, in prep). The 4th column of Table 1 indicates the years for which we interpret that El Niño conditions were met (with indication of intensity of the probable events and, in many cases, the restricted reliability of the documentary data at hand to reconstruct El Niño manifestations).

This study compiles all the citations of mentions of climatic and coastal anomalies in Peru, year by year, between 1525 and 1925, found either in published form or in unpublished written archives. These citations include all the documentary material that has been used by previous authors (Quinn et al., 1987; Quinn and Neal, 1992; Ortlieb, 2000; Garcia-Herrera et al., 2008), and also contains additional data not referred to previously. Emphasis is given to original data and, at odds with the methodology followed by Quinn et al. (1987), no importance is given to the repetition by several authors of the same information.

Short comments regarding the possible relationship of the reported climate anomalies with El Niño event occurrences are given. In a number of cases, the citations of sources referred to by previous authors are discussed, and it is eventually explained whether we agree, or disagree, with the previous interpretation proposed for the reconstruction of El Niño conditions.

The interpretation of past climatic conditions, and of the "anomalous" character of some meteorological features is naturally based on comparisons with present-day situations. However this procedure is not straightforward. How anomalous (and indicator of El Niño conditions) is a rainfall event in a specific area? To which extent a drought in the Peruvian Andes may be related to El Niño? Does a bloom of vegetation along the coast of southern Peru during the eighteenth century indicate El Niño or La Niña conditions? How reliable is an information on the abundance (or lack) of some fishes to depict coastal oceanographic conditions?

If comparisons with modern manifestations of El Niño are necessary to support the interpretation of former El Niño occurrences, it must be taken into account several considerations and caveat. One of them deals with the differences between El Niño manifestations between one event and another one (even in modern times): the very strong events of 1982-83 and 1997-98 had quite different meteorological impacts in the southern Andes of Peru. Another important consideration is that the regional atmospheric circulation pattern was most probably different from nowadays during the Little Ica Age (Ortlieb, 2000; Ortlieb 2002; Ortlieb et al., 2002). In this sense, one must also deal with the fact that reports of "anomalous" conditions, by informants of the past centuries, may not refer to what would be seen as "anomalous" today (and vice-versa!).

This work does not only discuss the possible occurrence of El Niño occurrences in the past centuries, and also aims to use the available documentary data to characterize interannual climate variability, involving as much information of the different regions of Peru as possible.

IMPLICATION FOR THE INTERPRETATION OF CLIMATE CHANGE IN PERU DURING THE LAST CENTURIES

The analysis of documentary information on former climatic anomalies that could be produced by El Niño manifestations in Peru lead us to compile much valuable data on interannual climate variability, in numerous areas. The analysis of this high resolution, and well-dated, data extracted from written reports yields information which can also be used to define mean climate variations at longer time scales (decades to centuries), as well as climatic changes within a recent past. Of particular interest is the characterization of the mean climate during the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries with respect to the more recent and

much more documented nineteenth and twentieth centuries. While it has been established from both documentary (e.g. Ortlieb, 2002 and Ortlieb et al., 2002) and paleoceanographic studies (e.g. Gutierrez et al., 2009) that a major climate shift occurred around 1817-1820, it is important and timely to attempt to characterize the variability of the climate of Peru in its distinct regions and to identify the major differences with the climate variability recorded in the last 190 years. This kind of information is deeply needed for any characterization of climate changes which covers past periods for which no instrumental data are available.

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