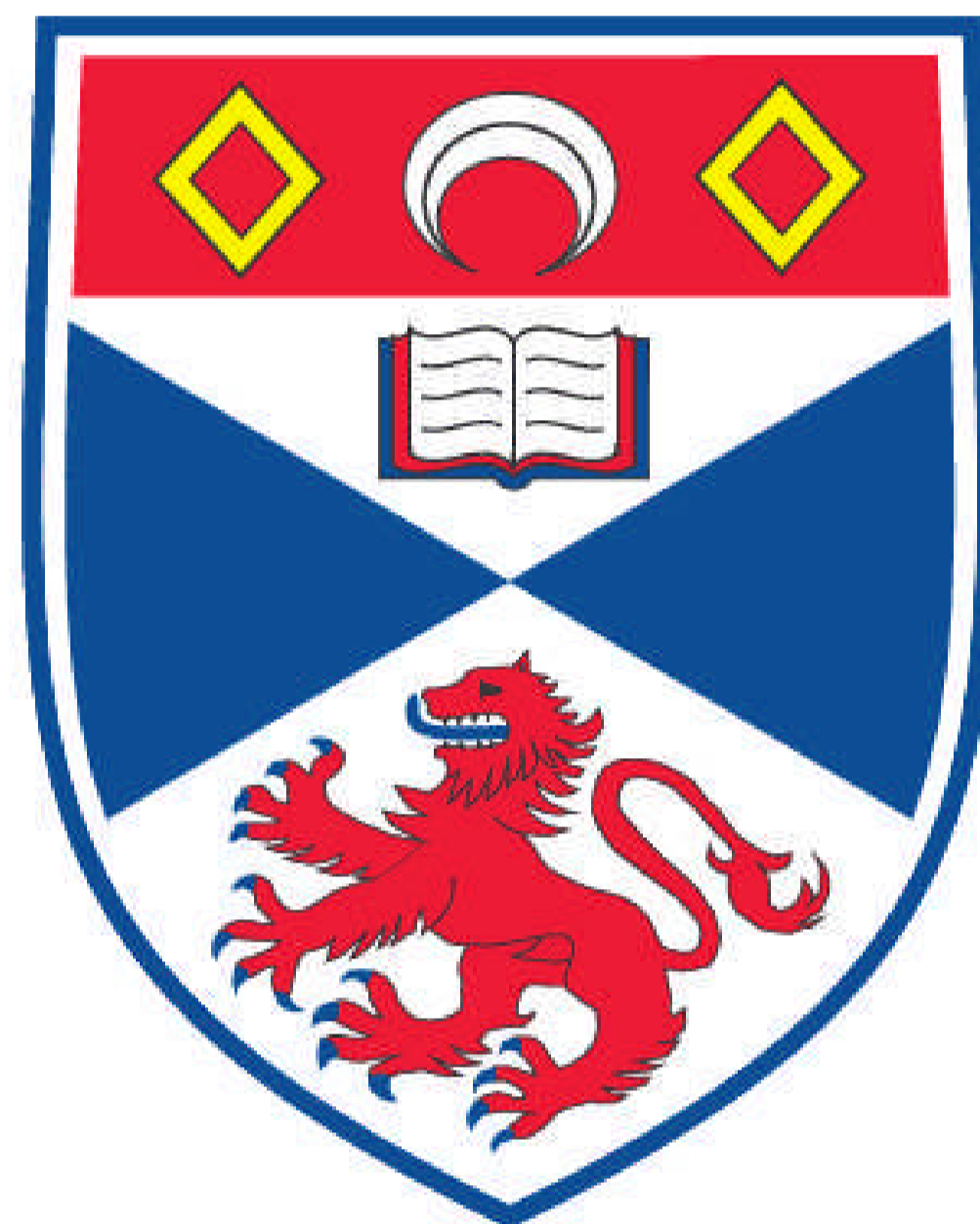


**WHALES, DOLPHINS AND PORPOISES IN THE ECONOMY AND
CULTURE OF PEASANT FISHERMEN IN NORWAY, ORKNEY,
SHETLAND, FAROE ISLANDS AND ICELAND, CA.900 - 1900
A.D., AND NORSE GREENLAND, CA.1000 - 1500 A.D. (VOL. II
PT. 1)**

Ole Lindquist

**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St. Andrews**



1994

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WHALES, DOLPHINS AND PORPOISES
IN THE ECONOMY AND CULTURE OF PEASANT FISHERMEN
IN NORWAY, ORKNEY, SHETLAND, FAEROE ISLANDS AND ICELAND,
CA 900-1900 AD, AND NORSE GREENLAND, CA 1000-1500 AD

Volume 2: Appendix (Part 1)

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November 1994

A thesis
submitted to the Faculty of Arts,
University of St Andrews, Scotland,
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy



Volume 2: Appendix

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A.14 Nomenclature of scientific, historical and vernacular terms of cetaceans and pinnipeds in the Northeast Atlantic Ocean

- (A) Introduction.
- (B) Index to current names.
- (M) Mysticetes (baleen whales).
- (O) Odontocetes (toothed whales, including dolphins and porpoises).
- (P) Pinnipeds.

(A) Introduction:

Scientific and vernacular marine mammal names. Historical studies involving marine mammals are dependent on positive identification of the species concerned and an explicit lexicon. Identification of cetaceans in written sources is quite often a problem when the animals are only referred to in a general manner, by a vernacular or an old technical (scientific) term but biological, ecological and ethological details are often indicative, sometimes even conclusive. With the development of zoological research, in general, and cetological research, in particular, the nomenclatorial status of the species has changed and the applicability of scientific names have been reassessed. For the species with which we are here concerned, general agreement appears now to exist in taxonomic matters but older literature reflects the often confusing, conflicting and overlapping technical terms for cetaceans. On top of this, scientific terms have frequently been corrupted. Only a checklist can bring relief in the matter. Problems of this kind are only minor with regard to the pinnipeds.

When preparing the first printed edition (1768) of *Konungsskuggsjá* (from the mid 13th century AD) the Icelander Jón Eiríksson, living in Copenhagen, sought further details about the cetacean species in order to attempt an identification according to modern scientific systematics. He writes:

'I attempted ... to ask my countrymen at the University of Copenhagen. But by that the uncertainty rather increased than disappeared. The fishermen in Iceland give the whales names now from one attribute, now from another one, so that there are used different names for one and the same [species], and, conversely, the same name for several entirely different ones. The fishermen's knowledge, which greatly varies, just as the opportunity of seeing these animals, increases this difference. Furthermore, the differences in dialects also make the names different, indeed sometimes conflicting, in different quarters of the country.'¹

1 Cf Erichsen 1768: liv.

The Icelandic biologist B. Sæmundsson (1867-1940) describes the complexity of, and the difficulties in, identifying marine mammals especially in older works: 'regrettably the name confusion is often so much that the information contained in them [ie, texts] are of little or no use when it is impossible to know what animal is referred to.'¹ He therefore included enumerations of Old Norse, Icelandic and Scandinavian names and synonyms with his work *Spendýrin (Mamalia Íslandiæ)* (1932). His remarks in this respect are valid also with regard to the present enumeration:

'The number of names and synonyms for many of these animals show clearly how ... much the confusion is and how the same appellation may apply to many animals and how difficult it is to determine which animal hides behind many of the names. It is impossible to know what some names pertain to. These enumerations of names here should only be viewed as education and guidance on the part of the author for those who will study the matter thoroughly. It would be more than enough work for a zoologist and a linguist together to compare individual writings, older and younger (ones), in this respect and try to achieve some firm conclusion.'²

H. Hermannsson (1924: xxvi-xxvii) remarks that this "is not to be wondered at when one considers how uncertain the scientific nomenclature has been." Even since the International Whaling Conference in 1946 recommended a *Nomenclature of whales*³ the English/American vernacular has changed considerably.

Older authorities have also been troubled by the nomenclatural and taxonomic issue. For example, J.C. Svabo, in 1779, remarks that the Danish and Norwegian names for the smaller cetaceans 'are very changable' and he later still remains uncertain about them.⁴ H.B. Melchior (1834: 264-266) notes that many Nordic scholars (since the mid 18th century) offer no or only incomplete descriptions with the (cetacean) names so 'that one cannot know which (species) they mean, and sometimes it is also obvious that the various authors take the same name in different meanings.'

Checklist. The following list of historical scientific and vernacular names relating to marine mammals of North Atlantic waters began as an indispensable tool of the present author in studying the older literature. In the course of work it has continuously been updated from the literature studied. Far from being complete, its inclusion

1 Cf Sæmundsson 1932: iv-v.

2 Cf Sæmundsson 1932: vii.

3 Cf Int Whal Stat 18, 1948: 52f.

4 Cf Svabo 1779: 39f; 1976: 248.

here is justified for two reasons: Firstly, it is a practical and useful aid in identifying mainly cetacean species and specimens in, primarily, pre-1900 literature (not least by way of computer search); secondly, it may form a basis from where to continue the work on identifying the animals behind marine mammal names and synonyms and to aid the study of popular classifications and learned taxonomy of cetaceans and pinnipeds in northwestern Europe.

The possibilities for mistakes and errors, in earlier literature as well as in the present list, are numerous; the reference(s) with each term should help overcome that problem. Furthermore, essential comments and explanations are added to the vernacular names. Their ages are not necessarily deduceable from the references as they may refer to reissued works.

Species included. The checklist contains the mysticetes (baleen whales), odontocetes (toothed whales, including dolphins and porpoises) and pinnipeds (earless, or true, seals, and the walrus) which, in historical times, are associated with the North Atlantic waters ranging from the White Sea and Spitsbergen, East Greenland, and Iceland to the Baltic Sea, southern North Sea, and the Irish Sea on the east, and from Iceland and West Greenland to the Gulf of St Lawrence and New England on the west. Species whose habitat has been solely or partly within these waters are included. The North Pacific gray whale is included on grounds of being the reference species for the now extinct North Atlantic gray whale. Because the Mediterranean monk seal is the reference seal species for, eg, the classical Greek-Roman writers it has also been included in the pinnipedian part in spite of not belonging within the defined North Atlantic area proper.

Current English vernacular and technical names. The taxonomy and the scientific nomenclature of this study, including the present checklist, follow D.W. Rice (1977) who in turn corresponds fully with the IWC Scientific Committee's list and (so far as is relevant in this context) with that of the US Marine Mammal Commission. The checklist is divided into three parts, viz: mysticetes (M-#), odontocetes (O-#) and pinnipeds (P-#), within each of which species are arranged by their current scientific name; the keys are added for convenience and surety in reference.

The English vernacular names applied throughout the thesis lie within the range of current British usage.¹ Other British vernacular terms are only listed when they constitute real synonyms to the usage adopted here. Modern idiosyncratic names (eg, by L. Watson 1985) are disregarded. In order to facilitate the study of contemporary literature dealing with cetaceans, much of which is published in the USA, American terms are likewise

¹ Cf Evans 1987a-b; Fraser 1976; Gaskin 1982; Stonehouse 1985; Watson 1985.

listed following the same principle. The common names under the heading 'American' are tentatively intended to cover specific North American synonyms and usage which differ from British English.

Historical scientific names. P. Hershkovitz (1966) seems to offer a rather complete survey of all known genuine technical cetacean names in use for each species since the mid 18th century. His work is taken as the highest authority for such terms to early in this century. More recent scientific synonyms may easily be found in, eg, D.E. Gaskin (1982: 201-206), Rice (1977: 12f) and Watson (1985: 278f). J.G. Millais lists both old scientific and local vernacular names for cetaceans (Millais 3, 1906) and pinnipeds (Millais 1, 1904) all of which are disregarded here.

A scientific name is listed on the occasion of its known first introduction in relation to a certain species. The old technical names are normalised according to present custom, ie, beginning only generic names with capitals. Attention is drawn to the fact that the same technical name (albeit with different attributions) occasionally represents different species at different times. Names for 'subspecies' are only included where the 'species' is not already mentioned. Some corrupted names are included although they, strictly speaking, are not necessary for identification; they are listed in order to secure proper treatment of both the scientific names themselves and their attribution.

Current and historical vernacular names. All British, American and other vernacular synonyms are listed in alphabetical order. Only vernacular names which have been used for actually existing species are included. Preferably they are included on positive identification, either from the description of the animal and/or through credible references to technical and vernacular names. Where I consider that some doubt exists about the attribution on the basis of the sources available to me, reasonable suggestions by authorities and tentative interpretations by me are indicated by a bracketed question mark, ie, (?), after the name. Names, mainly in 19th to 20th century literature, of obviously wrong attribution are disregarded. Varying spelling is maintained apart from rendering the term in the nominative singular. Greenlandic and Samish names are included because they in the literature occasionally serve as reference; these names are in each case entered at the authority of the scholars quoted.

Even recent standard publications in the English language may be quite unreliable in presenting Nordic vernacular names of cetaceans. This includes, apart from obvious spelling errors, such things as ignorance of inflections and changed ways of spelling, indiscriminate mixing of archaic forms with recent ones of actual as well as mythical creatures, mixing and confusing the Nordic

languages and outright 'invention' of names, together with a laissez-faire attitude regarding special national letters (which, considering the main purpose of such listing, should either be reproduced originally or be properly transcribed). It is outside the scope of this introduction to treat of this matter in detail but authors and readers are urged to be cautious in this respect.¹

The most reliable printed multilingual table of current cetacean and pinnipedian names in various European languages (excluding, eg, Icelandic) is O. Gannier and A. Gannier 1989.² Similarly, Á. Einarsson 1980 (cetaceans) and E. Hauksson 1980 (pinnipeds) offer the current Icelandic lexicon.

In the present lists names are generally rendered in the

1 It is most unfortunate that the multilingual reference section in Hershkovitz (1966: 200-222) is not free from this. The list contains numerous cases of Nordic cetacean names of questionable contents, form and/or language attribution (eg, pp 201: *Andhvaler/I*; 202: *Bartfisch/D*, *Biscayrhval/D*, *Blahvalur/I*, *Blahval/S*; 203: *Brunskop/I*, *Buckelhval/D*, *Burdhvalir/N*; 206: *Delphin/N*, *S*, *Döling/D*, *Dölink/F*, *Dolffin/N*, *Fann-fiskar-hydengen/I*; 207: *Finnhvaler/I*, *Furehvaler/I*, *Glathvaler/I*, *Gráhval/N*; 208: *Gráso whale/S*, *Grával'/S*, *Grijze walvis/D*, *Grinde/N*, *Grinzehval/N*, *Grönlandshval/D*, *Gronlandshval/N*, *Gronlandskhval/N*, *Hahyrna/I*, *Halfisk/D*, *N*, *Halvgrindehvaler/D*, *Handfiskar/I*; 209: *Heipe-reyður/N*, *Hnufubakur/S*, *Hofrung/I*, *Hrafureyður/S* [and p 109: *hrafu-reyður/I*], *Huisen/I*, *Huitingar/I* [also on p 109], *Hunfubaks/I*, *Huns-hval/N*, *Huyding/I*, *Hvidhvalen/D*, *Hvidskaering/D*, *Illhval/I*; 210: *Ise/N*, *Jattenhval/S*, *Kascelot/N*; 211: *Knölhval/N*; 212: *langreyður/I*, *Lille-hval/N*, *Marsvün/N*; 213: *Nabbad gomtand/S*, *Narhvalur/I*, *Nesa/N*, *Nisa/N*, *Nise/S*; 214: *Noordcaper/D*, *Nordvalur/I*, *Nordwal/I*, *Oresvin/S*; 216: *Rebbehval/N*, *Rengis fiskar/I*, *Rödkamm/I*, *Rorhval/D*, *N*; 217: *Saaiwahl/N*, *Sandreidur/I*, *Schlichteback/D*, *Seichval/N*, *Sietback/N*, *Sildeskipper/D*, *Sildreki/I*, *Sildual*, *Sletbag/I*, *Soëen hiörning/N*; 219: *Spackhuggare/S*, *Spinger/N*, *Spinghval/N*, *Staurvhal/N*, *Starhynning/N*, *Steypireydr/I*, *Stourvaga/N*; *Svarthval/D*, *Tandthöije/N*, *Tandthoye/D*; 221: *Vagehval/N*, *Van hund/N*, and *Vatushalar/I*). As Hershkovitz does not provide references, it is impossible to check and rectify the many less obvious cases.

Similarly, most Nordic cetacean names are flawed in Watson (1985), also an otherwise valuable publication (cf pp 69 [D, N]; 71 [D, I, N, S]; 82 [D, I, S]; 85 [I, N]; 90 [N]; 95 [D, S]; 121 [D, I, N, S]; 144 [S]; 163 [I, N]; 166 [N]; 171 [D, I, N]; 192 [D, I, N, S]; 212 [D, I, N, S]; 232 [D, N]; 270 [N, I]; 272 [S]).

Neither is Anon 1968b reliable concerning Nordic terms and their spelling; moreover, it contains unnecessary omissions which can be misleading.

Another recent example, J. Horwood (1987: 6; referring to Tomilin 1967 [not listed in my bibliography]) mentions four 'Norwegian' names, viz: *sejhval*, *seihval*, *seichval* and *saaiwahl*, of which the first is obsolete (if it has ever been used), the second one is reasonably current and the two last ones are pure inventions. Similarly, the 'Danish' *seihval* has presumably never existed and should in any case be *sejhval*; finally, the 'Icelandic' *sandereyður* is probably meant to be *sandreyður*.

2 In the Danish list the apostrophised genitive in True's and Cuvier's is not in conformity with orthographic rules; the apostrophe should be dropped and the names written similarly to *Rissos delfin*; furthermore, the species *grásæl* should be written as one word. (Cf Gannier and Gannier 1989: 118, 120).

nominative singular. In Danish and Dano-Norwegian certain definite forms have not been changed to the indefinite because it would change the expression too much. Short explanations, including references to original sources, are added in square brackets after many names. These comments need not necessarily originate in the sources in the concluding reference in round brackets.

The character of the following lists must be emphasised: Only the English vernacular and Latin scientific names heading each section (species) reflect currently accepted and preferred usage; the included sub-lists of scientific names (arranged chronologically) and vernacular names (arranged according to language and alphabetically) are incomplete historical check lists for identification purposes mainly. The form and spelling of 'historical' vernacular names is usually not commented upon, neither do the lists indicate current preferred usage in any of the languages concerned (*ie*, apart from references to the scholars mentioned above). The differentiation between early modern Danish and Norwegian (Dano-Norwegian) will often be arbitrary (and debatable) because it must be based on an overall assessment of the source and the subject involved. In many instances it would be more correct to say that the enumerated terms were used in Denmark or Norway, rather than they are Danish or Norwegian, respectively. The same applies to some terms listed with Faeroese and Icelandic which might actually have been Danish and Norwegian words used in the Faeroe Islands and Iceland, and Danish renderings of Icelandic words, respectively. Similarly, the differentiation between early American (New England) and British usage is uncertain. The inclusion of a source in one or more instances does not mean that this source has been exhausted. Furthermore, the inclusion of a name with a certain species does not imply that the present author agrees with the usage by the source quoted: it only shows that the identification of the species, for which the name in this particular case is used, has been possible as shown.

The references included with each entry have the additional benefit of making this list a kind of subject index to the divers literature on the subject.

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|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
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| <i>Phoca vitulina</i> , harbour seal or common seal | P8 |
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(M) **Mysticetes (baleen whales):**

**M1 Black right whale or Biscayan right whale,
Balaena glacialis (Müller 1776):**

Baleine d'Islande (Brisson 1756) (Hershkovitz 1966: 190);
Balæna glacialis (Müller 1776) (Hershkovitz 1966: 190);
Balæna islandica (Gmelin 1788) (Hershkovitz 1966: 190);
Balæna mysticetus islandica (Kerr 1792) (Hershkovitz 1966: 190);
Balæna nordcaper (Lacépède 1804) (Collett 1911-1912: 545; Hershkovitz 1966: 190);
Balæna biscayensis (Eschricht 1860) (Hershkovitz 1966: 190; cf Collett 1911-1912: 545);
Balæna cisarctica (Cope 1865) (Hershkovitz 1966: 190);
Balæna mysticetus angulata (Gray 1866) (Hershkovitz 1966: 190);
Hunterius svedenborgii (Lilljeborg 1867) (Hershkovitz 1966: 191);
Balæna mediterranea (Gray 1870) (Hershkovitz 1966: 191);
Macleayius britannicus (Gray 1870) (Hershkovitz 1966: 191);
Balæna eubalæna (Gray 1871) (Hershkovitz 1966: 191);
Balæna van benediana (Capellini 1873) (Hershkovitz 1966: 191);
Balæna van benedeniana [sic] (Fischer 1881) [name an emendation of *benediana*, Capellini] (Hershkovitz 1966: 191);
Balæna tarentina (Capellini 1877) (Hershkovitz 1966: 191);
Balæna euskariensis (Real 1890) (Hershkovitz 1966: 191).

American: Biscayan right whale (Leatherwood, Caldwell and Winn 1976: 52);
Biscay whale (Leatherwood, Caldwell and Winn 1976: 52);
black whale [so called by New England whalers in the 18th century; also used by Americans for other species; cf Guldberg 1884: 149; 1889b: 3] (Guldberg 1884: 149; 1889b: 3, 8f; 1907: 264; Reeves and Mitchell 1988: 22; Sæmundsson 1932: 419);
New England right whale [used in 18th century] (Guldberg 1889b: 8);
Nordcaper right whale (Leatherwood, Caldwell and Winn 1976: 52);
northern right whale (Anon 1976b: 2);
right whale [also used as a generic name] (Dudley 1725: 256, cf 262f; Guldberg 1889b: 8; Leatherwood, Caldwell and Winn 1976: 52; Rice 1977: 7);
whalebone whale (Dudley 1725: 256, cf 262f).

- Basque: sarda [meaning a school whale in Basque, cf Lubbock 1978: 60] (Edge 1906: 30; Eschricht and Reinhardt 1866: 22f, 34; Lubbock 1978: 60; Purchas 1906b: 31).
- Danish: biscayerhval (Sæmundsson 1932: 419);
hadde-nef [D/I] [JÓfG 1737] (KBK ms Rostgaard 111: 31r);
nordkaper (Blöndal 2, 1980: 754; Gannier and Gannier 1989: 118; Melchior 1834: 255; Muus, Salmonsén and Vibe 1982: 454; Sæmundsson 1932: 419);
osterboygds fisk [østerbygds-fisk] (?) [Danish rendering of a Greenlandic Inuit expression, 1782] (Eschricht and Reinhardt 1866: 19);
osterboygds hval [østerbygds-hval] (?) [Danish rendering, in 1782, of a Greenlandic Inuit expression] (Eschricht and Reinhardt 1866: 19);
slett-bag [D/I] [JÓfG 1737] (KBK ms Rostgaard 111: 31r).
- English: Atlantic right-whale (Southwell 1881: 48, 61);
Biscay right whale (Sæmundsson 1932: 419);
Biscay whale (Guldberg 1884: 148; Harmer 1928: 53);
common whale [used in Messrs Paget's Natural history of Great Yarmouth [orig not seen], publ before 1881] (cf Southwell 1881: 49);
nordcaper (Evans 1987b: 68);
nordkaper (Harmer 1928: 53);
North Atlantic right whale (Fraser 1976: 10; Evans 1987b: 68; Harmer 1928: 53; O'Riordan 1972: 255);
North Cape whale (Guldberg 1884);
northern right whale (Evans 1987b: 68);
right whale (Southwell 1881: 48);
sarda [Muscovy Co commission to T. Edge, 1611; T. Edge's account ca 1622/23; rendering from Basque] (Edge 1906: 30; Eschricht and Reinhardt 1866: 22; Lubbock 1978: 62; Purchas 1906b: 31);
sarde (Sæmundsson 1932: 419);
true right whale (Lubbock 1978: 62).
- Faeroese: biskeiahvalur (Ryggi 1927: 126);
slattubøka [by Svabo (1781/82) obviously wrongly given the scientific name of *Balæna mysticetus*, presumably for lack of a separate one] (Djurhuus 1976: 466; Svabo 1976: 75);
slattibøka (Ryggi 1927: 120; 1935-1942: 1; Degerbøl 1935-1942: 67; Jacobsen and Matras 1961: 390; Joensen 1968: 60; Rischel and Skårup 1972: 70, 74);
slattubøka (Jacobsen and Matras 1961: 390; Sæmundsson 1932: 419);

- slettebag (Resen [ca 1688] 1972: 74f);
sottebak (Resen [ca 1688] 1972: 70f);
troidhual (Resen [ca 1688] 1972: 70);
troidhval (Resen [ca 1688] 1972: 71).
- French: baleine du Biscaye (Sæmundsson 1932: 419).
German: Biscayerwal (Sæmundsson 1932: 419);
Nordcaper (Anderson 1747: 219);
Nordkaper (Gannier and Gannier 1989: 118;
Sæmundsson 1932: 419).
- Greenlandic: arfivît ardlât (Muus, Salmonsens and Vibe
1982: 454).
- Icelandic: hafkikki (Blöndal 2, 1980: 754; Magnússon
1989: 459);
hafurfiskur [Jón Bjarnason] (Sæmundsson
1932: 419);
hafurhvalur (Sæmundsson 1932: 419);
hafurkekki [used in Arnarfjörður,
Vestfirðir] (Sæmundsson 1903: 135);
hafurketti [used in the Vestfirðir, ie,
northwest Iceland] (Blöndal 1, 1980: 287;
2, 1980: 754; Böðvarsson 1985: 329;
Sæmundsson 1932: 419);
hafurkietti [Jón Ólafsson frá Grunnavík,
1737] (Sæmundsson 1932: 419);
hafurkytti [Jón Guðmundsson; Jón
Bjarnason] (Sæmundsson 1932: 419);
hafurkikki (Blöndal 2, 1980: 754);
hafurkitti (Blöndal 1, 1980: 287;
Böðvarsson 1985: 329, 903; Sæmundsson
1932: 93; Thoroddsen 1911: 492);
höddu-nefr [JÓfG 1737] (KBK ms Rostgaard 111:
31r; LBS-JS ms 247: 37);
höddunefur [Snorri Bjarnason; cf Sæmundsson
1932: 419] (Guðmundsson [ca 1640/44]
1924a: 9f; Sæmundsson 1932: 419);
íslands-sléttbakur (Sæmundsson 1932: 419);
sléttbakur (Magnússon [1785] 1944a: 48);
sléttbakur (?) (Guðmundsson [ca 1639/44]
1924b: 28);
sléttbaka (?) (Sæmundsson 1932: 419);
slétt-bakur [JÓfG 1737] (LBS-JS ms 247: 37);
sléttbakur [also used as a generic name for
right whales; cf Blöndal 2, 1980: 754]
(Einarsson 1980: 20; Magnússon 1989: 892;
Sæmundsson 1932: 419; Thoroddsen 1911:
492);
sletteblaka (?) (Guðmundsson [ca 1639/44]
1924b: 28);
sliettbakur (Guðmundsson [ca 1640/44] 1924a:
9f);
sliettibaka (Magnússon 1989: 892; Oddsson
[1638] 1917: 45);
sljett-bakr [JÓfG 1737] (KBK ms Rostgaard
111: 31r);
svinhval [svínhvalur] [used in Iceland in the
early 20th century, according to whaler

M.C. Bull] (Nordgaard 1916: 214; 1921: 108);
vaðfiskur [Hallgrímur Scheving] (Sæmundsson 1932: 419);
vatshvalur [so called by Jón Guðmundsson because the oil oozes unaided from the blubber; also used for the bowhead] (Guðmundsson [ca 1640/44] 1924a: 9; Sæmundsson 1932: 409, 419);
vatshualur [cf vatshvalur] (Guðmundsson [ca 1640/44] 1924a: 10; Sæmundsson 1932: 409, 419);
vatzhvalur [cf vatshvalur] (Guðmundsson [ca 1640/44] 1924a: 10; Sæmundsson 1932: 409, 419).

Norn:

Norwegian: biskayer-hval (Collett 1911-1912: 547);
biskayerhval (Guldberg 1889a: 33; Helland 1905: 650; Hjort 1902: 123; Sæmundsson 1932: 419);
hushval [so called because it looks like the roof of a house when lying at the surface; cf Guldberg 1907: 265] (Guldberg 1907: 265; Sæmundsson 1932: 419);
lilliehval (Guldberg 1889b: 3);
nordhval (?) (Collett 1911-1912: 547);
nor-capers [presumably sg] (Lilienskiold 1, 1942: 207);
nordkaper [named after North Cape, north Norway, by the Dutch; cf Collett 1911-1912: 548] (Collett 1911-1912: 545, 547f; Gannier and Gannier 1989: 118f; Guldberg 1889a: 17; 1889b: 1; 1907: 257; Helland 1905: 650; Hjort 1902: 123f; Sæmundsson 1932: 419; Thoroddsen 1911: 492);
sarde (Guldberg 1889a: 17, 33);
sildqval (Guldberg 1889b: 3);
sletbag (Guldberg 1907: 257);
sletbaker [Schönneböl 1676] (Storm, in Schönneböl 1978: 322/211, referring to Brinck, *Descriptio Loufodiæ*, p 27; cf Brinch 1978: 332);
stub (possibly stubbe) [the 'stubbed one'; so called in Finnmark because of the head] (Leem 1767: 300);
stubbe [the 'stubbed one'; so called in Finnmark because of the head] (Lilienskiold 1, 1942 [1698]: 207);
taghval [so called because it looks like the roof of a house when lying at the surface] (Guldberg 1907: 265);
takhval (Sæmundsson 1932: 419);
throldhual (?) (Anon [1694] 1938: 40);
tuehval (Sæmundsson 1932: 419).
Old Norse: hafurkitti [KGS] (Sæmundsson 1932: 419);
sléttibaka (?) [KGS] (Sæmundsson 1932: 419).

Samish:

Scots:

Swedish: nordkapare (Sæmundsson 1932: 419).

**M2 Bowhead whale or Greenland right whale,
Balaena mysticetus (Linnaeus 1758):**

Balæna mysticetus (Linnaeus 1758) (Hershkovitz 1966: 194);

Balæna mysticetus groenlandica (Kerr 1792) (Hershkovitz 1966: 194);

Balæna borealis (Lesson 1828) (Hershkovitz 1966: 194);

Balaena mysticetus borealis (Knox 1838) (Hershkovitz 1966: 104);

Balæna mysticetus arctica (Schlegel 1841) (Hershkovitz 1966: 194).

- American: Arctic right whale [used in the eastern Arctic; cf Bockstoce 1986: 354] (Bockstoce 1986: 354; Leatherwood, Caldwell and Winn 1976: 49; Rice 1977: 7);
bowhead (Anon 1976b: 2; Rice 1977: 7);
great polar whale (Leatherwood, Caldwell and Winn 1976: 49; Scammon 1968: 52);
Greenland whale (Leatherwood, Caldwell and Winn 1976: 49);
poggy [young bowhead, used by 19th century American whalers] (Rice 1977: 7);
polar whale [used in the western Arctic] (Bockstoce 1986: 354, 358);
Roys's whale [used in the western Arctic] (Bockstoce 1986: 354, 358);
steeple top [used in the western Arctic] (Bockstoce 1986: 354);
- Basque: sardaco baléac [right whale (*sarda*) which 'moves in flocks', so called by the Basques when they first met with the bowhead off Newfoundland and Labrador, in contradistinction to the *sarda* they knew from Europe] (Eschricht and Reinhardt 1866: 23);
- Danish: bardefisk (Melchior 1834: 250);
fisk [common into the mid 19th century] (Eschricht 1845: 143);
grønlandshval (Blöndal 1, 1980: 277; Gannier and Gannier 1989: 118; Melchior 1834: 249f; Muus, Salmonsén and Vibe 1982: 456; Sæmundsson 1932: 409);
den grønlandske hval (Landt 1800: 241; 1965: 138);
hval [common into the mid 19th century] (Eschricht 1845: 143; Magnússon [1785] 1944a: 48);
hvalfisk [common into the mid 19th century] (Eschricht 1845: 143);
nordhval (Blöndal 2, 1980: 754; Sæmundsson 1932: 409);
nordlige rethval (Eschricht 1845: 145);
den rette og virkelige hval (Magnússon [1785]

- 1944a: 48);
sletbag (Melchior 1834: 250);
slettbag (Olafsen 1, 1772: 541);
rethval [short for *den nordlige rethval*;
used by 18th-19th century Danish whalers,
derives from *right whale* (E)] (Eschricht
1845: 143, 145, 147; Sæmundsson 1932:
409);
- Dutch: den store hval (Eiríksson 1768: 255, cf 254).
eilandsche walvissch [probably referring
to Jan Mayen] (Eschricht and Reinhardt
1866: 24f);
westys-vissch [referring to the 'West Ice'
off East Greenland and Jan Mayen to
Spitsbergen] (Eschricht and Reinhardt
1866: 24f);
zuidys-vissch [referring to the 'South
Ice', ie, that the whales came to
Spitsbergen from the southeast] (Eschricht
and Reinhardt 1866: 25).
- English: Arctic whale (Watson 1985: 71);
bearded whale [Muscovy Co commission to
Thomas Edge, 1611; T. Edge's account ca
1622/23] (Eschricht and Reinhardt 1866:
22; Lubbock 1978: 62; Purchas 1906b: 31);
common whale (Scoresby 1, 1969: 449);
grand bay whale, grand-bay (whale) [first
used by W. Baffin, 1616, and T. Edge ca
1622/23, deriving from a Basque term;
common until well into the 18th cent;
'Grand Bay' = northern Gulf of St
Lawrence/Strait of Belle Isle] (Edge 1906:
30; Eschricht and Reinhardt 1866: 8f, 22,
24; de Jong 1978: 2; Lubbock 1978: 62;
Tuck 1981: 69);
great Greenland whale (Edmondston 2, 1809:
298);
great polar whale (Watson 1985: 71);
Greenland whale (Scoresby 1, 1969: 449;
Sæmundsson 1932: 409; Southwell 1881: 49);
Greenland right whale (Watson 1985: 71);
ice-whale (SOED 1, 1987: 1013);
mysticetus (Scoresby 1, 1969: 450f, 459,
473; 2, 1969: 16f);
right-whale [used by the whalers] (Southwell
1881: 48, 49);
right whale (Sæmundsson 1932: 409; Sandison
1896: 43);
whalebone whale (Sæmundsson 1932: 409).
- Faeroese: grønlandsslættibøka (Jacobsen and Matras
1961: 132);
slattubeak (Melchior 1834: 250);
slattubøka (Landt 1800: 241; 1965: 138).
- French: baleine du Groenland (Sæmundsson 1932:
409).
- German: Beringwal (Bolau 1885: 360);

- eigentlicher Wallfisch (Anderson 1747: 222);
gemeiner Wallfisch (Anderson 1747: 245;
Eschricht 1845: 153; Jöcher 3, 1843: 509);
grönländischer Wal (Bolau 1885: 360);
grönländischer Walfisch (Bolau 1885: 357);
grönländischer Wallfisch (Jöcher 3, 1843:
509);
Grönlandswal (Gannier and Gannier 1989:
118; Sæmundsson 1932: 409);
grosser Wallfisch (Anderson 1747: 220);
Nordwal (Sæmundsson 1932: 409);
rechter grönländischer Wallfisch (Anderson
1747: 212);
rechter Wallfisch (Anderson 1747: 220, 222);
Wallfisch (Anderson 1747: 220).
- Greenlandic: arbek (Melchior 1834: 250);
argvek (Melchior 1834: 250);
arfekk (?) (Sæmundsson 1932: 409);
arfivik (Muus, Salmonsens and Vibe 1982:
456);
arfívíkk (?) (Sæmundsson 1932: 409);
sokalik (Melchior 1834: 250).
- Icelandic: grænlandshvalur (Blöndal 1, 1980: 277;
Böðvarsson 1985: 315; Sæmundsson 1932:
409; Thoroddsen 1911: 492);
grænlands-sléttbakur (Sæmundsson 1932:
93);
langskijdingur ['the one with the long
baleen'] (Guðmundsson [ca 1640/44] 1924a:
10);
nordhvalur (Oddsson [1638] 1917: 45);
nordhvalr (Melchior 1834: 230);
norðhvalur (Blöndal 2, 1980: 581, 754;
Einarsson 1980: 20; Guðmundsson [ca
1639/44] 1924b: 28; Sæmundsson 1932: 93;
Thoroddsen 1911: 492);
nordhvalur (Guðmundsson [ca 1640/44] 1924a:
10);
slettbag (Olavius 1780: 79);
slettbakr [= *balæna Grönlandica*] (Olafsen 1,
1772: 541; O.O. 1781: 14);
sléttbakur (Sæmundsson 1932: 409);
sliettbakr (Melchior 1834: 250; Mohr 1786:
13);
sljettbakur [used by Jón Ólafsson índiafari,
1661] (Ólafsson 1908-1909: 132; cf 124);
vatnshvalur (Guðmundsson [ca 1639/44] 1924b:
28);
vatshvalr (Melchior 1834: 250);
vatzhvalur [so called by Jón Guðmundsson and
Th. Torfæus because the oil oozes unaided
from the blubber; also used for the black
right whale] (Sæmundsson 1932: 409).
- Norn:
Norwegian: bowhead (Hjort 1902: 123);
den grønlandske hval [ca 1800] (Rathke 1907:

- 152);
grønlandshval (Anon 1890: 4; Gannier
and Gannier 1989: 118f; Guldberg 1889a:
18, 22, 33; Hjort 1902: 123; Sæmundsson
1932: 409);
hushval (?) [so called by the fishermen
according to Anon 1890: 4; the source may
possibly confound the bowhead with the
black right whale] (Anon 1890: 4);
nord-huall (Friis [1599] 1881a: 65);
nordhval (Guldberg 1889a: 18, 22, 33;
1889b: 1, 9);
rethval (Helland 1905: 650; Sæmundsson 1932:
409);
den rette grønlandske hval (Christie 1785/86,
UBB 211: f2r);
den rette grønlandske hvalfisk (Strøm 1,
1762: 298);
rethval (Hjort 1902: 123);
sletbag (Christie 1785/86, UBB 221: f2r;
Rathke [ca 1800] 1907: 152);
den store hval paa Grønland (Christie
1785/86, UBB 56: f45r);
taghval (?) [so called by the fishermen
according to Anon 1890: 4; the source may
possibly confound the bowhead with the
black right whale] (Anon 1890: 4);
tueqval (?) [so called because "af den
Ophøining, Tue, hvori Lufthullerne sidde";
cf Melchior 1834: 250; the identification
is doubtful, cf tue-qual] (Melchior 1834:
250);
tue-qual (?) [referring to a
Sunnmøre name, the identification by Strøm
is doubtful for geographical reasons]
(Strøm 1, 1762: 298).
Old Norse: norðhvalr [KGS] (Sæmundsson 1932: 409).
Samish:
Scots:
Swedish: grønlandshval (Sæmundsson 1932: 409);
nordhval (Sæmundsson 1932: 409);
rätthval (Sæmundsson 1932: 409).

M3 Minke whale,

Balaenoptera acutorostrata (Lacépède 1804):

- Balæna rostrata* (Fabricius 1780) (Collett 1911-1912: 563; Hershkovitz 1966: 153);
Rorqualus boops (Cuvier 1836) (Hershkovitz 1966: 155);
Balaena minima (Rapp 1837) (Hershkovitz 1966: 155);
Rorqualus minor (Hamilton 1837) (Hershkovitz 1966: 155);
Pterobalæna minor (Eschricht 1849) (Collett 1911-1912: 563; Hershkovitz 1966: 155);
Balæna minimus borealis (Knox 1838) (Hershkovitz 1966: 155);
Balænoptera eschrichtii (Rasch 1845) (Hershkovitz 1966: 155);
Balænoptera microcephala (Gray 1850) (Hershkovitz 1966: 156);
Pterobalæna nana pentadactyla (Barkow 1862) (Hershkovitz 1966: 156);
Pterobalæna nana tetradactyla (Barkow 1862) (Hershkovitz 1966: 156);
Pterobalæna pentadactyla (Flower 1865) (Hershkovitz 1966: 156);
Balænoptera bonærensis (Burmeister 1867) (Hershkovitz 1966: 156);
Agaphelus gibbosus (Cope 1868) (Hershkovitz 1966: 157);
Balæna gibbosa (Cope 1868) (Hershkovitz 1966: 157);
Balænoptera dactylæna huttoni (Gray 1874) (Hershkovitz 1966: 157);
Sibbaldius mondinii (Capellini 1877) (Hershkovitz 1966: 157);
Balænoptera rostrata (Van Bénédén and Gervais 1880) (Hershkovitz 1966: 153).

- American: finback's calf [used by whalers (on US west coast) before ca 1874] (Scammon 1968: 49);
gibbord [Fr; used in Quebec] (Leatherwood, Caldwell and Winn 1976: 63);
grampus [used in Newfoundland] (Leatherwood, Caldwell and Winn 1976: 63);
little finner (Leatherwood, Caldwell and Winn 1976: 63);
little piked whale (Leatherwood, Caldwell and Winn 1976: 63);
sharp-headed finner (whale) (Leatherwood, Caldwell and Winn 1976: 63, 65; Scammon 1968: 49);
young finback [used by whalers (on US west coast) before ca 1874] (Scammon 1968: 49).
- Danish: næb-finhval [Holten] (Melchior 1834: 263);
rafn-reider [D/I] [JÓfG 1737] (KBK ms Rostgaard 111: 31r);
sildepisker [commonly used by the Danish in Greenland, more seldom in zoological

- terminology; cf ODS 18, 1939: 1373] (ODS 18, 1939: 1373; Sæmundsson 1932: 367);
trynehval (Melchior 1834: 262);
vaagehval (Blöndal 1, 1980: 350; Lübbert 1865: 59; ODS 26, 1952: 193; Sæmundsson 1932: 367);
vågehval (Gannier and Gannier 1989: 118; Muus, Salmonsens and Vibe 1982: 448);
våghval [Eschricht, Kongelige danske videnskabers selskab 11: 286-299, pls 1-2; cf Hershkovitz 1966: 155] (Hershkovitz 1966: 155).
- English: bay whale (Lilljeborg 1866: 271; Nordgaard 1903: 18; Watson 1985: 88);
beaked whale (Scoresby 1, 1969: 485);
lesser finwhale (Sæmundsson 1932: 367);
lesser rorqual (Evans 1980a: 5; 1987b: 75; Fraser 1976: 13; Harvie-Brown 1888: 26; Leatherwood, Caldwell and Winn 1976: 63; O'Riordan 1972: 257; SOED 2, 1987: 1583; Southwell 1881: 48, 78; Watson 1985: 88);
little finner (Watson 1985: 88);
little piked whale (Hershkovitz 1966: 158);
pike whale (Fraser 1976: 13; Lilljeborg 1866: 271; Nordgaard 1903: 18; O'Riordan 1972: 257; SOED 2, 1987: 1583);
piked whale (Evans 1987b: 75; OED 7, 1961: 852);
pikehead (Watson 1985: 88);
pike headed whale (OED 7, 1961: 852);
pike-headed whale (SOED 2, 1987: 1583);
rostrata (Scoresby 1, 1969: 486);
sharp-headed finner (Watson 1985: 88);
sharp-lipped whale (?) [could equally well be the blue whale] (Tudor 1987: 208);
sharp-nosed finner (Sæmundsson 1932: 367);
summer whale (Watson 1985: 88).
- Faeroese: sildreki (Ryggi 1935-1942: 1; Degerbøl 1935-1942: 114; Jacobsen and Matras 1961: 358; Joensen 1968: 60);
silrekji [used for fin and minke whales together; cf Høst 1875: 355] (Høst 1875: 355).
- French: rorqual à museau pointu (Sæmundsson 1932: 367).
- German: Buchten-Walfisch (Lübbert 1865: 59);
Entenschnabel (Jöcher 3, 1843: 513);
Schnabelfisch (Jöcher 3, 1843: 513);
Vaagewal (Bolau 1885: 363);
Zwergfinnwal (Bolau 1885: 363; Gannier and Gannier 1989: 118);
Zwergwal (Sæmundsson 1932: 367).
- Greenlandic: tikâgugdlik (Muus, Salmonsens and Vibe 1982: 448);
tikâgugdlíkk (Sæmundsson 1932: 637);
tikagulik (Eschricht 1845: 164, 167);

- Melchior 1834: 263).
- Icelandic: dettir (Sæmundsson 1932: 367);
geirhvalur (Böðvarsson 1985: 275);
hnýfill (Blöndal 1, 1980: 341; Hermannsson
1924: 37; Sæmundsson 1932: 367; Thoroddsen
1911: 488);
hrafn-reyður [JÓfG 1737] (KBK ms Rostgaard
111: 31r);
hrafn-reiður [JÓfG 1737] (KBK ms Rostgaard
111: 37);
hrafnreidur (Guðmundsson [ca 1640/44] 1924a:
10; [ca 1639/44] 1924b: 28; Magnússon
[1785] 1944a: 49);
hrafn-reyður [= hrefna; for some reasons by
older sources also termed *balæna media*]
(Melchior 1834: 263; Mohr 1786: 13;
Olafsen 1, 1772: 542; O.O. 1781: 12);
hrafnareyður (Jakobsson 18, 1975: 314; see
also 19, 1975: 325);
hrafnhvalur [KGS] (Sæmundsson 1932: 367);
hrafnreider [D/I] (Scheving 1787: 210);
hrafnreyður (Blöndal 1, 1980: 350;
Böðvarsson 1985: 404, 406; Magnússon 1989:
368; Sæmundsson 1932: 367; Thoroddsen
1911: 488);
hrefna [short for *hrafnreyður*; for unknown
reasons by some old sources termed *balæna
media*] (Blöndal 1, 1980: 341, 352;
Böðvarsson 1985: 404, 406; Christie
1785/86, UBB 56: f23r; UBB 211: f2r;
Einarsson 1980: 20, 22; Magnússon [1785]
1944a: 49; Magnússon 1989: 368; Melchior
1834: 263; Mohr 1786: 13; Olafsen 1, 1772:
542; Olavius 1780: 79; Sæmundsson 1932:
367; Thoroddsen 1911: 488);
léttir (Hermannsson 1924: 37; Sæmundsson
1932: 367);
litli hnýfill (?) (Sæmundsson 1932: 367);
síldarhnýfill [used in North and East
Iceland] (Sæmundsson 1932: 367);
snefja [also used for the Atlantic gray whale
and the minke and sei whales] (Böðvarsson
1985: 917; Sæmundsson 1932: 367);
stökkull (Sæmundsson 1932: 367);
stóri hnýfill (?) (Sæmundsson 1932: 367).
- Norn:
Norwegian: finnefisk [Nordland, 1834] (Heltzen 1981:
88);
lillehval (Melchior 1834: 263);
lille rørhval [1785/86; -rør, -rør, N, is
derived from *reyð(u)r*, ON/I] (Christie
1785/86, UBB 56: f44r, f49r, f49v; UBB
221: f2r, f32v);
minka [NN] (Steinsnes 1956: 82);
minke [cf *minkehval*] (Gannier and Gannier
1989: 118f; Hognestad 1979: 138);

- minkehval [used by Norwegian whalers and people in Finnmark following the incident of a German worker of Svend Foyn, a certain Mr Meincke, mistaking a school of *Balaenoptera acutorostrata* for blue whales; cf Collett 1911-1912: 566] (Collett 1911-1912: 566; Sæmundsson 1932: 367);
- raffn-huall (Friis [1599] 1881a: 62; Nordgaard 1903: 15);
- ram-hual [Bent Jenssøn, in his copy (1648-1660) of Claussøn Friis's extract and translation of KGS, 1599] 1648-1660] (Nordgaard 1903: 15);
- ramn-huale (Friis [1599] 1881a: 62; Nordgaard 1903: 15);
- rør finnehval [Nordland, 1834] (Heltzen 1981: 88);
- sildehval [used in West Norway when arriving with the winter/spring herring; it is also applied to the fin whale on the same occasion] (Collett 1911-1912: 543, 575, 580, 709);
- sild-qval (Strøm 1, 1762: 298); [smaa silde-rør] [1785/86] (Christie 1785/86, ms 56: f23r);
- sommer hval [used by people in West Norway, perhaps in particular around the inshore waters of Hordaland (*bergenleden*), on grounds of its appearance during the summer] (Christie 1785/86, UBB 221: f2r);
- sommerhval [so called by the fishermen in the area of Bergen; cf Melchior 1834: 266] (Christie 1785/86, UBB 56: f44r; Collett 1911-1912: 566; Lilljeborg 1866: 277; Melchior 1834: 266);
- sumarskval [NN] (Steinsnes 1956: 82);
- vaage hval (Christie 1785/86, UBB 56: f23r);
- vaage-hval (Christie 1785/86, UBB 221: f10v);
- vaagehval [so called from its capture in våge (pl; 'inlets') in West Norway; cf Collett 1911-1912: 565; Helland 1921: 333; Lilljeborg 1866: 277] (Collett 1911-1912: 563, 565; Grieg 1889a: 259; Helland 1900: 281; 1914: 406; 1921: 563; Hjort 1902: 127; Melchior 1834: 266);
- vaageqval (Greve 1840);
- vågehval (Gannier and Gannier 1989: 118f; Hognestad 1979: 138);
- vaage qval [common name in Store Sotra, Hordaland; cf Christie 1785/86, UBB 221: f2v] (Christie 1785/86, UBB 221: f2v, f9v);
- vaage-qval (Christie 1785/86, UBB 221: f10v, f12v, f31r);
- vaaghval (Sæmundsson 1932: 367);

- waagehval [so called in the vicinity of Bergen by the mid 19th century because of its capture in certain inlets there] (Lilljeborg 1866: 277; cf 1862: 38);
vogehval (Christie, ca 1785/86: UBB, ms 56: f51v).
- Old Norse: hrafnhvalr [KGS; = rafnhvalr: ÆB 145; FTL xiv 10a] (Holm-Olsen 1983: 15; NGL 1, 1846: 252, 330; 2, 1848: 146, 148; cf Fritzner 2, 1954: 48);
hrafnreyör [HP] (Anon 1848: 581; Rask 1818: 219);
raumhvalr [ÆB 145; possible corruption of rafnhvalr] (NGL 1, 1846: 252, 330; Storm and Hertzberg/NGL 5, 1895: 508).
- Samish:
Scots:
Swedish: vikhval (Lübbert 1865: 59; Sæmundsson 1932: 367);
wikhval (Lilljeborg 1866: 271).

M4 Sei whale,

Balaenoptera borealis (Lesson 1828):

Balæna rostrata (Rudolphi 1822) (Collett 1911-1912: 596; Hershkovitz 1966: 160);

Balænoptera iwasi (Gray 1846) (Hershkovitz 1966: 161);

Balænoptera laticeps (Gray 1846) (Collett 1911-1912: 596; Hershkovitz 1966: 161);

Sibbaldus schlegelii (Gray 1864) (Hershkovitz 1966: 162);

Balænoptera schlegelii (Van Bénéden and Garvais 1880) (Hershkovitz 1966: 162).

- American: pollack whale (Leatherwood, Caldwell and Winn 1976: 32);
sardine whale (Leatherwood, Caldwell and Winn 1976: 32).
- Danish: sejhval (Blöndal 2, 1980: 677; Gannier and Gannier 1989: 118; Muus, Salmonsén and Vibe 1982: 446; Sæmundsson 1932: 374).
- English: coalfish whale (Horwood 1987: 6; Watson 1985: 90);
finner (?) [used by whalers; the description by Scoresby is not conclusive; he could possibly be dealing with a small fin whale] (Scoresby 1, 1969: 484);
herring whale (Lilljeborg 1866: 267);
Japan finner (Horwood 1987: 6);
Pollack whale (Horwood 1987: 6);
Rudolphi's rorqual (Fraser 1976: 15; Harmer 1928: 69; Harvie-Brown 1888: 26; Horwood 1987: 6; Leatherwood, Caldwell and Winn 1976: 32; O'Riordan 1972: 258; Sæmundsson 1932: 374; Southwell 1881: 48, 77);
sardine whale (Horwood 1987: 6; Watson 1985: 90).
- Faeroese: seiðhvalur [introduced in the 20th century; cf Ryggi 1935-1942: 2] (Ryggi 1935-1942: 2; Degerbøl 1935-1942: 77; Jacobsen and Matras 1961: 352; Joensen 1968: 59);
sildreki (Ryggi 1927: 119);
síldreki (Sæmundsson 1932: 374).
- French: baleine noire (Sæmundsson 1932: 374).
- German: Rudolphi's Finnwal (Sæmundsson 1932: 374);
Seiwal (Gannier and Gannier 1989: 118; Sæmundsson 1932: 374).
- Greenlandic: túnugdlit ilât (Muus, Salmonsén and Vibe 1982: 446).
- Icelandic: geirreyður [used in Arnarfjörður, Westfjords; cf Sæmundsson 1903: 135; 1929: 85; 1932: 374] (Sæmundsson 1903: 135; 1929: 85; 1932: 374; cf Blöndal 1, 1980: 245 and Kristjánsson 5, 1986: 57);
katthveli [used in South and East Iceland] (Kristjánsson 5, 1986: 57; Sæmundsson

- 1929: 85; 1932: 374);
sahvalur (Sigurðsson 1976: 40, 46, 49f);
sandreyður (Blöndal 2, 1980: 676;
Einarsson 1980: 20; Sæmundsson 1929: 85;
1932: 374; Thoroddsen 1911: 489);
snefja [also used for the Atlantic gray whale
and the minke whale] (Magnússon 1989:
913).
- Norn:
Norwegian: seiehval (Guldberg 1889b: 4);
seihval [presumably no older than the second
half of the 19th century, cf Nordgaard
1916: 214; used by Norwegian whalers in
Finnmark at the end of the 19th century
because the whale approached north
Norwegian coasts in the summer at the same
time as shoals of saithe and fed on the
same plankton as that fish does; Norwegian
sei = saithe, *Pollachius virens*] (Collett
1911-1912: 597; Gannier and Gannier 1989:
118f; Grieg 1889a: 260; Helland 1905: 651;
Hjort 1902: 126; Nordgaard 1916: 214;
Risting 1922: 19);
seirør [used in Troms, 1713-1787 or 1818-
1830] (Bratrein 2, 1990: 176);
sejhval (Horwood 1987: 6; Sæmundsson 1929:
85; 1932: 374).
- Old Norse: geirhvalr (?) [KGS] (Sæmundsson 1932: 374).
Samish: saidde-bösso (Qvigstad 1904: 353).
Scots:
Swedish: Sejhval (Sæmundsson 1932: 374);
sillhval (Lilljeborg 1866: 267).

M5 Blue whale,

Balaenoptera musculus (Linnaeus 1758):

Balæna musculus (Linnaeus 1758) (Hershkovitz 1966: 170);

Balænoptera jubartes (Lacépède 1804) (Hershkovitz 1966: 172);

Balaena borealis (Fisher 1829) (Hershkovitz 1966: 172);

Balaenoptera rorqual (Dewhurst 1832) (Hershkovitz 1966: 172);

Rorqualus boops (Cuvier 1836) (Hershkovitz 1966: 173);

Rorqualus borealis (Hamilton 1837) (Hershkovitz 1966: 172);

Balæna maximus borealis (Knox 1838) (Hershkovitz 1966: 172);

Physalus (rorqualus) sibbaldii (Gray 1847) (Collett 1911-1912: 586; Hershkovitz 1966: 173);

Balænoptera gigas (Reinhardt 1857) (Hershkovitz 1966: 173);

Pterobalaena gigas (Van Bénédén 1861) (Hershkovitz 1966: 173);

Sibbaldus borealis (Gray 1864) (Collett 1911-1912: 586; Hershkovitz 1966: 172);

Physalus latirostris (Flower 1865) (Hershkovitz 1966: 174);

Balænoptera carolinæ (Malm 1866) (Collett 1911-1912: 586; Hershkovitz 1966: 174);

Sibbaldius sulfureus (Cope 1869) (Hershkovitz 1966: 174);

Rorqualus major (Knox 1870) (Hershkovitz 1966: 173);

Pterobalæna gryphus (Munter 1877) (Hershkovitz 1966: 175);

Balænoptera sibbaldii (Flower 1885) (Hershkovitz 1966: 173);

Balænoptera sibbaldi (Van Bénédén 1887) (Hershkovitz 1966: 173).

American: sulphur bottom [Newfoundland] (Haldane 1908: 70);

sulphurbottom (whale) [so called because of the colour produced by gardens of diatoms, most common in the whales in the northern Pacific; cf Watson 1985: 85f] (Eschricht 1845: 186; Leatherwood, Caldwell and Winn 1976: 19; Sæmundsson 1932: 389; Scammon 1968: 71).

Basque: sedeva [Muscovy Co commission to T. Edge, 1611; T. Edge's account ca 1622/23] (Edge 1906: 30f; Lubbock 1978: 63).

Danish: blaahval (Blöndal 2, 1980: 796; Sæmundsson 1932: 389);

blåhval (Gannier and Gannier 1989: 118; Muus, Salmonsén and Vibe 1982: 442);

flab-finhval [Holten] (Melchior 1834: 261);

flabhval (Melchior 1834: 261);

kæmpehval (Blöndal 2, 1980: 796);

- støbe-reid [D/I] (Olafsen 1, 1772: 546);
støbe-reider [D/I] [JÓfG 1737] (KBK ms
Rostgaard 111: 30r).
- English: chaffer [so called in Shetland, ca 1774] (Low
1879: 86, cf 132);
finner [in Shetland so called together with
the fin whale; cf Hibbert 1822: 565]
(Hibbert 1822: 565);
giant whale (Lilljeborg 1866: 262);
physalis (Scoresby 1, 1969: 479-482);
razor back [used by whalers] (Scoresby 1,
1969: 478);
round-lipped whales (Edmondston 2, 1809:
298);
sedeva [Muscovy Co commission to T. Edge,
1611; T. Edge's account ca 1622/23] (Edge
1906: 30f; Lubbock 1978: 63);
sharp-lipped whale (?) [could equally well
be the minke whale] (Tudor 1987: 208);
Sibbald's rorqual (Fraser 1976: 14; Harmer
1928: 69; Harvie-Brown 1888: 26; O'Riordan
1972: 257; Sæmundsson 1932: 389; Southwell
1881: 48, 75);
sulphur bottom [so called because during
extended stays in colder water this whale
picks up a film of yellow-green diatoms
which conceal its natural hue; cf Watson
1985: 85] (Watson 1985: 85).
- Faeroese: royður [earlier also used about other large
rorquals; cf Jacobsen and Matras 1961:
338] (Ryggi 1927: 118; 1935-1942: 1;
Degerbøl 1935-1942: 70; Jacobsen and
Matras 1961: 338; Joensen 1968: 60;
Rischel 1963: 119; Sæmundsson 1932: 389).
- French: baleine bleue (Sæmundsson 1932: 389).
- German: Blauwal (Bolau 1885: 361; Gannier and Gannier
1989: 118; Sæmundsson 1932: 389);
Breitmaul (Jöcher 3, 1843: 513);
Rorqual (Jöcher 3, 1843: 513).
- Greenlandic: keporkarnak (Melchior 1834: 261);
túnnólíkk (Sæmundsson 1932: 389);
túnulik (Muus, Salmonsén and Vibe 1982:
442).
- Icelandic: bláhvalur [after *bláhval* in Norwegian]
(Blöndal 1, 1980: 84; Böðvarsson 1985: 82;
Sæmundsson 1932: 389; Sigurðsson 1976:
40);
geiredder hval [D/I; ie, *geirreyður*]
(Scheving 1787: 210);
hafreidur (Guðmundsson [ca 1640/44] 1924a:
11; Guðmundsson [ca 1639/44] 1924b: 28);
hafreyður [used in the Vestfirðir, cf
Sæmundsson 1903: 135; 1929: 85] (Blöndal
1, 1980: 287; Kristjánsson 5, 1986: 57;
Sæmundsson 1903: 135; 1929: 85; Thoroddsen
1911: 490);

langreyður [used in East Iceland, not to be mistaken for the meaning of fin whale] (Sæmundsson 1932: 389);
reyðarfiskur [used in East Iceland] (Sæmundsson 1932: 389);
reidarhvalur [D/I] (Erichsen 1768: 136);
reyður [also used as a generic name for rorquals] (Blöndal 2, 1980: 641);
sioreidur [D/I; ie, sjóreyður; = hafreyður?] (Erichsen 1768: 136);
sléttbaksreyður [used in Breiðafjörður] (Sæmundsson 1932: 389);
steipereyder (Olavius 1780: 79);
steipe-reidur (Melchior 1834: 261; Oddsson [1638] 1917: 41, 45);
steipereidur (Bartholin 1657: 282; Erichsen 1768: 136; Magnússon [1785] 1944a: 49);
steipireiður [JÓfG 1737] (LBS-JS ms 247: 36);
stepireidur (Bartholin 1657: 283);
steypireidur (Guðmundsson [ca 1640/44] 1924a: 11; Guðmundsson [ca 1639/44] 1924b: 28);
steypi reyður [JÓfG 1737] (KBK ms Rostgaard 111: 30);
steypi-reyður (Olafsen 1, 1772: 542; O.O. 1781: 14);
steypireyður [not to be mistaken for the meaning of fin whale] (Blöndal 2, 1980: 796; Einarsson 1980: 20; Sæmundsson 1929: 85; Thoroddsen 1911: 490);
støbe-reid [D/I] (Olafsen 1, 1772: 546).

Norn:

Norwegian:

blaahval [used by Svend Foyn since the mid 1860s] (Collett 1911-1912: 585, 589; Grieg 1889a: 260; Helland 1905: 651; Hjort 1902: 125; Sæmundsson 1929: 85; 1932: 389);
blåhval (Gannier and Gannier 1989: 118f);
hushval (?) [so called in Lofoten and Vesterålen; if it is identical with the more southerly tuehval it might be the humpback whale] (Helland 1897b: 255, cf 1899: 410);
store rørhval (?) (Melchior 1834: 261);
storhval (?) (Eschricht 1845: 199).
Old Norse: reyör [KGS] (Sæmundsson 1932: 389).

Samish:

Scots:

Swedish:

blåhval (Sæmundsson 1932: 389);
jättehval (Lilljeborg 1866: 262).

M6 Fin whale,

Balaenoptera physalus (Linnaeus 1758):

- Balæna vulgaris* (Pontoppidan 1753) (Pontoppidan 2, 1977: 195);
Balæna boops (Linnaeus 1758) (Hershkovitz 1966: 164);
Balæna physalus (Linnaeus 1758) (Hershkovitz 1966: 163);
Balaena rostrata (Linnaeus 1758) (Collett 1911-1912: 569);
Balæna (?) *Mysticetus major* (Kerr 1792) (Hershkovitz 1966: 164);
Balaena physalis (Kerr 1792) (Hershkovitz 1966: 165);
Balænoptera gibbar (Lacépède 1804) (Hershkovitz 1966: 165);
Balænoptera rorqual (Lacépède 1804) (Hershkovitz 1966: 165);
Balæna sulcata (Neill 1811) (Hershkovitz 1966: 165);
Balæna (?) *rostrata major* (Rosenthal 1827) (Hershkovitz 1966: 165);
Balænoptera mediterraneensis (Lesson 1828) (Hershkovitz 1966: 165);
Physalus verus (Billberg 1828) (Hershkovitz 1966: 165);
Physalis [sic] *vulgaris* (Fleming 1828) (Hershkovitz 1966: 166);
Balæna antiquorum (Fischer 1829) (Hershkovitz 1966: 166);
Balænoptera aragous (Farines and Carcassone 1829) (Hershkovitz 1966: 166);
Rorqualus musculus (Cuvier 1836) (Collett 1911-1912: 569; Hershkovitz 1966: 166);
Balænoptera tenuirostris (Sweeting 1840) (Hershkovitz 1966: 166);
Balæna sulcata arctica (Schlegel 1841) (Hershkovitz 1966: 166);
Physalus duguidii (Heddle 1856) (Hershkovitz 1966: 167);
Pterobalæna communis (Van Bénédén 1857) (Hershkovitz 1966: 167);
Pterobalæna gigantea michrochira (Barkow 1862) (Hershkovitz 1966: 167);
Benedenia knoxii (Gray 1864) (Hershkovitz 1966: 167; cf Collett 1911-1912: 569);
Sibbaldius tectirostris (Cope 1869) (Hershkovitz 1966: 169);
Sibbaldius tuberosus (Cope 1869) (Hershkovitz 1966: 169);
Physalus fasciatus (Gray 1870) (Hershkovitz 1966: 167);
Balænoptera musculus (Van Bénédén and Gervais 1880) (Hershkovitz 1966: 169).

American: common rorqual (Leatherwood, Caldwell and Winn 1976: 26);
fin-back
finback (whale) (Anon 1976b: 2; Harmer 1928: 69; Leatherwood, Caldwell and Winn 1976: 26; Scammon 1968: 34; Watson 1985: 82);

- finner [in Shetland also applied to the blue whale, ca 1822; cf Hibbert 1822: 565] (Hibbert 1822: 565);
finner (Leatherwood, Caldwell and Winn 1976: 26);
razorback (Leatherwood, Caldwell and Winn 1976: 26; Watson 1985: 82).
- Basque: gibarta [Muscovy Co commission, to T. Edge, 1611; T. Edge's account ca 1622/23] (Edge 1906: 30f; Lubbock 1978: 63).
- Danish: finfisk (Melchior 1834: 257; Eschricht 1845: 169);
finhval [occasionally also used as a generic name for rorquals; cf, eg, Eschricht 1845; Muus, Salmonsens and Vibe 1982: 441] (Gannier and Gannier 1989: 118; Muus, Salmonsens and Vibe 1982: 444; Sæmundsson 1932: 380);
finnefisk [P. Egede] (Strøm 1, 1762: 298);
fisk-drivere [D/I] [JÓFG 1737] (KBK ms Rostgaard 111: 31r);
rørhval [D/N; rør- derived from reyð(u)r, ON/I] (Landt 1800: 240; 1965: 137; Sæmundsson 1932: 380);
rør-finhval [Holten] (Melchior 1834: 257);
rør-qval [rør-hval] (Strøm 1, 1762: 298);
sijld-drivere [D/I] [JÓFG 1737] (KBK ms Rostgaard 111: 31r);
stor finhval (Eschricht 1845: 169);
storhval (Melchior 1834: 257).
- English: broad-nosed whale (Scoresby 1, 1969: 482);
common rorqual (Evans 1980: 10; 1987b: 73; Fraser 1976: 12; O'Riordan 1972: 256; Sæmundsson 1932: 380; Southwell 1881: 48, 70; Watson 1985: 82);
finback-whale (Eschricht 1845: 186);
finback (Eschricht 1845: 161; Evans 1987b: 73; Sæmundsson 1932: 380; Williamson 1948: 92);
fin-fish (Tudor 1987: 414f);
finfish (Anderson 1747: 220);
finner (Evans 1987b: 73; Tudor 1987: 208, 652; Watson 1985: 82);
finner (?) [used by whalers; the description by Scoresby is not conclusive; he could possibly be dealing with a sei whale] (Scoresby 1, 1969: 484);
finner whale (Sæmundsson 1932: 380);
gibarta [Muscovy Co commission, to T. Edge, 1611; T. Edge's account ca 1622/23] (Edge 1906: 30f; Lubbock 1978: 63);
musculus (Scoresby 1, 1969: 482f);
pike-headed whale (Edmondston 2, 1809: 298);
razor-back, razorback (Lilljeborg 1866: 251; Tudor 1987: 414f);
rorqual (Lilljeborg 1866: 251);

- round-lipped whale [Orkney, Shetland; ca 1883] (Tudor 1987: 208, 652).
- Faeroese: nebbafiskur (Ryggi 1927: 118; 1935-1942: 1; Degerbøl 1935-1942: 90; Jacobsen and Matras 1961: 293; Joensen 1968: 59; Sæmundsson 1932: 380); rojur (Djurhuus 1976: 460; Landt 1800: 240; 1965: 137; Svabo 1976: 74); sildreke (Djurhuus 1976: 463; Svabo 1976: 73); sildreki (Djurhuus 1976: 463); sildrekji (Landt 1800: 240; 1965: 137); silrekji [used for fin and minke whales together; cf Høst 1875: 355] (Djurhuus 1976: 463; Høst 1875: 355; Svabo 1976: 75).
- French: la baleine (Ascanius 1775: 4 [table xxvi]); rorqual (Sæmundsson 1932: 380).
- German: Finnfisch (Anderson 1747: 61, 220; Jöcher 3, 1843: 512); Finnwal (Gannier and Gannier 1989: 118; Sæmundsson 1932: 380); Gibbar (Jöcher 3, 1843: 512); Langröhrenwal (Bolau 1885: 362).
- Greenlandic: tekkirsok (Melchior 1834: 257); tikâgugdliussâq (Muus, Salmonsens and Vibe 1982: 444); tunnokik (Eschricht 1845: 169); tunnolik (Melchior 1834: 257); túnnólíkk (Sæmundsson 1932: 380).
- Icelandic: finnhvalur [from *finhval* in Norwegian] (Sæmundsson 1932: 380); fisk-reki [JÓfG 1737] (KBK ms Rostgaard 111: 31r); fiskreki (Blöndal 1, 1980: 192; LBS-JS ms 247: 36 [JÓfG]; Sæmundsson 1932: 380; cf Magnússon 1989: 752); fiskreki (?) (Guðmundsson [ca 1640/44] 1924a: 11); geirreyður (Thoroddsen 1911: 489); hafreiderr (Scheving 1787: 210); hafreyður (?) [Snorri Bjarnason] (Sæmundsson 1932: 380); hnúfubakur (?) [N. Mohr and Jón Bjarnason; not to be mistaken for the meaning of humpback] (Sæmundsson 1932: 388, 399); langareyður [Snorri Bjarnason] (Sæmundsson 1932: 380); langreider (Scheving 1787: 210); langreyð (f) (Blöndal 1, 1980: 473); langreyðarhvalur (Blöndal 1, 1980: 473); langreyður (m) (Blöndal 1, 1980: 473; Einarsson 1980: 20; Sæmundsson 1903: 135; 1929: 85, 1932: 380; Thoroddsen 1911: 489); mioareidur (?) [D/I; = *mjóareyður*, *mjóreyður*]

(Erichsen 1768: 136);
mjóreyður (?) (Sæmundsson 1932: 380);
sijld-reki [JÓfG 1737] (KBK ms Rostgaard 111:
31r);
sijldreki (?) (Guðmundsson [ca 1640/44]
1924a: 11);
síldreki [used as a specific term; as a
comprehensive term it means any large
whale chasing herring shoals] (Blöndal 2,
1980: 695; Kristjánsson 5, 1986: 57; LBS-
JS ms 247: 36 [JÓfG]; Sæmundsson 1929: 85;
1932: 380; Thoroddsen 1911: 489);
steypireyður [used in Breiðafjörður; East
Iceland; and possibly Eyjafjarðarsýsla;
not to be mistaken for the meaning of blue
whale] (Sæmundsson 1932: 380);
sýldreki (Guðmundsson [ca 1639/44] 1924b:
28);
sýlldreki (Guðmundsson [ca 1639/44] 1924b:
28).

Norn:

Norwegian:

bastard [for a big fin whale, 68-70 ft/22 m
average length, thought to be a cross
between fin and blue whales] (Collett
1911-1912: 574);
finhval (Collett 1911-1912: 569; Helland
1905: 651; 1914: 406; 1921: 563; Hjort
1902: 125f; Rathke 1907: 139, 145, 152;
Sæmundsson 1932: 380);
finnefisk (Melchior 1834: 257);
finnhval (Gannier and Gannier 1989: 118f);
hval (Sommerfelt 1824-1827: 85);
langrør [for slim/emaciated fin whales
arriving during summer off northern
Norway; -rør, N, is derived from reyð(u)r,
ON/I] (Collett 1911-1912: 574; Helland
1899: 410; Sæmundsson 1932: 380);
loddehval [for fin whales arriving at the
Finnmark coast late winter/early spring
together with the capelin and mainly
feeding on that species] (Collett 1911-
1912: 581; Grieg 1889a: 260; Sæmundsson
1932: 380);
rør-hval [Finnmark, 1698; Nordland, ca 1800]
(Lilienskiold 1, 1942: 206; Rathke 1907:
110);
rørhval [D/N; rør- derived from reyð(u)r,
ON/I] (Helland 1899: 410; Rathke 1907:
145, 152; Sæmundsson 1932: 380);
rörqual (Ascanius 1775: 4 [table xxvi]);
rörqval [D/N; derived from reyð(u)r, ON/I;
also used as a generic name for rorquals]
(Eschricht 1845: 161, 180);
slet finnehval (?) [Nordland, 1834] (Heltzen
1981: 88; cf Rathke 1907: 110);
sletbag-hval (?) [Nordland, 1834] (Heltzen

- 1981: 88; cf Rathke 1907: 110);
sildehval [so called because of its arrival
with the winter/spring herring; the name
is also applied to the minke whale for its
association with the summer herring]
(Brunchorst 1889: 166; Collett 1911-1912:
543, 575, 580, 709; Grieg 1889a: 259f;
Helland 1897b: 255; 1899: 410; 1900: 281;
1904: 285; 1905: 651; 1921: 333, 563;
Hjort 1902: 125; Sæmundsson 1932: 380);
sildhual (Anderson 1747: 61, 220);
sildhval (?) (Eschricht 1845: 199);
sildhval (?) [Nordland, 1834] (Heltzen 1981:
88);
silde-qval [Pontoppidan (1753) gives same
explanation as mentioned under *sildehval*,
qv] (Pontoppidan 2, [1753] 1977: 194, cf
195, 197);
sildqval (Anderson 1747: 61, 220);
silde rör [1785/86; -rör, -rør, N, is derived
from *reyð(u)r*, ON/I] (Christie 1785/86,
UBB 56: f44r);
silde-rör [1785/86] (Christie 1785/86, UBB
221: f2r);
silderör [1785/86] (Christie 1785/86, UBB 56:
f49v);
silderør (Helland 1897b: 255; 1899: 410;
Sæmundsson 1932: 380);
stoor-hval [Finnmark, 1698] (Lilienskiold 1,
1942: 207);
storhval (Melchior 1834: 257);
stor rör [1785/86] (Christie 1785/86, UBB 56,
f49v, f50r);
stor rörhval [1785/86] (Christie 1785/86, UBB
221: f2r);
stor silde-rör [1785/86] (Christie 1785/86,
UBB 56: f23r; UBB 221: f2r);
stor sildehval [1785/86] (Christie 1785/86,
UBB 56: f24v, f50r);
tue-hval [Nordland, ca 1800] (Rathke 1907:
110, cf 145, 152).
Old Norse: geirhvalr (?) [KGS] (Sæmundsson 1932: 380).
Samish:
Scots:
Swedish: rörhval (Lilljeborg 1866: 251; Sæmundsson
1932: 380);
sillhval (Sæmundsson 1932: 380).

M7a Gray whale, [North Pacific],
Eschrichtius robustus (Lilljeborg 1861):

Balæna gibbosa (Erxleben 1777) (Hershkovitz 1966:
149);

Agaphelus glaucus (Cope 1868) (Hershkovitz 1966: 150);

Rhachianectes glaucus (Cope 1869) (Hershkovitz 1966:
150).

- American: devel fish [so called because of it being a vicious fighter, with the tail flukes, when harpooned, and because of females defending their calves; cf Bockstoce 1986: 73, 355; Scammon 1968: 24f; Watson 1985: 77) (Bockstoce 1986: 73, 355; Scammon 1968: 24f; Watson 1985: 77);
gray back [so called because its colour, cf Scammon 1968: 24f] (Scammon 1968: 24f);
mussel digger [so called because of its habit of searching food on soft bottoms; cf Scammon 1968: 24f] (Bockstoce 1986: 355; Scammon 1968: 24f; Watson 1985: 77);
rip sack [so called because of the manner of flensing; cf Scammon 1968: 24f] (Bockstoce 1986: 355, 358; Scammon 1968: 24f; Watson 1985: 77);
scrag (whale) [so called because of its poor oil yield; cf Bockstoce 1986: 72] (Bockstoce 1986: 72, 358).
- Danish: gråhval (Muus, Salmonsén and Vibe 1982: 452);
sand-ædere [D/I] [JÓfG 1737] (KBK ms Rostgaard 111: 31r);
sand-liggere [D/I] [JÓfG 1737] (KBK ms Rostgaard 111: 31r);
snevir [D/I] [JÓfG 1737] (KBK ms Rostgaard 111: 31r).
- English: scrag (Watson 1985: 77);
California gray whale (Evans 1987b: 70; Hershkovitz 1966: 150);
Pacific grey whale (Harmer 1928: 66).
- Faeroese:
German: Knobbelfisch [for *srag-whale* (sic)] (Anderson 1747: 225);
Knotenfish [for *srag-whale* (sic)] (Anderson 1747: 225).
- Icelandic: gráhvallur (Hallgrímsson 1982);
nefja [apparently erroneous for *snefja* with JÓfG] (Jónsson 1, 1988: 36);
sand-æta [JÓfG 1737] (KBK ms Rostgaard 111: 30r);
sandæta [JÓfG 1737] (LBS-JS ms 247: 37);
sand-lægja [JÓfG 1737] (KBK ms Rostgaard 111: 30r);
sandlægja [JÓfG 1737] (LBS-JS ms 247: 37);
snefia [JÓfG 1737] (LBS-JS ms 247: 37);

snefja [JÓfG 1737] (KBK ms Rostgaard 111:
30r).

Norn:
Norwegian:
Old Norse:
Samish:
Scots:

M7b Gray whale, [North Atlantic, extinct],
Eschrichtius robustus (Lilljeborg 1861):

scrag whale (Dudley 1725: 258; Hershkovitz 1966:
149);

Balæna boops (Kerr 1792) (Hershkovitz 1966: 150);

Balænoptera robusta (Lilljeborg 1861) (Hershkovitz
1966: 150).

American:

Basque otta sotta [Moscovy Co commission to T.
Edge, 1611; T. Edge's account ca 1622/23]
(Edge 1906: 30f; Lubbock 1978: 63).

Danish: gråhval (Muus, Salmonsén and Vibe 1982: 452).

English: Gräsö-whale (Lilljeborg 1866: 278);
otta sotta [Moscovy Co commission to T.
Edge, 1611; T. Edge's account ca 1622/23]
(Edge 1906: 30f; Lubbock 1978: 63);
scrag whale (Dudley 1725: 258; Hershkovitz
1966: 149; cf Rice and Wolman 1971: 5f).

Faeroese:

German:

Icelandic: sandæta [also used for the northern
bottlenose whale] (Blöndal 2, 1980: 677;
Böðvarsson 1985: 809; Hallgrímsson 1982;
Thoroddsen 2, 1898: 316);
sandlægja (Guðmundsson [ca 1640/44] 1924a: 9;
[ca 1639/44] 1924b: 28);
sandlægja [also used for the northern
bottlenose whale] (Blöndal 2, 1980: 677;
Böðvarsson 1985: 809; Hallgrímsson 1982;
Thoroddsen 2, 1898: 316);
snefja [probably first recorded with Jón
Ólafsson frá Grunnavík, 1737; also used
for the minke and sei whales] (Blöndal 2,
1980: 765; Böðvarsson 1985: 917;
Hallgrímsson 1982; Magnússon 1989: 913;
Thoroddsen 2, 1898: 316).

Norn:

Norwegian:

Old Norse: sandæta (Anon 1848: 581);
sandlægja (Anon 1848: 581; Rask 1818: 219);
hrannlægja (Anon 1848: 581).

Samish:

Scots:

M8 Humpback whale,

Megaptera novaeangliae (Borowski 1781):

Balæna boops (Fabricius 1780) (Hershkovitz 1966: 177);

Balaena novae angliae (Borowski 1781) (Hershkovitz 1966: 177);

Balæna nodosa (Bonnaterre 1789) (Hershkovitz 1966: 177);

Balæna longimana (Rudolphi 1832) (Hershkovitz 1966: 179; cf Collett 1911-1912: 606);

Balænoptera leucopteron (Lesson 1842) (Hershkovitz 1966: 181);

Megaptera americana (Gray 1846) (Hershkovitz 1966: 181);

Megaptera longimana (Gray 1846) (Collett 1911-1912: 606; Hershkovitz 1966: 179);

Megaptera longipinna [sic] (Gray 1846) [lapsus for *Balaena longimana*, Rudolphi] (Hershkovitz 1966: 180);

Balænoptera syncondylus (Müller 1863) (Hershkovitz 1966: 181);

Megaptera gigas (Cope 1865) (Hershkovitz 1966: 182);

Megaptera osphyia (Cope 1865) (Hershkovitz 1966: 182);

Kyphobalæna keporkak (Van Bénéden 1868) (Hershkovitz 1966: 182);

Megaptera boops (Van Bénéden and Gervais 1869-1880) (Hershkovitz 1966: 177; cf Collett 1911-1912: 606);

Megaptera bellicorsa (Cope 1871) (Hershkovitz 1966: 182);

Balæna atlanticus (Hurdis 1897) [probably a lapsus for *Megaptera americana*, Gray] (Hershkovitz 1966: 183);

Megaptera kusira [sic] (Trouessart 1904) [name a misspelling of *kuzira* Gray] (Hershkovitz 1966: 181);

Megaptera nodosa bellicorsa (Elliot 1904) (Hershkovitz 1966: 183).

American: bunch (Eschricht 1845: 161, 172, 183, 186, 194; Leatherwood, Caldwell and Winn 1976: 40);

whale (Dudley 1725: 258);

hump whale (Leatherwood, Caldwell and Winn 1976: 40);

hunchbacked whale (Leatherwood, Caldwell and Winn 1976: 40).

Danish: jupiterfisk [cf Anderson] (Melchior 1834: 259);

knølhval (Blöndal 1, 1980: 421; Sæmundsson 1932: 399);

langhaandet finhval [langhåndet finhval] [*finhval* = rorqual] (Eschricht 1845: 163, 167);

nuude [D/I] [JÓfG 1737] (KBK ms Rostgaard 111: 35r);

nuudebag [D/I] [JÓfG 1737] (KBK ms Rostgaard 111: 35r);

nuvebag (Olafsen 1, 1772: 541);

pukkelhval (Blöndal 1, 1980: 343, cf 421; Collett 1911-1912: 610; Gannier and

Gannier 1989: 118; Muus, Salmonsén and

- Vibe 1982: 449; Sæmundsson 1932: 399);
rørhval (Melchior 1834: 258);
skallung (?) [D/I] [JÓfG 1737] (KBK ms
Rostgaard 111: 35r);
spring-finhval [Holten] (Melchior 1834: 259).
- English: bunch whale (Dudley 1725: 258; Watson 1985:
95; cf Anderson 1747: 224);
hunch back (Scoresby 2, 1969: 530; cf SOED
1, 1987: 997; Watson 1985: 95);
humpbacked whale (Leatherwood, Caldwell
and Winn 1976: 40; Lydekker 1909: 21);
kepokak (Rink 1974: 122);
knuckle head (Watson 1985: 95);
seveda negro [Muscovy Co commission,
to T. Edge, 1611; T. Edge's account ca
1622/23] (Lubbock 1978: 63; Svabo 1976:
73).
- Faeroese: kúlubakur (Jacobsen and Matras 1961: 236);
kúlubeakur (Svabo 1976: 73);
kúlubøka (Ryggi 1927: 119; 1935-1942: 1;
Degerbøl 1935-1942: 103; Jacobsen and
Matras 1961: 236; Joensen 1968: 60;
Sæmundsson 1932: 399).
- French: baleine à taquet (Sæmundsson 1932: 399).
- German: Buckelwal (Bolau 1885: 361; Gannier and
Gannier 1989: 118; Sæmundsson 1932: 399);
Jupiter (Anderson 1747: 220);
Jupiterfisch (Anderson 1747: 220; Jöcher 3,
1843: 512);
Keporkak (Jöcher 3, 1843: 512);
langhändiger Wal (Bolau 1885: 361);
Pflockfisch (Anderson 1747: 224);
Rifryder (Jöcher 3, 1843: 512).
- Greenlandic: keporkak [meaning 'the one with grooves';
cf Eschricht 1845: 161, 180] (Bolau
1885: 361; Eschricht 1845: 154, 161,
163, 167, 169, 172, 180, 199; Melchior
1834: 259);
kiporkakk (Sæmundsson 1932: 399);
krepokak (Melchior 1834: 259);
qiporqaq (Muus, Salmonsens and Vibe 1982:
449);
sigukitsok (Melchior 1834: 259).
- Icelandic: böltungur [in the meaning of *lítill
skeljungur*, by Snorri Bjarnason]
(Sæmundsson 1932: 399);
hafurketta (?) [used in East Iceland]
(Sæmundsson 1932: 399);
hnúði (Blöndal 1, 1980: 343; LBS-JS ms 247:
42 [JÓfG 1737]; Magnússon 1989: 352;
Sæmundsson 1932: 399);
hnúðubakur (Sæmundsson 1932: 399);
hnúður [Eyjafjarðarsýsla; East Iceland]
(Magnússon 1989: 352; Sæmundsson 1932:
399);
hnúður-baki [JÓfG 1737] (LBS-JS ms 247: 42);

hnúðurbaki (Blöndal 1, 1980: 343);
hnúðurbakur (Blöndal 1, 1980: 343;
Sæmundsson 1932: 399);
hnufubag (Olavius 1780: 79);
hnufubakr (Olafsen 1, 1772: 541);
hnufubakur (Magnússon [1785] 1944a: 48f);
hnúfubakr (O.O. 1781: 12);
hnúfubakur (Blöndal 1, 1980: 343;
Einarsson 1980: 20; Magnússon 1989: 352;
Sæmundsson 1929: 85; Thoroddsen 1911:
491);
hnwði [JÓfG 1737] (KBK ms Rostgaard 111:
35r);
hnwdubakr [JÓfG 1737] (KBK ms Rostgaard 111:
35r);
hornfisksreyður (Kristjánsson 5, 1986: 57;
Sæmundsson 1929: 85);
hornfiskur [used in Árnarfjörður,
Vestfirðir] (Kristjánsson 5, 1986: 57;
Sæmundsson 1903: 135; 1929: 85; 1932:
399);
horn-hval (Scheving 1787: 210);
hrythveli (?) [Hallgrímur Scheving, 19th
century] (Sæmundsson 1932: 399; see also
Rischel and Skårup 1972: 72);
katthveli (Blöndal 1, 1980: 421);
litli hnúður (?) [Eyjafjarðarsýsla; East
Iceland] (Sæmundsson 1932: 399);
skieliungur (Guðmundsson [ca 1640/44] 1924a:
9; [ca 1639/44] 1924b: 28);
skejlungur [Snorri Bjarnason; cf Sæmundsson
1932: 399]; [also used as genus name for
Megaptera] (Blöndal 2, 1980: 718;
Böðvarsson 1985: 855; Magnússon 1989: 837;
Nordgaard 1921: 113; Sæmundsson 1932: 399;
Thoroddsen 1911: 491);
skeljúngur (?) [JÓfG 1737] (LBS-JS ms 247:
42-43);
skeljwngr (?) [JÓfG 1737] (KBK ms Rostgaard
111: 35r);
stóri hnúður (?) [Eyjafjarðarsýsla; East
Iceland] (Sæmundsson 1932: 399);
suarfhualur (Guðmundsson [ca 1640/44] 1924a:
9);
svarfhvalur [Snorri Bjarnason] (Sæmundsson
1932: 399).

Norn:

Norwegian: knøl [so called (by Norwegian whalers)
because of the excrescences on head and
flippers] (Collett 1911-1912: 610; Helland
1921: 563; Sæmundsson 1932: 399);
knølhval [cf knøl] (Collett 1911-1912:
606, 610; Gannier and Gannier 1989: 118f;
Grieg 1889a: 260; Helland 1905: 650; 1914:
406; Hjort 1902: 124f; Sæmundsson 1929:
85; 1932: 399);

- kugl-qval (Christie 1785/86, UBB 56: f23r;
UBB 221: f2r);
langarm (Helland 1899: 410);
nordkaper [said to be used by several
authorities as a comprehensive name for
whales taken at the North Cape, apart from
the black right whale in particular the
humpback] (Anon 1890: 4);
nue hval [nue is probably derived from
nuv(e), NN] (Christie 1785/86, UBB 56:
f44r);
pukkelhval (Helland 1905: 650; Hjort 1902:
124);
skeliung (Friis [1599] 1881a: 65);
troid-hval (Lilienskiold 1, 1942: 207);
troidhval [used in Finnmark, 1698;
cf Lilienskiold, 1698: 207; used in
Finnmark (by the whalers?) according to
Commander Ingebretsen; cf Nordgaard 1921:
113] (Helland 1899: 410; Nordgaard 1921:
113; Sæmundsson 1932: 399);
tuehval [so called because of a 'high node'
on the back ("en høy Knude ... paa
Ryggen")] (Pontoppidan 2, [1753] 1977:
199);
tuehval (?) [so called in Mid (and West?)
Norway; if it is identical with the
hushval it could possibly be the blue
whale] (Helland 1897b: 255; 1899: 410).
- Old Irish: scelling? [de Vries mentions under
'skeljungr' (ON), defined as *Schalentier*
the Old Irish term, with reference to
Marstrander, Skrifter og afhandlinger,
Norges Videnskapsakademi 5, 1915: 54 [orig
not seen]; I feel that it could possibly
refer to the humpback whale] (de Vries
1977: 489).
- Old Norse: skeljungr [KGS] (Sæmundsson 1932: 399).
Samish: ruolla-bösso ['troll whale'] (Qvigstad 1904:
353).
- Scots:
Swedish: knölhval (Sæmundsson 1932: 399);
puckelhval (Lilljeborg 1866: 287;
Sæmundsson 1932: 399).

(0) **Odontocetes (toothed whales, including dolphins and porpoises):**

01 White whale or beluga,
Delphinapterus leucas (Pallas 1776):

Physeter katadon (?) (Müller 1773) (Hershkovitz 1966: 109);
Balaena albicans (Müller 1776) (Collett 1911-1912: 656f; Hershkovitz 1966: 109);
Delphinus leucas (Pallas 1776) (Hershkovitz 1966: 109);
Delphinus albicans (Müller 1780) (Collett 1911-1912: 656f; Hershkovitz 1966: 109);
Delphinus phocaena albus (Kerr 1792) (Hershkovitz 1966: 109);
Physeter macrocephalus albicans (Kerr 1792) (Hershkovitz 1966: 109);
Catodon albicans (Lacépède 1804) (Hershkovitz 1966: 109);
Delphinapterus beluga (Lacépède 1804) (Collett 1911-1912: 656f; Hershkovitz 1966: 109);
Delphinus albiens [sic] (Nilsson 1820) [misprint for *albicans*, Fabricius] (Hershkovitz 1966: 109);
Delphinus leucaster [sic] (Gray 1821) [misprint for *D. leucas*, Pallas] (Hershkovitz 1966: 109);
Delphinus canadensis (Desmarest 1822) (Hershkovitz 1966: 110);
Beluga borealis (Lesson 1828) (Hershkovitz 1966: 110);
Beluga glacealis (Lesson 1828) (Hershkovitz 1966: 110);
Catodon candicans (Lesson 1828) [name a lapsus for *C. albicans*, Lacépède] (Hershkovitz 1966: 109);
Catodon sibbaldi (Fleming 1828) (Hershkovitz 1966: 110);
Beluga catodon (Gray 1846) (Collett 1911-1912: 656f; Hershkovitz 1966: 110);
Inia canadensis (Gray 1846) (Hershkovitz 1966: 110);
Beluga concreta (Cope 1865) (Hershkovitz 1966: 111);
Beluga declivis (Cope 1865) (Hershkovitz 1966: 111);
Beluga rhinodon (Cope 1865) (Hershkovitz 1966: 110);
Beluga augustata (Cope 1866) (Hershkovitz 1966: 111);
Beluga canadensis (Allen 1869) (Hershkovitz 1966: 110);
Delphinapterus catadon (Goode 1884) (Hershkovitz 1966: 110).

American: belukha [Alaska] (Anon 1976b: 3; IWC/43/4/Annex G ms: 11; Leatherwood, Caldwell and Winn 1976: 99; Rice 1977: 10);
marsouin blanc [Fr; used in Quebec] (Leatherwood, Caldwell and Winn 1976: 99);
sea canary (Leatherwood, Caldwell and Winn 1976: 99);
white porpoise (Leatherwood, Caldwell and Winn 1976: 99).
Danish: hviddelfin (Melchior 1834: 288);
hvidfisk (Blöndal 1, 1980: 377; 2, 1980: 552;

- IWC/43/4/Annex G ms: 11; Melchior 1834: 288; Sæmundsson 1932: 331);
hviid-fisk [P. Egede] (Strøm 1, 1762: 298);
hvidhval (Gannier and Gannier 1989: 120;
IWC/43/4/Annex G ms: 11; Muus, Salmonsens
and Vibe 1982: 435);
miald [D/I] [JÓfG 1737] (KBK ms Rostgaard
111: 34r);
miall [D/I] [JÓfG 1737] (KBK ms Rostgaard
111: 34r).
- English: beluga [so called in Russian] (Lilljeborg
1866: 243);
belukha (Evans 1987b: 36);
northern beluga (Lilljeborg 1866: 241);
sewria [Muscovy Co commission to T. Edge,
1611; T. Edge's account ca 1622/23]
(Lubbock 1978: 63);
white beluga (Burton 1, 1875: 195);
whitefish (SOED 2, 1987: 2541).
- Faeroese: hvítfiskur [introduced in the 20th century]
(Ryggi 1935-1942: 2; Degerbøl 1935-1942:
114);
hvíthvalur (Sæmundsson 1932: 331).
- French: dauphin blanc (Sæmundsson 1932: 331).
- German: Beluga [fem] (Bolau 1885: 364; Gannier and
Gannier 1989: 120);
Weißfisch (Anderson 1747: 251);
Weisswal (Bolau 1885: 364);
Weißwal (Gannier and Gannier 1989: 120;
(Sæmundsson 1932: 331);
Wittfisch (Anderson 1747: 251).
- Greenlandic: kakortak [adult animal] (Melchior 1834:
288);
kelelluak [adult animal] (Melchior 1834:
288);
kelelluak-kakortak [adult animal]
(Melchior 1834: 288);
kílalúvakk (Sæmundsson 1932: 331);
qilalugaq qaqorta (Muus, Salmonsens and
Vibe 1982: 435);
uiak [calf] (Melchior 1834: 288).
- Icelandic: hvítfiskur (Blöndal 1, 1980: 377;
(Sæmundsson 1932: 331; Thoroddsen 1911:
484);
huijtiingur (Oddsson [1638] 1917: 45);
hviijtingur (Guðmundsson [ca 1640/44] 1924a:
7);
hvit-hvalr (Mohr 1786: 14);
hvíthvalur (Sæmundsson 1932: 331);
hvíttingur (Blöndal 1, 1980: 377; Böðvarsson
1985: 435; Guðmundsson [ca 1639/44] 1924b:
28; Magnússon 1989: 400);
hvitvalr [sic] (Melchior 1834: 288);
mialldr (Melchior 1834: 288; Mohr 1786: 14);
mialldur (Erichsen 1768: 124; Oddsson [1638]
1917: 42);

- mjalður [first recorded in the 16th century]
(Blöndal 1, 1980: 377; 2, 1980: 552;
Einarsson 1980: 20, 22; LBS-JS ms 247: 41
[JÓfG 1737]; Magnússon 1989: 625;
Sæmundsson 1932: 331; Thoroddsen 1911:
484);
- mjalldr [JÓfG 1737] (KBK ms Rostgaard 111:
34r);
- mjallr [JÓfG 1737] (KBK ms Rostgaard 111:
34r);
- mjallur (Guðmundsson [ca 1640/44] 1924a: 7;
LBS-JS ms 247: 41 [JÓfG 1737]; Magnússon
1989: 626; Sæmundsson 1932: 331).
- Norn:
- Norwegian: hviddelfin (Helland 1905: 719);
hvidfisk (Collett 1906: 1, 16; 1911-1912:
656; Helland 1905: 719; 1914: 407; 1921:
563;; Hjort 1902: 120 [incl fig 42];
Sæmundsson 1932: 331);
hvitfisk [NWA 1932-2] (Bahr and Arnholm 1976:
1140);
hvithval (Gannier and Gannier 1989: 120f).
- Old Norse: hvítingr (Sæmundsson 1932: 331; de Vries
1977: 273);
liosualr [ljóshvalr] (DI 3, 1896: 200f
[dipl 170], cf Thoroddsen 1911: 485).
- Samish: buovja (sg); buovjagak [East Finnmark; cf
Qvigstad 1904: 343] (Helland 1905: 648;
Qvigstad 1904: 343).
- Scots:
- Swedish: hvitfisk (Sæmundsson 1932: 331).

02 Common dolphin,
Delphinus delphis (Linnaeus 1758):

Delphinus vulgaris (Lacépède 1804) (Hershkovitz 1966: 43);

Delphinus major (Gray 1866) (Hershkovitz 1966: 45);

Delphinus marginatus (Lafont 1868) (Hershkovitz 1966: 46).

American: crisscross dolphin (Leatherwood, Caldwell and Winn 1976: 116);
saddleback porpoise (Anon 1976b: 4;
Leatherwood, Caldwell and Winn 1976: 116;
Rice 1977: 8);
whitebellied porpoise (Anon 1976b: 4).

Danish: almindelig delfin (Gannier and Gannier 1989: 118);
delfin (Melchior 1834: 293; Sæmundsson 1932: 305);
springer (Melchior 1834: 293; Sæmundsson 1932: 305);

English: springer-marsvin (Melchior 1834: 293).
crisscross dolphin (Watson 1985: 270);
saddleback (Watson 1985: 270);
whitebelly dolphin (Watson 1985: 270).

Faeroese: delfin (Degerbøl 1935-1942: 115);
hvessingur (Djurhuus 1976: 447);
kvessingur (Djurhuus 1976: 447; Svabo 1976: 73; cf Mohr 1786: 14);
qvessingur (Landt 1800: 241; 1965: 138);
qvessungur (Lyngbye 1826: 204);
springari (Sæmundsson 1932: 305).

French: dauphin (Sæmundsson 1932: 305).

German: Delphin (Sæmundsson 1932: 305);
gemeiner Delphin (Gannier and Gannier 1989: 118).

Greenlandic: ardluarsuk (Melchior 1834: 293).

Icelandic: barbeer (?) (Melchior 1834: 293; Mohr 1786: 14);
barberi [also used for the orca] (Sæmundsson 1932: 305);
hnyding (?) [erroneously referring to Olafsen 1772] (Melchior 1834: 293);
hnýðingur (?) (Sæmundsson 1932: 305);
höfrúngr (Halldórsson [1785/1814] 1992: 230);
höfrungur [also used for whitebeaked, whitesided and bottlenose dolphins, and dolphins in general; cf Thoroddsen 1911: 480f] (Blöndal 1, 1980: 381; Einarsson 1980: 20, 24; Sæmundsson 1932: 305);
hudfiskr (?) [from *huudfiskr*, cf Mohr 1786: 14] (Melchior 1834: 293);
hundfiskur [also used for the whitesided dolphin and the orca (calves)] (Einarsson 1980: 20; Sæmundsson 1932: 305);

huudfiskr (?) [printing error for *hundfiskr*?]
(Mohr 1786: 14);
marsvín [Jón Bjarnason] (Sæmundsson 1932:
305).

Norn:

Norwegian: delfin (Collett 1911-1912: 675; Helland 1914:
407; 1921: 563; Melchior 1834: 293;
Sæmundsson 1932: 305);
marsvin (Rathke 1907: 53, cf 66);
spidssnudet delfin (Helland 1905: 647; Hjort
1902: 116);
spis-snutet delfin [NWA 1939-2] (Bahr and
Arnholt 1976: 1140);
springer (Gunnerus 1768: 100; Helland 1898:
134; 1900: 281; Rathke 1907: 53, cf 66;
Sæmundsson 1932: 305; Sommerfelt 1824-
1827: 85);
springer-marsvin (Melchior 1834: 293);
vanlig delfin (Gannier and Gannier 1989:
118f).

Old Norse:

Samish:

Scots:

Swedish:

delfin (Sæmundsson 1932: 305);
springare (Fellman 1, 1906: 57; Lilljeborg
1866: 225; Sæmundsson 1932: 305).

03 Longfinned pilot whale,
Globicephala melaena (Traill 1809):

- Delphinus melas* (Traill 1809) (Collett 1911-1912: 698; Herskovitz 1966: 91);
Delphinus globiceps (Cuvier 1812) (Collett 1911-1912: 698; Herskovitz 1966: 92);
Delphinus deductor (Scoresby 1820) (Herskovitz 1966: 93);
Delphinus grinda (Lyngbye 1824/Ørsted 1824)
(Herskovitz 1966: 93; cf Lyngbye 1826: 232);
Delphinus intermedius (Harlan 1827) (Herskovitz 1966: 93);
Delphinus harlani (Fischer 1829) (Herskovitz 1966: 93);
Globicephalus fuscus (Hamilton 1837) (Herskovitz 1966: 95);
Globicephalus conductor (Rapp 1837) (Herskovitz 1966: 93);
Delphinus grampus (Gray 1846) (Herskovitz 1966: 94)
Globiocephalus affinis (Gray 1846) (Herskovitz 1966: 93);
Globiocephalus svineval (Gray 1846) (Collett 1911-1912: 698; Herskovitz 1966: 94);
Delphinus carbonarius (Wagner 1846) (Herskovitz 1966: 95);
Grampus melas (Lilljeborg 1861) (Collett 1911-1912: 698);
Globiocephalus incrassatus (Gray 1862) (Herskovitz 1966: 95);
Globiocephalus edwardsii [sic] (Gray 1866)
(Herskovitz 1966: 93);
Grampus affinis (Gray 1866) (Herskovitz 1966: 94);
Sphaerocephalus incrassatus (Gray 1866) (Herskovitz 1966: 95);
Globiocephalus intermedius (Van Bénédén and Gervais 1868-1879) (Herskovitz 1966: 93);
Globicephalus brachypterus (Cope 1876) (Herskovitz 1966: 95);
Delphinus feres (?) (Fischer 1881) (Herskovitz 1966: 197);
Globicipes affinis (Flower 1884) (Herskovitz 1966: 94);
Globiceps macrorhyncha (Flower 1884) (Herskovitz 1966: 95);
Globiceps melas (Flower 1884) (Collett 1911-1912: 698);
Globicephalus melas (Flower 1885) (Herskovitz 1966: 91).

- American: blackfish (Anon 1976b: 4; Leatherwood, Caldwell and Winn 1976: 91; Reeves and Mitchell 1988: 16);
caa'ing whale (Leatherwood, Caldwell and Winn 1976: 91);
calling whale (Leatherwood, Caldwell and Winn 1976: 91);
northern pilot whale (Leatherwood, Caldwell and Winn 1976: 91);
pothead (Anon 1976b: 4; Leatherwood, Caldwell

- and Winn 1976: 91);
roundhead [Newfoundland] (IWC/43/4/Annex
G ms: 25).
- Danish: butskop [H. Egede] (Melchior 1834: 282f);
grind (Melchior 1834: 281; Sæmundsson 1932:
318) [this usage is not acceptable to
Müller (1884b: 19) because the word
designates the pilot whale pod as such; cf
also Landt 1800: 393; 1965: 224; Svabo
1976: 248; Tudor 1987: 655];
grindefisk (Müller 1884b: 19);
grindehval (Blöndal 1, 1980: 273; Landt 1800:
242; 1965: 138; Melchior 1834: 282; Muus,
Salmonsens and Vibe 1982: 431; Sæmundsson
1932: 318);
langluffet grindehval (Gannier and Gannier
1989: 120).
- English: bagfin (Watson 1985: 206);
black dolphin [used among Greenland
whalers] (Lubbock 1978: 32);
blackfish (Evans 1987b: 56; Fraser 1976:
25; IWC/43/4/Annex G ms: 25; Lydekker
1909: 37; O'Riordan 1972: 262; Sæmundsson
1932: 318; Watson 1985: 206);
bottle-fish [Scotland; cf Landt 1800: 242;
1965: 138; Svabo 1976: 248] (Landt 1800:
242; 1965: 138; Svabo 1976: 248);
bottlehead (Burton 1, 1875: 195);
bottle nose [Orkney, Shetland, ca 1822-1883]
(Hibbert 1822: 411; Tudor 1987: 209, 649);
bottle-nose [Shetland; cf Landt 1800: 242;
1965: 138; Svabo 1976: 248] (Landt 1800:
242; 1965: 138; Scoresby 2, 1969: 11, cf
1: 496; Svabo 1976: 248; Tudor 1987: 655);
bottle-nosed whale (Burton 1, 1875: 195);
ca'ing whale, etc, cf Scots, below;
common black whale (Edmondston 2, 1809: 300);
deductor (Scoresby 1, 1969: 498f);
driving whale [so called in Shetland]
(Klinowska 1989: [2]; 1990: 4; Southwell
1881: 118);
grindwal (Lydekker 1909: 37);
grind whale, grind-whale (Tudor 1987: 210,
655);
leading whale (Scoresby 1, 1969: 496);
pilot whale (Southwell 1881: 48, 118);
pot head (Lubbock 1978: 475; Watson 1985:
206);
pothead ['Shetland News', 30 July 1898]
(Klinowska 1990: 9);
round-headed porpoise (SOED 1, 265).
- Faeroese: geiptur [pilot whale calves and juveniles]
(Degerbøl 1935-1942: 119);
grindafiskur (Sæmundsson 1932: 318; Svabo
1976: 72, 248);
grindahvalur (Ryggi 1935-1942: 2; Degerbøl

- 1935-1942: 119; Hoydal 1991: 66; Jacobsen and Matras 1961: 127; Joensen 1968: 61; Williamson 1948: 335);
grindahvealur (Svabo 1979: 72, 248);
grindahvølpur [young of pilot whale] (Jacobsen and Matras 1961: 127);
grinda-quealur (Hibbert 1822: 421);
grinda-qveâlur (Lyngbye 1826: 204);
grindaqvealur (Landt 1800: 242; 1965: 138; Melchior 1834: 282);
grindhval (Resen [ca 1688] 1972: 66f);
lajttur [pilot whale calf without teeth] (Svabo 1976: 257, see also 1779: 48);
leiftur [(very) small pilot whale, a newborn young; = *grindahvølpur*] (Ryggi 1935-1942: 2; IWC/43/4/Annex G ms: 25; Jacobsen and Matras 1961: 251; Magnússon 1989: 552);
lejptur [young and juvenile pilot whale] (Müller 1884b: 19);
nujingur [full-grown pilot whale] (Müller 1884b: 19);
nýðingur [(very) large pilot whale] (Ryggi 1935-1942: 2; Jacobsen and Matras 1961: 300; Magnússon 1989: 354; cf IWC/43/4/Annex G ms: 25);
nying [large pilot whale] (Svabo 1779: 48).
- French: baleine à bec (Burton 1, 1875: 195);
Globicéphale (Sæmundsson 1932: 318);
globicéphale noir (Jean 1988: 6).
- German: Grind (m) (Sæmundsson 1932: 318);
Grindwal (Bolau 1885: 356; Gannier and Gannier 1989: 120; IWC/43/4/Annex G ms: 25);
Schwartswal (Sæmundsson 1932: 318).
- Greenlandic: nîsarnakk (Sæmundsson 1932: 318);
nisarnaq (Muus, Salmonsens and Vibe 1982: 431).
- Icelandic: botnúngur [used by the inhabitants in Strö] (Stephensen 2, 1799-1806: 118);
botnungur [normalised form of *botnúngur*] (Blöndal 1, 1980: 99; Böðvarsson 1985: 88)
grindhvalur (Blöndal 1, 1980: 273; Einarsson 1980: 20, 22; Sæmundsson 1932: 318; Thoroddsen 1911: 482);
hníðungur (?) (Guðmundsson [ca 1639/44] 1924b: 27);
hniðingur (?) (Guðmundsson [ca 1640/44] 1924a: 7);
hnýðingur [possibly derived from *hnúður*, the rounded forehead (melon); also used for bottlenose, common, whitebeaked and whitesided dolphins] (Magnússon 1989: 354; cf Sæmundsson 1932: 309);
höfrungur [normalised *höfrungur*; also used for 'other dolphins', cf Olafsen 1, 1772:

544] (Olafsen 1, 1772: 544, cf 360);
hundfiskur [Eggert Ólafsson] (Olafsen 1,
1772: 360; Sæmundsson 1932: 318);
hvalnisa (Böðvarsson 1985: 428);
marsvín [little used before the 19th
century] (Blöndal 2, 1980: 531; Sæmundsson
1932: 318; Thoroddsen 1911: 482);
strokkur [Hallgrímur Scheving] (Sæmundsson
1932: 318);
strokkhveli (?) [Hallgrímur Scheving]
(Sæmundsson 1932: 318).

Norn:

Norwegian: grindehval (Brunchorst 1889: 163, 166; Hjort
1902: 119);
grindhval (Collett 1911-1912: 698; Gannier
and Gannier 1989: 120f; IWC/43/4/Annex G
ms: 25; Helland 1907: 751; 1921: 563;
Sæmundsson 1932: 318);
nyding (Friis [1599] 1881a: 61);
smaa huale [pl; as distinctive from
troidhuale, *røerhuale* and *hualhunde*)
(Friis [1592] 1881b: 431).

Old Norse: hnýðingr [KGS] [possibly derived from *hnúður*,
the rounded forehead (melon); not to be
confounded with *níðingr*] (Fritzner 2,
1954: 29; Holm-Olsen 1983: 15).

Samish:

Scots:

caaing-whale (Williamson 1948: 335);
ca'aing whale (O'Riordan 1972: 262);
caa'ing whale [used in Orkney and Shetland;
from *caa/kaa*, *ie*, to drive or chase;
called so from the mode of capture. In
Shetland also used for the whitesided
and/or the whitebeaked dolphin and the
orca; cf Sandison 1896: 46] (Fraser 1976:
25; Klinowska 1989: [2]; 1990: 4;
Sæmundsson 1932: 318; Sandison 1896: 46);
ca'ing whale [used in Orkney and Shetland;
from *caa/kaa*, *ie*, to drive or chase;
called so from the mode of capture. In
Shetland also used for the whitesided
and/or the whitebeaked dolphin and the
orca; cf Sandison 1896: 46] (Burton 1,
1875: 195; Edmondston 2, 1809: 300;
Hibbert 1822: 411, 421; Lyngbye 1826: 232;
Scoresby 1, 1969: 496; Southwell 1881:
118; Tudor 1987: 649, 655);
ca-ing whale [used in Orkney and Shetland;
from *caa/kaa*, *ie*, to drive or chase;
called so from the mode of capture. In
Shetland also used for the whitesided
and/or the whitebeaked dolphin and the
orca; cf Sandison 1896: 46] (Lubbock 1978:
32);

ca'ing-whale (SOED 1, 1987: 265).
Swedish: grindehval (Lilljeborg 1866: 238);

grindhval (Sæmundsson 1932: 318).

04 Risso's dolphin or (Risso's) grampus,
Grampus griseus (Cuvier 1812):

Delphinus (Grampus) griseus (Gray 1828) (Hershkovitz 1966: 87);
Delphinus aries (Cuvier 1812) (Hershkovitz 1966: 88);
Delphinus rissoanus (Desmarest 1822) (Hershkovitz 1966: 88);
Delphinus risso [sic] (Risso 1826) (Hershkovitz 1966: 88);
Phocæna griseus (Cuvier 1836) (Hershkovitz 1966: 87);
Phocæna rissonus [sic] (Cuvier 1836) (Hershkovitz 1966: 88);
Grampus cuvieri (Gray 1846) (Hershkovitz 1966: 89);
Grampus richardsoni (Gray 1850) (Hershkovitz 1966: 89);
Delphinus rissoi [sic] (Gervais 1859) (Hershkovitz 1966: 89);
Grampus rissoanus (Murie 1871) (Hershkovitz 1966: 88);
Grampus souverbianus (Fischer 1881) (Hershkovitz 1966: 89).

American: gray grampus (Rice 1977: 9);
hard knocks [used in St Vincent]
(Leatherwood, Caldwell and Winn 1976: 96);
mottled grampus (Leatherwood, Caldwell and Winn 1976: 96);
Risso's porpoise (Leatherwood, Caldwell and Winn 1976: 96);
white blackfish [used in Cape Cod]
(Leatherwood, Caldwell and Winn 1976: 96);
whitehead(ed) grampus (Leatherwood, Caldwell and Winn 1976: 96; Rice 1977: 9).

Danish: halvgrindehval (Gannier and Gannier 1989: 118);
Rissos delfin (Gannier and Gannier 1989: 118).

English: grey grampus (Watson 1985: 254);
mottled grampus (Watson 1985: 254);
Risso's grampus (Southwell 1881: 48, 115).

Faeroese:
German: Rundkopfdelphin (Gannier and Gannier 1989: 118).

Icelandic:
Norn:
Norwegian: Rissos delfin (Gannier and Gannier 1989: 118f).

Old Norse:
Samish:
Scots:

05 Northern bottlenose whale,
Hyperoodon ampullatus (Foster 1770):

- Bottle-head (Dale 1732) (Hershkovitz 1966: 146);
Flunders-head (Dale 1732) (Hershkovitz 1966: 146);
Balæna rostrata (Pontoppidan 1753) (Pontoppidan 2, [1753]
1977: 200, cf 184 [ill]);
Beaked whale (Pennant 1766) (Hershkovitz 1966: 146);
Balæna ampullata (Foster 1770) (Hershkovitz 1966:
146);
Balæna rostrata (Müller 1776) (Hershkovitz 1966: 146);
Bottle-nosed whale (Hunter 1787) (Hershkovitz 1966:
146);
Delphinus bidentatus (Bonnaterre 1789) (Hershkovitz
1966: 146);
Delphinus butskopf (Bonnaterre 1789) (Hershkovitz
1966: 147; cf Collett 1911-1912: 637);
Delphinus bidens (Shaw 1801) (Hershkovitz 1966: 147);
Delphinus (?) *edentulus* (Schreber 1802 (?))
(Hershkovitz 1966: 147);
Delphinus diodon (Lacépède 1804) (Collett 1911-1912:
637; Hershkovitz 1966: 147);
Hyperoodon butskop (Lacépède 1804) (Hershkovitz 1966:
147; cf Collett 1911-1912: 637);
Delphinus butskode [sic] (de Blainville 1817/Desmarest
1817) [emendation of *D. butskopf*, Bonnaterre 1789]
(Hershkovitz 1966: 147);
Delphinus chemnitzianus (de Blainville 1817/Desmarest
1817) (Hershkovitz 1966: 148);
Hyperoodon borealis (Nilsson 1820) (Collett 1911-1912:
637; Hershkovitz 1966: 148);
Delphinus hunteri (Desmarest 1822) (Hershkovitz 1966:
148);
Delphinus hyperoodon (Desmarest 1822) (Hershkovitz
1966: 148);
Ceto-diodon hunteri (Jacob 1825) (Hershkovitz 1966:
148);
Hyperoodon bidens (Fleming 1828) (Hershkovitz 1966:
147);
Hyperoodon honfloriensis (Lesson 1828) (Hershkovitz
1966: 148);
Hyperoodon butzkopf [sic] (Cuvier 1836) (Hershkovitz
1966: 147);
Delphinus quadridens (Burguet 1843) (Hershkovitz 1966:
148);
Delphinus (*chaenodelphinus*) *edentulus* (Wagner 1846)
(Hershkovitz 1966: 147);
Hyperoodon latifrons (Gray 1846) (Collett 1911-1912:
637; Hershkovitz 1966: 148);
Hyperoodon baussardi (Duvernoy 1851) (Hershkovitz
1966: 148);
Lagenocetus latifrons (Gray 1866) (Hershkovitz 1966:
148; cf Collett 1911-1912: 637);
Lagocetus [sic] *latifrons* (Gray 1866) (Hershkovitz
1966: 148);

Hyperadon [sic] *bidens* (Allen 1869) (HersHKovitz 1966: 147);
Hyperoodon rostratus (Van Bénéden and Gervais 1880) (HersHKovitz 1966: 146);
Hyperoodon rostratum (Van Bénéden 1888) (HersHKovitz 1966: 146);
Hyperoodon ampullatus (Rhoads 1902) (Collett 1911-1912: 637; HersHKovitz 1966: 146).
Hyperoodon butzkoff [sic] (Beddard 1900) [lapsus for *butskopf*, Lacépède] (HersHKovitz 1966: 147).

American: North Atlantic bottlenose whale (Rice 1977: 11).

Danish: andehval (Blöndal 1, 1980: 35);
andenæbbe [D/I] (Olafsen 2, 1772: 696);
ande-nævir [D/I] [JÓfG 1737] (KBK ms Rostgaard 111: 32r);
bottlenose (Knudsen 1930: 644);
dögling (Lyngbye 1826: 218-221);
døgling (Jacobsen and Matras 1961: 58; Knudsen 1930: 644; Landt 1800: 241; 1965: 138; Melchior 1834: 295; Muus, Salmonsén and Vibe 1982: 421; Olafsen 1, 1772: 543; Sæmundsson 1932: 343);
døling (Blöndal 1, 1980: 35; Gannier and Gannier 1989: 120);
næbbehval (Melchior 1834: 295);
næbhval (Blöndal 1, 1980: 35; Sæmundsson 1932: 343);
nebbe-hval (Olavius 1780: 79).

English: beaked whale (HersHKovitz 1966: 146; Southwell 1881: 48);
bottle head (HersHKovitz 1966: 146; Southwell 1881: 101; Watson 1985: 121);
bottlehead (Lilljeborg 1866: 246);
bottlenose (Sæmundsson 1932: 343);
broad-fronted beaked whale [for *H. latifrons* as separate species] (Southwell 1881: 48, 101);
common beaked whale (Harvie-Brown 1888: 26);
flounders-head (HersHKovitz 1966: 146).

Faeroese: deullingur [1584 AD] (Müller 1884a: 49);
døgling (Magnússon [1785] 1944a: 49; Melchior 1834: 295; Resen [ca 1688] 1972: 68);
døglingur (Ryggi 1927: 121; 1935-1942: 1; Degerbøl 1935-1942: 124; Jacobsen and Matras 1961: 58; Joensen 1968: 61; Landt 1800: 241; 1965: 138; Sæmundsson 1932: 343; Svabo 1976: 72; Williamson 1948: 333);
døling (Collett 1911-1912: 639; cf Thoroddsen 1911: 487);
dogling (Resen [ca 1688] 1972: 69);
doullingur (Müller 1884a: 49).

French: anarnak (Sæmundsson 1932: 343).

Gaelic: muc-bhiorrach (Harvie-Brown 1888: 26).

- German: Entenwal (Gannier and Gannier 1989: 120; Sæmundsson 1932: 343).
- Greenlandic: anarnak (Muus, Salmonsens and Vibe 1982: 421);
anarnakk (Sæmundsson 1932: 343).
- Icelandic: andar-nefia [JÓfG 1737] (LBS-JS ms 247: 38);
andarnefia (Erichsen 1768: 123; Guðmundsson [ca 1640/44] 1924a: 7; Magnússon [1785] 1944a: 49; Melchior 1834: 295; Mohr 1786: 13; Olafsen 1, 1772: 543; O.O. 1781: 11, cf 12);
andarnefias [probably erroneous for andarnefia] (Scheving 1787: 210);
andarnefie (Olavius 1780: 79);
andar nefja [JÓfG 1737] (KBK ms Rostgaard 111: 32r);
andarnefja (Blöndal 1, 1980: 35f; Einarsson 1980: 20, 22; Guðmundsson [ca 1639/44] 1924b: 28; Sæmundsson 1932: 343; Thoroddsen 2, 1898: 316, 321f; 1911: 487);
andhualur (Guðmundsson [ca 1640/44] 1924a: 8; Oddsson [1638] 1917: 45);
andhvalur (Blöndal 1, 1980: 36; Guðmundsson [ca 1640/44] 1924a: 7; [ca 1639/44] 1924b: 28; Sæmundsson 1932: 343; Thoroddsen 1911: 487);
andurhveli (Erichsen 1768: 123);
döglungur (Blöndal 1, 1980: 148; Böðvarsson 1985: 157; Sæmundsson 1932: 343);
flugfiskur [Snorri Bjarnason] (Sæmundsson 1932: 343);
hrefna [also used for the minke whale] (Blöndal 1, 1980: 352; Böðvarsson 1985: 405; Magnússon 1989: 368; Thoroddsen 2, 1898: 84);
mjaldur [used for old males in East Iceland] (Magnússon 1989: 625; Sæmundsson 1932: 343);
mjallur [first recorded in the 17th century] (Magnússon 1989: 626);
sandlægja [also used for the Atlantic gray whale] (Böðvarsson 1985: 809);
sandæta [also used for the Atlantic gray whale] (Böðvarsson 1985: 809; Erichsen 1768: 123; Hermannsson 1924: 361);
suijnhualur [Jón Guðmundsson lærði, ca 1640/44] (Guðmundsson [ca 1640/44] 1924a: 8);
sundhvalur (Guðmundsson [ca 1639/44] 1924b: 28);
svijnhvalur [Jón Guðmundsson lærði, ca 1640/44] (Guðmundsson [ca 1640/44] 1924a: 8);
svínhvalur (Böðvarsson 1985: 1010; Guðmundsson [ca 1639/44] 1924b: 28; Sæmundsson 1932: 343).

Norn:

Norwegian: andhuall (Friis [1599] 1881a: 62);
andehval (Sæmundsson 1932: 343);
bottlenose (Collett 1911-1912: 637, 639;
Helland 1899: 410; 1921: 563; Hjort 1902:
121; Sæmundsson 1932: 343);
døgling (Pontoppidan 2, [1753] 1977: 198,
200f);
næbhval (Collett 1906: 1, 3; 1911-1912: 637,
639; Helland 1899: 410; 1900: 281;
Sæmundsson 1932: 343);
nebbe-hval (Olafsen 1, 1772: 543; Pontoppidan
2, [1753] 1977: 200, cf 184 [ill]);
nebbehval [document from 1763, Karlsøy mun,
Troms, cf Bratrein 2, 1990: 176] (Bratrein
2, 1990: 176; Magnússon [1785] 1944a: 49);
nebhval (Brunchorst 1889: 166; Helland 1897b:
256; 1921: 563; Nordgaard 1903: 14f);
nebbhval (Gannier and Gannier 1989: 120f);
okse [for old bulls; used by Norwegian
whalers] (Collett 1911-1912: 642);
suinhual (Friis [1599] 1881a: 62);
tøndebunde(re) [for old bulls; used
by Norwegian whalers] (Collett 1911-1912:
642).

Old Norse:

Samish:

Scots:

Swedish: näbbhval (Lilljeborg 1866: 246; Sæmundsson
1932: 343).

06 Pygmy sperm whale,
Kogia breviceps (de Blainville 1838):

Kogia brevirostris [sic] (Gray 1865) [lapsus for
breviceps, de Blainville] (Hershkovitz 1966: 114);
Callignathus simus (Gill 1871) (Hershkovitz 1966:
115);
Kogia grayi (Gill 1871) (Hershkovitz 1966: 114);
Kogia macleayi (Gill 1871) (Hershkovitz 1966: 114);
Kogia goodei (True 1884) (Hershkovitz 1966: 115);
Kogia greyi [sic] (Trouessart 1898) (Hershkovitz 1966:
114).

American:

Danish: dværgkaskelot (Gannier and Gannier 1989:
120);

English: lesser chachalot (Fraser 1976: 18; Evans
1987b: 66; Lydekker 1909: 26; O'Riordan
1972: 259).

Faeroese:

German: Zwergpottwal (Gannier and Gannier 1989: 120).

Icelandic:

Norn:

Norwegian: dvergspermhval (Gannier and Gannier 1989:
120f).

Old Norse:

Samish:

Scots:

07 Whitesided dolphin,
Lagenorhynchus acutus (Gray 1828):

Delphinus (*Grampus*) *acutus* (Gray 1828) (Hershkovitz 1966: 60).
Delphinus Eschrichtii (Schlegel 1841) (Collett 1911-1912: 686; Hershkovitz 1966: 61);
Delphinus leucopleurus (Rasch 1843) (Collett 1911-1912: 686; Hershkovitz 1966: 61);
Leucopleurus arcticus (Gray 1846) (Hershkovitz 1966: 61);
Lagenorhynchus leucopleurus (Gray 1866) (Hershkovitz 1966: 61);
Electra acuta (Gray 1868) (Hershkovitz 1966: 61);
Lagenorhynchus perspicillatus (Cope 1876) (Hershkovitz 1966: 61);
Lagenorhynchus gubernator (Cope 1876) (Hershkovitz 1966: 61);
Lagenorhynchus bombifrons [nomen nudum or lapsus for *L. gubernator*] (Hershkovitz 1966: 62).

American: Atlantic whiteside(d) dolphin (Anon 1976b: 4; Rice 1977: 9);
Atlantic whitesided porpoise (Leatherwood, Caldwell and Winn 1976: 123);
jumper [used in Newfoundland] (Leatherwood, Caldwell and Winn 1976: 123; Watson 1985: 232).

Danish: hvidskæving (Gannier and Gannier 1989: 118; Muus, Salmonsén and Vibe 1982: 426; Jacobsen and Matras 1961: 405; Sæmundsson 1932: 312).

English:

Faeroese: skjórutur springari (Degerbøl 1935-1942: 116; Hoydal 1991: 99; Jacobsen and Matras 1961: 405; Joensen 1968: 61);
springfiskur [also used for the whitebeaked dolphin] (Ryggi 1935-1942: 2);
springari [also used for the whitebeaked dolphin] (Ryggi 1935-1942: 2).

French: dauphin (Sæmundsson 1932: 312).

German: Delphin (Sæmundsson 1932: 312);
Weißseitendelphin (Gannier and Gannier 1989: 118).

Greenlandic: árdluarssuk ['dolphin'] (Muus, Salmonsén and Vibe 1982: 426).

Icelandic: hnýðingur [possibly derived from *hnúður*, the rounded forehead (melon); also used for whitebeaked dolphins and pilot whales and calves of other odontocetes, eg, porpoises and orcas] (Sæmundsson 1932: 309);
höfrunger [also used for common and whitebeaked dolphins, and dolphins in general] (Sæmundsson 1932: 312);

hundfiskur [also used for the common
dolphin and the orca (calves)] (Sæmundsson
1932: 312);
leiftur (Einarsson 1980: 24; Sæmundsson
1932: 312);
léttir (?) (Thoroddsen 1911: 481);
ljettir [normalised léttir] (Blöndal 1, 1980:
504);
stökkull (?) [possibly used in particular
about this species, but may also denote
dolphins in general, mainly common and
whitebeaked dolphins; cf Thoroddsen 1911:
480f] (Thoroddsen 1911: 480f; Sæmundsson
1932: 312).

Norn:

Norwegian: almindelig springer (Helland 1905: 647; Hjort
1902: 117);
hvidskjæving (Anon 1903: 18; Brunchorst 1889:
163, 165; Christie 1785/86, UBB 221: f4v,
f8r; Collett 1911-1912: 686; Helland 1898:
134; 1899: 411; 1900: 281; 1903: 279;
1904: 285; 1905: 647; 1914: 407; 1921:
563; Hjort 1902: 117f; Sæmundsson 1932:
312; Wollebæk 1907: 529);
kvitskjering [NN] (Alver 1986: 97f);
kvitskjeving (Bahr and Arnholm 1976: 1140;
Gannier and Gannier 1989: 118f);
springer [so called by the fishermen in
Hordaland, cf Grieg 1889b: 7; in Hordaland
(and wider?) *springere* (pl) is also used
as a comprehensive term for the orca, the
whitebeaked and whitesided dolphins; cf
Christie (1785/86), Leem 1767: 305; UBB
221: f5r; Grieg 1889b: 7] (Anon 1903: 18;
Christie 1785/86, UBB 56: f43r; UBB 221:
f4v, f5r; Collett 1911-1912: 688;
Lilienskiold 1, 1942: 212; Helland 1905:
657; Wollebæk 1907: 531 and ill).

Old Norse:

Samish:

Scots:

Swedish: hvitsiding (Sæmundsson 1932: 312);
hvitskäving (Sæmundsson 1932: 312).

08 Whitebeaked dolphin,
Lagenorhynchus albirostris (Gray 1846):

Delphinus tursio (Brightwell 1846) (Hershkovitz 1966: 62);

Delphinus ibseni(i) (Eschricht 1846) (Collett 1911-1912: 679; Hershkovitz 1966: 62);

Delphinus albirostris (Gray 1846) (Hershkovitz 1966: 62);

Delphinus pseudotursio (Reichenbach 1846) (Hershkovitz 1966: 62).

American: squidhound [used in Newfoundland]
(Leatherwood, Caldwell and Winn 1976: 126; Watson 1985: 230);

whitebeaked porpoise (Leatherwood, Caldwell and Winn 1976: 126).

Danish: hvidnæse (Gannier and Gannier 1989: 118; Jacobsen and Matras 1961: 405; Muus, Salmonsens and Vibe 1982: 428; Sæmundsson 1932: 309).

English:

Faeroese: hvessingur (Sæmundsson 1932: 309);
kjafthvítur springari (Degerbøl 1935-1942: 116; Hoydal 1991: 99; Jacobsen and Matras 1961: 405);
springfiskur [also used for the whitesided dolphin] (Ryggi 1935-1942: 2; Jacobsen and Matras 1961: 405);
springari [also used for the whitesided dolphin] (Ryggi 1935-1942: 2; Jacobsen and Matras 1961: 405).

French: dauphin (Sæmundsson 1932: 309).

German: Delphin (Sæmundsson 1932: 309);
Weißschnauzendelphin (Gannier and Gannier 1989: 118).

Greenlandic: árdluarssuk ['dolphin'] (Muus, Salmonsens and Vibe 1982: 428).

Icelandic: hnýðingur [possibly derived from *hnúður*, the rounded forehead (melon); also used for pilot whales and calves of other odontocetes, eg, porpoises and orcas] (Einarsson 1980: 20, 24; Sæmundsson 1932: 309, 312);

höfrungur [also used for bottlenose, whitesided and common dolphins and dolphins in general] (Sæmundsson 1932: 309).

Norn:

Norwegian: hvidnæse (Collett 1911-1912: 679; Helland 1914: 407; 1921: 563; Sæmundsson 1932: 309);

hvidnose (Brunchorst 1889: 163, 165, 169; Wollebæk 1907: 531);

hvidsnudet delfin (Helland 1898: 411; Hjort 1902: 117; Wollebæk 1907: 531);

hvidsnuded springer (Helland 1905: 647);
hvidsnudet springer (Hjort 1902: 117);
hvidsnutet springer [NWA 1932-2] (Bahr and
Arnholm 1976: 1140);
kvitnos (Gannier and Gannier 1989: 118f;
Hognestad 1979: 138);
hvidskjæving [so called by the fishermen from
Bergen; cf Collett 1911-1912: 680; Grieg
1889b: 7] (Collett 1911-1912: 680, cf 688;
Grieg 1889b: 7);
springer [in Hordaland (and wider?) *springere*
(pl) is also used as a comprehensive term
for the orca, the whitebeaked and
whitesided dolphins; cf Christie
(1785/86), Leem 1767: 305; UBB 221: f5r;
Grieg 1889b: 7] (Hognestad 1979: 138; Leem
1767: 305; Nordgaard 1903: 13; Sæmundsson
1932: 309).

Old Norse:

Samish:

Scots:

Swedish:

hvitnos (Lilljeborg 1866: 226; Sæmundsson
1932: 309).

09 Sowerby's (beaked) whale,
Mesoplodon bidens (Sowerby 1804):

Physeter bidens (Sowerby 1804) (Collett 1911-1912: 650; Hershkovitz 1966: 127; Watson 1985: 144);
Delphinus sowerbiensis (de Blainville 1817) (Collett 1911-1912: 650; Hershkovitz 1966: 127; Watson 1985: 144);
Delphinus sowerbyi [sic] (Desmarest 1822) (Hershkovitz 1966: 128; cf Collett 1911-1912: 650);
Dauphin de Dale (de Blainville 1825) (Hershkovitz 1966: 127);
Dauphin du Hâvre (de Blainville 1826) (Hershkovitz 1966: 127);
Heterodon dalei (Lesson 1827) (Hershkovitz 1966: 128);
Aodon dalei (Lesson 1828) (Hershkovitz 1966: 128);
Diodon sowerbyi [sic] (Lesson 1828) (Hershkovitz 1966: 128);
Delphinus micropterus (Cuvier 1829) (Collett 1911-1912: 650; Hershkovitz 1966: 128);
Delphinorhynchus micropterus (Cuvier 1836) (Hershkovitz 1966: 129);
Diodon sowerbæi [sic] (Bell 1837) (Hershkovitz 1966: 128);
Diodon sowerbi [sic] (Hamilton 1837) (Hershkovitz 1966: 128);
Delphinorhynchus sowerbyi [sic] (Gray 1846) (Hershkovitz 1966: 128);
Ziphius sowerbiensis [sic] (Gray 1846) (Collett 1911-1912: 650; Hershkovitz 1966: 128);
Nodus dalei (Gray 1850) (Hershkovitz 1966: 128);
Mesodiodon sowerbyi [sic] (Duvernoy 1851) (Hershkovitz 1966: 128);
Delphinus sowerbi [sic] (Eschricht 1851) (Hershkovitz 1966: 128);
Mesoplodon sowerbiensis (Gervais 1859) (Collett 1911-1912: 650; Hershkovitz 1966: 127);
Micropteron sowerbiensis [sic] (Van Bénédén 1868) (Hershkovitz 1966: 128);
Micropteron bidens (Malm 1871) (Collett 1911-1912: 650; Hershkovitz 1966: 127).

American: North Sea beaked whale (Leatherwood, Caldwell and Winn 1976: 82; Rice 1977: 12).
Danish: næbhval (Gannier and Gannier 1989: 120; Jacobsen and Matras 1961: 294; Sæmundsson 1932: 350).
English: North Sea beaked whale (Evans 1987b: 61); toothless whale (Tudor 1987: 208).
Faeroese: nevhvalur [introduced in the 20th century, cf Ryggi 1935-1942: 2] (Ryggi 1935-1942: 2; Degerbøl 1935-1942: 119; Jacobsen and Matras 1961: 294).
German: Sowerby-Zweizahnwal (Gannier and Gannier

1989: 120).
Icelandic: norrænn svínhvalur (Sæmundsson 1932: 350).
Norn:
Norwegian: spidshval (Collett 1911-1912: 650; Helland
1921: 563; Sæmundsson 1932: 350);
spisshval (Gannier and Gannier 1989:
120f).
Old Norse:
Samish:
Scots:
Swedish: Sowerby's småhufvudshval (Sæmundsson 1932:
350).

010 True's beaked whale,
Mesoplodon mirus (True 1913):

Mesoplodon mirum (True 1913) (Hershkovitz 1966: 130).

American:

Danish: Trues næbhval (Gannier and Gannier 1989:
120).

English:

Faeroese:

German: True-Zweizahnwal (Gannier and Gannier
1989: 120).

Icelandic:

Norn:

Norwegian: Trues spisshval (Gannier and Gannier 1989:
120f).

Old Norse:

Samish:

Scots:

O11 Narwhal,

Monodon monoceros (Linnaeus 1758):

Unicornu marinum (Pontoppidan 1753) (Pontoppidan 2, 1977: 222);

Monodon narhval [sic] (Borowski 1781) (Hershkovitz 1966: 112; here said to be emendation of narwhal, Blumenbach, but *narhval* is Danish/Norwegian and Borowski could possibly have adopted it from either of them);

Monodon narwhal (Blumenbach 1788) (Hershkovitz 1966: 112);

Narwalus andersonianus (Lacépède 1804) (Hershkovitz 1966: 112f);

Narwalus microcephalus (Lacépède 1804) (Hershkovitz 1966: 112);

Narwalus vulgeris (Lacépède 1804) (Collett 1911-1912: 669);

Ceratodon monodon (Pallas 1811) (Collett 1911-1912: 669; Hershkovitz 1966: 113);

Tachynices megacephalus (Brookes 1828) (Hershkovitz 1966: 113).

American: unicorn whale [historical name not currently in use] (Leatherwood, Caldwell and Winn 1976: 102).

Danish: enhiørningsfisk (Melchior 1834: 275);
korttandet narhval (?) [only described by Fabricius, *Fauna groenlandica*] (Melchior 1834: 278);
langtandet narhval (Melchior 1834: 275);
narhval (Blöndal 2, 1980: 568; Gannier and Gannier 1989: 120; IWC/43/4/Annex G ms: 21; Magnússon 1989: 656; Muus, Salmonsén and Vibe 1982: 438; Sæmundsson 1932: 337; de Vries 1977: 404);
søeenhiørning (Melchior 1834: 275);
sø-enhjørning [1785/1814] (Halldórsson 1992: 337).

English: sea unicorn, sea-unicorn (Edmondston 2, 1809: 302; Tudor 1987: 415);
unicorn [used by whalers] (Scoresby 1, 1969: 489);
unicorn fish (Edmondston 2, 1809: 302).

Faeroese: náhvalur (Ryggi 1935-1942: 1; Degerbøl 1935-1942: 115; Jacobsen and Matras 1961: 291; Magnússon 1989: 656).

French: narval (Sæmundsson 1932: 337).

German: Einhorn (Anderson 1747: 225);
Einhornfisch (Anderson 1747: 225, 229);
Nahrwal (Anderson 1747: 225);
Narwal (Anderson 1747: 229; Bolau 1885: 365; Gannier and Gannier 1989: 120; Magnússon 1989: 656; Sæmundsson 1932: 337; de Vries 1977: 404).

- Greenlandic: anarnak (?) [= korttandet narhval, D]
(Melchior 1834: 278);
kellelluak-kernektok (Melchior 1834: 275);
kernektak (Melchior 1834: 275);
tugalik (Melchior 1834: 275);
tûgâlikk (Sæmundsson 1932: 337);
qilalugaq qernertaq (Muus, Salmonsens and
Vibe 1982: 438).
- Icelandic: na-hvalr (Mohr 1786: 13);
naa-hval (Olafsen 1, 1772: 545);
naa-hvalr (Melchior 1834: 275);
naahvalur (Magnússon [1785] 1944a: 49);
náhualur (Guðmundsson [ca 1640/44] 1924a: 8);
náhvalur (Blöndal 2, 1980: 568; Böðvarsson
1985: 674; Einarsson 1980: 20, 22;
Guðmundsson [ca 1639/44] 1924b: 28;
Magnússon 1989: 656; Oddsson [1638] 1917:
45; Sæmundsson 1932: 337);
náhveli (Blöndal 2, 1980: 568; Böðvarsson
1985: 674; Magnússon 1989: 656; Sæmundsson
1932: 337; Thoroddsen 1911: 485);
nar-hval (Olafsen 1, 1772: 545);
nar-hvalr (Melchior 1834: 275; Mohr 1786:
13).
- Norn:
Norwegian: nahuall (Friis [1599] 1881a: 64);
narhval (Bahr and Arnholm 1976: 1140; Collett
1911-1912: 669; Hjort 1902: 121 [incl fig
43]; Pontoppidan 2, [1753] 1977: 222;
Sæmundsson 1932: 337);
narrhval (Gannier and Gannier 1989: 120f);
hornfisk [used by Norwegian hunters from
Tromsø og Hammerfest who hunted around
Spitsbergen] (Collett 1911-1912: 672;
Sæmundsson 1932: 337).
- Old Norse: na hualr [GG] (Finsen 3, 1974: 182, 266);
ná hvalr [GG] (Finsen 1a, 1974: 36);
nahualr [GG] (Finsen 3, 1974: 354);
nahvalr [GG] (Finsen 3, 1974: 222);
náhvalr [BAK] (Storm and Hertzberg/NGL 5,
1895: 51; de Vries 1977: 404).
- Samish: coarvve-buovja [ie, 'white whale with horn']
(Helland 1905: 649).
- Scots:
Swedish: narhval (Lilljeborg 1866: 244; Sæmundsson
1932: 337).

012 Orca or killer whale,
Orcinus orca (Linnaeus 1758):

Delphinus orca (Linnaeus 1758) (Collett 1911-1912: 707; Hershkovitz 1966: 82);
Delphinus serra (Borowski 1780) (Hershkovitz 1966: 83);
Physeter microps (Fabricius 1780) (Hershkovitz 1966: 86);
Delphinus gladiator (Bonnaterre 1789) (Collett 1911-1912: 707; Hershkovitz 1966: 83);
Delphinus duhameli (Lacépède 1804) (Hershkovitz 1966: 83);
Delphinus grampus (de Blainville 1817/Desmarest 1817) (Hershkovitz 1966: 83);
Orca schlegelii (Lilljeborg 1866) (Hershkovitz 1966: 84);
Orca eschrichtii (Steenstrup 1866/Reinhardt 1866) (Collett 1911-1912: 707; Hershkovitz 1966: 84);
Orca gladiator (Gervais and Van Bénédén 1869-1880) (Hershkovitz 1966: 83);
Orca latirostris (Gray 1870) (Hershkovitz 1966: 85);
Orca stenorhyncha (Gray 1870) (Hershkovitz 1966: 85);
Orca atra [sic] (Gray 1871) [misprint for *Orca ater*, Cope 1869] (Hershkovitz 1966: 84);
Orca minor (Malm 1871) (Hershkovitz 1966: 85).

American: blackfish (Leatherwood, Caldwell and Winn 1976: 84);
espladon [Fr; used in Quebec] (Leatherwood, Caldwell and Winn 1976: 84);
grampus (Leatherwood, Caldwell and Winn 1976: 84; Sæmundsson 1932: 325);
sword fish [used in Canada] (Leatherwood, Caldwell and Winn 1976: 84);
whitefish [used in St Vincent] (Leatherwood, Caldwell and Winn 1976: 84).

Danish: bovhhvide hval (?) (Lyngbye 1826: 227);
haa-hyrne [D/I] [JÓfG 1737; female orca] (KBK ms Rostgaard 111: 29r);
haa-hyrning [D/I] [JÓfG 1737; male orca] (KBK ms Rostgaard 111: 29r);
hvalhund (Gunnerus 1768: 105; referring to Ole Worm's Musæum Wormianum; (Melchior 1834: 279; Sæmundsson 1932: 325);
kobbeherre [Fabricius] (Melchior 1834: 212, 273);
kobbe-kaskelot (Melchior 1834: 273);
spækhugger [The name must derive from descriptions as the following: "Mange troværdige og øiensynlige Vidner har berettet mig, at han tillige er Hvalfiskenes største Fiende, og at han ofte sees at hænge fast ved og at slide store Stykker spek af samme"; cf Gunnerus

- 1768: 104] (Gannier and Gannier 1989: 118; Melchior 1834: 279; Mohr 1786: 14; Muus, Salmonsens and Vibe 1982: 429; Olavius 1780: 79; Sæmundsson 1932: 325; Svabo 1779: 39);
spekhugger (Magnússon [1785] 1944a: 50; Olafsen 1, 1772: 544);
spring-fisk [probably translation by Jón Eiríksson, 1768, of Icelandic *stökkull*] (Eiríksson 1768: 255; cf Eiríksson 1985: 134);
springhval (Melchior 1834: 279);
sværdfisk [also used for the swordfish, *Xiphias gladius*] (Eiríksson 1768: 255; Eschricht 1845: 137; Eschricht and Reinhardt 1866: 38; Melchior 1834: 279);
sværdhval (Sæmundsson 1932: 325);
sverd-fisk [D/I] [JÓfG 1737] [old male orca] (KBK ms Rostgaard 111: 34r);
tandfisk (Melchior 1834: 273);
vandhund (Svabo 1779: 39).
English: chaffer (Hibbert 1822: 421);
grampus (Burton 1, 1875: 195; Edmondston 2, 1809: 300; Eschricht and Reinhardt 1866: 38; Fraser 1976: 27; Harvie-Brown 1888: 28; Lubbock 1978: 32; Lydekker 1909: 33; Southwell 1881: 48, 113; Tudor 1987: 210, 662);
killer (Bolau 1885: 356; Dudley 1725: 264f; Eschricht and Reinhardt 1866: 38; Fraser 1976: 27; Gunnerus 1768: 108f; Harvie-Brown 1888: 28; Lilljeborg 1866: 232; Lubbock 1978: 32; Lydekker 1909: 33; Southwell 1881: 48, 113; Tudor 1987: 210);
lesser killer [allegedly with fewer ribs and a lower dorsal fin than the killer] (Lilljeborg 1866: 235);
orc [used by Greenland whalers] (Lubbock 1978: 32);
sword fish, sword-fish [used by Greenland whalers; cf Lubbock 1978: 17, 32] (Lubbock 1978: 17, 32; Scoresby 1, 1969: 474; SOED 2, 1987: 2217f; Watson 1985: 212);
sword whale (SOED 2, 1987: 2217);
thrasher [in the first half of the 19th century a common appellation among sailors for the orca; also used for the fox shark (*Alopias vulpes*)] (Eschricht and Reinhardt 1866: 38f; Scoresby 1, 1969: 474; SOED 2, 1987: 2292);
thrasher-whale (SOED 2, 1987: 2292);
whale-dog [translation from *wagnhund*, N] (Lilljeborg 1866: 235).
Faeroese: aðuhvalur (Sæmundsson 1932: 325);
æðuhvalur (Ryggi 1935-1942: 2; Jacobsen and

- Matras 1961: 274, 516);
bóghvítihvalur (Ryggi 1935-1942: 2; Degerbøl 1935-1942: 118);
bóghvítuhvalur (Hammershaimb 1991: xxvii; Jacobsen and Matras 1961: 33, 338, 412; Joensen 1968: 61);
boughvidehval (Høst 1875: 354);
bouqvuitu-qveâlur (?) (Lyngbye 1826: 204, 227);
eavehval (Høst 1875: 354);
mastrarfiskur (Jacobsen and Matras 1961: 274);
mastrahvalur (Ryggi 1935-1942: 2; Jacobsen and Matras 1961: 274; Joensen 1968: 61);
qvæsing (Resen [ca 1688] 1972: 72f);
qvæssing (Svabo 1779: 39);
rovhvalur (Ryggi 1935-1942: 2; Jacobsen and Matras 1961: 338);
springhval (Lyngbye 1826: 204; Melchior 1834: 279);
steirhval (Høst 1875: 354);
steyrhvalur (Hammershaimb 1991: xxvii; Jacobsen and Matras 1961: 412);
størgvealur (Melchior 1834: 279);
vaagenhog (Resen [ca 1688] 1972: 72f).
French: apaulard (Sæmundsson 1932: 325).
Gaelic: bualter [= 'the jumping whale'] (Harvie-Brown 1888: 28);
leumadair (Harvie-Brown 1888: 28);
leumrach (Harvie-Brown 1888: 28).
German: Schwertfisch [also used for the swordfish, *Xiphias gladius*] (Bolau 1885: 356; Eschricht and Reinhardt 1866: 38);
Schwerdfisch (Anderson 1747: 115);
Schwerdtfisch (Anderson 1747: 255; Gunnerus 1768: 105f);
Schwertwal (Gannier and Gannier 1989: 118);
Schwertwhal (Sæmundsson 1932: 325).
Greenlandic: ardluk (Hjort 1902: 152; Melchior 1834: 274);
ârdluk (Muus, Salmonsens and Vibe 1982: 429);
ardluik (Melchior 1834: 274);
ârdlúkk (Sæmundsson 1932: 325);
ardlurksoak (Melchior 1834: 279).
Icelandic: barbere [D/I] (Erichsen 1768: 121);
barberi [also used for the common dolphin; use in Eyjafjörður for the orca, cf Davíðsson 1888-1892: 118] (Blöndal 1, 1980: 61; Böðvarsson 1985: 57; Davíðsson 1888-1892: 118; Guðmundsson [ca 1640/44] 1924a: 6; Sæmundsson 1932: 325; Thoroddsen 1911: 484);
ein-bæxlyngur [JÓfG 1737] [old male orca] (KBK ms Rostgaard 111: 34r);

- einbæxlíngur [JÓfG 1737] [old male orca] (KBK ms Rostgaard 111: 41);
- flugfiskur [Hallgrímur Scheving] (Sæmundsson 1932: 325);
- haahyrning (Christie 1785/86, UBB 56: f23r);
- haa-hyrningur (Olafsen 1, 1772: 544);
- haahyrningur (Magnússon [1785] 1944a: 50; Melchior 1834: 279);
- hafhyrníngur [Gunnlaugur Sveinsson] (Stephensen 1, 1796-1798: 442);
- hafurhvalur (Guðmundsson [ca 1640/44] 1924a: 6; [ca 1639/44] 1924b: 28; Sæmundsson 1932: 325);
- há-hyrna [JÓfG 1737; female orca] (LBS-JS ms 247: 34r-35r);
- háhyrna (Blöndal 1, 1980: 289; Sæmundsson 1929: 72f, 1932: 325);
- háhirningur (Guðmundsson [ca 1639/44] 1924b: 28);
- há-hyrníngur (O.O. 1781: 12);
- há-hyrníngur [JÓfG 1737; male orca] (LBS-JS ms 247: 34r-35r);
- háhyrnijngur [Gísli Oddsson, ca 1637] (Grímsdóttir 1988: 493);
- hahyrningur (Mohr 1786: 14);
- háhyrningur (Blöndal 1, 1980: 289; Einarsson 1980: 20, 24; Guðmundsson [ca 1640/44] 1924a: 6: IWC/43/4/Annex G ms: 54; Sæmundsson 1932: 325; Thoroddsen 1911: 484; Þorsteinsson 1926: 299 [*Fitjaannáll*, 1693]);
- háhyrníngur (Davíðsson 1888-1892: 118);
- háskerðingur [Jón Ólafsson] (Sæmundsson 1932: 325);
- hnidingr (Gunnerus 1768: 105, referring to Torfæus 1706: 89; J.E. 1782: 74);
- hnidingur (Magnússon [1785] 1944a: 50);
- hnyding(ur) (Olafsen 1, 1772: 544);
- hnýdíngur [Gunnlaugur Sveinsson] (Stephensen 1, 1796-1798: 442);
- hnýðingur [possibly derived from *hnúður*, the rounded forehead (melon); also used about pilot whales and common, whitebeaked and whitesided dolphins and calves of other odontocetes, eg, porpoises and orcas; in the case of the orca the meaning and spelling might be associated with and/or misconstrued with *níðingur*] (Sæmundsson 1932: 309, 325);
- höfrúngr (O.O. 1781: 12);
- höfrungur [normalised *höfrungur*; also used for 'other dolphins', including the pilot whale; cf Olafsen 1, 1772: 544] (Olafsen 1, 1772: 544);
- höfrungur [*Fitjaannáll*, 1693] (Þorsteinsson 1926: 299);

hundfisk (Olavius 1780: 79);
hundfiskr (Mohr 1786: 14);
hundfiskur [used for orcas in general, cf
Fitjaannáll, 1691, 1693; and
Djáknánnálum, 1786; also used for the
common and whitesided dolphins] (Blöndal
1, 1980: 368; Grímsdóttir 1987b: 282; O.O.
1781: 12; Stephensen 1, 1796-1798: 442;
Þorsteinsson 1926: 291, 299);
hundingr (Mohr 1786: 14);
hundhval [D/I] (Scheving 1787: 210);
magnhvalur [normalised *magnhvalur*; possibly a
misreading of (Gothic) *wagnhualer* in a
manuscript] (Oddsson [1638] 1917: 46);
níðingur [ie, nothing (E); not to be
confounded with *hnýðingur*] (Sæmundsson
1932: 309, 325);
nýðingur [*Fitjaannáll*, 1693; normalised:
níðingur] (Þorsteinsson 1926: 299);
skjaldfisk [D/I; = *skjaldfiskur*?] (Erichsen
1768: 124);
skjaldhvalur (Blöndal 2, 1980: 731;
Sæmundsson 1932: 325);
skiold(e) [D/I; = *skjöldi*?] (Erichsen 1768:
124);
skioldung [D/I] (Erichsen 1768: 124);
skjöldungur (Blöndal 2, 1980: 733;
Magnússon 1989: 851; Sæmundsson 1932:
325);
skjöldúngur (Davíðsson 1888-1892: 118);
spikhoggvari (J.E. 1782: 87);
stúfhöfði (Blöndal 2, 1980: 814);
sverd-fiskr [JÓfG 1737] [old male orca] (KBK
ms Rostgaard 111: 34r);
sverð-fiskur [JÓfG 1737] [old male orca] (KBK
ms Rostgaard 111: 41);
sverðfiskur [old male orcas] (Árnason 1,
1980: 628; Blöndal 2, 1980: 827;
Sæmundsson 1932: 325; Thoroddsen 1911:
484);
þollur (Sæmundsson 1932: 325);
selfæla [used in North Iceland] (Blöndal
2, 1980: 685; Sæmundsson 1932: 325);
selreki (Blöndal, 2, 1980: 685; Sæmundsson
1932: 325);
skjaldblei (Sæmundsson 1932: 325);
þollur (Böðvarsson 1985: 1204);
vagnhvalur (Blöndal 2, 1980: 905;
Guðmundsson [ca 1640/44] 1924a: 6;
Gunnerus 1768: 105; Sæmundsson 1932: 325;
Thoroddsen 1911: 484; Þorsteinsson 1930b:
191 [*Ballarárannáll*, 1611]);
vöggufiskur [*Eyrarannáll*, 1606; *Fitjaannáll*,
1691, 1693] (Þorsteinsson 1926: 291, 299;
1933a: 257);
vögguhvalur [*Ballarárannáll*, 1611]

(Þorsteinsson 1930b: 191);
vögnuhaulur (Guðmundsson [ca 1640/44] 1924a:
14);
vognuhvalur (Guðmundsson [ca 1640/44] 1924a:
6).

Norn:

Norwegian: gris [so called by the fishermen; cf Hjort
1902: 149; short for *staurgris*, qv]
(Helland 1905: 657);
hoggvagn [a small orca of the size of a
porpoise; cf Helland 1897b: 255; 1899:
410] (Aasen 1983: 893; Helland 1897b: 255;
1899: 410);
hugvagn [a small orca] (Helland 1897b: 255);
huggvagn (Helland 1907: 752);
hualhund (Friis 1881b: 431);
kvalhund (Sæmundsson 1932: 325);
kobbe-herre (*Phocarum tyrannus*) [used in
Sunnmøre and wider, according to Gunnerus]
(Gunnerus 1768: 104; Strøm 1, 1762: 299);
kobberherre (Svabo 1779: 39);
langhorn (?) [Schönneböl 1676] (Storm, in
Schönneböl 1978: 322/211, referring to
Brinck, *Descriptio Loufodiæ*, p 27; cf
Brinch 1978: 332);
lille-vagn [as opposed to *stour-vagn*]
(Eschricht 1866: 164);
lille vang (Melchior 1834: 273);
lille-vang [as opposed to *stour-vang*;
allegedly for a young orca; cf Gunnerus
1768: 112] (Gunnerus 1768: 112);
nise-herre (*Phocaenarum tyrannus*)
(Gunnerus 1768: 104; Strøm 1, 1762: 299);
Phocaenarum tyrannus, cf *nise-herre*;
Phocarum tyrannus, cf *kobbe-herre*;
spækhugger (Brunchorst 1889: 163; Collett
1911-1912: 707; Helland 1903: 278; 1907:
752; 1914: 407; 1921: 563; Hjort 1902:
119f, 149);
spekkhoggar [New Norwegian] (Alver 1986:
97f);
spekkhogger (IWC/43/4/Annex G ms: 54);
spek-hugger (Pontoppidan 2, [1753] 1977: 197;
242; Strøm 1, 1762: 309);
spekhugger [female orca?, cf Heltzen 1981:
89] (Christie 1785/86, UBB 56: f43r; UBB
221: f4v, f6r; Heltzen 1981: 89;
Pontoppidan 2, [1753] 1977: 199);
spekkhugger (Gannier and Gannier 1989: 118f;
Sæmundsson 1932: 325);
springer [in Hordaland (and wider?) *springere*
(pl) is also used as a comprehensive term
for the orca, the whitebeaked and
whitesided dolphins; cf Christie
(1785/86), Leem 1767: 305; UBB 221: f5r;
Grieg 1889b[Hvst]: 7] [Samish Fakanluokta

= 'Orca bay', in Norwegian called Springeryik; cf (Qvigstad 1922: 71] (Leem 1767: 305; Pontoppidan 2, [1753] 1977: 200, 242; Qvigstad 1922: 71);
spring-hval (Berntsen [1650-1656] 1971: 298; Pontoppidan 2, [1753] 1977: 200, cf 242);
staalhøning (Svabo 1779: 39);
staalhønning [in Finnmark; cf Leem 1767: 303; Lilienskiold 1, 1942: 212] (Lilienskiold 1, 1942: 212; Melchior 1834: 279);
staurgris [staur = pole; gris = pig; so called by the fishermen] (Helland 1905: 657; Hjort 1902: 149);
staurhval [staur = pole; often used by the (west coast) fishermen, according to Collett] (Collett 1911-1912: 712; Gannier and Gannier 1989: 118f; Hognestad 1979: 138; Strøm 1888: 56);
stauer-henning [Nordland, 1834; male orca] (Heltzen 1981: 89);
staur-hynning [staur = pole; often used by the (west coast) fishermen, according to Collett 1911-1912: 712] (Strøm 1, 1762: 298f);
staurhynning (Brunchorst 1889: 163, 165, 168, 170; Christie 1785/86, UBB 56: f 23r; Collett 1911-1912: 712; Eschricht 1866: 164f; Helland 1899: 410; 1905: 648; 1907: 752; Hjort 1902: 119; Melchior 1834: 273, 279; Sæmundsson 1932: 325);
staurqval [so called in South Hordaland] (Greve 1840: [2]);
staurvagn (Aasen 1983: 893; Helland 1898: 134; 1899: 410; Melchior 1834: 279);
størhval (Høst 1875: 354);
storhynning (Christie 1785/86, UBB 56: f23r, f50r; UBB 221: f9r);
størhørning [North Hordaland?] (Greve 1840: [2]);
stour-henning [stour = big] (Gunnerus 1768: 102);
stourhenning (Svabo 1779: 39);
stour-hynning [so used in Sunnmøre, according to Gunnerus] (Gunnerus 1768: 102);
stour-vagn [used by the peasant fishermen in Nordland, according to Gunnerus 1768: 102] (Eschricht 1866: 164; Gunnerus 1768: 99, 102; Helland 1897b: 255; Svabo 1779: 39);
stour-vang [as opposed to lille-vang] (Eschricht 1866: 156);
stourvang (Eschricht 1866: 156, 165);
stour-henning (Gunnerus 1768: 102);
stub (Strøm 1, 1762: 309; Svabo 1779: 39);
vagn [used in Nordland; cf Aasen 1983: 893] (Aasen 1983: 893; Fritzner 3, 1954: 983;

- Nordgaard 1921: 108);
 vagnhogg [used in Nordland] (Aasen 1983: 893);
 vagn-hual(1) (Friis [1599] 1881a: 61);
 vagnhund [used in Fosen; cf Aasen 1983: 893] (Aasen 1983: 893; Fritzner 3, 1954: 983; Helland 1898: 134; 1905: 648; Hjort 1902: 119; Nordgaard 1921: 108; Sæmundsson 1932: 325; Qvigstad 1922: 71);
 vahu [probably dialectal and short for *vagnhund* or the like] (Pontoppidan 2, [1753] 1977: 199, 242);
 vandhug (Colban 1824-1827: 77; cf Juel 1890: 214);
 vandhund [not in Hordaland; cf Christie (1785/86), UBB 221: f5r; Grieg 1889b: 7] (Anon [1694] 1938: 34; Christie 1785/86, UBB 221: f4v, f5r; Leem 1767: 303, 306);
 wandhund (Knag 1938: 23);
 vang (Fritzner 3, 1954: 983);
 vogn (Nordgaard 1903: 14);
 wognhund [Finnmark, 1698] (Lilienskiold 1, 1942: 207).
- Old Norse: níðingr [ie, nithing (E); not to be confused with *hnýðingur*] (Fritzner 2, 1954: 819, cf 29f);
 vagnhvalr (Fritzner 3, 1954: 841);
 vögn (sg), vagnir (pl) (Fritzner 3, 1954: 983; Þorsteinsson 1930b: 191);
 vögnhvalr (Fritzner 3, 1954: 841, 983);
 vögnuhvalr (Fritzner 3, 1954: 983).
- Samish: cipe ['one that cuts'; Russian Ter Samish] (Qvigstad 1904: 356);
 fakan (Fellman 1, 1906: 55; Helland 1905: 648; Melchior 1834: 279; (Qvigstad 1922: 71).
- Scots: ca'ing whale [so called in Shetland; there also used for pilot whales and the whitesided and/or the whitebeaked dolphin, cf Sandison 1896: 46, 48, 50f] (Sandison 1896: 46);
 cow whale (Sandison 1896: 46);
 pellack quhail [1644, Shetland; literally 'dolphin whale'; Tudor's (1883: 662) identification is credible] (Tudor 1987: 168, 662);
 Chaffer-whale (Edmondston 2, 1809: 300).
- Swedish: späckhuggare (Fellman 1, 1906: 55, 57; Sæmundsson 1932: 325);
 störhval (Lilljeborg 1866: 232);
 svärdfisk (Fellman 1, 1906: 55, 57);
 svärdhval, [svärdhval] [also used for the swordfish, *Xiphias gladius*] (Eschricht and Reinhardt 1866: 38).

**013 Harbour porpoise or common porpoise,
Phocoena phocoena (Linnaeus 1758):**

Delphinus phocoena (Linnaeus 1758) (Collett 1911-1912: 717; Hershkovitz 1966: 102);
Delphinus phocaena fuscus (?) (Kerr 1792) (Hershkovitz 1966: 103);
Delphinus ventricosus (Lacépède 1804) (Hershkovitz 1966: 103);
Phocena [sic] *phocena* [sic] (Gray 1821) [misprint or emendation for *Phocæna phocæna*, Linnaeus] (Hershkovitz 1966: 103);
Phocæna [sic] *communis* (Lesson 1827) (Hershkovitz 1966: 103);
Phocaena [sic] *brachycium* (Cope 1865) (Hershkovitz 1966: 103);
Phocæna [sic] *tuberculifera* (Gray 1865) (Collett 1911-1912: 717; Hershkovitz 1966: 103);
Phocoena rondeletii (Giglioli 1870) (Hershkovitz 1966: 104);
Phocaena [sic] *lineata* (Cope 1876) (Hershkovitz 1966: 104).

American: *pourcils* [Fr; used in Quebec] (Leatherwood, Caldwell and Winn 1976: 150);
puffing pig, *puffin'pig* [used in Newfoundland and New England] (Leatherwood, Caldwell and Winn 1976: 150; Watson 1985: 192; cf IWC/43/4/Annex G ms: 39).

Danish: *almindelig marsviin* (Svabo 1779: 39);
det almindelige marsvin (Melchior 1834: 290);
marsviin (Leem 1767: 307; Landt 1800: 241; 1965: 138; Mohr 1786: 14);
marsvin (Gannier and Gannier 1989: 120; Hjort 1902: 118; Magnússon [1785] 1944a: 50; Muus, Salmonsén and Vibe 1982: 433; Sæmundsson 1932: 300);
nyyse [D/I] [JÓfG 1737] (KBK ms Rostgaard 111: 30r);
tumler (Blöndal 1, 1980: 342, 485; Melchior 1834: 289; Sæmundsson 1932: 300; Svabo 1779: 39).

English: *herring hog* [used in England; cf Watson 1985: 192] (Watson 1985: 192);
hog-fish (SOED 1, 1987: 972);
porpays, *porpoys*, *porpas* [Middle English, ie, porpoise; corresponding to Old French *po(u)rpois*, *po(u)rpeis*, *po(u)rpais*, for Latin *porcus* (swine) *piscis* (fish)] (SOED 2, 1987: 1631; Southwell 1881: 48, 120; Watson 1985: 192);
porpesse (Anderson 1747: 111, 253);
porpus (Anderson 1747: 111, 253; Edmondston 2, 1809: 299);

- sea hog [*proculus marinus*, L] (SOED, 2, 1987: 1631, 1918);
sea-pig [*porculus marinus*, L] (SOED 2, 1987: 1631, 1918);
sea-pork (Anderson 1747: 111, 253).
- Faeroese: nísa (Ryggi 1935-1942: 2; Degerbøl 1935-1942: 119; Jacobsen and Matras 1961: 297; Joensen 1968: 61; Rischel and Skårup 1972: 72);
nise (Svabo 1779: 39);
nujsa (Høst 1875: 353; Landt 1800: 241; 1965: 138; Lyngbye 1826: 204; Melchior 1834: 290);
nýsa (Sæmundsson 1932: 300);
nyse (Resen [ca 1688] 1972: 72f).
- French: marsouin (Anderson 1747: 253; Sæmundsson 1932: 300);
marsuin (Anderson 1747: 111);
po(u)rpois, po(u)rpeis, po(u)rpais [Old French, for Latin *porculus piscis* (swine fish)] (SOED 1, 1987: 972; 2, 1987: 1631);
soffleur (Fr) (cf Anderson 1747: 253).
- Gaelic: cana (Harvie-Brown 1888: 28);
canach (Harvie-Brown 1888: 28);
muc-mhara [= 'sea pig'; also used as a generic name for cetaceans] (Harvie-Brown 1888: 28);
peileag (Harvie-Brown 1888: 28);
pelog [possibly also meaning dolphin] (Jakobsen 1897: 54; Robinson 1985: 484; Tudor 1987: 662);
putthag (Harvie-Brown 1888: 28).
- German: Braunfisch (Sæmundsson 1932: 300);
Meerschwein (Anderson 1747: 111, 253; Sæmundsson 1932: 300);
Schweinswal (Gannier and Gannier 1989: 120; IWC/43/4/Annex G ms: 41);
Tümmeler (Sæmundsson 1932: 300);
Tumin [Martens] (cf Anderson 1747: 253).
- Greenlandic: nesa (Melchior 1834: 290);
nisa (Melchior 1834: 290; Muus, Salmonsén and Vibe 1982: 433; Sæmundsson 1932: 300).
- Icelandic: "eftir spikinu" [Jónas Hallgrímsson (?)] (Sæmundsson 1932: 300);
hnijsa (Guðmundsson [ca 1640/44] 1924a: 6);
hnisa (Magnússon [1785] 1944a: 50);
hnísa (Blöndal 1, 1980: 342; Einarsson 1980: 20, 24; Guðmundsson [ca 1639/44] 1924b: 27; LBS-JS ms 247: 35r [JÓfG]; Sæmundsson 1932: 300; Thoroddsen 1911: 481f);
hnysa (Melchior 1834: 290; Mohr 1786: 14);
hnýsa [Jón Ólafsson frá Grunnavík, 1737] (Thoroddsen 2, 1898: 316);
hnyse (Olavius 1780: 79; Scheving 1787: 210);

- hnyysa [JÓfG 1737] (KBK ms Rostgaard 111: 30r);
hvalhnísa [used in Norður-Þingeyjarsýsla] (Sæmundsson 1932: 300);
klakk-sekkur [JÓfG 1737] (LBS-JS ms 247: 35r);
klassekkur [used for a small porpoise in Eyjafjarðarsýsla and Skagafjarðarsýsla; 17th century ff] (Jóhannesson 1942: 305; Magnússon 1989: 472);
leiftur (Blöndal 1, 1980: 485);
marsvin (Melchior 1834: 290);
selhnísa [used in Austur-Skaftafellssýsla] (Blöndal 2, 1980: 685; Sæmundsson 1932: 300).
- Irish: muc mhara (IWC/43/4/Annex G ms: 41).
Norn: nisek (NS) (Jakobsen 1897: 54; Jakobsen 2, 1985: 610; de Vries 1977: 243);
nissac (NS?) (Edmondston 2, 1809: 299);
Norwegian: ise [possibly only in and around Telemark, West- and East Agder counties; from the local pronunciation of nise] (Helland 1900: 281; 1903: 278; 1904: 285; Rathke 1907: 53);
marsuin [D/N] (Friis [1599] 1881a: 61; Hallager and Brandt [NLB] 1981: 159);
marsviin (Pontoppidan 2, [1753] 1977: 220, 255);
marsvin [D/N] (Anon 1982 [NL]: 225; Berntsen [1650-1656] 1971: 298; Helland 1898: 134; 1903: 278; 1904: 285; Pontoppidan 2, 1977: 220f);
nise (Bahr and Arnholm 1976: 1140; Blöndal 1, 1980: 342; Brunchorst 1889: 163, 166; Collett 1911-1912: 717; Gannier and Gannier 1989: 120f; IWC/43/4/Annex G ms: 41; Helland 1898: 134; 1899: 411; 1900: 281; 1903: 278; 1904: 285; 1914: 407; 1921: 563; Hjort 1902: 118f; Leem 1767: 307; Lilienskiold 1, 1942: 214; Melchior 1834: 290; Friis [1599] 1881a: 61; Pontoppidan 2, 1977: 220f; Rathke 1907: 53; Sæmundsson 1932: 300; Sommerfelt 1824-1827: 85; Svabo 1779: 39; Qvigstad 1922: 52);
nyße (Berntsen [1650-1656] 1971: 298);
tumler (Pontoppidan 2, [1753] 1977: 220).
- Old Norse: hnísa [GG, JB] [so called because of its breathing sounds being almost like sneezing or snuffling; cf Blöndal 1, 1980: 342; Collett 1911-1912: 720; Nordgaard 1921: 107; de Vries 1977: 243] (Collett 1911-1912: 720; Fiinsen 2, 1974: 514; Fritzner 2, 1954: 28; Halldórsson 1904: 197, 207; Nordgaard 1921: 107; de Vries 1977: 243);

- nisa [MLL; JB] (Halldórsson 1904: 197; Keyser and Munch/NGL 2, 1848: 149).
- Samish: nisso [Norwegian and Swedish Samish; cf Qvigstad 1904: 350]; (Helland 1905: 648; Nordgaard 1912: 66; Qvigstad 1904: 350; 1922: 52);
nisse [Russian Ter-Samish] (Qvigstad 1904: 350);
næss [Russian Pasvik Samish] (Qvigstad 1904: 350).
- Scots: pellach (Edmondston 2, 1809: 299);
pellack (Jakobsen 1897: 54);
pellock, pelloch [late 16th century ff; probably derived from Gaelic *pelog*; cf Robinson 1985: 484], pellok [16th-early 17th centuries; cf Robinson 1985: 484], pellack [17th-early 20th centuries; cf Robinson 1985: 484], pallack [late 17th-early 20th centuries; cf Robinson 1985: 484], pallo [Orkney, late 19th-early 20th centuries; cf Robinson 1985: 484] [since the 16th century also meaning dolphin; cf Robinson 1985: 484] (Donaldsson 1954: x; Edmondston 2, 1809: 158; Robinson 1985: 484; Tudor 1987: 662).
- Swedish: marsvin (Sæmundsson 1932: 300);
nise (Sæmundsson 1932: 300);
tumlare (Fellman 1, 1906: 57; Lilljeborg 1866: 240; Sæmundsson 1932: 300).

014 Sperm whale,

Physeter macrocephalus (Linnaeus 1758):

- Physeter catodon* (Linnaeus 1758) (Hershkovitz 1966: 116);
Physeter microps (Linnaeus 1758) (Hershkovitz 1966: 118);
Physeter tursio (Linnaeus 1758) (Hershkovitz 1966: 118);
Physeter novae angliae (Borowski 1780) (Hershkovitz 1966: 118);
Physeter andersonii (Borowski 1780) (Hershkovitz 1966: 119);
Phiseter [sic] *cylindricus* (Bonnaterre 1789) (Hershkovitz 1966: 119);
Phiseter [sic] *mular* (Bonnaterre 1789) (Hershkovitz 1966: 119);
Phiseter [sic] *trumpo* (Bonnaterre 1789) (Hershkovitz 1966: 119);
Physeter maximus (Cuvier 1798) (Hershkovitz 1966: 119);
Physeter gibbosus (Schreber 1802) (Hershkovitz 1966: 119);
Catodon macrocephalus (Lacépède 1804) (Collett 1911-1912: 627; Hershkovitz 1966: 117);
Catodon svineval (Lacépède 1804) (Hershkovitz 1966: 119);
Physalus cylindricus (Lacépède 1804) (Hershkovitz 1966: 119);
Physeter orthodon (Lacépède 1804) (Hershkovitz 1966: 119);
Tursio vulgaris (Fleming 1822) (Hershkovitz 1966: 120);
Physeter polycephus (Quoy and Gaimard 1824) (Hershkovitz 1966: 120);
Delphinus bayeri (Risso 1826) (Hershkovitz 1966: 120);
Catodon polycyphus [sic] (Lesson 1827) (Hershkovitz 1966: 120);
Cetus cylindricus (Billberg 1828) (Hershkovitz 1966: 119);
Catodon colneti (Gray 1850) (Hershkovitz 1966: 120);
Physeter polycystus [sic] (Gray 1866) (Hershkovitz 1966: 120);
Catodon polyscyphus [sic] (Gray 1866) [Lapsus for *polycyphus*, Lesson] (Hershkovitz 1966: 120);
Physeter pterodon (Trouessart 1898) (Hershkovitz 1966: 121).

- American: Sea Wap [used in St Vincent] (Leatherwood, Caldwell and Winn 1976: 57).
Basque: trumpa [Muscovy Co commission to T. Edge, 1611; T. Edge's account ca 1622/23] (Edge 1906: 30f; Lubbock 1978: 62; Purchas 1906b: 32f).
Danish: bure [D/I] (Magnússon [1785] 1944a: 49;

- Melchior 1834: 268; Mohr 1786: 14; Olavius 1780: 79);
buur-hval [D/I] [JÓfG 1737] (KBK ms Rostgaard 111: 32r);
buure [D/I] [JÓfG 1737] (KBK ms Rostgaard 111: 32);
cachelot (Melchior 1834: 271; Mohr 1786: 14; Olavius 1780: 79);
jubartes (?) [Klein] (Leem 1767: 299f);
jupiter (?) [Klein] (Leem 1767: 299f);
den fladtandede kaskelot (?) (Melchior 1834: 272);
kaskelot [from Basque cachau = tooth; cf Eschricht 1845: 135, referring to Cuvier] (Blöndal 1, 1980: 120; Gannier and Gannier 1989: 120; Landt 1800: 241; 1965: 138; Muus, Salmonsens and Vibe 1982: 423; Sæmundsson 1932: 354);
potfisk (Melchior 1834: 271);
pothval (Sæmundsson 1932: 354);
pot-kaskelot (?) [Holten] (Melchior 1834: 273);
den retsnudede kaskelot (Melchior 1834: 268);
spermacet hval (Sæmundsson 1932: 354);
spermacethval (Blöndal 1, 1980: 120);
spermhval [so called by Danish whalers; derived from English] (Eschricht 1845: 135, 153, 166);
troldkaskelot [Holten] (Melchior 1834: 268).
English: black-headed spermaceti whale [Munch, *Mémoires des antiquaires du Nord*, 1850-1860, p 129] (Tudor 1987: 550);
cachalot [from Basque cachau = tooth; cf Eschricht 1845: 135, referring to Cuvier] (Enc Br, Mic 9, 1981: 415; Evans 1987b: 67; Fraser 1976: 17; Leatherwood, Caldwell and Winn 1976: 57; Lydekker 1909: 22; Sæmundsson 1932: 354);
chachelot (Southwell 1881: 85);
great-headed chachalot (Edmondston 2, 1809: 298; Tudor 1987: 208);
high-finned chachalot (Edmondston 2, 1809: 298; Tudor 1987: 208);
round-headed cachalot (Edmondston 2, 1809: 298);
sperma ceti whale (Dudley 1725: 258; cf Anderson 1747: 239);
spermaceti [probably short for spermaceti whale] (Lubbock 1978: 62);
spermaceti whale (Tudor 1987: 208);
spermacet whale, spermacet-whale [perhaps shortened to sperm whale] (Eschricht 1845: 135; Helland 1905: 658);
trumpa [Muscovy Co commission to T. Edge, 1611; T. Edge's account ca 1622/23] (Edge 1906: 30f; Lubbock 1978: 62; Purchas

- 1906b: 32f).
- Faeroese: ágústur (Sæmundsson 1932: 354);
avgustur (Ryggi 1927: 121; 1935-1942: 1;
Degerbøl 1935-1942: 109; Djurhuus 1976:
423; Jacobsen and Matras 1961: 15; Joensen
1968: 60);
augustur (Landt 1800: 241; 1965: 138;
1834: 268; Mohr 1786: 14; Svabo 1976: 71).
- Melchior: cachelot (Sæmundsson 1932: 354).
- French: Cachelotte (Anderson 1747: 232, 246, 248, 252
[incl ill]);
(kleinäugier) Kachelot (Jöcher 3, 1843:
515);
- German: Mastfisch (?) (Jöcher 3, 1843: 515);
Pottfisch (Anderson 1747: 232; Bolau 1885:
636; Jöcher 3, 1843: 515; cf Leem 1767:
298f);
Pottwal (Bolau 1885: 356, 363; Gannier and
Gannier 1989: 120; Sæmundsson 1932: 354);
Potwallfisch (Anderson 1747: 232; cf Leem
1767: 298).
- Greenlandic: kigutiligssuaq (Muus, Salmonsens and Vibe
1982: 423);
kígútíligssúakk (Sæmundsson 1932: 354);
kigutilik (Melchior 1834: 268);
kiguti-lirksoak (Melchior 1834: 268)
parnak (?) (Melchior 1834: 273);
pernak (?) (Melchior 1834: 273).
- Icelandic: búrhveli (Blöndal 1, 1980: 120; Magnússon
1989: 93; Sæmundsson 1932: 354; Thoroddsen
1911: 487f);
búrhualur (Oddsson [1638] 1917: 45);
bur-hvalr (Mohr 1786: 14);
búr-hvalr (Halldórsson [1785/1914] 1992: 94);
burhvalr (Melchior 1834: 268);
búr-hvalur [JÓfG 1737] (LBS-JS ms 247: 38);
búrhvalur (Blöndal 1, 1980: 120; Einarsson
1980: 20; Guðmundsson [ca 1639/44] 1924b:
28; Sæmundsson 1932: 354; Thoroddsen 2,
1898: 316);
búri [short for búrhvalur] (Blöndal 1,
1980: 120; Guðmundsson [ca 1640/44] 1924a:
8; LBS-JS ms 247: 38 [JÓfG 1737];
Halldórsson [1785/1914] 1992: 94;
Magnússon 1989: 93f; O.O. 1781: 11;
Sæmundsson 1932: 354; Thoroddsen 2, 1898:
316; 1911: 487);
buurhval [D/I] (Erichsen 1768: 127);
bwrhualur (Guðmundsson [ca 1640/44] 1924a:
8);
bwr-hvalr [JÓfG 1737] (KBK ms Rostgaard 111:
32r);
bwri [JÓfG 1737] (KBK ms Rostgaard 111: 32r);
cosoclot [sic] [Jón Bjarnason] (Sæmundsson
1932: 354);
durnir [so called by people in Ísafjörður; cf

JÓfG 1737, LBS-JS ms 247: 38] (Blöndal 1, 1980: 147; Guðmundsson [ca 1640/44] 1924a: 8; LBS-JS ms 247: 38 [JÓfG 1737]; Thoroddsen 2, 1898: 316);
durnir(kk?) (Sæmundsson 1932: 354);
hólmafiskur [Hallgrímur Scheving; Kjartan Þorkelsson] (Sæmundsson 1932: 354; Þorkelsson 1908: 70);
morðhvalur (Sæmundsson 1932: 354);
nauthualur [Jón Guðmundsson lærði, ca 1640/44] (Guðmundsson [ca 1640/44] 1924a: 8);
nauthvalur (Guðmundsson [ca 1639/44] 1924b: 28; Sæmundsson 1932: 354);
sandlægja (Þorkelsson 1908: 70);
skarði [Snorri Bjarnason] (Sæmundsson 1932: 354);
suijnhulalur [normalised svínhvalur] (Guðmundsson [ca 1640/44] 1924a: 7; cf Sæmundsson 1932: 354).

Norn:

Norwegian: bardhual(l) (Friis [1599] 1881a: 62);
bordhual [used by Bent Jenssøn, instead of *bardhval*, in his copy (1648-1660) of Claussøn Friis's extract and translation of KGS, 1599] (cf Friis 1881a: 62; Nordgaard 1903: 15, 79);
hurhual(l) (Friis [1599] 1881a: 63);
huurhual(l) (Friis [1599] 1881a: 63);
huus-hval (Leem 1767: 299);
huushval (Melchior 1834: 268);
kaskelot [so often called in the literature] (Collett 1911-1912: 627, 630; Ryggi 1927: 121; Hjort 1902: 122; Sæmundsson 1932: 354);
pothval [so often called in the literature] (Collett 1911-1912: 630; Guldberg 1889a: 43; Helland 1905: 649; Hjort 1902: 122; Sæmundsson 1932: 354);
sperm [so normally called by Norwegian whalers] (Collett 1911-1912: 630);
spermacet hval (Sæmundsson 1932: 354);
spermacethval (Collett 1911-1912: 627; Ryggi 1927: 121; Guldberg 1889a: 20, 43);
spermhval (Gannier and Gannier 1989: 120f);
storhoved kaskelot (Heltzen [1834] 1981: 88);
troidhval [mainly used for the sperm whale; cf Leem 1767: 299] [Nordland, 1834; cf Heltzen 1981: 88] (Heltzen 1981: 88; Melchior 1834: 268).

Old Norse:

Samish:

Scots:

Swedish:

kaskelot (Sæmundsson 1932: 354);
spermacetihval (Sæmundsson 1932: 354).

015 False killer whale,
Pseudorca crassidens (Owen 1846):

Orca crassidens (Gray 1846) (Hershkovitz 1966: 79);
Phocaena crassidens (Owen 1846) (Hershkovitz 1966:
79);
Orca destructor (Cope 1866) (Hershkovitz 1966: 80);
Pseudorca meridionalis (Gray 1866) (Hershkovitz 1966:
80);
Pseudorca grayi (Burmeister 1872) (Hershkovitz 1966:
80).

American: mongoose [used in St Vincent]
(Leatherwood, Caldwell and Winn 1976: 88).
Danish: halvspækhugger (Gannier and Gannier 1989:
118).
English: false killer (Fraser 1976: 28);
thicktooth grampus (Watson 1985: 215).
Faeroese:
German: falscher Schwertwal (Gannier and Gannier
1989: 118).
Icelandic: háhyrnubrjóður (Sæmundsson 1932: 331).
Norn:
Norwegian: falsk spekkhugger (Gannier and Gannier
1989: 118f).
Old Norse:
Samish:
Scots:

016 Striped dolphin,
Stenella coeruleoalba (Meyen 1833):

- Delphinus coeruleo-albus* (Meyen 1833) (Hershkovitz 1966: 27);
Delphinus caeruleo-albus [sic] (Gray 1846) (Hershkovitz 1966: 27);
Delphinus euphrosyne (Gray 1846) (Hershkovitz 1966: 28);
Delphinus styx (Gray 1846) (Hershkovitz 1966: 28);
Delphinus holbollii (?) (Eschricht 1847) (Hershkovitz 1966: 29);
Delphinus albirostratus (?) (Peale 1848) (Hershkovitz 1966: 29);
Delphinus lateralis (Peale 1848) (Hershkovitz 1966: 29);
Lagenorhynchus caeruleo-albus [sic] (Gray 1850) (Hershkovitz 1966: 27);
Delphinus tethyos (Gervais 1853) (Hershkovitz 1966: 30);
Lagenorhynchus lateralis (Cassin 1858) (Hershkovitz 1966: 29);
Orca tethyos (Gerrard 1865) (Hershkovitz 1966: 30);
Clymene euphrosyne (Gray 1866) (Hershkovitz 1966: 28);
Clymene dorides (Gray 1866) (Hershkovitz 1966: 30);
Tursio dorcides (Gray 1866) (Hershkovitz 1966: 30);
Clymenia dorides (Gray 1868) (Hershkovitz 1966: 30);
Clymenia euphrosyne (Gray 1868) (Hershkovitz 1966: 28);
Clymenia similis (Gray 1868) (Hershkovitz 1966: 30);
Clymenia euphrosynoides (Gray 1868) (Hershkovitz 1966: 30);
Delphinus marginatus (Pucheran 1868) (Hershkovitz 1966: 30);
Clymenia burmeisteri (Malm 1871) (Hershkovitz 1966: 30);
Prodelphinus marginatus (Gervais 1880/Van Bénédén and Gervais 1880) (Hershkovitz 1966: 30);
Prodelphinus tethyos (Gervais 1880/Van Bénédén and Gervais 1880) (Hershkovitz 1966: 30);
Prodelphinus euphrosyne (Flower 1885) (Hershkovitz 1966: 29);
Prodelphinus coeruleo-albus (True 1889) (Hershkovitz 1966: 27);
Prodelphinus (?) *lateralis* (True 1889) (Hershkovitz 1966: 30);
Prodelphinus petersii (Lütken 1889) (Hershkovitz 1966: 30);
Delphinus amphitriteus (Philippi 1893) (Hershkovitz 1966: 31);
Prodelphinus doreides [sic] (Trouessart 1898) (Hershkovitz 1966: 30);
Prodelphinus euphrosine [sic] (Trouessart 1898) (Hershkovitz 1966: 29);
Prodelphinus euphrosinoi [sic] (Trouessart 1898)

(Hershkovitz 1966: 30);
Prodelphinus amphitriteus (True 1903) (Hershkovitz
1966: 31).

- American: blue-white dolphin (Leatherwood, Caldwell
and Winn 1976: 113);
Gray's dolphin (Leatherwood, Caldwell and
Winn 1976: 113);
Meyen's dolphin (Leatherwood, Caldwell and
Winn 1976: 113);
streaker (porpoise) (Anon 1976b: 5;
Leatherwood, Caldwell and Winn 1976: 113);
striped porpoise (Leatherwood, Caldwell
and Winn 1976: 113).
- Danish: Holbølls delfin (?) (Muus, Salmonsens and Vibe
1982: 425);
stribet delfin (Gannier and Gannier 1989:
118).
- English: blue-white dolphin (Watson 1985: 264);
euphrosyne dolphin (Evans 1980: 27; 1987a:
297; 1987b: 49);
longsnout (Watson 1985: 264);
streaker (Watson 1985: 264).
- Faeroese:
- German: blauweißer Delphin (Gannier and Gannier
1989: 118);
Streifendelphin (Gannier and Gannier 1989:
118).
- Greenlandic: árdluarssuk ['dolphin'] (Muus, Salmonsens
and Vibe 1982: 425).
- Icelandic:
- Norn:
- Norwegian: stripedelfin (Gannier and Gannier 1989:
118f).
- Old Norse:
- Samish:
- Scots:

017 Bottlenose dolphin,
Tursiops truncatus (Montagu 1821):

- Delphinus tursio* (Bonnaterre 1789) (Hershkovitz 1966: 54);
Delphinus nesarnack (Lacépède 1804) (Hershkovitz 1966: 52);
Delphinus siculus (?) (Rafinesque 1810) (Hershkovitz 1966: 199);
Phocaena compressicauda (Lesson 1828) (Collett 1911-1912: 694; Hershkovitz 1966: 53);
Delphinus troncatus [sic] (Cuvier 1836) (Hershkovitz 1966: 53);
Tursio truncatus (Gray 1843) (Hershkovitz 1966: 52);
Tursiops tursio (Gervais 1855) (Hershkovitz 1966: 54);
Delphinus tursio obtusus (Schlegel 1862) (Hershkovitz 1966: 54);
Delphinus erebennus (Cope 1865) (Hershkovitz 1966: 54);
Tursio Eurynome (Gray 1868) (Hershkovitz 1966: 53);
Tursio Metis (Gray 1868) (Hershkovitz 1966: 53);
Tursio Cymodoce (Gray 1868) (Hershkovitz 1966: 53);
Delphinus symodice [sic] (Gray 1868), *symodice* misspelling for *cymodoce*, (Hershkovitz 1966: 53);
Tursiops cymodice [sic] (Flower 1884) (Hershkovitz 1966: 53).
Tursio subridens (Flower 1884) (Hershkovitz 1966: 54);
Tursiops parvimanus (Van Bénédén 1886) (Hershkovitz 1966: 54);
Delphinus parvimanus (Lütken 1887) (Hershkovitz 1966: 54).

- American: bottlenosed porpoise (Leatherwood, Caldwell and Winn 1976: 128);
gray porpoise (Leatherwood, Caldwell and Winn 1976: 128).
Danish: springer (?) (Gunnerus 1768: 111);
tandthøie (Melchior 1834: 292);
tandtøje (Sæmundsson 1932: 315);
øresvin (Gannier and Gannier 1989: 118; (Melchior 1834: 292; Sæmundsson 1932: 315).
English: common porpoise (Leatherwood, Caldwell and Winn 1976: 128; O'Riordan 1972: 264).
Faeroese: hvessingur (Ryggi 1935-1942: 2; Degerbøl 1935-1942: 118; Hoydal 1991: 99; Jacobsen and Matras 1961: 177; Joensen 1968: 61; Rischel and Skårup 1972: 72).
Gaelic: muc-bhiorach [= 'sharp-pointed sea pig'] (Harvie-Brown 1888: 29).
German: großer Braunfisch (?) (Gunnerus 1768: 111);
großer Tümmler (Gannier and Gannier 1989: 118).
Greenlandic: nesarnak (Melchior 1834: 292);

- nisarnak (Melchior 1834: 292).
- Icelandic: dettir (Sæmundsson 1932: 315);
hnýðingur (?) (Sæmundsson 1932: 315);
hnúðubakur (?) [Snorri Bjarnason]
(Sæmundsson 1932: 315);
höfrungur [also used for common,
whitebeaked and whitesided dolphins and
dolphins in general] (Sæmundsson 1932:
315);
sprettfiskur [Jón Bjarnason] (Sæmundsson
1932: 315);
sprettingur (?) [Hallgrímur Scheving]
(Sæmundsson 1932: 315);
stökkull (Einarsson 1980: 24; Sæmundsson
1932: 315);
svínhvalur (?) (Blöndal 2, 1980: 830).
- Norn:
Norwegian: øresvin (Melchior 1834: 292);
tandthøie (Melchior 1834: 292);
tumler (Collett 1911-1912: 694; Gannier
and Gannier 1989: 118f; Sæmundsson 1932:
315).
- Old Norse:
Samish:
Scots:
Swedish: Öresvin (Lilljeborg 1866: 228; Sæmundsson
1932: 315).

018 Cuvier's beaked whale,
Ziphius cavirostris (Cuvier 1823):

Delphinus desmaresti (Risso 1826) (Hershkovitz 1966: 139);
Delphinus philippii (Cocco 1846) (Hershkovitz 1966: 139);
Hyperoodon desmarestii (Gray 1850) (Hershkovitz 1966: 139);
Hyperoodon doumetii (Gray 1850) (Hershkovitz 1966: 139);
Hyperoodon gervaisii (Duvernoy 1851) (Hershkovitz 1966: 139);
Aliama desmarestii (Gray 1864) (Hershkovitz 1966: 139);
Hyperodon [sic] *semijunctus* (Cope 1865) (Hershkovitz 1966: 140);
Epiodon patachonicum (Burmeister 1867) (Hershkovitz 1966: 141);
Ziphius cryptodon (Fischer 1867) (Hershkovitz 1966: 140);
Epiodon cryptodon (Gray 1870) (Hershkovitz 1966: 140);
Petrorhynchus mediterraneus (Gray 1871) (Hershkovitz 1966: 141);
Ziphius aresques (Gray 1871) (Hershkovitz 1966: 141);
Ziphius decavirostris (Gray 1871) (Hershkovitz 1966: 141);
Epiodon heraultii (Gray 1872) (Hershkovitz 1966: 141);
Ziphius savii (Richiardi 1873) (Hershkovitz 1966: 141);
Epiodon desmarestii (Carus 1893) (Hershkovitz 1966: 139).

American: grampus [used in St Vincent]
(Leatherwood, Caldwell and Winn 1976: 70);
ziphius (Leatherwood, Caldwell and Winn 1976: 70).

Danish: Cuviers nabhval (Gannier and Gannier 1989: 120).

English: Cuvier's whale (Evans 1980: 20; 1987b: 60; Fraser 1976: 20; Harvie-Brown 1888: 26; Southwell 1881: 48);
goosebeaked whale (Evans 1987b: 60).

Faeroese:

German: Cuvier-Zweizahnwal (Gannier and Gannier 1989: 120).

Icelandic:

Norn:

Norwegian:

Old Norse:

Samish:

Scots:

(P) Pinnipeds (earless, or true, seals and the walrus):

P1 Hooded seal,
Cystophora cristata (Erxleben 1777):

Phoca cristata (Erxleben 1777) (Collett 1911-1912:
434);

Phoca leonina (Fabricius 1780) (Collett 1911-1912:
434);

Cystophora borealis (Nilsson 1820) (Collett 1911-1912:
434);

Phoca leucopla (Thienemann 1827) (Sæmundsson 1932:
194).

- American: bladdernose seal (Anon 1976b: 7; Rice
1977: 5).
- Danish: blæresæl (Blöndal 1, 1980: 92; Sæmundsson
1932: 194);
hvidsæl [Thienemann's (sole) North Icelandic
specimen] (Melchior 1834: 240);
klaffus (Landt 1800: 240; 1965: 137);
klapmyds [so called by the sealers in the
West Ice; cf Mohr 1786: 2] (Blöndal 1,
1980: 92; Gannier and Gannier 1989: 120;
Landt 1800: 240; 1965: 137; Melchior 1834:
216; Mohr 1786: 2; Muus, Salmonsén and
Vibe 1982: 418; Sæmundsson 1932: 194);
søe-løve (Landt 1800: 240; 1965: 137).
- English: bladder-nose(d) seal (Lubbock 1978: 33;
Southwell 1881: 24);
bottle-nosed seal (SOED 2, 1987: 1919);
hood-cap seal (Burton 1, 1875: 194).
- Faeroese: klaffus (Melchior 1834: 216);
klappus (Ryggi 1935-1942: 1; Degerbøl 1935-
1942: 60; Jacobsen and Matras 1961: 217;
Sæmundsson 1932: 194).
- German: Klappmütze (Gannier and Gannier 1989:
120; Sæmundsson 1932: 194).
- Greenlandic: kakortak [second year juvenile] (Melchior
1834: 216);
natsersúakk (Sæmundsson 1932: 194);
natserssuaq (Muus, Salmonsén and Vibe
1982: 418);
neitsersoak (Melchior 1834: 216);
nesaursalik [male] (Melchior 1834: 216).
- Icelandic: blöddi [used in Suðurland-Pingeyjasýsla]
(Sæmundsson 1932: 194);
blödkuselur [probably the same as
blöðruselur] (Oddsson [1638] 1917: 46);
blaudru-selur (Melchior 1834: 216);
blödru-selr (Melchior 1834: 216; Mohr 1786:
2);
blödruselur (Guðmundsson [ca 1640/44] 1924a:
14);

blöðruselur (Blöndal 1, 1980: 92; Hauksson 1980: 49; Hermannsson 1924: 38; Sæmundsson 1932: 194; Thoroddsen 1911: 479);
dílaselur (?) [for 1-2 year old animals] (Sæmundsson 1932: 194);
hettiselur [Jón Bjarnason] (Sæmundsson 1932: 194);
vigraselur (?) [used for female animals in Borgarfjarðarsýsla, Snæfellsnessýsla and Eyjafjörður] (Sæmundsson 1932: 194).

Norn:

Norwegian: blæresæl (Melchior 1834: 216);
hettesel (Sæmundsson 1932: 194);
kiknæb (Melchior 1834: 216);
kikneb (Helland 1905: 697; 1907: 750);
klakkekal [in *Nordlandene*, ie, northern Norway] (Melchior 1834: 216);
klapmützer (Pontoppidan 2, [1753] 1977: 203);
klapmyds (Collett 1911-1912: 434; Helland 1899: 416; 1905: 697; 1907: 750; 1921: 562);
klapmyts (Sæmundsson 1932: 194);
klapmys (Helland 1899: 344);
klappmyss (Gannier and Gannier 1989: 120f).

Old Norse:

Samish: avjor (Helland 1905: 697; Melchior 1834: 216);
fattenjunne (Helland 1905: 697);
fattenjunne-njuorjo (Helland 1905: 697);
fatte-njuorjo (Helland 1905: 697);
oaaid (Melchior 1834: 216).

Scots:

Swedish: blåssäl (Sæmundsson 1932: 194);
blåskäl (Fellman 1, 1906: 57);
kiknäbb (Fellman 1, 1906: 57).

P2 Bearded seal,
Erignathus barbatus (Erxleben 1777):

Phoca barbata (Müller 1776 [no description], cf
Mannser, Fabricius) (Collett 1911-1912: 413);
Phoca leporina (Lep. 1777) (Collett 1911-1912: 413);
Erignathus barbatus (Gill 1866) (Collett 1911-1912:
413).

American:

Danish: remmesæl (Blöndal 1, 1980: 108; Gannier
and Gannier 1989: 120; Melchior 1834: 213;
Muus, Salmonsén and Vibe 1982: 416;
Sæmundsson 1932: 182).

English: great seal (Burton 1, 1875: 194; SOED 2,
1987: 1919).

Faeroese:

German: Bartrobbe (Gannier and Gannier 1989: 120;
Sæmundsson 1932: 182).

Greenlandic: takkamugak (Melchior 1834: 213);
ugssuk (Muus, Salmonsén and Vibe 1982:
416);
úgsúkk (Sæmundsson 1932: 182);
uksuk (Melchior 1834: 213);
urksuk (Melchior 1834: 213).

Icelandic: brimill [male bearded seals in particular,
but also used for male seals in general;
cf Blöndal 1, 1980: 108] (Blöndal 1, 1980:
108);
grænselur [misspelling for granselur?]
(Guðmundsson [ca 1640/44] 1924a: 14; see
also Hermannsson 1924: 38);
gramselur (Melchior 1834: 213; Olafsen 1,
1772: 532f; Sæmundsson 1932: 182);
granselur (Blöndal 1, 1980: 108, 267;
Guðmundsson [ca 1640/44] 1924a: 14;
Hermannsson 1924: 38; Melchior 1834: 213;
Olafsen 1, 1772: 533; Sæmundsson 1932:
182; Thoroddsen 1911: 479);
kampr (Melchior 1834: 213; Mohr 1786: 4);
kamp-selr (Melchior 1834: 213; Mohr 1786: 4);
kampselur (Blöndal 1, 1980: 108, 267, 418;
Hauksson 1980: 49; Sæmundsson 1932: 182;
Thoroddsen 1911: 479);
kampur (Sæmundsson 1932: 182);
kvik [used in the Vestfirðir] (Sæmundsson
1932: 182);
mönuselur (Guðmundsson [ca 1640/44] 1924a:
14);
skerjakolla [used in the Vestfirðir
together with the grey seal] (Sæmundsson
1932: 182, 186);
útselur (Sæmundsson 1932: 182) [not to be
mistaken for the meaning of grey and harp
seals as such and útselur in Eyjafis and

- Þings meaning any (migratory) seal coming from the open sea] (Sæmundsson 1932: 169, 182; Thoroddsen 1911: 474).
- Norn: granselr (Holm-Olsen 1983: 164; cf Thoroddsen 2, 1911: 497).
- Norwegian: ærtner (Helland 1898: 134; 1907: 750);
blaasel, blåsæl (Collett 1911-1912: 413; Gannier and Gannier 1989: 120f; Sæmundsson 1932: 182);
etmer [perhaps only used in Troms; cf Helland 1899: 344] (Helland 1899: 344)
ertner (Helland 1905: 696; 1909: 546);
hav-ærk (Melchior 1834: 213; Pontoppidan [1753] 2, 1977: 203);
hav-ært (Leem 1767: 215; Melchior 1834: 213);
havert (Helland 1897b: 252; 1899: 344; 1905: 696; 1907: 750; 1909: 546);
kigneb [so called in Troms; cf Helland 1899: 344] (Helland 1899: 344);
storkobbe (Collett 1911-1912: 413; Gannier and Gannier 1989: 120f; Helland 1898: 134; 1899: 344, 416; 1905: 696; 1907: 750; 1909: 546; Sæmundsson 1932: 182; Qvigstad 1922: 42);
svartside (Helland 1909: 546).
- Old Norse: granselr (Fritzner 1, 1954: 631).
- Samish: appe-njuorjo (Helland 1905: 696);
jæges (Helland 1905: 696);
jæghes (Qvigstad 1922: 42).
- Scots:
- Swedish: storsäl (Sæmundsson 1932: 182).

P3 Grey seal,
Halichoerus grypus (Fabricius 1791):

Phoca grypus (Fabricius 1791) (Collett 1911-1912:
420);
Halichoerus griseus (Nilsson 1820) (Collett 1911-1912:
420);
Phoca halichoerus (Thienemann 1827) (Sæmundsson 1932:
186);
Phoca scopulicola (Thienemann 1827) (Sæmundsson 1932:
186).

American:

Danish: dyr [on Læsø, Kattegat] (Melchior 1834: 219);
graasæl (Blöndal 2, 1980: 902, 933;

Sæmundsson 1932: 186);
gråsæl (Gannier and Gannier 1989: 120);
den krumsnudede sæl (Melchior 1834: 219);
langsnude-sæl (Melchior 1834: 219);
øe-sæl [D/I] (Horrebow 1752: 234; Mohr 1786:
5);
øsæl (Melchior 1834: 224).

English: great seal (Edmondston 2, 1809: 294);
haaf-fish (Burton 1, 1875: 195);
large seal (Hibbert 1822: 567);
larger seal (Hibbert 1822: 566, 568);
open-sea seal (Burton 1, 1875: 195).

Faeroese: brimil [adult male grey seal] (Ryggi 1935-
1942: 1);
laatu-keupur (Mohr 1786: 5);
later-kobbe (Resen [ca 1688] 1972: 65);
laterkobbe (Resen [ca 1688] 1972: 64);
latu-koupur [wrongly associated with the
ringed and harbour seals] (Landt 1800:
239; 1965: 137);
láturkobbi (Jacobsen and Matras 1961:
248; Rischel and Skårup 1972: 64);
láturkópur (Ryggi 1935-1942: 1; Degerbøl
1935-1942: 58; Jacobsen and Matras 1961:
248; Joensen 1968: 61; Sæmundsson 1932:
186);
nóri [young grey and harbour seal pups before
the first moulting] (Ryggi 1935-1942: 1);
opna [adult female grey seal] (Ryggi 1935-
1942: 1);
orcka (Guðmundsson [ca 1640/44] 1924a: 14);
Orkneya selur (Guðmundsson [ca 1640/44]
1924a: 14);
svidningur [young grey seal] (Ryggi 1935-
1942: 1);
úldrynja [(old) adult female grey seal]
(Ryggi 1935-1942: 1; cf Jacobsen and
Matras 1961: 469);
[vetrardýr] [Clausson Friis, 1592, states
that the grey seal (pup) is called

- vinterdiur (D) which corresponds with *dýr* as a noa name for *kópur'*, ie, pup] (Friis 1881a: 81f; 1881b: 429; Jacobsen and Matras 1961: 57).
- Gaelic: beodach (?) [= 'Old man'; possibly the young grey seal; cf Burton 1, 1875: 195] (Burton 1, 1875: 195);
cullach [male grey seal] (Harvie-Brown 1888: 23);
cullach cuain [= 'the ocean bear', for the male grey seal] (Harvie-Brown 1888: 23);
ron Haisgeir [= 'the Haskeir seal'; ron = seal] (Harvie-Brown 1888: 23);
ron mor [= 'the large seal'; ron = seal] (Harvie-Brown 1888: 23);
tapraist (Burton 1, 1875: 195).
- German: Kegelrobbe (Gannier and Gannier 1989: 120; Sæmundsson 1932: 186).
- Icelandic: brimill [male grey seals, cf Hermannsson 1924: 38; Mohr 1786: 5, in particular; but also used for male seals in general; cf Thoroddsen 1911: 474] (Hermannsson 1924: 38; Mohr 1786: 5; Thoroddsen 1911: 474);
bólselur [unmoulted grey seal pup at its resting place; cf Thoroddsen 1911: 474] (Thoroddsen 1911: 474, cf Blöndal 1, 1980: 95);
eyjaselur (Sæmundsson 1932: 186);
gráskjöldur [Snorri Bjarnason] (Sæmundsson 1932: 186);
granselur (Sæmundsson 1932: 186);
haustselur [also used as the generic name for *Halichorerus* (Nilson 1820) of which the grey seal is the only extant species] (Blöndal 1, 1980: 306; Rice 1977: 4; Sæmundsson 1932: 186; Thoroddsen 1911: 474);
latra-selr (Mohr 1786: 5);
látraselur (Sæmundsson 1932: 186);
sjóvelkingur [helpless unmoulted grey seal pup swept into the sea from its resting place by waves; cf Thoroddsen 1911: 474] (Thoroddsen 1911: 474; cf Blöndal 2, 1980: 707f);
rauðháls [Sveinn Pálsson] (Sæmundsson 1932: 186);
rauðhöfði [Jón Bjarnason] (Sæmundsson 1932: 186);
skerjakolla [used in the Vestfirðir together with the bearded seal] (Sæmundsson 1932: 182, 186);
snoppulangi selurinn (Sæmundsson 1932: 186);
urt [female grey seals, cf Mohr 1786: 5; in particular, but also used for female seals in general] (Thoroddsen 1911: 474; cf Blöndal 2, 1980: 896);

- urta [female grey seal] (Hermannsson 1924: 38);
úrta [female grey seal] (Hermannsson 1924: 38);
ut-selr (Mohr 1786: 5);
utselur (Melchior 1834: 224);
útselur (Blöndal 1, 1980: 306; 2, 1980: 902; Hauksson 1980: 49; Hermannsson 1924: 38; Sæmundsson 1932: 186; Thoroddsen 1911: 474) [not to be mistaken for the meaning of bearded and harp seals as such and útselur in Eyjafjarðarsýsla, Norður-Þingeyjasýsla and Suður-Þingeyjasýsla meaning any (migratory) seal coming from the open sea] (Sæmundsson 1932: 169, 182; Thoroddsen 1911: 474);
útskerjaselur (Blöndal 2, 1980: 902; Sæmundsson 1932: 186; Thoroddsen 1911: 474);
utskærsselur (Melchior 1834: 224);
utskærsselr (Melchior 1834: 221);
vetra-selr (Mohr 1786: 5);
vetrarselur (Blöndal 2, 1980: 933; Melchior 1834: 224f; Sæmundsson 1932: 186; Thoroddsen 1911: 474);
vigraselur [used at 'some places' in Iceland; cf Thoroddsen 1911: 474] (Hermannsson 1924: 38; Sæmundsson 1932: 186; Thoroddsen 1911: 474; cf Blöndal 2, 1980: 941);
wigraselur (Guðmundsson [ca 1640/44] 1924a: 14).
- Norn:
háf fish [ca 1774] (Low 1879: 102);
haf-fish [NO, NS; in NS probably meaning 'deep sea fish', in contradistinction to tang-fish] (Jakobsen 1, 1985: 286);
haaf fish, haaf-fish [cf haf-fish] (Edmondston 2, 1809: 294; Hibbert 1822: 412, 566, 568; Tudor 1987: 414, 656);
bull-fish [male grey seal; cf Edmondston 2, 1809: 294] (Edmondston 2, 1809: 294).
- Norwegian:
almindelig havert (Helland 1907: 747);
ert (Helland 1903: 278);
ertn (Qvigstad 1922: 17);
graasæl (Collett 1911-1912: 420; Helland 1898: 134; 1903: 278; 1905: 696; 1907: 750; 1914: 402; 1921: 562);
graa-selle [graasel] (Friis [1599] 1881a: 79);
graasel (Sæmundsson 1932: 186);
gråsel (Gannier and Gannier 1989: 120f);
gran (Friis [1599] 1881a: 82);
gransell [gransel] (Friis [1599] 1881a: 82);
haff-diur [hav-dyr] (Friis [1599] 1881a: 79);
haff-ørchen [hav-ørken] (Friis [1599] 1881a: 79);
hav-ert (Collett 1911-1912: 420);

- havert (Gannier and Gannier 1989: 120f;
Helland 1914: 402; Sæmundsson 1932: 186;
Qvigstad 1922: 17);
havkobbe (Helland 1903: 278; Sæmundsson 1932:
186);
den huide kobbe, den huide sæll [den hvide
sæll] [the colour of the pup being used to
describe the adult seals, too] (Friis
[1599] 1881a: 81f);
lammet spage [grey seal pup] (Friis [1599]
1881a: 83);
vinter-diur [vinter-dyr] [so called
because it brings forth its pups during
winter] (Friis [1599] 1881a: 79).
Old Norse: erknselr (Holm-Olsen 1983: 164).
Samish: aine [female grey seal] (Qvigstad 1922: 17);
dævok [male grey seal, cf Qvigstad 1922: 17]
(Helland 1905: 696; Qvigstad 1922: 17);
luosste [year-old grey seal pup] (Qvigstad
1922: 17).
Scots:
Swedish: grå hafskäl (Fellman 1, 1906: 57);
gråsäl (Sæmundsson 1932: 186).

P4 Mediterranean monk seal,
Monachus monachus (Hermann 1779):

Danish: munkesæl (Gannier and Gannier 1989: 120).

English:

Faeroese:

German: Mönchrobbe (Gannier and Gannier 1989:
120).

Icelandic:

Norn:

Norwegian: munksel (Gannier and Gannier 1989: 120f).

Old Norse:

Samish:

Scots:

P5 Walrus,

Odobenus rosmarus (Linnaeus 1758):

Rosmarus (Pontoppidan 1753) (Pontoppidan 2, 1977: 255);

Phoca rosmarus (Linnaeus 1758) (Collett 1911-1912: 368);

Trichechus rosmarus (Linnaeus 1766) (Collett 1911-1912: 368);

Rosmarus arcticus (Pallas 1811) (Collett 1911-1912: 368);

Odontobaenus rosmarus (Sundev. 1859) (Collett 1911-1912: 368).

American:

Danish: den almindelige hvalros (Melchior 1834: 241);
hvalros (Gannier and Gannier 1989: 120; Landt 1800: 239; 1965: 137; Melchior 1834: 240; Mohr 1786: 2; Muus, Salmonsens and Vibe 1982: 405; Sæmundsson 1932: 202);
rosmer (Helland 1905: 705; Magnússon 1989: 773; Olafsen 1, 1772: 355; de Vries 1977: 451);
rostung [D/I] [JÓfG 1737] (KBK Rostgaard ms 111: 26r).

English: horse-whale (SOED 1, 1987: 986);
morse (Anon 1820: 343; Scoresby 1, 1969: 502; SOED 2, 1987: 1918, 2501; Southwell 1881: 3, 32);
northern manatee (Tudor 1987: 415);
sea-cow [now only used for sirinians] (SOED 2, 1987: 1918; Tudor 1987: 415);
sea-elephant [1601; later only used for the elephant seal] (SOED 2, 1987: 1918);
sea horse (Anon 1820: 343);
sea-horse [1475 AD; so also used by Greenland whalers] (Lubbock 1978: 32, 475; Scoresby 1, 1969: 502; SOED 2, 1987: 1919, 2501).

Faeroese: roisningur (Melchior 1834: 241);
rojsningur (Djurhuus 1976: 460; Landt 1800: 239; 1965: 137; Svabo 1976: 74);
rosnung (Resen [ca 1688] 1972: 66f);
rostung (Resen [ca 1688] 1972: 66f);
roysningur (Ryggi 1935-1942: 1; Degerbøl 1935-1942: 56; Djurhuus 1976: 460; Jacobsen and Matras 1961: 339).

French: morse (Sæmundsson 1932: 202).

German: Walroß (Gannier and Gannier 1989: 120; Sæmundsson 1932: 202).

Greenlandic: avekk (Sæmundsson 1932: 202);
auvek (A.W. 1901: 75; Melchior 1834: 241);
auveq (Muus, Salmonsens and Vibe 1982: 405).

Icelandic: røstungur (Torfessøn 1927: 59);
rosmhualur (Guðmundsson [ca 1640/44] 1924a:

13);
rosmhvalr (Strøm 1, 1762: 157);
rosmhvalur (Blöndal 2, 1980: 660; Guðmundsson
[ca 1639/44] 1924b: Magnússon 1989: 773;
Sæmundsson 1932: 202);
rostunger (Olafsen 1, 1772: 355);
rostungr (Melchior 1834: 241; Mohr 1786: 1;
Torfæus 1706: 82; Strøm 1, 1762: 157);
rostúngur [JÓfG 1737] (LBS-JS ms 247: 31);
rostwngr [JÓfG 1737] (KBK ms Rostgaard 111:
26);
rostungshveli [Höskuldsstaðaannáll, 1779]
(Jóhannesson 1948a: 570);
rostungur (Blöndal 2, 1980: 660; Guðmundsson
[ca 1640/44] 1924a: 13; [ca 1639/44]
1924b: 28; Hauksson 1980: 49; Magnússon
1989: 774; Oddsson [1638] 1917: 47;
Sæmundsson 1932: 202; Thoroddsen 1911:
466-471; Torfessøn 1927: 59).

Norn:

Norwegian: almindelig rosmar [used by Krogh, late 18th
century] (Helland 1901: 491);
havhest (Melchior 1834: 241; Nordgaard 1902:
791; Pontoppidan 2, [1753] 1977: 255);
hav-koe [translated name for a specimen at
the medical herbs garden, Leyden, seen by
E. Pontoppidan] (Pontoppidan 2, [1753]
1977: 257);
hvalrøist [ca 1800] (Rathke 1907: 149);
hvalros (A.W. 1901: 75; Collett 1911-1912:
368; Helland 1899: 417, 1907: 751;
Sæmundsson 1932: 202);
hvalross (Gannier and Gannier 1989: 120f);
kvalros (Qvigstad 1922: 68);
rosmaal (Friis 1881a: 85; Melchior 1834: 241;
Strøm 1, 1762: 157; Qvigstad 1922: 68);
rossmaal (Helland 1905: 705; Magnússon 1989:
773; de Vries 1977: 451);
rosmal (Friis 1881a: 85);
rossmal (Helland 1905: 705; Magnússon 1989:
773; de Vries 1977: 451);
rosmaar (Friis 1881a: 85; Magnússon 1989:
773; de Vries 1977: 451);
rosmar [used by Claussøn Friis, ca 1599, and
by Lilienskiold, 1698] (Friis 1881a: 85;
Helland 1900: 491; Lilienskiold 1, 1942:
214; Melchior 1834: 241; Nordgaard 1902:
791; Strøm 1, 1762: 157);
rosmer [first used by Pederssøn Beyer, ca
1567-1570; cf Nordgaard 1902: 791] (Friis
1881a: 85; Nordgaard 1902: 791);
rosmul (A.W. 1901: 75; Nordgaard 1902: 791;
(Pontoppidan 2, [1753] 1977: 255);
rossmer (Torfessøn 1927: 59);
rostunge (Friis 1881a: 85);
søe-elephant [so called 'by some' because its

- tusks, cf Pontoppidan 2, [1753] 1977: 256)
(Pontoppidan 2, 1977: 256);
val-ross [late 18th century; Krogh's
description of Nordfjord] (Helland 1901:
491);
valrus [first used by E. Pontoppidan 1753, cf
Nordgaard 1902: 791] (Nordgaard 1902: 791;
Pontoppidan 2, [1753] 1977: 255, 257).
- Old English
(Anglo-
Saxon): horshwæl (sg), horshwalas (pl) (Bately
1980: 370f; SOED 2, 1987: 2501).
- Old Irish: rassmael, rosmael [for *rosmhvalr*, ON] (de
Vries 1977: 451);
rosualt, ruasual [for *hrosshvalr*, ON]
(Magnússon 1989: 378; de Vries 1977: 261).
- Old Norse: [hrosshvalr] [probably so used by Ohthere
from Hálogaland, 9th century AD]
(Nordgaard 1921: 112);
rösmhvalr [GG] (Finsen 1a, 1974: 31);
rós hualr [GG] (Finsen 3, 1974: 34);
rosmall [GG] (Finsen 1a, 1974: 36; Storm
1881: 85);
rosmáll (Helland 1905: 705);
rosm hualr [GG, BAK] (Finsen 1a, 1974: 34; 3,
1974: 83, 266; Storm and Hertzberg/NGL 5,
1895: 44);
rosm hvalr [GG] (Finsen 3, 1974: 222);
rosmhvalr [GG] (Finsen 3, 1974: 220, 354);
rosmhualr [GG] (Finsen 3, 1974: 182);
rosmhvalr [GG, JB] (Finsen 2, 1974: 40, 43;
Fritzner 3, 1954: 130; Halldórsson 1904:
192; Helland 1905: 705; Sæmundsson 1932:
202; Storm 1881: 85; de Vries 1977: 451);
rostm hualr [GG] (Finsen 3, 1974: 39);
rostungr [GG, BAK, JB] (Finsen 2, 1974: 514;
533; 3, 1974: 384f; Fritzner 3, 1954: 130;
Helland 1905: 705; Halldórsson 1904: 192;
Storm and Hertzberg/NGL 5, 1895: 50f);
róstungr [GG] (Finsen 2, 1974: 515);
rostungur (Nordgaard 1902: 791; Olafsen 1,
1772: 355; Pontoppidan 2, [1753] 1977:
255).
- Samish: morsh (Melchior 1834: 241);
morsja (Qvigstad 1922: 68);
moršša (Bately 1980: 188; Helland 1905: 705).
- Scots:
Swedish: hvalross (Fellman 1, 1906: 57f; Sæmundsson
1932: 202).

P6 Harp seal,

Phoca groenlandica (Erxleben 1777):

Phoca groenlandica (Müller 1776 [no description], cf Mannser, Fabricius);

Phoca oceanica (Lepech. 1777/1778) (Collett 1911-1912: 396);

Pagophilus groenlandicus (Gray 1850) (Collett 1911-1912: 396);

Pagophoca groenlandica (Troness. 1904) (Collett 1911-1912: 396).

- American: Greenland seal (Anon 1976b: 7).
- Danish: blaaside [blåside] [younger animal, ca 3 years old, so called particularly in Greenland] (Helland 1905: 702; Sæmundsson 1932: 169); grønlandssæl (Gannier and Gannier 1989: 120; Muus, Salmonsens and Vibe 1982: 414; Sæmundsson 1932: 169); iisblink [unborn but full-grown pup, so called by the Danish in Greenland] (Melchior 1834: 226). sortside (Sæmundsson 1932: 169); svartside [used particularly in Greenland] (Blöndal 2, 1980: 962; Helland 1905: 697; 1907: 749; Jacobsen and Matras 1961: 132; Landt 1800: 239; 1965: 137; Melchior 1834: 225; Sæmundsson 1932: 169; Thoroddsen 1904: 204).
- English: Greenland seal (Sæmundsson 1932: 169; Southwell 1881: 21); saddle-back seal (Lubbock 1978: 33; Sæmundsson 1932: 169).
- Faeroese: grønländskópur (Ryggi 1935-1942: 1; Degerbøl 1935-1942: 58; Jacobsen and Matras 1961: 132; Sæmundsson 1932: 169); grønländs-koupur (Landt 1800: 239; 1965: 137; Melchior 1834: 226); grønländssælur (Jacobsen and Matras 1961: 132).
- German: Sattelrobbe (Gannier and Gannier 1989: 120; Sæmundsson 1932: 169).
- Greenlandic: aglektok [3-4 year old animal] (Melchior 1834: 226); aglektorsoak [4 year old animal] (Melchior 1834: 226); aglektungoak [third year animal] (Melchior 1834: 226); aglektytsiak [ca 3½ year old animal, by mid-winter] (Melchior 1834: 226); agletok [ca 3 years old animal = blåside, D] (Helland 1905: 702); ataitsiak [pup in the first summer and second year juvenile] (Melchior 1834: 226);

- atak (Melchior 1834: 226);
atakk (Sæmundsson 1932: 169);
âtâq (Muus, Salmonsens and Vibe 1982: 414);
atarak [pup of the first summer] (Melchior
1834: 226);
atarsoak (Helland 1905: 697; Melchior
1834: 226);
iblau [unborn but full-grown pup (Melchior
1834: 226);
millaktok [4 year old animals of harp and
ringed seals] (Melchior 1834: 226,
234);
millaktorsoak [4 year old animal]
(Melchior 1834: 226);
utokaiksiak [second year juvenile]
(Melchior 1834: 226).
- Icelandic: brúnskjóttur selur [Norður-Þingeyrasýsla
and Suður-Þingeyrasýsla] (Sæmundsson 1932:
169);
dílaselur [Eyjafjarðarsýsla] (Sæmundsson
1932: 1969);
dropaselur [Norður-Þingeyrasýsla and Suður-
Þingeyrasýsla] (Sæmundsson 1932: 169);
flekkuselr (Melchior 1834: 226);
flekkuselur [Jón Bjarnason] (Sæmundsson
1932: 169);
flettuselur (?) (Sæmundsson 1932: 169);
flórskjóttur selur [Jón Bjarnason]
(Sæmundsson 1932: 169);
fulloröni selurinn [Norður-Þingeyrasýsla and
Suður-Þingeyrasýsla] (Sæmundsson 1932:
169);
hafselr (Mohr 1786: 3);
hafselur (Blöndal 1, 1980: 287; Hermannsson
1924: 38; Sæmundsson 1932: 169; Thoroddsen
1911: 475);
havselr (Melchior 1834: 226);
ísaselur (Sæmundsson 1932: 169);
jsaselur (Guðmundsson [ca 1640/44] 1924a: 14;
see also Hermannsson 1924: 38);
opnuselur (Guðmundsson [ca 1640/44] 1924a:
14; see also Hermannsson 1924: 38);
skrofuselur [for 1-2 year old animals; so
called in the Vestfirðir] (Sæmundsson
1932: 169);
tyrkjaselur (?) [used in Eyjafjarðarsýsla]
(Sæmundsson 1932: 169);
útselur (Sæmundsson 1932: 169) [not to be
mistaken for the meaning of bearded and
grey seals as such and útselur in
Eyjafjarðarsýsla, Norður-Þingeyjasýsla and
Suður-Þingeyjasýsla meaning any
(migratory) seal coming from the open sea]
(Sæmundsson 1932: 169, 182; Thoroddsen
1911: 474);
vaða [short for vöðuselur] (Sæmundsson

- 1929: 90; 1932: 169);
vadeselr (Melchior 1834: 226);
voedluselr (Melchior 1834: 226);
vødu-selr (Mohr 1786: 3);
vöðuselur (Blöndal 1, 1980: 287; 2, 1980:
962; Hauksson 1980: 49; Sæmundsson 1929:
90; 1932: 169; Thoroddsen 1911: 475);
wöduselur (Guðmundsson [ca 1640/44] 1924a:
14; see also Hermannsson 1924: 38).
- Norn:
Norwegian: emigrantsæl (Helland 1905: 699);
grønlands-sæl (Collett 1911-1912: 396;
Sæmundsson 1932: 169);
grønlandssæl (Helland 1899: 344; 1905: 697;
1907: 749; 1921: 562);
grønlandssel (Gannier and Gannier 1989:
120f);
harpesel [old male animal] (Sæmundsson
1932: 169);
Jan Mayen-sæl [so called by the sealers]
(Collett 1911-1912: 396; Helland 1905:
697; 1907: 749; Sæmundsson 1932: 169);
Jan Mayensæl [so called by the sealers]
(Helland 1899: 344, 415);
kobbe [short for russekobbe] (Helland 1905:
697; 1907: 748; Sæmundsson 1932: 169);
kvitsjøsæl [so called by the sealers]
(Helland 1899: 344, 415; 1905: 697; 1907:
749);
russekobbe (Collett 1911-1912: 396; Helland
1905: 697; 1907: 748; 1921: 562;
Sæmundsson 1932: 169);
sadelryg [so called by Norwegian Spitsbergen
hunters] (Helland 1905: 697; 1907: 749);
sadelsæl [so called by Norwegian Jan Mayen
hunters] (Helland 1905: 697; 1907: 749);
sadelsel (Sæmundsson 1932: 169);
salesel (Sæmundsson 1932: 169);
svartside (Helland 1899: 344).
- Old Norse: opnuselr [KGS] (Holm-Olsen 1983: 167;
Sæmundsson 1932: 169).
- Samish: aine [female] (Melchior 1834: 226);
dælja (Melchior 1834: 226);
dællja (Helland 1905: 697);
dævok [male] (Melchior 1834: 226);
ruossa-njuorjo (Helland 1905: 697);
suvja-dællja [so called by the Samis of
Nesseby] (Helland 1905: 697).
- Scots:
Swedish: grönlandssäl (Sæmundsson 1932: 169);
svartside (Fellman 1, 1906: 57).

P7 Ringed seal,
Phoca hispida (Schreber 1775):

Phoca foetida (Fabricius 1776 [no description])
(Collett 1911-1912: 387);
Phoca annellata (Nilsson 1820) (Collett 1911-1912:
387);
Pagomys foetidus (Gray 1866) (Collett 1911-1912: 387);
Pusa foetida (Troness. 1898) (Collett 1911-1912: 387).

American:

Danish: fiordsæl (Melchior 1834: 234);
netside (Sæmundsson 1932: 163);
ringsæl (Gannier and Gannier 1989: 120;
Melchior 1834: 237; Muus, Salmonsén and
Vibe 1982: 411; Sæmundsson 1932: 163);
ringesæl (Blöndal 1, 1980: 356).
English: marbled seal (Hermannsson 1924: 38; Southwell
1881: 14).

Faeroese:

German: Ringelrobbe (Gannier and Gannier 1989:
120; Sæmundsson 1932: 163).

Greenlandic: millaktok [4 year old animals of harp and
ringed seals] (Melchior 1834: 226,
234);
millaktorsoak [4 year old animals]
(Melchior 1834: 234, cf 226);
natsekk (Sæmundsson 1932: 163);
natseq (Muus, Salmonsén and Vibe 1982:
411);
neitsek (Melchior 1834: 234);
neitsidlek (Melchior 1834: 234);
neitsingoak [pup] (Melchior 1834: 234);
neitsitsiak [juvenile] (Melchior 1834:
234).

Icelandic: brimselur (?) [Sveinn Pálsson or Snorri
Bjarnason; the reference in Sæmundsson
1932: 163, is a mixture of the two
relevant abbreviations] (Sæmundsson 1932:
163);
hringanor (Melchior 1834: 237; Mohr 1786: 5);
hringanór (m)/hringanóra (f) [so used at
Breiðafjörður; cf Blöndal 1, 1980: 357]
(Blöndal 1, 1980: 357; Sæmundsson 1932:
163);
hringanóri (Blöndal 1, 1980: 357; Hauksson
1980: 49; Sæmundsson 1932: 163; Thoroddsen
1911: 478);
hringselur (Sæmundsson 1932: 163);
loðselur (?) (Sæmundsson 1932: 163);
nor (Melchior 1834: 237);
nóri [short for *hringanóri*] (Sæmundsson
1932: 163);
selakongur [also used for the leading
animal in a moving herd of harp seals]

- (Guðmundsson [ca 1640/44] 1924a: 14;
Sæmundsson 1932: 163; 176):
skammi [Jón Bjarnason] (Sæmundsson 1932:
163);
skemmingur [dwarf animals, cf Sæmundsson
1932: 163] (Guðmundsson [ca 1640/44]
1924a: 14; Sæmundsson 1932: 163);
stækjuselur [transl of *foetida*, Jón
Bjarnason] (Sæmundsson 1932: 163).
- Norn:
Norwegian: haffkatt [havkat] (Friis [1599] 1881a:
79);
hav-kat (Leem 1767: 215);
havkat (Melchior 1834: 237);
larv [dwarf animals so called by Norwegian
sealers] (Sæmundsson 1932: 163, 168);
øskiær (Melchior 1834: 237);
ringsæl (Collett 1911-1912: 387; Helland
1899: 344; 1905: 696; 1907: 748; 1921:
562; Sæmundsson 1932: 163; Qvigstad 1922:
42);
ringsel (Gannier and Gannier 1989: 120f);
snad(d) (Collett 1911-1912: 387; Hognestad
1979: 138; Sæmundsson 1932: 163);
snadde (Helland 1907: 748);
sælkonge (Melchior 1834: 237);
troidsel [dwarf animals so called by
Norwegian sealers] (Sæmundsson 1932: 163,
168).
- Old Norse:
Samish: avskar-gatte (Helland 1905: 696);
gatte (Helland 1905: 696; Qvigstad 1922: 42);
hauskar-gubbo (Melchior 1834: 237);
havskar-gubbo (Helland 1905: 696).
- Scots:
Swedish: vikaresäl (Sæmundsson 1932: 163);
viksäl (Sæmundsson 1932: 163).

P8 Harbour seal or common seal,
Phoca vitulina (Linnaeus 1758):

Phoca variegata (Nilsson 1820) (Collett 1911-1912:
377);

Callocephalus vitulinus (Cuvier 1826) (Collett 1911-
1912: 377);

Phoca littorea (Thienemann 1827) (Sæmundsson 1932:
150).

American:

Danish: den almindelige sæl (Melchior 1834: 230);
den almindelig spraglede sælhund (Landt 1800:
239; 1965: 137);
fjordsæl (?) (Thoroddsen 1904: 204);
landsæl (Blöndal 1, 1980: 477; Melchior 1834:
230);
mørunger [on Læsø, Kattegat] (Melchior 1834:
230);
spættet sæl (Blöndal 1, 1980: 477; 2,
1980: 959; Gannier and Gannier 1989: 120;
Muus, Salmonsens and Vibe 1982: 409;
Sæmundsson 1932: 150);
den spraglede sæl; spraglet sæl (Melchior
1834: 229f);

English:

steenkobbe (Landt 1800: 239; 1965: 137).
common land seal (Burton 1, 1875: 194);
common seal (Burton 1, 195; Edmondston 2,
1809: 292; Hibbert 1822: 412; Tudor 1987:
665);

Faeroese:

sea-dog (SOED 2, 1987: 1918);
seal (Edmondston 2, 1809: 292).
stajn-koupur (Landt 1800: 239; 1965: 137);
stain-koupur (Melchior 1834: 230);
steenkobbe (Resen [ca 1688] 1972: 64f);
steinkobbi (Ryggi 1935-1942: 1; Jacobsen and
Matras 1961: 411; Rischel and Skårup 1972:
64);
steinkópur (Ryggi 1935-1942: 1; Degerbøl
1935-1942: 57; Jacobsen and Matras 1961:
411; Sæmundsson 1932: 150);
nóri [young harbour (and grey seal) pup
before the first moulting] (Ryggi 1935-
1942: 1);
steinnósi [newborn pup] (Jacobsen and
Matras 1961: 411).

French:

Gaelic:

phoque commun (Sæmundsson 1932: 150).
moineis [the female harbour seal (rather
than female seals in general?)] (Harvie-
Brown 1888: 20);
rawn (Burton 1, 1875: 195);
ronbeag [= 'the little seal'; ron = seal]
(Harvie-Brown 1888: 20);
ron-caolais ['seal of the sound'/'seal of
the strait'; ron = seal] (Harvie-Brown

- 1888: 20).
- German: gemeiner Seehund (Sæmundsson 1932: 150);
Seehund (Gannier and Gannier 1989: 120).
- Greenlandic: akunnektok (Melchior 1834: 230);
akutleenak (Melchior 1834: 230);
ærmik (Melchior 1834: 230);
ærmitsiak (Melchior 1834: 230);
kasigiakk (Sæmundsson 1932: 150);
kassigiak (Melchior 1834: 230);
kassigiarakk [young juvenile] (Melchior
1834: 230);
kassigiarsoak [adult] (Melchior 1834:
230);
kassigieitsiak [juvenile] (Melchior 1834:
230);
kassininak [old juvenile] (Melchior 1834:
230);
qasigiaq (Muus, Salmonsens and Vibe 1982:
409).
- Icelandic: gráselur [Jón Ólafsson] (Sæmundsson 1932:
150);
kópi [Suður-Múlasýsla, Austur-Skaftafells-
sýsla] (Sæmundsson 1932: 150);
kopr [harbour seal pup] (Mohr 1786: 2f);
kópur [Suður-Múlasýsla, Austur-Skaftafells-
sýsla] (Sæmundsson 1932: 150);
land-selr (?) [described as *phoca leonia*
(O.O. 1781: 13);
landselr (Melchior 1834: 230; Mohr 1786: 2);
landselur (Blöndal 1, 1980: 477;
Hauksson 1980: 49; Hermannsson 1924: 38;
Olafsen 1, 1772: 354; Sæmundsson 1932:
150; Thoroddsen 1911: 472);
láturselur [used for this species but
also for any seal with a particular haul-
out place; cf Blöndal 1, 1980: 477]
(Blöndal 1, 1980: 477; 2, 1980: 959;
Guðmundsson [ca 1640/44] 1924a: 14;
Hermannsson 1924: 38; Sæmundsson 1932:
150; Thoroddsen 1911: 472);
náselur [Hallgrímur Scheving] (Sæmundsson
1932: 150);
norðselur (?) [Hallgrímur Scheving, 19th
century] (Sæmundsson 1932: 150);
nordselur (Guðmundsson [ca 1640/44] 1924a:
14);
nórungur [Suður-Múlasýsla, Austur-
Skaftafellssýsla, cf Sæmundsson 1932: 150]
(Guðmundsson [ca 1640/44] 1924a: 14;
Sæmundsson 1932: 150);
sprekluselur [Snorri Bjarnason]
(Sæmundsson 1932: 150);
ungselur(inn) [Suður-Múlasýsla, Austur
Skaftafellssýsla] (Sæmundsson 1932: 150);
vatnaselur [used in Suður-Múlasýsla and
Skaftafellssýsla] (Sæmundsson 1932: 150);

- vorselr (Melchior 1834: 225, 230);
vorselur [as a species term; also used
as a comprehensive term for the harbour,
ringed, harp and bearded seals] (Blöndal
2, 1980: 959; Sæmundsson 1932: 150, 162f,
168f, 182; Thoroddsen 1911: 472).
- Norn: tang fish, [NS; so called from its
frequenting of the littoral where seaweed
grows, in contradistinction to *haaf-fish*;
cf Jakobsen 2, 1985: 935; Tudor 1987: 414,
667] (Tudor 1987: 414; cf Jakobsen 2,
1985: 935);
tang-fish [NS; so called from its frequenting
of the littoral where seaweed grows, in
contradistinction to *haaf-fish*; cf
Jakobsen 2, 1985: 935; Tudor 1987: 414,
667] (Edmondston 2, 1809: 292; Jakobsen 2,
1985: 935; Tudor 1987: 667).
- Norwegian: almindelig fjordsæl (Helland 1900: 281; 1903:
278; Helland 1905: 695);
almindelig kobbe [so called in Sogn and
Fjordene, late 18th century; according to
Krogh's description of Nordfjord] (Helland
1901: 490);
almindelig sæl [late 18th century; cf Krogh's
description of Nordfjord] (Helland 1901:
490);
almindelig sælhund (Helland 1897b: 252; 1899:
343; 1907: 748);
amøring [harbour seal yearling; so called in
Nordland] (Dass [1690s] 1989: 42; cf
Helland 1907: 748);
fierekobbe [fjærekobbe] (Friis [1599] 1881a:
79).
fjordsæl (Collett 1911-1912: 377; Helland
1898: 134; 1904: 285; 1907: 748; 1909:
545; 1914: 402; 1921: 562);
fjordsæl (Gannier and Gannier 1989: 120f;
Hognestad 1979: 138; Sæmundsson 1932: 150;
kobbe (Fellman 4, 1906: 1; Helland 1921: 562;
Qvigstad 1922: 38);
kystsæl (Helland 1905: 695; Sæmundsson 1932:
150);
sælhund [late 18th century; Krogh's
description of Nordfjord] (Helland 1899:
343; 1901: 490);
spettede sæl (Helland 1905: 695);
spræglede sæl [Fellman has the spelling
spræglede sâl] (Fellman 4, 1906: 1);
steen-kobbe (Pontoppidan 2, [1753] 1977:
203);
steenkobbe (Melchior 1834: 230);
steinkobbe (Gannier and Gannier 1989:
120f; Hognestad 1979: 138);
stenkobbe (Collett 1911-1912: 377; Fellman 4,
1906: 1; Helland 1907: 748; 1909: 545;

1914: 402; Sæmundsson 1932: 150).

Old Norse:

Samish:

afco [adult harbour seal; cf Helland 1905: 696] (Helland 1905: 696);
gædge-njuorjo (Helland 1905: 696);
nerpa [Kola Samish] (Fellman 4, 1906: 1);
njuorjo (Qvigstad 1922: 38);
njuorju [Finnmark Samish] (Fellman 4, 1906: 1);
njårju [Finnmark Samish] (Fellman 4, 1906: 1);
norpa [Kola Samish] (Fellman 4, 1906: 1);
nuorjo (Qvigstad 1922: 38);
nuorrosh (Melchior 1834: 230).

Scots:

selch (Robinson 1985: 599);
selchy [early 19th century; cf Robinsson 1985: 599] (Robinsson 1985: 599);
selk (Robinson 1985: 599);
selkie [19th century ff; used in Shetland, Orkney, Caithness and the northeast; cf Robinson 1985: 599] (Edmondston 2, 1809: 292; Robinson 1985: 599).

Swedish:

knubbsjäl [sic] (Sæmundsson 1932: 150);
spräckliga fjärdskälen (Fellman 4, 1906: 1);
vikareskäl, vikare skäl (Fellman 1, 1906: 57; 4, 1906: 1).

A.15 Legal sources: Extracts from, and draft translations (in part), and summaries of, original legal sources, in Old Norse, Dano-Norwegian, Scots, etc, concerning whaling and sealing¹

A.15.1 Norway

A.15.1.1 Older Gulathing Law, ca 1100 AD (GTL)

- (A) Old Norse text.
- (B) Draft translation.

(A) Old Norse text:

GTL 91. "Um landnám. [44/45] ---.

Nu ef maðr hittir net i latrom sinum. oc sel i. þa a hann net. oc sva sel. til hinn leysir landnáme net út.

Nu ma maðr skiota sel af skipi ef hann rær rettleiðis. hvárt sem hann er a flote. æða a lande. nema selr liggi a latre þvi er stilli er til laðet. þa veiðir hann þeim er ver a.

Nu skytr maðr sel af lande oc er eigi stilli laðet. þa scal sa hava sel er látr atte. En ef stilli er laðet. þa scal hann hava bæðe sel oc landnám.

Nu lystr maðr sel. þa a sa sel er hittir. en hinn skutil sinn er laust. ef skutill fylgir." (Keyser and Munch/NGL 1, 1846: 44f).

GTL 95. "Um Dyrveiðar.

---. Hittir maðr sel æða fisk firi ovan marreins backa. þa eignazt iorð. En ef hann forer brautt. þa fore hann aptr. oc leggi a landnám ef hann er sottr til. ---." (Keyser and Munch/NGL 1, 1846: 46).

GTL 149: "Her hefr hvalrette.

[a] Haulldr er einfyndr at hval. æða haulldi betri maðr. atian alna longum. En holfu minna hveir annarra manna.

[b] Nu hittir maðr hval. þa scal hann þann hval firi vattom skera. æða lata liggia epter rygg oc hofuð. þa scal þat hanom vitni bera. ef hann hever eigi vitni til.

[c] Nu scal hann skera a diupi. oc bera eigi up a græna torvo. En ef hann berr upp. þa a sa hval halvan er iorð a. nema hann leysi með landnáme út. ef hanom þyckir hvalr betri. Nu ferr maðr hval at skera. þa

1 The rendering of these Old Norse, Dano-Norwegian, old Danish, etc, texts is tentative and capable of improvements, in particular in the case of some ambiguous prose passages. The purpose of a (new) translation has been to transmit the contents and terminology of the originals while maintaining their form to the highest degree possible. Subparagraphs of various long articles are specifically enumerated with letters in order to facilitate interpretation and references.

ef gras er þar sva mikit at fæðazt ma ær. oc lamb við. um sumar. þa scal leysa landnáme út. ef hann berr upp.

- [d] Recr hval a iorð mannz. innan garðz. þann hval a sa er iorð a. Recr hval a iorð mannz utangarðz oc er meiri en einfyndr. þa a konongr halvan. en sa halvan er iorð a.
- [e] Recr hval i fiorðu inn. sva at koma ma orvar odde út um. af hvarotveggia lande. þa eignastc hvartveggia land hval. nema útgrunt se. oc stande hvalr sva utarla. þa eignasc þo land hval.
- [f] Maðr scal veiða hval hvar sem hann ma. Nu veiðir maðr hval oc sævezc hann a diupi. þa a hann hval hvárt sem hann er minni æði meiri. Nu skytr maðr oc hæver. oc renner a land up. þa a sa halvan er veiðir en hinn halvan er land a. Nu skytr maðr a hval i ato oc næker guðrsgæve. þa er sa maðr seccr. fiorom tigum marca." (Keyser and Munch/NGL 1, 1846: 59).

GTL 150 "Um finnanda spic.

- [a] Nu hittir maðr hval i landvón meira en einfyndan. þa a sa finnanda spic er finnr. skal hann skera a marc. oc fara siðan oc segia armanne. þa a hann at have finnanda spic af þeim hval. hann a orvar hún at hava. skapt iamlagnt hende mannz. oc fella þat fiora vega. oc skera þat til beins. oc iamlagnt miðskips aro. leggja bast um ár. þar sem blað tecr ovast. oc skera sva breiðan hun til beins sem bast er lagnt. iamlagnt styri. oc iamlagnt austkeri. oc skutþiliu.
- [b] Nu hittir maðr a hval. och færer i festar. þa ef menn fara til oc skera þann hval i festum um nott. þa er hann fioratigu marca þiofr at. En fimtan marca þiofr ef hann skerr um dag.
- [c] Recr maðr hval i [59/60] hvalvág annars mannz oc stikar firi. þa a sa hval er vág a. en hinn bæte landnáme firi.
- [d] Recr maðr hval i þa vaga er eigi ero hvalvagar. þa a sa halvan er veiðir. en hinn halvan er vag a.
- [e] Nu finnr maðr hval a vozlom út. skere af slict er hann ma. oc late reca siðan. oc skere eigi a hol.
- [f] Recr hval i almenning. þann a konongr. En ef men skera þann. þa er sa seccr er skipi styrir til. fiorom tigum marca. en hinna hverr at .iij. morcom er til roa með hanom." (Keyser and Munch/NGL 1, 1846: 59f).

(B) Draft translation:

GTL 91 'Concerning the trespass fine [44/45] ---.

If a man finds a net [or: nets] in his seal resting places and a seal in (it [or: them]) then he owns the net(s) and also the seal until the other (man) redeems the net(s) with the trespass fine.

A man may shoot a seal from a ship if he rows the common route, whether it is floating or (is) on land, unless the

seal lies on a breeding ground where a trap is set, then he kills (it) for him who owns the sealing ground.

If a man shoots a seal from the land and there is no trap set, then the one who owns the breeding ground shall have the seal. But if a trap is set, then he shall have the seal as well as the fine for trespass.

If a man pierces a seal, then the one who finds the seal owns (it), but the other one who pierced (it) (owns) his *skutil* [ie, harpoon], if a *skutill* [ie, harpoon] is found with it.' (Cf Keyser and Munch/NGL 1, 1846: 45).

GTL 95: 'Concerning animal hunting.

---. If a man finds a seal or fish above the subtidal slope then it belongs to the land. And if he carries it off then he shall bring it back and pay the trespass fine in addition, if it is demanded of him. ---.' (Cf Keyser and Munch/NGL 1, 1846: 46).

GTL 149: 'Here begins the whale law.

[a] An odal-born man, or a man of better status, has the exclusive right to a found whale eighteen ells long. But any other man half that long.

[b] If a man finds a whale he shall cut it (up) in front of witnesses or leave behind the backbone and head; than this shall testify for him if he has no witnesses.

[c] He shall cut (it up) on the deep and not carry (it) up on the green sod. But if he carries it up then the one who owns the ground owns half of the whale except he [ie, the former] redeems it with the fine for trespass if he finds the whale (to be) better.

[f] A man may hunt/catch whales wherever he can. If a man hunts a whale and it is wounded on the deep, the whale is his whether it be smaller or larger. If a man shoots (at a whale) and hits (it) and (it) runs ashore, then he who hunts (it) owns one-half (of it) and one-half (belongs to) him who owns the land. If a man shoots at a whale in a shoal of plankton/fish and any God's gift, then he is liable to a fine of forty marks.' (Cf Keyser and Munch/NGL 1, 1846: 59).

GTL 150: 'Concerning the finder's [share of] blubber.

[a] If a man comes upon a whale in sight of land that is larger than an odal-born man is allowed to keep, the finder owns the finder's share of blubber; he shall cut (his) mark into it and then report [the find] to the bailiff; then he shall have the finder's blubber from that whale. He shall have [it in the size of] an arrow "cube" [measured by] a shaft as long as a man's arm and put it four ways [ie, in square] and cut this to the bone; and as long as the midship oar; (he shall) place a bast rope around the oar where the upper end of the blade begins and cut a "cube" to the bone as wide as the bast rope is [and] as long as the

steering oar [literally: rudder], as long as the
bail, and the stern deck plank.

---.

[c] If a man drives a whale into [59/60] another man's
whale voe and stakes (it) off, then the one who owns
the voe owns the whale, and the former pays the fine
for trespass.

[d] If a man drives a whale into such creeks that are
not whale voes, then the one who catches owns half
and the one who owns the voe the other half.

---.' (Cf Keyser and Munch/NGL 1, 1846: 59-60).

A.15.1.2 Older City, or Mercantile, Law, late 12th century AD (ÆB)

Bjarkeyjarréttr (ON) is the name of the old Norse market, town and mercantile laws in the Nordic countries.¹ The *bjarkeyjarréttr* was at first (local) customary law. The only surviving Older City, or Mercantile, Law (*Den ældre bylov eller bjarköret*; ÆB) is from Niðarós (Trondheim). It is stated also to apply at all fishing stations and on trade voyages. There is a high degree of conformity between this ÆB and FTL.² ÆB was written down in the late 12th century AD.³

ÆB 145: "Raumhvalr [var: Rafnhvalr] er einfyndr hauldi. En ef ættborin maðr hittir. þá á sá hálfan er finnr. En allir minni hvalir eru einfyndir friálsuðm manni hverium. en dróttinn á ef þræll finnr. En ef ármaðr kemr eigi til. þá hafi hann bægsll til þings. ok beri þat honum vitni um. En allir þeir hvalir er lýðskærir eru. þá skal boða ármanni ok búöndum at þeir komi til at fimt. En ef þeir koma eigi. þá liggr hinum eigi við er festi. þó at útslíti. En ef hval rekr út fyrir fimt ok eru eigi festar á landi. þá gialdi sá er finnr .xv. merkr. nema festar slitni. þá liggr ekki við ef sumar eru festarnar á landi. Sá skal festa hval er finnr. ok hafa finnanda spik. Hann skal hafa skip hlaðit. þat er kiölr se .ix. [var: .v.] alna langr. ok fiögur borð frá kili hvárn veg. ok hlaða svá miök sem hann vill at eigi sökkvi. En ef sökkr fyrr en þar kemr skútstafn sem áðr var framstafn. þá á hann ekki af. En finnandaspik skal skera niður frá horni ok aptr á siðu. ok alt til beina inn. Enn maðr skal á skipi því vera. ok hafa eine ár ok austrker ok eina þiliu." (Keyser and Munch/NGL 1, 1846: 330).

ÆB 146: "Þá er þriár vikur eru til Jónsmessu ok .vj. vikur til jóla.⁴ þá eru selver öll heilög. at engi maðr skal í selver annars fara leyfislaust. En ef maðr er fundinn í selveri manns á þeim vikum. ok tekr hann sela í veri manns. þá verðr hann svá þar þiófr sem í buri manns at skuldi. En þess á meðal. þá hegni menn selver sín svá sem menn hegna eignir sínar á lönd upp með lögum. en ránbaugi ef í ferr síðan. ok landnám silfrmetit. ok sela alla er hann tók í veri hans." (Keyser and Munch/NGL 1, 1846: 330).

1 Cf Wessén 1980: 655.

2 Cf Brattegard 1980b: 659.

3 Cf Wessén 1980: 655.

4 Ca 3 June-12 November.

A.15.1.3 Older Frostathing Law, mid 13th century AD (FTL)

- (A) Old Norse text.
- (B) Draft translation.

(A) Old Norse text:

Whales and whaling:

FTL xiv 10. "Um hvalfund.

- [a] (xj.) Rafnhvalr er einfyndr haulldi. En ef árborinn maðr finnr þá á sá hálfan er finnr. En allir minni hvalar eru einfundir friálsuð manni hverium. en dróttinn á ef þræll finnr.
- [b] En ef ármaðr kemr eigi til. þá hafi hann bœxl til þings oc þat vitni honuð um. En þeir allir hvalar er lýðscærir eru. þá scal boða ármanni oc búandum at comi til at fimt. en ef þeir coma eigi. þá liggr honuð ekki við at útslíti er festi.
- [c] En ef hval recr útfyrir fimt oc eru (eigi festar) á landi. þá gialldi sá er finnr mercr .xv. nema festar slitni. þá liggr ecki við ef sumar festar eru á landi.
- [d] Sá scal festa er finnr oc hafa finnandaspic. hann scal hafa scip laðit. þat er .ix. alna er langr kiölr í. oc .iiij. borð frá kili hvárn veg. oc laða svá miöc sem hann vill svá at eigi söccvi. En ef söccr fyrr en scútstamn kemr þar sem áðr var framstamn. þá á hann ecki af. En finnandaspic scal scera niðr frá horni oc aptr í síðu allt til beina inn. Einn maðr scal á scipi vera oc hafa eina ár oc austker oc eina þiliu.
- [e] En ef hval recr í stöð manns lýðscæran. þá á þann lut allan er í stöðinni liggr. er stöðina á. en konungr oc bændr þann lut er um gengr stöðina út." (Keyser and Munch/NGL 1, 1846: 252).

Seals and sealing:

FTL xiv 11. "Um selver.

(xij.) Svá er mællt um selver manna. at þá er .iiij. vicur eru til Jóansmessu. oc .vj. vicur til ióla. þá eru selver öll heilög at engi maðr scal þá í annars selver fara leyfislaust. En ef maðr er fundinn í selveri manns á þeim vicuð oc tecr hann sela í veri manns. þá verðr hann syá þiófr þar sem í búri manns oc vili hann þar. En þess á milli þá hegri þeir selver sín sem menn hegna eignir sínar á land upp með lagakefli. en ránbaugi ef í ferr síðan. oc landnám silfrmetit. oc sela alla er hann tóç í veri hins." (Keyser and Munch/NGL 1, 1846: 252).

(B) Draft translation:

FTL xiv 10. 'Concerning the finding of whales.

---. The finder [of a whale] shall secure it and he shall

have the finder's blubber. He shall have a ship loaded that has a 9 ells long keel and 4 planks on each bord from the keel up and may load it as full as he likes, [only] so that it does not sink. But if it sinks before the stern has moved to where the prow was before, he shall have nothing of it. And the finder's blubber shall be cut from the dorsal fin downward and backward along the side and in to the bones. There shall be one man on the ship, [he shall] have an oar, a bail and one bottom plank.' (Cf Keyser and Munch/NGL 1, 1846: 252).

A.15.1.4 Magnús lagabætir's National Code for Norway, 1274 AD (MLL)

The legislation relevant to cetaceans and pinnipeds and the taking of them is found in the section on tenancy (*landzleigu bolkr* = section vii) of Magnús lagabætir's National Code (MLL, 1274 AD), viz:

- (A) Old Norse text.
- (B) Draft translation.

(A) Old Norse text:

Whales and whaling:

MLL vii 64: "Vm hvalrekstra ef finnr hual.

- [a] lxiiij. Haulldr er einfyndr at huall eða haulldi betri maör .xviiij. allna langum eða skemra. En sa er haulldr er hann hefir oðaul at erfðum tekit bæðe eptir faður oc moðor þau er hans forellrar hafa att aðr firir þeim oc eigi annara manna oðaul i at telia þau er með kaupi eru at komin eða vtterfðum. En halfu skemri hualr er einfyndr huerium manni annara.
- [b] Nu hittir maör hual einfyndan. Þa skal hann firir uattum skera eða lata liggia eptir rygg samfastan oc hafuð oc sporð oc skal þat honum vitni bera ef eigi eru vitni til.
- [c] Nu skal þannig flytia hual til landz sem uil oc skera þar oc bera a land upp. Nu ef landzdrottin telr at. at þeir spilltu annat huart akre eða eng. bæte skaða þann sem .vj. skynsamir menn meta oc leggi a landnam þeim er akr eða eng a. En ef hual leggr a hælkn [var: hellu] eða fioru þar sem engi er skaðe at. fære brott at osekiu þegar hann [146/147] vil.
- [d] Nu rekr hual a land manz huart sem rekr innan garðz eða vttan. þa a konungr halfan vttan finnanda spik huart sem hualr er meiri eða minni.
- [e] Nu rekr hual i fiorð inn sua at skiota ma orfar odde vtt um hual af huarutueggia lande þa æignazst huarttueggia land hual. En ef hualr stendr grunn aðr en menn uerða uarer uið oc þo at vttgrunt se eða i hólma reki. þa eignizt landzdrottin hual oc skipti sem aðr uar sagt. Nu rekr hual a markreinu þa a þat huar af hual sem iorð a vndir.
- [f] Nu skal maör uieða hual huar sem hann ma vttan silldreka i silldfiski. En ef maör skytr silldreka [vars: hval (2 mss, of 40); fiskreka (1 ms, of 40)] i silldfiski oc neckir sua guðs giof. hann er sekr .viiij. ertogum oc .xiiij. morkum silfrs uið konung.
- [g] Nu ueiðir maör hual oc sæuizt hann a diupi. þa a hann hual huart sem hualr er meiri eða minni. Nu skytr maör hual oc rennir hann eða rekr a land upp. þa a sa halfan er veiðir en hinn halfan er iorð a. Nu skytr maör hual með markaðu skote [var: markaðu spjóti (8 mss, of 40)] oc finna hann aðrir menn a

- diupi. þa a sa halfan er skaut ef hann hefir vitni til skotz sins. en hinir halfan er biarga siðan.
- [h] Nu hittir maðr hual i uasta malum [var: fiskimalum] meira en einfyndan. þa a sa finnanda spik er finnr oc skeri fyrst af markhun oc fare at segia konungs vmbodsmanni. þa a hann at hafa finnanda spik af þeim hual tuggi(a) faðma huern ueg fiorskæyt.
- [i] Nu hittir maðr hual a lande eða uið land sua at huergi þarf at flytia til festingar. risti af festar oc festi hual með oc hafi af finnanda spik faðms huernuegin. En ef hann þarf nockor at flytia til festingar. hafi af finnanda spik ij. faðma huern uegar. En ef hual rekr vtt oc liggia sumar festar a lande. þa er hann orsekr. oc ef hualr [147/148] hittizt. hafi af finnanda spik sem aðr. En ef ecki er eptir af festum a lande þa er huals uangatt [vars: vangæymt; huall vangæymdr] oc giallde .iiij. merkr silfrs konungi.
- [j] Nu finnr maðr hual a lande huart sem hann er meiri eða minni oc festir eigi oc segir til þeim er a. þa skal hann hafa finnanda spik halfs faðms huernuegar. skeri af finnanda spik niðr fra horne oc aptr a siðu allt at beini.
- [k] Nu fara þeir menn til er ecki eigu i hual oc skera þeir hual vndan festum vm nott. sa er sekr .viij. ertogum oc .xiij. morkum silfrs uið konung. en þeir hafi hual sinn er eigu. en huer annara hafi hual sem aðr er sagt.
- [l] Nu rekr maðr hual i hualuag annars manz oc stikar firir at ouilia [var: at uleyfi] þess er uag a. þa a sa hual er uag a. oc vnni hinum firir starf sitt slikt sem .vj. skynsamir menn meta oc þeir verða samir a.
- [m] Nu rekr maðr hual i þa uaga er eigi eru aðr hualuagar. þa a sa halfan er ueiðir en halfan sa er uag a.
- [n] Nu ef maðr hittir hual a uostum [var: a vøstum] vtt sua at hann ma eigi til landz flytia. skeri af skiott þat sem hann ma oc skeri eigi a hol oc late reka siðan.
- [o] Nu rekr hual i almening. þann a konungr halfan en bændr halfan þeir sem þann almening eiga uið konung." (Keyser and Munch/NGL 2, 1848: 146-148).

Seals and sealing:

MLL vii 65. "Vm sela ueiðar.

- [a] lxv. Nu hitter maðr net i latrom sinum oc sæl i. þa a hann sæl oc net þar til er eigande læysir vtt með landname.
- [b] Nu ma maðr skiota sæl af skipi er hann rær retleiðis huart sem hann er a flote eða a lande. nema sælr liggi a latri þui er stilli er til laðit. þa skal sa hafa bæðe sæl oc landnam er stilli atte. [148/149]
- [c] Nu ef maðr skytr sæl af lande oc er eigi stilli til

laðit. þa skal sa hafa sæl er latr a. en ef stilli er til laðit þa a hann bæðe sæl oc landnam.

[d] Nu lystr maðr sæl oc finna hann aðrir menn. þa a sa halfan sæl er laust en halfan sa er finnr. oc sa skutil sinn er skaut ef skutill fylgir.

[e] Nu hittir maðr sæl eða nisu eða aðra fiska vttan hual firir ofan mareins backa oc færir eiganda. hafa af þriðjung vttan garðz en fiorðung innan garðz. en iorð eignizt .ij. luti vttan garðz en .iil. luti innan garðz. En ef hann færir brott. þa fære aptr oc leggi a landnam." (Keyser and Munch/NGL 2, 1848: 148f).

(B) Draft translation:

MLL vii 64: 'Concerning whale drivings/comings [and] if one finds a whale'.

[f] 'A man may hunt/catch whales wherever he can except the herring driver at the herring fishery. And if a man shoots a herring driver at the herring fishery or other such God's gift, he is liable 8 ertogar and 13 marks of silver to the king.

[g] If a man hunts a whale and it is wounded on the deep, then he owns the whale whether that whale is greater or smaller. If a man shoots a whale and it runs or drifts ashore, then the one who hunts owns half (of it) and the one who owns the land half (of it). If a man shoots a whale with a marked shot [var: marked spear] and other men find (it) on the deep, then owns the one who shot half (of it) if he has witness(es) to his shot, and the others who later salvage (it) half (of it).' (Cf Keyser and Munch/NGL 1, 1846: 147).

MLL vii 65. 'Concerning seal catching.

[a] 65. If a man finds a net [or: nets] in his seal resting places and a seal in (it) then he owns the seal and the net [or: nets] until the owner redeems it [or: them] with the trespass fine.

[b] A man may shoot a seal from a ship if he rows the common route whether it is floating or (is) on land, unless the seal lies on such a resting place where a trap is set, then the one who owned the trap shall have the seal as well as the fine for trespass.
[148/149]

[c] If a man shoots a seal from the land and a trap is not set, then the one who owns the resting place shall have the seal; but if a trap is set then he owns the seal as well as the fine for trespass.

[d] If a man pierces a seal and other men find it, then he who pierced (it) owns half of the seal and the one who finds (it) half, and the one who shot (owns) his skutil [ie, harpoon] if a skutill [ie, harpoon] is found with it.

[e] If a man finds a seal or porpoise or other fishes except whales above the subtidal slope and bring (them to) the owner, have one third of (it) outside the garth but one fourth inside the garth, and the ground owns 2 parts outside the garth and 3 parts inside the garth. But if he takes (it) away then (he) shall bring it back and add the trespass fine.' (Cf Keyser and Munch/NGL 2, 1848: 148f).

A.15.1.5 Christian 4's Norwegian Lawbook, 1604 (NLB)

Christian 4's Norwegian Lawbook (1604), the section on tenancy (*Landslejebalcken*, section vi).

Whales and whaling:

NLB vi 61: "Om hualle, oc hualle veide, cap. LXI.

- [a] Haulder (det er den som er odels baaren) eller den bedre er, som finder hual 18. alne lang eller mindre: maa den beholde. End halff mindre hual: maa beholde huem som finder.
- [b] Huem som saadan hual finder: da skal hand haffue vidne til, naar hand skier den op: oc [MLL: eða] lade igien ligge ryggen wadskild, hoffuit oc stier, oc maa da føre huallen til huilcket land hand vil, dog saa, at hand icke gjør nogen skade paa agger eller eng. Giør hand der skade paa: bøde skaden effter sex mends dom, oc landnam til jordrotten. Men driffuer hual ind i fiorde eller flad vand [MLL: "a hælkn eða fjoru", var: "a hellu ..."], som ingen skade kand giøris: da maa den sageløs bortføris: Driffuer hual ind paa nogen mands jord inden girdis eller vden: da hør konningen halffparten der aff, oc jordrotten halffparten, foruden findings speck, huad heller huallen er liden eller stor. Driffuer hand ind i fiorde, saa den er lige nær baade lande: da beholde begge lande huallen. End bliffuer hand staaendis paa nogen grund eller holme [MLL: "oc þo at vttgrunt se eða i holma reki"]: da beholder den huallen, som landit tilhører, oc skiffte som før er sagd.
- [c] Driffuer hual ind paa nogen mands græsz marck [MLL: a markreinu = 'paa gænsen mellem tvendes mark']: da eyer den aff hual, jorden tilhører, saa megit som paa hans jord ligger.
- [d] Hual maa huer mand skiude: vden den som driffuer sild ind vdi sildfiskind. Huem som skiuder dennem: bøde konningen otte ørtuger, oc tretten marck sølff.
- [e] Skiuder mand hual, oc hand flyder paa dybit: da ejer hand den huad heller den er stor eller liden. Men driffuer den paa land: da beholde hand halffparten som skød, og halffparten som jorden ejer. [157/158]
- [f] Skiuder mand hual met pijl som merckt er, oc anden mand finder den [MLL: a diupi], oc fører til lands: da ejer hand halffparten som skød, om hand haffuer vidne til, oc anden halffpart som fant, oc siden biergede.
- [g] Finder mand hual i anden mands fiskestrand [MLL: uasta malum, vars: fiskivaghom, fiskimalum, flæðrmalum], der lenger er end 9. eller 18. alne: da bør den som finder, findings speck: da skiere sin merkcke der paa [MLL: "oc skeri fyrst af markhun"; var: "... mark"], oc sige saa konningens ombudsmand til, oc haffue saa finding speck, der aff to fagne

- paa huer kant, fire kant skaaret.
- [h] Finder mand hual paa land stor eller liden, saa den icke behøffuer at flyttis: da belegge den, oc haffue for sin vmag finding speck en fagn fire kant. Behøffuer hand at flytten oc beleggen: da haffue findings speck to fagne fire kant.
- [i] Driffuer hual vd oc ligger festet paa landit, oc er sønder brudit: vere vsagit. Faais hand igen: da haffue findings speck som tilforne. Er der intet aff festet paa landit igien: da bøde konningen tre [MLL: .iiij.] marck sølff, fordi hand foruarede den icke vel.
- [j] Finder nogen hual paa lande, oc belegger icke, men tilsiger dem som jorden tilhørde: da haffue findings speck en halff fagn.
- [k] Findings speck skal skieres fra ryggen oc tilbage til finden, alt ind til been.
- [l] Farer nogen mand til hual om natten, oc skierer der aff, som icke haffuer part vdi: bøde konningen otte ørtuger oc tretten marck sølff, oc de beholde huallen, den tilhører.
- [m] Driffuer mand hual ind i anden mands huallegaard, oc stængrer for vden hands minde hualgaarden tilhører: da beholder hand huallengaarden ejer, oc betale den som inddreff effter sex mends tycke.
- [n] Driffuer nogen hual ind i vijg paa anden mands jord, som icke er hualgaard: da beholder de dem begge til halffnit.
- [o] Finder mand hual vde paa haffuit [MLL: a uostum vtt, var: a væstum, etc], oc trøster sig icke til at føre den til lands: da skiere der aff saa megit hand vil, dog saa at hand icke skier der hul paa, oc lade den saa driffue.
- [p] Driffuer hual ind i alminding: da ejer konningen halffparten, oc de bønder som ejer almindingen met konningen halffparten." (Hallager and Brandt 1981: 157f).

Seals and sealing:

NBL vi 62. "Om sæle veide, oc marsuin, cap. LXII.

- [a] Finder mand garn i sit sæleveide, oc sæl vdi: da beholde baade sælen oc garnit, indtil garnit løszis fra hannem met landnam.
- [b] Farer mand sit erinde vd met land, met skib eller baad: da maa hand vel skiude sæle, huad heller de ligge paa land eller i søen, vndtagen sæl ligger paa de skier, som fredliuste ere: da ejer hand sælen som skieret tilhører. [MLL: "... nema sælr liggi a latri þui er stilli er til ladit. þa skal sa hafa bæðe sæl oc landnam er stilli atte. Nu ef maðr skytr sæl af lande oc er eigi stilli til ladit. þa skal sa hafa sæl er latr a. en ef stilli er til laðit þa a hann bæðe sæl oc landnam."]
- [c] Slaer mand sæl met spiud, oc finder den anden mand: da beholde halffparten som skød, oc sit spiud met, oc halffparten den som fand.

- [d] Finder mand sæle, marsuin eller andre fiske, (vden hual) paa anden mands marck offuen strandbacken [MLL: *marens backa; vars: marreins bakka, marbakka, mararbakka, marreinu bakka, markreinu bakka, marktak, markbacka*] oc vden giærdis, oc bærer den til den jorden ejer: da haffue tredie parten for sin vmage. Men finder hand inden giærdis: da haffue fierde parten. Men fører hand bort: da føre den tilbage igien, oc bøde landnam.
- [e] Finder mand diur paa lande, døet: da ejer hand halffparten der finder, oc halffparten den jordne tilhører, ihuad diur det er." (Hallager and Brandt 1981: 159).

A.15.1.6 Christian 5's Norwegian Law, 1687 (NL, NLI [1779])

- (A) Dano-Norwegian text (NL, 1687).
- (B) Icelandic translation (NLI, 1779).

(A) Dano-Norwegian text (NL, 1687):

'Femte Bog. Om Adkomst, Gods og Gield.'

"12 Cap. Om Hvale og Sælevejde.

1 Art. Havlder, eller Odelsbaaren, maa beholde den Hval, som hand finder, om den er atten Alen lang, eller mindre. End halv mindre maa beholde hvo den finder.

2. Hvo som finder en Hval udi nogen Fiord, eller paa flak Søe, hvor den ej rører ved nogens Land, eller gjør Skade der paa, da maa hand den Sagisløs bortføre, og skal hand den for Vidne opskære, eller og lade igien ligge Ryggen uadskilt med Hovedet og Stierten, og skal det hannem Vidne bære, om hand ikke haver Vidne tilstæde.

3. Hand maa føre den til hvilket Land hand vil, og skære den der, og bære den paa Landet op. End om den Paaboendis anker derpaa, at Ager eller Eng, dermed spildis, da betale hand derfor efter Sorenskriverens og sex Mænds Kiendelse, og Landnam til Jorddrotten.

4. Driver Hval ind paa nogen Mands Jord, eller Grund, hvad heller det er indengierdis, eller uden, da ejer Kongen Hælvten og Landdrotten Hælvten foruden Findings Spek, hvad heller Hvalen er liden eller stor; Men dersom hand driver ind udi Fiorden, saa at Oddene af begge Landene skyde lige nær derom, da have begge Lande Ret til Hvalen. End om Hvalen staar før end mand vorder det var, eller drivis paa Holme, eller paa Udgrunde, da beholde den Hvalen, som Landet tilhører, og skifte hælvten med Kongen, som før er sagt; Men dersom hand driver ind paa Markerne, da ejer det hver af Hvalen, som ejer den Jord, der er under hannem.

5. Hver Mand maa vejde Hval hvor hand kand tilkomme, foruden den Hval, som driver Sild ind udi Sildefisket: Hvo den skyder, bøde til Kongen fiorten Lod Sølv, og Kongen ejer Hvalen. [223/224]

6. Skyder mand Hval og den flyder eller driver paa Dybet, da ejer hand den, hvad heller den er liden, eller stor, men render hand, eller driver, op paa Landet, da ejer hand halv Parten, som skød, og halv Parten den, som Jorden ejer.

7. Skyder mand Hval med merkede Skud, og en anden finder den paa Dybet, da ejer hand halv Parten, som skød den, om hand haver Vidne til sit Mærke, og anden halv Parten den, som fant og biergede den.

8. Dersom den der er berettiget til en Hval paa atten Alne, eller mindre, finder nogen Hval i Fiskemaale og Fiskestrand, som større er, da skal hand afskære et Mærke, og fare hen at tilsige Kongens Ombudsmand, og da bør hand at have Findings Spek af Hvalen to Favne paa hver Kant firskaaret. Det samme er om den, som er berettiget til en

Hval paa ni Alne, eller mindre, og finder een, som større er.

9. Finder mand Hval paa Landet liden, eller stor, saa at den ikke behøver at flyttis til Belæggelse, da rispe hand fæste der af, og belægge Hvalen dermed, og skal hand da have Findings Spek af den, som til Hvalen er berettiget, en Favn Spek firkant. End behøver hand at flytte den til at beleggis, da have Findings Spek to Favne firskaaret. End om Hvalen driver ud og Fæstet ligger paa Landet, og er sønderbrut, da er hand usaget, og om Hvalen faais igien, da have hand Findings Spek, som tilforn; Men er der intet af Fæstet igien paa Landet, da bøde hand til Kongen tre Lod Sølv, fordi hand forvarede den ikke vel. End finder nogen en Hval paa Landet, og belægger den ikke; Men tilsiger den, som Jorden tilhører, da have Findings Spek en halv Favn. Findings Spek skal skæris fra Ryggen og tilbage til Finden alt ind til Been.

10. Farer nogen Mand til Hval om Natten, og skær deraf, som ikke haver Part deri, bøde Kongen fiorten Lod Sølv, og den beholde Hvalen, som den tilhører.

11. Driver mand Hval ind i anden Mands Hvalgaard, og stænger foruden hans Minde, som Hvalgaarden tilhører, da beholde hand Hvalen, som Gaarden ejer, og betale den, som tildrev efter Dommerens og sex Mands Kiendelse. Driver mand Hval ind i Vig paa anden Mands Jord, som ikke er Hvalgaard, da beholde de hver halv Parten deraf.

12. Finder Mand Hval ude paa Havet, og trøster sig ikke til at føre den til Lands, da skære deraf saa meget hand vil, dog saa at hand ikke skær der Hul paa, og lade den saa drive. [224/225]

13. Driver Hval ind i Alminding, da ejer Kongen halv parten [sic], og de Bønder halv Parten, som have Lod i Almindingen.

14. Finder mand andens Garn i sit Sælvejde og Sæl udi, da beholde baade Sælen og Garnet, eller Garnet allene, om ej Sæl er derudi, indtil det løsis fra hannem med Landnam.

15. Farer mand sit Ærinde langs ved Lande med Skib, eller Baad, da maa hand vel skyde Sæle, om de ere i hans rette Farvand, hvad heller de ligge paa Land, eller i Søn, undtagen Sæl ligger paa de Skær, som ere fredlyste til at gildre paa; Ti da ejer hand Sælen, som Skæret tilhører. End skyder hand Sælen af Landet paa saadant et Skær, hvor dog ej er Gildre lagt, da have den Sælen, som Skæret ejer; Men er Gildre lagt, da have hand baade Sælen og Landnam til med.

16. End skyder mand Spyd i Sæl, og en anden finden den siden, da beholde den halv Parten deraf, som skød den, og sit Spyd med, om det følger, og halv Parten den, som fandt.

17. Finder mand Sæl, Marsvin, eller anden Fisk, uden Hval, paa anden Mands Mark oven Strandbakken og udengierdis, og bærer den til den, som Jorden ejer, da have tredie Parten for sin Umag; Men finder hand den indengierdes, da have fierde Parten. End fører hand den bort, da føre den tilbage igien, og betale Landnam." (Anon 1982: 223-225).

(B) Icelandic translation (NLI, 1779):¹

NLI 5-12-11: "Reke madur Hval inn í annars Manns Hvala-Gard, og setur Steingur fyrer, aan Leyfis þess er Hvala-Gardur tilheyrer, þaa behalldesaa Hval sem Gard aa, og betale þeim sem hann þaangad rak, epter Doomaranns og sex Manna Alyktun. Reke madur Hval inn í Vijk aa annars Manns Jørdu, sem ecke er Hval-Gardur, þaa hafe hvor um sig Helmijng af hønnum." (Anon 1779: 627).

1 Translated by vicar Marcus Eyolfsson (cf publisher's *Til Lesarans*, at the end of Anon 1779, unpaginated).

A.15.1.7 Norwegian Whaling Act, 1863 (NWA 1863)

Draft translation of the Norwegian 'Law concerning the right to whales', 24 January 1863:

'1. A whale found at sea and on land that is not in anyone's ownership, including state commons, belongs, when it is not wounded or killed by a marked shot, undivided to the finder provided he takes possession of the find.

2. A whale that, without being wounded or killed by a marked shot [or: by marked shots], comes on a shore which is in someone's ownership belongs to the user of the ground provided no other agreement has been made between him and the landowner. When such a whale demonstrably is found by somebody else before the user arrives, and the finder, with or without his help, carries out what is necessary for securing the find, the finder and the user shall have equal rights to the same [ie, the whale].

3. If a whale in the instances mentioned in §§ 1 and 2 is wounded or killed by a marked shot [or: marked shots] the one to whom the mark demonstrably belongs is entitled to one third of the whale's value. If more than one mark is found their owners share the lot pertaining to the shot. If an owner does not turn up within 1 year after the summon mentioned in § 5 the lot falling on the shot falls to the owners of the whale.

4. If the one who has killed, caught or found a whale moves it ashore in order to flense [afspække] it the user of the ground is entitled to 6 percent of the whale's value in land share [Landslod]. [167/168] Moreover, the owner of the whale is obliged to flense [afspække] it as quickly as possible and, after flensing [Afspækning] has taken place, to remove its remains when this for the sake of the public health is required. - Everything under a fine of from 5 to 50 *speciedaler*.

5. When a whale has been taken into possession according to §§ 1 or 2 it must not be flensed [afspækkes] or cut up [opskjæres] without the presence of at least two, with the occupier unrelated, men who are admissible as court witnesses. From this requirement are, however, such instances exempt where it may be feared that its observance could cause the loss of the prey [Bytte], especially when the flensing [Afspækningen] has to take place in open sea. If a harpoon or another killing instrument [Harpun eller andet Aflivelsesredskab] is found in the whale it must, as soon as the flensing [Afspækningen] has taken place, be delivered to the nearest under-sheriff [Lensmand], who, if knowledge is available about who is the owner of the instrument, sees that this person is informed accordingly, but otherwise summons the owner by proclamation at the church [fra Kirkebakken], notice at the thing [ie, court] place [Thingstedet] and by insertion in a commonly read newspaper. He who offends against the prohibition contained in this § is to be fined from 10 to 200 *speciedaler*.

6. Whales may not be shot or hunted in herring voes

[*Sildevaag*] or herring fiords [*Sildefjord*] during the time when herring fishing takes place, under a fine of from 5 to 30 *speciedaler*, in which case also the value of the whale shall be forfeited to the treasury.

7. [Concerning the fines] ---.

8. The 12th chapter of the Norwegian Law's 5th book until and including the 13th article, together with § 49 of the Statutory Order of 20 August 1778, are herewith repealed.' (Cf Munk and Mejlønder 6, 1867: 167f).

A.15.1.8 Mediaeval and modern Norwegian laws and regulations concerning cetacean drive hunts, whaling creeks and whaling voes/garths

- (A) **Translated extracts** from legal sources (GTL, MLL, NLB, NL).
- Summary 1:** Catch regulations with regard to 'whale voes' / 'whale garths' and private creeks.
- Summary 2:** Whaling methods in whale voes/whale garths and non-whale voes (other private creeks).
- Summary 3:** Mediaeval basic whale divisions, disregarding tithe and finder's blubber (*finnandasþik*).

(A) **Translated extracts from legal sources (GTL, MLL, NLB, NL):**

(Older) Gulathing Law (ca 1100 AD; GTL):

GTL 150c-d: 'If a man drives a whale into [59/60] another man's whale voe¹ and stakes (it)² off ["Recr maðr hval i hvalvág annars mannz oc stikar firi"], then the one who owns the voe [vág] owns the whale, and the former pays the fine for trespass.

If a man drives a whale into such creeks³ that are not whale voes ["Recr maðr hval i þa vaga er eigi ero hvalvagar"], then the one who catches owns half and the one who owns the voe [vag] the other half.'⁴

Magnús lagabætir's National Code for Norway (1274 AD; MLL):

MLL vii 64 l-m: 'If a man drives a whale into another man's whale voe and stakes (it) off against the will [var: without permission] of the one who owns the voe ["Nu rekr maðr hval i hualuag annars mannz oc stikar firir at ouilia (var: at uleyfi) þess er uag a"], then he who owns the voe [uag] owns the whale, and the former earned such for his work as 6 prudent men assess and they agree upon.

If a man drives a whale into such creeks that are not formerly whale voes ["Nu rekr maðr hval i þa uaga er eigi eru aðr hualuagar"], then the one who catches owns half and

1 *Hvalvágr* (*vágr*) of the legal texts is translated with 'whale voe' ('voe'), using the SOED (2, 1987: 2486) spelling, while 'whaling voe' is preferred in the discourse.

2 Storm and Hertzberg (/NGL 5, 1895: 609) read this and the corresponding passage in MLL vii 64 as "stika firi (hvale)"; I am not convinced that *fyrir* refers to 'whale'; in my opinion it might just as well imply the 'whale voe'.

3 For the sake of clarity *vágr* (ON) in other meanings than 'whale voe' is rendered as 'creek' (cf the preceding footnote); in the discourse 'inlet' may also be applied.

4 Cf Keyser and Munch/NGL 1, 1846: 59f.

the one who owns the *vøe* [uag] the other half.'¹

Christian 4's Norwegian Lawbook (1604, NLB):

NLB vi 61m-n: 'If somebody drives a whale into an other man's whale garth and bars it ["Driffuer mand hual ind i anden mands huallegaard, oc stængrer for"] without the consent of him to whom the whale garth [*hualgaarden*] belongs: then the whale garth [*huallegaarden*] owner keeps it and pays the one who drove (it) in according to opinion of six men.

If somebody drives a whale into an inlet [*vijg*]² on another man's ground which is not a whale garth ["Driffuer nogen hual ind i vijg paa anden mands jord, som icke er hualgaard"]: then they both keep half (thereof).'³

Christian 5's Norwegian Law (1687; NL):

NL 5-12-11: 'If somebody drives a whale into an other man's whale garth and bars it ["Driver mand Hval ind i anden Mands Hvalgaard, og stænger"] without the consent of him to whom the whale garth belongs, then he who owns the garth keeps the whale and pays the one who drove (it) in according to the verdict of the judge and six men.

If somebody drives a whale into an inlet on another man's ground which is not a whale garth ["Driver mand Hval ind i Vig paa anden Mands Jord, som ikke er Hvalgaard"], then they each keep the half share thereof.'⁴

These provisions may be summarised like this:

1 Cf Keyser and Munch/NGL 1, 1846: 148.

2 Normalised *vig* (D) is the same word as *vík* (ON, I, F), *vik* (NN), *wik* (NS), meaning an inlet or small bay (cf Blöndal 2, 1980: 942; Falk and Torp 1992: 982; Fritzner 3, 1954: 941; Jacobsen and Matras 1961: 503; Jakobsen 2, 1985: 1046f; Magnússon 1989: 1135; de Vries 1977: 662). We shall later encounter the word as the suffix in the compound word *hvalvík*, etc.

3 Cf Hallager and Brandt 1981: 158.

4 Cf Anon 1982: 224.

Summary 1: Catch regulations with regard to 'whale voes' / 'whale garths' and private creeks:

| | 'Whale voe' / 'whale garth' | (Other) private creek |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| <u>Ca 1100 AD, GTL 150:</u> | <i>hvalvágr</i> | <i>eigi hvalvágr</i> |
| Whale driver: | 'Stakes (it) off' / pays trespass fine | Keeps ½ catch |
| Voe owner: | Keeps whale(s) | Keeps ½ catch |
| <u>1274 AD, MLL vii 64:</u> | <i>hvalvágr</i> | <i>eigi hvalvágr</i> |
| Whale driver: | 'Stakes (it) off' / receives compensation for work involved | Keeps ½ catch |
| Voe owner: | Keeps whale(s) | Keeps ½ catch |
| <u>1604 AD, NLB vi 61:</u> | <i>hualgaard</i> | <i>vig</i> |
| Whale driver: | 'Bars it' / receives compensation for work involved | Keeps ½ catch |
| Voe owner: | keeps whale(s) | Keeps ½ catch |
| <u>1687 AD, NL 5-12-11:</u> | <i>hualgaard</i> | <i>vig</i> |
| Whale driver: | 'Bars it' / receives compensation for work involved | Keeps ½ catch |
| Voe owner: | keeps whale(s) | Keeps ½ catch. |

Summary 2: Whaling methods in whale voes/whale garths and non-whale voes (other private creeks):

| | Whale voe | Non-whale voe/creek |
|--------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| GTL 150: | "Recr maðr hval i hvalvág annars mannz oc stikar firi". | "Recr maðr hval i þa vaga er eigi ero hvalvagar". |
| MLL vii 64: | "Nu rekr maðr hual i hualuag annars manz oc stikar firir at ouilia [var: at uleyfi] þess er uag a". | "Nu rekr maðr hual i þa uaga er eigi eru aðr hualuagar". |
| NLB vi 61: | "Driffuer mand hual ind i anden mands huallegaard, oc stængrer for". | "Driffuer nogen hual ind i vjg paa anden mands jord, som icke er hualgaard". |
| NL 5-12-11: | "Driver mand hval ind i anden mands hvalgaard, og stænger". | "Driver mand hval ind i vig paa anden mands jord, som ikke er hvalgaard". |
| NLI 5-12-11: | "Reke madur hval inn í annars manns hvala-gard, og setur steingur fyrer". | "Reke madur Hval inn í vijk aa annars manns jørdu, sem ecke er hval-gardur". |

Summary 3: Mediaeval basic whale divisions, disregarding tithe and finder's blubber (*finnandasþik*):

In the commons:

GTL 150: crown owns 1/1;
ÆB 145: crown owns ½/peasants ½;
FTL xiv 10d,e: crown owns ½/peasants ½;
MLL vii 64 o: crown owns ½/peasants ½;

On private ground outside the farm garth:¹

GTL 149d: proprietor owns finder's whale (*einfyndr*);
if whale bigger than finder's whale
(*einfyndr*) the proprietor owns ½/crown ½;
MLL vii 64d: crown owns ½/proprietor ½.

In whale creek (private ground):

GTL 150d: proprietor owns ½/driver ½;
MLL vii 64m: proprietor owns ½/driver ½.

On private ground inside the farm garth:

GTL 149d: proprietor owns 1/1;
MLL vii 64d: crown owns ½/proprietor ½.

In whale voe (private; designated):

GTL 150c: proprietor owns 1/1 (and trespass fine by
drivers where relevant);
MLL vii 64 l: proprietor owns 1/1 (and pays drivers for
their work where relevant).

1 Only GTL (ca 1100 AD) and MLL (1274 AD) offer information on this and the following aspects.

A.15.2 Iceland

A.15.2.1 Chieftain Sæmundur Ormsson's district whale statute (ca 1245 AD; SæmOddsWS)

- (A) Introduction.
- (B) Old Icelandic text.
- (C) Draft translation.

(A) Introduction:

Chieftain (*goði*) Sæmundur Ormsson's district statute regarding drift whales and the common in Hornafjörður and Skarðsfjörður, Austur-Skaftafellssýsla, southeast Iceland, was drawn up 1242-1251 AD which may be approximated to ca 1245.¹ This statute is, together with the Rosmhvalanes whale statute (ca 1270 AD; cf A.15.2.2) among the very few surviving (high mediaeval) municipal and district statutes.

Hornafjörður is the western, larger fiord, and Skarðsfjörður is the eastern, lesser, one of a lagoon-like fiord complex; both are today separated from the sea by long sand and stone bank except for a common narrow sound; earlier this may have been different. In the statute Hornafjörður is sometimes apparently used to encompass Skarðsfjörður.

(B) Old Icelandic text:

"Þetta er scipan Sæmundar Ormssvnar [u]m allmening i hornafirðe at land oc fiorvr scolv helga þritvgt fauðmvm af [ú]t at meðal fløðvm þaðan fra er ofarst fløðer.

með því at recalld liggr noccot i þesso tacmarce. þa scal sa einn þat eiga er land a hvart svm þat er meirr æða miðr.

með því at recalld er við þetta tac marc f[y]r [u]tan scal þat [v]era almenningr. Sva sem sagt man [v]era:

at sa maðr ær annan leirna reca a þar er hvalr er kominn scal eiga af honum [ó]skiptvum einn fimta lvt.

þaðan af scal honom scipta at iamnaðe með þeim maunvm er erv i hornafirðe scal hverr bonde sa er þing farar kaupe gegnir hvart sem hann er landeigande æða leiglen[n]dingr til telia alla þa menn er þeir gefa matgiof fyrir Sva oc þa menn er þeir föra fram at ollv sva at þeir eru til þess scylldir. ef þeir erv þeirra heima menn. Sva oc þa menn er þeir veita fyr gvös Sacir tolf manaði. Oc hafa iamicit af hver maðr at þetta tale. þeirra Manna er til erv talðer i þesv tacmarci en[n] tivnda lvt scal gefa af i fyrstv af [ó] sciptv fatøcum maunvm scolv hrepstiorar raða hverer þat scolo hafa. Þeir scolv oc scipta ollvm hval oc með eið ef þeir verða eigi a sattir ella[.]

1 Cf DI 1, 1857-1876: 532, 534 [dipl 137].

tvitvgr hvalr oc meire er til þessa nemð[r] en eigi ef minne er.

hvar sem hann kemr i hornafirðe æða i scarðsfirðe scal þesse almenningr vera oc ecce [u]ndan scilit nema þat er i fyrstv er ritat.

fasta scal hval ef ma oc ef festan hval recr i brot Sva at festar stvfr er efter þa scal hann fara epter því sem log segia.

Með því at hval ma eiga festa oc rece hann i brott þaðan oc feste hann annars staðar i hornafirðe æða scarðz firðe. þa scal eige sciptaz eign a ef af er scorinn fimtvngur æða mere þot hann reci [ú]r almenninge. en sciptaz ef minna er af scorit. með því at menn greinir a hversv micit er scorit þa scolv .v. nabvar þess staðar er af var scorit fyrr með eið bera oc scal þat ha[v]a. [536/537]

Nv rekr hann [ú]t or horna firði [ó] festan þa scal sa eiga er fiorv a. hvar sem kemr. ef recr tiotoge vetta eða meira. þa er þat almenningr at einni fløðe. Scylder scolv þeir menn scip til at fa er eiga. en þeir scolo scipta með ser beinom at iafnaðe epter því sem scip ero roen til. Sa maðr er recalld finnr scal scyldr at segia a næsta bæ heima monnom. Með því at hann [ó]ræker scal hann gialda mork hrepstiorom vera oc af hlvt sinna heimamanna ef hann er bvande.

Sa bonde scal scera cross er fvrst er sagt. scal hann bera hverr fra ser. þar til er hann hefer faret allt þetta tacmarc. fara skal cross nøtr oc daga ef eigi talma [ó]før veðr eða vatna vexter. Til scal hverr bvande cominn aðr ij dægr se lipin fra því er hann spyrr. æða fa mann fyrir sek ella vera af hlvt sinna heima manna.

Með því at necqverr seinkar crossfør nauðsynia laust scal hann giallda morc hrepstiorvm oc vera af hlvt sinna heima manna.

Gialldage a viðrlogom þessom j biarnanese .v. dag þann er næst er epter þat vica er fra liðin. því er hvalr fannz. þriar merkr scal varða halldit. søcia i heraps dome þa er vica er fra lipen gialdaganum. fara ella sem onnur fiarheimta.

Allir buendr þeir er lond atto i hornafirðe handsoloðo sømvndar scipon a þesso male við samðycce allrar alðyðo."¹

(C) Draft translation:

'This is the statute of Sæmundur Ormsson concerning the common in Hornafjörður: that land and foreshore shall extend thirty fathoms [ie, à ca 1.42 m = ca 42.7 m] outwards by average flooding from the high tide mark.

When a driftage [rekald]² somehow lies inside this limit then the one who owns the land shall own it whether

1 DI 1, 1857-1876: 536f [dipl 137].

2 In the following rekald is used synonymously for 'whale' which seems to be the case throughout the diploma because drift wood (its later main connotation) is not referred to at all.

it is bigger or smaller.

When a driftage [rekald] is at this limit [and] floats outside [it] it shall be common. This is stated to be:

That the man who owns another clayey driftage foreshore where a whale has come [ashore] shall own one fifth of it [in an] undivided [state]. Beyond that he shall share it equally with those people who are in Hornafjörður; every peasant who is subject to þingfararkaup,¹ whether proprietor or tenant, shall enumerate all the persons they provide food for and also all those persons they [otherwise] provide fully for because they are obliged to if they come from that place,² similarly those persons they for the sake of God support during twelve months. And every person enumerated in this district shall have equally according to this statement, but one tenth part shall at first be given to the poor people from the undivided [whale]; the municipal officers (hreppstjórar) shall decide who shall receive [it]. They shall also divide all whales and by oath if they do not otherwise agree about it.

A whale of twenty [ells] or more is here relevant but none that is smaller.

Everywhere it comes [ashore] in Hornafjörður and Skarösfjörður it shall be common and not [or: nothing] exempted besides that which is written at first [ie, above].

If possible the whale shall be secured and if a secured whale drifts away so that a strap remnant is left then it shall be treated according to what the law states.³

When a whale cannot be secured and it drifts away from there and it is secured at another place in Hornafjörður or Skarösfjörður then it shall not change owners if one fifth or more has been cut from it although it drifts out of the common, but it changes [owners] if less has been cut off. If people disagree how much has been cut then 5 neighbours of the place where it was first cut shall state [the extent] under oath and that shall stand. [536/537]

If it, unsecured, drifts out of Hornafjörður then the one who owns the foreshore shall own [it] regardless of where it comes [ashore]; if ten-times-ten vættir [ie, ca 3430 kg] or more drift [away] then it is common if it also floats.

Those men who own ships are obliged to come with them and they shall divide amongst themselves the bones equally

1 A tax which during the Commonwealth time was levied on those peasants who owned more than was needed for simple existence and did not accompany their chieftain [goði] to the thing; after 1262/64, it became a tax to the crown for paying the lawrightmen. (Cf Finsen 3, 1974: 701-703; KLN 20, 1982: 380).

2 The order of the last two sentences has been reversed in order to overcome the contradiction otherwise arising.

3 Cf GG 1, 126; 2, 515f; 3, 386f; see also JB vii 62.

according to how much the ships are rowed.¹

The person who finds the driftage [*rekald*, *ie*, whale] is obliged to tell it to the people at the nearest farm. If he neglects [it] he shall pay one *mörk* [*ie*, mark] to the *hreppstjóri* and lose the share of his household if he is a peasant.

The peasant who is first told shall cut crosses; he shall convey them from his place until he has covered the whole district; the cross shall be conveyed nights and days unless impassable weather or floods prevent [it]. Every peasant shall have arrived within 2 days [and nights] have passed since he learns [of it] or have a man [attend] on his behalf or lose the share of his household.

If somebody delays the conveyance of the cross unnecessarily he shall pay one *mörk* [*ie*, mark] to the *hreppstjóri* and lose the share of his household.

Date of payment of this penalty [is] in Bjarnanes² one week and 5 days after the whale was found; the retainment shall be punished with three *merkur* [*ie*, marks]; it shall be sued for in the district court when one week has passed from the date of payment and is otherwise treated as other financial claims.

All those peasants who owned land in Hornafjörður handselled the statute by Sæmundur [Ormsson] about this matter with the consent of the whole of the common people.³

1 It is not clear whether this is limited to the use at the flensing locality or also includes the distance to and from their usual station.

2 Church and glebe in Nesjahreppur, Austur-Skaftafellssýsla.

3 Cf DI 1, 1857-1876: 536f [dipl 137].

A.15.2.2 Rosmhvalanes municipal whale statute (ca 1270 AD; RsmnWS)

- (A) Introduction.
- (B) Old Icelandic text.
- (C) Summary of the whale division register.
- (D) Draft translation of the evidences appended to the whale division register.

(A) Introduction:

The following register of shares in stranded whales in conjunction with the two evidences appended present the municipal statute concerning whale division in Rosmhvalanesshreppur (modern Miðneshreppur and Gerðahreppur), Gullbringusýsla, at the northwestern 'toe' of the Reykjanes peninsula, southwest Iceland, from around 1270 AD. The evidences, of uncertain age are hardly much younger than the register itself to which they are appended (cf DI 2, 1893: 78). This statute is, together with chieftain Sæmundur Ormsson's whale statute (ca 1245 AD; cf A.15.2.1), among the very few surviving (high mediaeval) municipal and district statutes.

(B) Old Icelandic text:

"Hvalskipte rost hvelinga [var: Rosmhvelnesinga].
In nomine domini Amen.

Þetta er hvalskipte rost hvelinga [var: Rosmhvelnesinga]:
at þann hval sem meire er enn xij ok half vatt ok rekr millvm æsvbergs [var: Esjubergs] ok keflv vikur [var: kefla vikur] til motz vid niardvikínga skall skiptta j nív stade.

A þar af einn hlvt holmvr. Annan hlvt midskala gardvr. skal honum skipta j þridivnga taka einn þridivng hrafnkíelstader ok meidarstader: halftt hvort vid annat.

Annan þridivng varer ok stranglastader ok darrarstader [ie, modern Ívarshús and Kothús]: er þar ok v stada skipte: take tvo hlute varer: enn hinn tvo þria ok jafnmikit hvort.

Hinn þridia þridivng taka gavkstader ok skeggiastader. er þav ok v stada skipte. taka skeggiastader ij hlvt enn gavkstader iij: hinn þridia hlvt hvalzins eigv vtskaler: aa presthvs þar j hina xvija [var: xviiij] hvoria vatt.

Hinn iiija hlvt a krokr ok midhvs ok vtskaler jafnmikid hvor.

Hinn fimta hlvt aa kirkivbol hafar [var: hafr] biarnnarstader ok kolbeinnstader. aa kirkivbol jafnn micid hinvm badvm: enn hinn londinn halft hvort vid annat.
[78/79]

Hinn vja hlvt aa flankastader [var: Klankastader] ok sandgierdi. eigv þar af vtskaler hinu siettv hvoria vatt, enn hinn londinn halft hvort vid annat.

Hinn vij hlvt aiga biasker ok kirkiv niardvik halfan hvort.

Hinn viija hlvt eigv fvlavik ok nisia. hvoratveggv. er þar v stada skipte. aa þar fvlavik iij hlvtte en nisia i: helmingar skipte er med nesivm.

Hinn ixa hlvt hvals aa hvalsnes ok starnes.¹

Þetta sorv þeir biarne þorisson ok brandvr askeilsson at þann hval sem rekrv j firnefndvm takmorkvm þegar meira er enn xiiij [ie, 12½]² vatt [var: xiiij vatter] hveliv hvals þat er aa land kiemur skal fla af bæxlvm fiödvur ok hornni: vega hvorki briosk nei bein: vega xij klafa enn halfa vatt sem pvndari stendur: enn ef pvndari stendzt eigi: skal skipta hvort sem rekrv eda er flýttvr [var: fluttur] eda veiddur firi innann netleg [var: netlög].

Þetta sorv þeir gregorius palsson ok andreis biarnnason: at med hvorivm hætti sem hvalvr kiemur at landi mille fýr sagdra takmarka svo micil[l] at skiptingar hvalvr sie. ok eigi eit[t]hvort landit nocvd j þa skal med ollvm skipta londvnm sem fir seiger.

Ef skot finst j hval. þa eigv aller þat sem af skotmannz hlvt lýkzt ef skiptingar hvalvr er.

Ef einn hval rekrv aa land j fleirvm hlvtvm ok eigi einn fiorv. þa skal sem einn hvalvr sie, ef samdægris kiemur aa land, skal rada sol vm sumar en dagur vm vetur, ok skal sa rannsaka sína fiorv alla sem [var: er] hvalvr kiemur aa.

En ef kvalvr keimur eige samdægris þa aa sa er land eda grasnavttnar reka aa, en skipte þeim er meire er, hvort sem þat er einn hlvtur eda fleire.

Sa madr er [var: sem] hval finnvr skal bod vpp skiera ok lata fara sem fliotazt aa tvær leider [var: hendur] fra sier til þeirra sem j hval eigv: skal þa koma hver med sinum festvm ok [var: að] bera aa hval ef [79/80] þarf. Enn þo at sumra festar sie j bornar enn svmra eige, þa skvlv aller abýrgiast epter því sem hvor aa j hval til: ok svo hval þo at vt take, enn þeir sem festv ok flvttv hafi fvlit firi starf sitt ok kostnad, enn eingi tekst meire festingar hvalvr.

Ef hveliv hvalvr kiemur svo micil[l] at skipta eigi, þa skal þar med skipta tvesti [var: þvesti], beinvm ok ollv því sem fiemætt er j hval.

Reinge gomhval ok tvngvhval skal vega til skiptis sem skip[ti]hval[.]³

Reitt er þeim sem j hval eigv at lata skera þo at eige sie aller til komner, svo at hiner skipe [var: skipa] aa sinn hlvt þann sem oskorinn er: þa er þeir koma, enn lvki eci meira [var: annara] skvrðar hlvt af þeim enn hiner er vid vorv: er því leingstvm vant at hvalvr se skorinn hier ok vpp borenn til x^a hlvtar. Skot mannz hlvt skal skera til fiordvngar. en hellmingur ef heim er borinn,

1 End of register; begin of two evidences.

2 Cf DI 2, 1893: 79, note 7.

3 All mss have *skiphval* but 'ship whale' makes no sense in this context.

landeigandi skal varðveita skotmanns hlvt."¹

1 DI 2, 1893: 78-80 [dipl 26].

(C) Summary of the whale division register:

Register of 'Whale division of the inhabitants of Rosmhvalanes [municipality].

In the name of God. Amen.

This is the whale division of the inhabitants of Rosmhvalanes [municipality]:

that the whale which is more than $12\frac{1}{2}$ vætt [ie, à ca 34.24 kg = ca 428 kg] and drifts ashore between Esjuberg and Keflavík opposite the inhabitants of Njarðvík shall divide into nine parts.'

1st part: Hólmur;

2nd part: Miðskáli:

1/3:

Rafnkelsstaðir ($\frac{1}{2}$) and Meiðarstaðir ($\frac{1}{2}$);

1/3:

Stranglastaðir (modern Ívarshús) ($\frac{2}{5} + \frac{2}{15} + \frac{1}{30}$) and Darrarstaðir (modern Kothús) ($\frac{2}{5} + \frac{1}{30}$);

1/3:

Gauksstaðir ($\frac{3}{5}$) and Skeggjastaðir ($\frac{2}{5}$);

3rd part: Útskálar;

4th part: Krókur ($\frac{1}{3}$), Miðhús ($\frac{1}{3}$) and Útskálar ($\frac{1}{3}$);

5th part: Kirkjuból ($\frac{1}{2}$), Bjarnarstaðir ($\frac{1}{4}$) and Kolbeinsstaðir ($\frac{1}{4}$); [78/79]

6th part: Flángastaðir ($\frac{5}{12}$), Sandgerði ($\frac{5}{12}$) and Útskálar ($\frac{1}{6}$);

7th part: Býjarsker ($\frac{1}{2}$) and Njarðvík church ($\frac{1}{2}$);

8th part: Fúlavík ($\frac{3}{5}$) and Nesjar ($\frac{2}{5}$), with the latter's share being divided equally in two (the recipients are not mentioned);

9th part: Hvalsnes and Starnes (no shares are mentioned).¹

¹ Cf DI 2, 1893: 78f [dipl 26]; see also JÁMPV 3, 1982. Lárusson 1967b has not yet been considered.

(D) Draft translation of the evidences appended to the whale division register:

'This swore Bjarni Þórisson and Brandur Áskellsson that a whale which drifts within the above mentioned limits, when it is more than 12½ [cf DI 2, 1893: 79, note 7] vættir of live whale that come ashore, [one] shall take off the flippers, tail and dorsal fin, weigh neither cartilage nor bone, weigh 12½ vættir [à ca 34.24 kg = ca 428 kg] so the scale [pundari] is in balance; but if the scale [pundari] is not in balance it shall be divided whether it comes (ashore) [rekur] or is transported [fluttur] or caught within the net limit [netlög].

This swore Gregorius Pálsson and Andres Bjarnason that regardless of how a whale comes ashore between the earlier mentioned limits [which is] so big that is a division whale [skiptingarhvalur] and some land [ie, local farm] has a share in it, then it shall be divided among all lands [ie, farms] as is mentioned before.

If a shot [skot] is found in a whale then everybody owns what remains after the shooter's share is taken off if it is a division whale [skiptingarhvalur].

If a whale drifts ashore in several parts and one [person] owns the foreshore, then it shall be [treated] as if it were one whale provided it comes ashore on the same day, determined by the sun during summer and day(light) during winter, and the owner on whose foreshore it came shall inspect all his foreshores.

But if the whale does not come [ashore] on the same day then the one who owns the land or the driftage [grasnautarreki] owns it but [shall] divide it if it is more [ie, than 12½ vættir] whether it is in one part or more.

The man who finds a whale shall cut messages and have them conveyed as fast as possible in two directions from his place to those who have a share in the whale; then everyone shall come with his ropes to secure the whale if [79/80] necessary. But although some ropes are fastened to it while others are not then everybody carries responsibility according to his share in the whale, this also though the whale may drift out, but those who secured and transported shall have full [payment] for their work and expenses but no-one receives more in festingarhvalur recompense.

If a live whale comes [ashore which it] so big that it shall be divided then the division shall include the meat, bones and all which is of value in a whale. Ventral grooves [rengi], palate [gómhvalur] and tongue [tunguhvalur] shall be weighed alternately as division whale.

It is rightful for those who own [parts] in a whale to have it cut although they have not all arrived, so that those who come [later] receive the uncut part and shall not cut a larger part of it than those who worked longest at

it; the whale shall here be cut into 10 parts¹ and carried onto [the land]. The shooter's share [skotmannshlutur] shall be cut to one fourth but to one half if it is carried home, the proprietor shall take charge of the shooter's share [skotmannshlutur]. (Cf DI 2, 1893: 79f [dipl 26]).

1 No explanation is given about this tenth part. As the evidence otherwise only refers of the overall limits and the procedure, not the exact division, I interpret it to reflect a modification of the above enumeration with the addition of a (primary) tenth part. This would admit one or more shareholders without upsetting the earlier arrangement although resulting in a general, 11 %, reduction of all previous shares.

A.15.2.3 *Jónsbók* (1281/1283 AD; JB)

The legislation concerning cetaceans and pinnipeds and the taking of them is found in the section on tenancy (*landleigubálkr* = section vii) of *Jónsbók* (JB; 1281/1283 AD); it contains 71 paragraphs of which paragraphs 60-71 is also termed *rekabálkr* (section on comings/driftage) and given a secondary enumeration (paragraphs 1-12), which is disregarded here. The relevant sections are as follows, in draft translation:

JB vii 63: 'If a whale drifts onto a man's foreshore, then the driftage holder owns it all, if no shot [*skot*] is therein; but if a shot [*skot*] is found therein which carries a registered mark [*þingborit mark*], then the shooter [*skotmaðr*] owns half (of it), if he comes before his share is appraised and weighed and transported from the foreshore. One shall probe for a shot [*skots*] as if one expected a shot [*skots*] (to be) in a whale on another man's foreshore, and he who finds a shot [*skot*] owns a *vætt* of blubber from the shooter's share [*skotmannshlut*]. If the shore holder knows who owns a shot [*skot*], then he shall send him a message, if he is so near that it is possible to travel there twice on the day concerned, if he leaves early in the morning. But if he does not send the shooter [*skotmanni*] a message when a shot [*skot*] is found - because so much must remain of the latter day as remained of the former when the man was sent - then he is liable one mark, half (of it) to the king, and half (of it) to the shooter [*skotmaðr*] and such (of the) whale as the law lays down. The landowner shall cut (up) a quarter of the shooter's share [*skotmannshlut*], until the shooter [*skotmaðr*] arrives, and take responsibility towards the shooter [*skotmann*] for that (part of the) whale, thereafter the shooter [*skotmaðr*] shall decide over his cut-up whale and bear responsibility for it himself. But if the other conceals that he possesses that shot [*skot*], then he [*ie*, the shooter] shall produce 2 men who can testify that he owned that shot [*skot*] and neither had he sold, given nor paid it (away), so far as they know. And if the other will nevertheless not release the whale, (he may) sue as for witnessed lent property. And anybody who conceals the shot [*skotinu*], he is then an outlawed thief ...'. (Cf Halldórsson 1904: 199f).

JB vii 64: '*Skothval* shall be appraised to *wadmál* by 6 credible men. If there are more shots [*skot*] in a whale than one, then owns the one (it) who first placed a killing shot [*banaskot*] and (which) carries a registered mark [*þingborit mark*]. It does not impair if it comes in the blubber. If a man catches [*veiðir*] that whale which is earlier deadly wounded [*helvænn*] by a registered shot [*þingbornu skoti*], (then) he who first shot [*skaut*] the whale nevertheless owns the shooter's share, and the other (one owns) for his work according to the judgement of 6 men. They who live nearest to where a shot [*skot*] is found

shall always appraise a *skothval*. ---. The landowner has claims on the driftage holder if a whale is sold before a shot [*skot*] is found and the shooter [*skotmaðr*] with him [*ie*, the landowner]. If a whale, which men have cut (from), tears out and a shot [*skot*] is found therein, regardless of where it drifts ashore, then the shooter [*skotmaðr*] has claims on all those who held the foreshore where that whale came (ashore), and that although men cut (from it while) afloat or on a skerry, and cut half (of it), it is lawfully appraised, but not to [*ie*, less than] one quarter if it is not appraised. That man who shall keep a shot [*skot*], or his proxy, shall show and disclose the mark on the shot [*skotinu*] at the Althing and state his name and then how much money [*fé*] follows the shot [*skot*], and settle (the payment) there at the assembly or fully assume trust (of it). If several (persons) keep that money, then they shall do likewise, when he has announced the shot [*skots*]. If somebody will not pay the shooter's money [*skotfé*], (he may) sue as for witnessed lent property, whether the shooter [*skotmaðr*] or his proxy or the occupant, who sold a whale, sues. If a whale is not appraised, then the shooter's share [*skotmannshlutr*] shall have been cut to a quarter, but otherwise to one half, if the shooter [*skyti*] does not arrive before his share is transported from the foreshore. Any whale shooter [*hvalskyti*] shall show to 6 of his neighbours the mark on that shot [*skot*] he will have and (show it) later in the law assembly, unless he has bought a registered shot [*skot*], or it has been given or paid to him, and (he) has witnesses of it, then he is equally permitted (to use it). ---.' (Cf Halldórsson 1904: 201f).

JB vii 67: 'If an opening in the ice, in which people kill [*sæfa*] whales outside the net limit [*netlög*], reaches all the way to the shore, and they run ashore, then their ownership share shall be determined as if (they) were driven ashore with ships [*ie*, boats]. If men shoot [*skjóta*] registered shots [*skotum*] at whales in openings in the ice, then they own no more (of them) than other men, unless (they) drift dead ashore, then they own the shooter's share [*skothlut*].' (Cf Halldórsson 1904: 206).

JB vii 68: 'If a man finds a net in his seal resting places [*látrum*] and seal(s) therein, then he owns the net as well as the seal, until the other [man] redeems the net with the trespass fine [*landnámi*]. A man may shoot [*skjóta*] a seal from a ship if he voyages the common route, whether it is floating or on land, unless the seal lies on such a resting place [*látri*] where a trap is set, then he catches for the one who owns the sealing ground [*ver*]. If a man shoots [*skýtr*] a seal from land and a trap is not set, then the one who owned the seal resting place [*látr*] shall have the seal; but if a trap is set, then he shall have the seal as well as the trespass fine [*landnám*]. If a man pierces [*lystr*] a seal and other men find it, then the one who pierced [*laust*] (it) owns half (of it) and the

one who finds (it) floating half, but the one who shot [skaut] (owns) his skutil if a skutill is found with it. If a hafrhval, bear, walrus, seal or porpoise drifts ashore and a shot [skot] is found therein, then the one who shot [skaut] owns a third, provided he has witness(es) to his shot [skots] if it has not been announced (/registered) at the thing, and the one who lives on the land where it drifts (ashore) must declare that shot [skoti] at the church within a month. ---.' (Cf Halldórsson 1904: 206f).

A.15.2.4 'Decree concerning the right to foreshore in Iceland', 4 May 1778 (Decree 1778)

"Placat angaaende Forstrands-Rettigheden udi Island. Christiansborg Slot den 4de Maji 1778. Kiøbenhavn.

Vi Christian den Syvende, ---. Giøre alle vitterligt:
At, da Vi ere komne i Erfaring om, at adskillige iblandt vedkommende i Island ere geraadne i Uvished og Ueenighed om, hvorledes de, siden den Islandske Lovs Udgivelse, til bemeldte Land Tid efter anden ergangne Anordninger, Forstrands-Rettigheden angaaende, skulle være at forstaae, saa at derover endog skal have reist sig, helst i de senere Tider, endeel vidtløftige Tvistigheder; Saa have Vi, for at see saadan Uvished eengang for alle [446/447] hævet, og Vore kjære og troe Undersaatter satte i Sikkerhed for al deraf flydende Uleilighed og Besværing, allernaadigst fundet for godt, herved deels at igientage og forklare forbemeldte Anordninger, deels og for den følgende Tid herom end videre at anordne saaledes som følger:

1. Alle strandede Skibe og Gods, være sig heele eller brudte Skibe, Skibsbaade, Ankere, Tove, Maste-Træer eller andre Skibs-Redskaber og Inventarier, heele Foustager, samt alt andet Gods eller Vare, som saadanne Skibe maatte have indehaft ---. [Is regalia everywhere in Iceland]. [613/614]

2. Alt Vrag af Eeg, Gran eller Fyr ... som ikke kan have Navn af strandet Skib og Gods, saasom tilhugget og tilskaaren Tømmer, Planker, Brædder, samt smaae enkelte Stykker af strandede Skibe [447/448] og Baade, som ere af liden Værd, saavel som de derud fastsiddende Bolter, Søm og andet Jern ---. [What comes ashore at royal, monastical ecclesiastical and bishopric estates and hospitals is granted to these beneficiaries and institutions].

3. Derimod tilkommer Sysselmændene, hver i sit Syssel, i Kraft af bemeldte Resolution af 26de Martii 1736, alt det i foregaaende 2den Post ommeldte, og fra det Os i 1ste Post forbeholdte Regale undtagne Vrag, som opdriver paa Selv-Eier-Godset, da saadan Vores Rettighed ved bemeldte Resolution er overladt til dem. [614/615]

4. Under Navn af Vrag, med hvilket saaledes som foranført forholdes, maae ikke forstaaes Hvalfiske, som drive til eller paa Land uden Harpun, om de end ere anskaarne; ikke heller utilhugget og uskaarne Drive-Tømmer, omendskiøndt derpaa kunde findes et eller andet Øxehug eller Skaar for Enden eller udvendig, hvilket alt efter den islandske Lovs Rekebalk 1ste og 12te Cap. skal følge Grunden; men ganske fuldt tilhugget eller savet Tømmer, skaarne Brædder, og deslige, skulle i dette Fald alene forstaaes under forbemeldte Vrag.

5. Af alle de Hvalfiske, som drive paa Land med Harpun i, udskiftes en Part for Harpuneren, eller saa kaldet Skudmands-Lod, hvormed forholdes efter Rekebalkens 4de og 5te Capitel. Indfinder Eieren af Harpunen sig ikke Aar og Dag efter at Harpunen er lovlig lyst ved Landstinget, falder [448/449] halve Deelen af denne Lod paa Selv-Eier-

Godset til Sysselmændene, som dermed ere forlehnte ved Resolution af 26de Martii 1736; men den anden halve Deel skal følge Grunden, til Erstatning for Biergningen og øvrige Umage og Omkostninger: hvorimod det er Sysselmændene uformeent, at antage sig selv Forvaringen af denne Lod, fra den Tid den er udskiftet, og til Aar og Dag er gaaet.

Men paa Vore Kloostere og Ombuds-Jorder tilfalder denne Lod [ie, ½ shooter's share] i lige Tilfælde Kloster- og Ombuds-Holderne, ligesom og de offentlige Stiftelser, saasom Bispestolene, Kirkerne, Hospitalerne, saavel som Beneficiariis paa det Geistlige Gods. Hvorefter alle og enhver Vedkommende sig allerund[erdanigst] have at rette.

Givet paa Vort Slot Christiansborg, udi Vores Kongelige Residence-Stad Kiøbenhavn, den 4de Maji 1778.

Under Vores Kongelig Haand og Seigl.

Christian R.

L.S.

| | | | |
|----------|-----------|-----------|------------------------|
| Stemann. | Erichsen. | Schilden. | Schleth. /Malling." |
|----------|-----------|-----------|------------------------|

(Cf ALPB 15, 1982: 613-615; see also LFI 4, 1854: 446-449).

**A.15.2.5 Ordinance concerning transported whale
(flutningshvalur) in Iceland, 23 June 1779 (Ordinance 1779)**

Ordinance (*reskript*) to senior prefect (*stiftbefalingsmand*) Thodal concerning land share of transported whales,¹ issued at Fredensborg, 23 Juni 1779.

The Ordinance was announced at the Althing 1780² and reiterated in the Statutory order of 13 June 1787 concerning the Icelandic trade.³ The sections 1-2 are still statutory law in Iceland.⁴

"Christian den Syvende &c. V.S.B.T. Som du, udi Skrivelse til Vores Danske Cancellie af 26. Augusti a.p. [1778] og i Anledning af en fra Bonden Einar Jonsson af Bardestrands Syssel paa Vort Land [494/495] Island herom indgiven Ansøgning, haver forestillet, at det vilde tjene til Hvalfangstens bedre Opmuntring, om det blev tilladt dem, som lægge sig efter denne Fangst, at føre den Hval, som de fange, til Land paa udyrkede og steenagtige Steder, uden derfor at erlægge nogen Betaling til Grundeieren, eller og at give ham 1/8 Deel af Hvalen: saa give Vi dig hermed tilkjende, at Vi, efterat herom er bleven indhentet Vores Vestindisk-Guineiske Rente- og General-Toldkammers Betænkning, allern[aadigst] ville, i Overeensstemmelse med saavel Vores islandske som norske Lov, og især Rekebalkens 8. Cap. samt N.L. 5-12-3. og 11. Art., i Almindelighed have anordnet:

1) At naar en harpuneret Hval føres til Land paa steenagtige eller sandige Steder eller Strande, som tilhøre Andre, og kan der opskjæres og bortføres uden Grundeierens Skade, da haver denne ingen Deel i Hvalen, dog bör ham betales hvad Tjeneste han ved saadan Leilighed maatte bevise de Fangende, saaledes som de med ham kunde forenes.

2) Føres en saadan fanget Hval til Land paa noget saadant Sted, hvor dens Flænsning, Bjergning og Bortførelse kan i nogen Maade spilde en Andens Eng eller Mark, da skal de Fangende betale Grundeieren saadan Skade og Jordspilde med 1/8 Deel af Hvalen in natura. -

Derefter du dig allerund[erdanigst] haver at rette, og at foranstalte saadant almindelig bekjendtgjort til fornöden Efterretning. Befalendis &c.

Fredensborg Slot den 23. Junii Anno 1779." (Cf LFI 4, 1854: 494f).

1 The correct technical terms are "af opbringende Hvaler" and "af flutningshvöllum" (cf appendices to Statutory Order concerning the Icelandic trade', 13 June 1787), rather than "af opdrevne Hvale" as the editors of LFI render it. (Cf LFI 4, 1854: 494).

2 Cf LFI 4, 1854: 494.

3 Cf ALDB 16, 1986: 434; LFI 5, 1855: 450.

4 Cf Måsson 2, 1991: 2087.

A.15.3 Faeroe Islands

A.15.3.1 *Seyðabrævið* (1298 AD; SB 1298)

Seyðabrævið ('The Sheep Letter') is an amendment (*réttarbót*) to the National Code of Magnús lagabætir, from 1274 AD, for the Faeroe Islands, issued in Oslo, 28 June 1298 AD, by duke Hákon 5 Magnússon (king 1299-1319 AD). It is preserved in four manuscripts, viz: *Sth ms 33 4°*, Royal Library, Stockholm (called the 'Royal Book'; belonged to Peder Jakobson, Kirkjubøur, lawman 1588-1600/01, among others); *Lund, mediaeval ms 15*, University Library Lund (belonged probably to Árni Sigurðarson, bishop of Bergen 1304-1314 AD); *AM ms 316 fol*, Arnamagnæan Collection, Copenhagen (from 1600 AD); and *AM ms 61b II 4°*, Arnamagnæan Collection, Copenhagen.¹

The standard publications of *Seyðabrævið* are Barentsen 1911a: 4-11; Jakobsen 1907: 3-22; Keyser and Munch/NGL 3, 1849: 33-40; and Poulsen and Zachariassen 1971: 45-63. Barentsen (1911a: 12-21), and Paulsen and Zachariassen (1971: 45-58) offer a Danish and an English translation, respectively.

The arrangement of the accompanying letter (introduction) and the articles of the statute proper varies between the manuscripts.

The most relevant parts of *Seyðabrævið* are the accompanying letter (introduction), the beginning of the first article and two articles regarding whales and whaling. The accompanying letter and the first article from *Sth ms 33 4°* are only offered in English while the two articles concerning whales and whaling are presented in the (slightly differing) Old Norse texts of *Sth ms 33 4°* and *Lund, mediaeval ms 15*, of which just the former is translated.

For the present study this student has found it necessary to translate the SB text anew and not to use the one offered by Paulsen and Zachariassen.

In *AM ms 316 fol* the whale and whaling articles are number 21 and 22, in the same order as below; similarly, in *AM ms 61b II 4°* they are no 8, titled "Ef huskarlar hitta a huall" and no 11, titled "Wm wangnn hugg".²

Sth ms 33 4°:

'Hákon, by the grace of God, Duke of Norway, son of King Magnús the Crowned, sends all men in the Faeroe Islands who see or hear this letter God's greetings and his own. Our spiritual father and dearest friend, Sir Erlendr, bishop of the Faeroe Islands, and Sir Sigurðr, lawman of Shetland,

1 Cf Paulsen and Zachariassen 1971: 3-6.

2 Cf Poulsen and Zachariassen 1971: 60, 62.

whom we had sent to you, informed us on behalf of the inhabitants [of the Islands] about those things which seemed to them to be deficient in the agricultural law section; and therefore we caused to be drawn up on these four pages the modifications we have made thereon in counsel with the best men, in accordance with what we trust will be of the greatest benefit to the common people. But with regard to the ecclesiastical law section we are unable to make other regulations for the time being but it remains as the noble lord, our father the Crowned, had it drawn up and presented to bishop Erlendr, as the National [Law] Code itself testifies. ---. And in confirmation we had our seal placed on this regulation ---'. (Cf Paulsen and Zachariassen 1971: 45; see also NGL 3, 1849: 33f).

'1. It is now ensuing that these are the things which are most beneficial to the country and my lord, the Duke, has granted us, and [which] are not in the law code that our noble lord, king Magnús the Crowned, gave us and which was approved at the General Assembly. ---'. (Cf Paulsen and Zachariassen 1971: 45; see also NGL 3, 1849: 34).

"8. Nu ef huskarlar bonda hitta hval a havæ ut ok skera af skip farm havi þeir af siondung. enn ef þeir flytia hval at landi oskorinn havi slikt af sem bok mæli. Nu ræka menn hval a land upp. þeir sem æigi eigu iorð fyrir ovan ok væiða. ok biarga or flöðar mali havi af fiordung. sva ok um tre. at somu. Enn ef menn finna naut eða sauði eða annan fenað a havi ut. oc flytia a land. þa skulu þeir hava af fiordung." (Paulsen and Zachariassen 1971: 49; cf NGL 3, 1849: 37f).

'8. [a] Now if a peasant's servants find a whale out at sea and cut off a ship-load, they shall have a seventh of it, [b] but if they bring a whale ashore uncut, they shall have of it as the [national law] book stipulates. [c] If men drive a whale ashore, those who do not own the land above [the shore], and catch it and secure it above the tidal zone, shall have a quarter [of it]; [d] so also in the case of [drift] wood. [e] But if men find cattle or sheep or any other domestic animal out at sea and bring it ashore, then they shall have a quarter [of it].' (Cf Paulsen and Zachariassen 1971: 49; see also NGL 3, 1849: 37f).

"11. Sva hovu ver ok þa skipan a gert. at hvalflystri þau er ver kollum vagn hogg. eða sva mioc rekin at æigi tækr sallti. þa vilu ver þat gæva þeim sem þat land a. er rækr a. fyrir guðs sakir ok sakir fodur vars ok

'11. We have also decided that the pieces of whale [hvalflystri] which we call vagnhögg [ie, 'orca cut'] or [those that] have drifted for so long that they cannot be salted, we will give to those who own the land where they drift ashore, for the

moður. oss til friðar ock farsældar með þeim hætti at syna skal aðr fyrir .ij. vattum enn þeir geri nockut rað fyrir. uttan varir eptirkomendr sæ at þat sæ moti konungdominum." (Poulsen and Zachariasen 1971: 51; cf NGL 3, 1849: 39).

sake of God and of our father and mother, our peace and prosperity; it is to be done by first showing it to two witnesses, and they shall reach some decision [about it], unless our successors find that this is against the [interests of the] crown.' (Cf Poulsen and Zachariasen 1971: 51; see also NGL 3, 1849: 39).

Lund, mediaeval ms 15:

"vm hual fundö

15. En huskarlar bonda hitta hual a havi vt ok skera af skip farm. havi af siaundvng. Nv flytia þeir hual at landi oskorin. havi af slict sem bok melir. Nv reka men hual a lanö þeir er eigi eigu iorö fyrir ofan ok biarga or flæðarmali. hafi af feoröung. sua vm trio. naut eða sauöi eða annan fenaö en þeir finna a hafi vtt ok flytia til lanöz havi af feoröung.

vm haf rekstvr

16. Þa skipan hofu uer a gort at hval flystri þau sem ver kollvm vagn hogh. þa vilu ver þat gefa þeim monnum er þat lanö eigu sem a rekr. fyrir guös sakir. ok salv fauör uars. os til friðar ok farseldar. með þeim hette at syna skal aðr .ij. skilrikvm monnum en þeir geri rað fyrir. vttan varir eptir komendr see at þat er nockot motj konungdominum." (Poulsen and Zachariasen 1971: 58).

A.15.3.2 Pilot Whaling Statutes 1832 and 1986 (GR 1832; GR 1986)

- (A) Pilot Whaling Statute 1832 (GR 1832).
- (B) Pilot Whaling Statute 1986 (GR 1986).

(A) Pilot Whaling Statute 1832 (GR 1832):

Extracts from the original Danish text, draft translation and summaries, of various articles of the Pilot Whaling Statute (*Reglement for Grindefangsten paa Færøerne*), issued in Copenhagen, 1 November 1832:

"§ 16. Sysselmanden udnævner imidlertid af de Tilstødeværende tvende bekjendte, upartiske, redelige og fornuftige Mænd til at vurdere Grinden, hvilket fremdeles, ligesom hidtil har fundet Sted, skeer efter Maal, saaledes at en Hval, hvis Længde fra Øiet til Gadboret er 5 Alen, ansættes til 1 Gylden, og de [9/10] øvrige i Forhold hertil, dog saaledes, at Vurderingsmændene tillige tager tilbørligt Hensyn til Hvalernes Fedme og øvrige Beskaffenhed." (Anon 1832: 9f).

'§ 16. The sheriff appoints ... from among the people present two known, impartial, honest and sensible men to appraise the pilot whales, which in the future, as it has been in the past, shall be done according to measurement so that a whale, the length of which from the eye to the gatbor is 5 alen [ells], is rated at 1 gylden and the others accordingly, however so that the appraisers also take due account of the fatness and other conditions of the whales.' (Cf Anon 1832: 9f).

§ 18: From the total appraisal sum is first deduced:

- (§ 18a) the tithe;
- (§ 18b) the finder's whale (*findingshval*) belongs to the boat which has first discovered the pilot whale pod at sea and pursued it until people ashore have received the message about it; if a pod is discovered from ashore that boat receives the finder's whale which first reaches the school; if several boats discover a pilot whale pod at the same time the finder's whale shall be divided between them; 'The finder's whale shall be selected from the total catch by those who are entitled to it and the head, in accordance with old custom, falls to the man who first has seen or heard the pilot whale pod.' [10/11]
- (§ 18c) the provision whale (*madhval*), the size of which is determined by the sheriff (*sysselmand*) in accordance with the size of the catch and the crowd attending;
- (§ 18d) for the poor relief fund, 1 % of the total catch;
- (§ 18e) for the educational system, 1 % of the total catch;
- (§ 18f) the damage whale (*skadehval*), ie, compensation

for injury to persons and damages of boats and gear in the course of the pilot whale hunt;

(§ 18g) for guarding, to each man, 1/4 *skind* during day time and 1/2 *skind* during the night;

(§ 18h) to each of the (two) appraisers, 1 *skind* for each one hundred whales they have assessed;

(§ 18i) to the sheriff (*syssemand*) for the division and calculation, etc, 1/2 %, and to each of the 4 foremen (*grindeformænd*), 1/8 %. (Cf Anon 1832: 10f).

§ 19: After the deduction from the total sum of these nine items the proprietor on whose ground the pilot whale pod has been landed (*inddragen*) and killed 'only' (*ikkun*) receives a quarter, as land share (*jordehval*); if such estates are occupied by a civil servant *pro officio* he enjoys the land whale as a beneficiary; the remaining 3/4 parts are subject to common division as driver's share (*partehval*, D). (Cf Anon 1832: 11).

§ 20: When the land whale falls to the crown it shall be sold, 'as usual', for 1 1/3 *pot* of train oil a *skind*; the provincial governor (*amtmand*) decides how much of it shall be given to civil servants, other persons of office and their widows and to certain, very needy and worthy persons in Thorshavn who could not otherwise obtain the necessary pilot whale (meat and blubber) for their household; the remainder shall, on the other hand, be divided between the drivers (*ragstermænd*) in the same ratio as the driver's share *partehval*. (Cf Anon 1832: 11).

§ 21: When the appraisal of a pilot whale pod does not exceed 50 *gylden* the special allocation of the crown's whale (*kongshval*) to civil servants, etc, according to § 20, shall not take place; if the appraisal sum is between 50 and 100 *gylden* civil servants receive up to 4 *skind* each, assistant officers at the (Royal) Trading Company (*Handelen*), teachers, etc, up to 2 *skind*, and others that may be considered worthy, up to 1 *skind* each; if the pilot whale pod is larger than 100 *gylden* these shares may be raised to 8, 4 and 2 *skind*, respectively, but never be fixed higher. (Cf Anon 1832: 12).

§ 22: The driver's share (*partehval*) is divided 'in the usual way' amongst all the boats that arrive at the pod before the appraisal has been concluded and the inhabitants of the pilot whale district (*grindedistrict* [modern: -*distrikt*]). (Cf Anon 1832: 12).

§ 23 defines the pilot whaling districts. (Cf Anon 1832: 12f).

§ 29: The whales that rise to the surface or are fished from the whaling bay (*hvalvaag* [modern: -*våg*]) after the sheriff (*syssemand*) has commenced calculating the division [ie, after the appraisal has been concluded], but before the division has been concluded, shall after deductions,

together with what may remain of the driver's share (partehval), be shared between the boats that may have arrived after the sheriff (syssemand) has commenced the calculation; what may be in excess shall be auctioned off to the highest bidder and the proceeds be allocated to the economic fund for the Faeroe county (Færøe amt); the same applies to those whales which within the first two days after the killing may rise or be fished from the whaling bay (hvalvaag [modern: -våg]), however, after the deduction of a fair compensation to the finder. (Cf Anon 1832: 15).

§ 30: The whales that are recovered (antræffes) after the first two days from the killing fall, on the other hand, after the appropriate deductions, to the finder. (Cf Anon 1832: 15).

(B) Pilot Whaling Statute 1986 (GR 1986):

The original Faeroese text of article 16 of the Pilot Whaling Statute, 1986, issued by the Faeroese Home Rule Authority, 12 May 1986, and draft translation of it:

"§ 16. Sýslumaðurin tekur so tvey ella um neyðugt fleiri kend, óheft skilafólk at meta grindina, sum gamalt er, eftir góðkendum máli soleiðis, at hvalur, sum er 3,14 m = 5 alin til longdar úr eyga í got, er mettur til gyllin, og hinir mettir hareftir og eisini eftir góðsku." (Anon 1989a: 39).

'§ 16. The sheriff shall choose two, or if necessary more than two, known, independent and sensible persons to appraise the pilot whales, according to tradition, following authorised measurement, so that a whale which is 3.14 m = 5 alin [ells] long from the eye to the got is rated at a gyllin and the other whales to be appraised accordingly, and also with regard to quality.' (Cf Anon 1989a: 39).

A.16 Excursuses

A.16.1 List of errata, Lindquist 1993

Lindquist, O. 1993.

Whaling by peasant fishermen in Norway, Orkney, Shetland, the Faeroe Islands, Iceland and Norse Greenland: Mediaeval and early modern whaling methods and inshore legal régimes.
In: Basberg, Ringstad and Wexelsen (eds) 1993, pp 17-54.

(A = left column; B = right column)

Page 19A, 18th line from the bottom:
does make - read: does not make.

Page 21B, 9th line from the top: (65) - read: (vii 65).

Page 21B, 17th line from the top:
Fóstbræra - read: Fóstbræðra.

Page 21B, 15th line from the bottom: ðór - read: Þór.

Page 22B, 5th line from the bottom:
modern - read: Modern.

Page 27B, 3rd line from the top:
(68) - read: (vii 68).

Page 27B, 16th line from the top:
in chapters 6.5-6.7 - read: on pp 28-32.

Page 27B, 4th line from the bottom:
Norse Icelandic - read: Norse and Icelandic.

Page 27, table, JB/sealing: read: skutill.

Page 28B, 8th line from the top:
Ólafur - read: Ólafur.

Page 28B, 13th line from the top:
Ólafur's - read: Ólafur's.

Page 28B, 16th, 20th and 23rd line from the bottom:
Ólafur - read: Ólafur.

Page 29B, 14th-16th line from the top: are ... factors -
read text in plain upright types (but: viz).

Page 29B, 30th line from the top:
Icel anders - read: Icelanders.

Page 30B, 7th line from the bottom:
fogeerie - read: fogderie.

Page 34B, 17th line from the top:
piscis - read: piscis.

Page 35A, 11th-12th line from the bottom:
-óli - read: -Óli.

Page 36A, 6th, 17th and 19th line from the bottom:
Ólijarnheysur - read: Óli jarnheysur.

Page 36A, 12th line from the bottom:

- Ólavvur - read: Ólavur.
- Page 38B, 25th line from the bottom:
laawman - read: lawman.
- Page 40B, 10th-11th line from the top:
specificc - read: specific.
- Page 40B, 4th line from the bottom (main text):
drivees - read: drives.
- Page 42B, reference DAAE, L. 1887:
TIDSSKRIT - read: TIDSSKRIFT.
- Page 49B, 11th line from the top:
voc abulary - read: vocabulary.
- Page 50A, note 69, 3rd line: 100102 - read: 100-102.
Page 50B, note 100, 5th line: CCf - read: Cf.
- Page 51B, note 140: chapter 6.6 - read: p 29.
- Page 52A, note 160: 151 - read: 152.
- Page 52A, note 168, 2nd line:
chapter 7 - read: pp 32-34.
- Page 52A, note 168, 3rd-4th line:
chapter 5 - read: pp 19-22.
- Page 52A, note 170, 4th line:
chapter 8.2 - read: p 35.
- Page 52B, note 174, 6th line:
chapter 6.2 - read: p 24.
- Page 53A, note 188: 143145 - read: 143-145.
Page 53A, note 199, 6th line: and - read: as.
Page 53B, note 246, 2nd line: Óli - read: Óli.
- Page 54B, note 274: chapter 6.7 - read: p 30.

A.16.2 Biological key data of Northeast Atlantic cetaceans

The maximum length of the cetaceans that are known to have existed in the Northeast Atlantic Ocean is listed below. The data are drawn from Leatherwood, Caldwell and Winn (1976: 10-18); Evans (1987b: 223f); Stonehouse (1985: 136); and Watson (1985: 77f). Other authors (eg, Collett 1911-1912; Sæmundsson 1932) offer similar information. The information varies somewhat between authorities, for which there are many reasons. One should not take such size data in an absolute sense.

The grouping of cetaceans according to size is an arbitrary exercise and depends on the situation and the purpose for which it is done.

These tables lie in extension of the Nomenclature, cf item A.14.

Large cetaceans, 12-26 m (40-85 ft) maximum overall length:

Blue whale (M5), body very large, up to 25.9 m (85 ft) long.

Fin whale (M6), body large, up to ca 24 m (79 ft) long.

Sperm whale (O14), body up to 20.9 m (69 ft) long.

Bowhead whale (M2), body up to 19.8 m (65 ft).

Sei whale (M4), body up to 19 m (62 ft) long.

Black right whale (M1), body up to 16.2 m (53 ft).

Humpback whale (M8), body up to 16.2 m (53 ft) long.

Gray whale (M7), formerly also in the North Atlantic Ocean;

North Pacific gray whales, body up to ca 15 m (49 ft).

Medium-sized cetaceans, 4-10 m (13-32 ft) maximum overall length:

Northern bottlenose whale (O5), body up to 9.8 m (32 ft) long.

Orca (O12), body to at least 9.1 m (30 ft) long.

Minke whale (M3), body up to 9.1 m (30 ft), or more, long.

Cuvier's beaked whale (O18), body up to 7 m (23 ft) long.

Longfinned pilot whale (O3), body up to at least 6.7 m (22 ft) long.¹

False killer whale (O15), body up to at least 5.5 m (18 ft) long.

Sowerby's (beaked) whale (O9) long.

True's beaked whale (O10), body up to 4.9-6.7 m (16-22 ft) long.

Small cetaceans, less than 5 m (16 ft) maximum overall length:

Narhwal (O11), body up to 4.9 m (16 ft) long.

¹ In the context of the present research the longfinned pilot whale will generally be termed 'pilot whale'; this is done as a matter of convenience because it is the only pilot whale species in the Northeast Atlantic and cannot be mistaken for its cousin, the shortfinned pilot whale (*Globicephala macrorhyncus*), which lives well outside the geographical area of this study (cf Evans 1987b: 57; Rice 1977: 10; Stonehouse 1985: 112; Watson 1985: 209 [map], 211).

White whale (01), body up to 4.9 m (16 ft) long.
Risso's dolphin (04), body up to at least 4.0 m (13 ft) long.
Bottlenose dolphin (017), body up to 3.7 m (12 ft) long.
Pygmy sperm whale (06), body up to ca 3.4 m (11 ft) long.
Whitebeaked dolphin (08), body up to ca 3.1 m (10 ft) long.
Striped dolphin (016), body up to ca 2.7 m (9 ft) long.
Whitesided dolphin (07), body up to ca 2.7 m (9 ft) long.
Common dolphin (02), body up to 2.6 m (8.5 ft), usually less than 2.3 m (7.5 ft) long.
Harbour porpoise (013), body up to 1.5 m (5 ft) long.

Approximate maximum age in cetaceans (Evans 1987b: 244):

Harbour porpoise, ca 15 years.
Bottlenose dolphin, ca 25 years.
White whale, ca 25-30 years.
Northern bottlenose whale, ca 37 years.
Narwhal, ca 50 years.
Orca, male, more than 50 years.
Orca, female, more than 80 years.
Sperm whale, ca 65-70 years.
Humpback whale, more than 30 years.
Minke whale, ca 40-50 years.
Sei whale, ca 65 years.
Fin whale, ca 85-90 years.

A.16.3 Danish Treasury memorandum and *sysselmænd* reports about whales and whaling in Iceland, 1778-1779

- (A) Introduction.
- (B) Report by *sysselmænd* Davið Scheving, Barðarstrandarsýsla, concerning whales and whaling, 12 August 1778 (in Danish and draft translation).
- (C) *Rentekammer* memorandum, 1 December 1778, and *Rentekammer* letter, 3 February 1779, concerning whales and whaling in Iceland.
- (D) Results of the *Rentekammer* inquiry, 1778: Summary by districts; *Rentekammer* conclusions.

(A) Introduction:

Early in 1777, the *Kongelige vestindiske og guineiske rente- og general-toldkammer* (ie, Treasury) in Copenhagen required all Icelandic *sysselmænd* (D, pl; sheriffs-steward; *sysselmænd*, sg) to submit a yearly report on the state of their districts.

On 5 March 1778, the *Rentekammer* issued a *circulaire* to the *sysselmænd* to include into their yearly reports information on whale occurrence in the waters of their districts and in particular in their 1778 report communicate the information they could gather concerning whales and whaling there in the past.¹ The circular letter seems to have been send to the *sysselmænd* under cover letters of different dates during the following weeks and months.

As all *sysler* (counties) have extensive coastlines, one would expect all *sysselmænd* to have submitted some comments concerning whales and whaling in the course of 1778 and 1779 as required. So far I have only succeeded in identifying, in printed publications, one full report (Barðarstrandarsýsla) and abstracts and comments concerning 9-11 others (Hnappadalssýsla, Dalasýsla, Húnavatnssýsla, Eyjafjarðarsýsla, Múlasýsla, Skaftafellssýsla, Vestmannaeyjasýsla, Rángárvallasýsla, Árnessýsla, and indirectly from Snæfellsnessýsla and Ísafjarðarsýsla).²

In general, the full report and the abstracts offer observations concerning the geographical distribution and movements of larger cetaceans in Icelandic inshore waters in the 1770s and some information concerning peasant fisherman whaling of the mid to late 18th century. The full report available offers in addition the possibility of a detailed analysis with regard to species; it is also valuable because it contains vernacular names for these cetaceans.

1 Cf LFI 4, 1854: 428f; refs *Island copiebog*, litra S, nr. 412 and *Toldk. skriv*. 19. juni 1779.

2 Cf Pontoppidan 1, 1787: 206-211; LFI 4, 1854: 429f.

The *General-toldkammer* enclosed a copy of *syssemand* D. Scheving's report to the *Kongelig stats-balance-direction* (ie, 'Royal State Bookkeeping Directorate') with its summary of the other sheriff-steward reports and its own observations and recommendations.¹ This points to Scheving's report being something special in comparison with the rest of the reports. Indeed, it is a very significant source. The text of the summarising *Rentekammer* letter apparently existed in administrative files in the mid 19th century because Stephensen and Sigurðsson (/LFI 4, 1854: 429) offer *Island copiebog, litra S, nr. 638* as the source of their summary of it; these authorities also mention *Island copiebog, litra T, nr. 29* for a related subsequent letter. A search (on 1 June 1989) for these letter copy books in the State Archives (*Rigsarkivet*), Copenhagen, was in vain; neither were they found enumerated with the materials transferred to Iceland in 1904 and 1927. There seems thus little hope that they still exist and may be found in the National Archives of Iceland (*Þjóðskjalasafn Íslands*) in Reykjavik. However, a search there could possibly bring to light letter copy books of the *sysselmænd* from 1778-1789 and, thus, offer parts of their communications to the *Rentekammer* administration in Copenhagen concerning whales and whaling in their districts. The usefulness of the summary provided by the *Rentekammer* in its memorandum of 1 December 1778 and of the abstract by Stephensen and Sigurðsson (/LFI 4, 1854: 429f) of the *Rentekammer* letter, dated 3 February 1779, concerning whales off Vestmannaeyjar is unquestionable. However, a study of the details of the original reports by the *sysselmænd* should be most intriguing if they could be found but within the frame of this work it has not been possible to pursue the search any further.

(B) Report by *syssemand* Davið Scheving, *Barðastrandarsýsla*, concerning whales and whaling, 12 August 1778 (in Danish and draft translation):

The only full report so far known is from *syssemand* David Scheving,² *Barðarstrandarsýsla*, to the *General-toldkammer* in Copenhagen, dated 12 August 1778, published by Carl Pontoppidan (1, 1787: 209-211):

1 Cf Pontoppidan 1, 1787: 207.

2 David Scheving Hansson (b 1732, d 1815) studied at the University of Copenhagen at least in the years 1749-1751. He was *syslumaður* (sheriff-steward) in *Barðarstrandarsýsla* from 1752-1781 and from 1801 presumably to his death in 1815. In 1759-1762 (at least) he lived at *Bær, Rauðasandshreppur*; from there he moved to *Hagi, Barðarstrandarhreppur*, where he lived until 1809; finally, he moved to *Hamar, Barðastrandarhreppur*, where he lived until his death. (These two municipalities are in the southwesternmost part of the *Vestfirðir* peninsula). David Scheving was a modest, well educated person of high integrity. (Cf Ólason 1, 1948: 307f).

"Til underdanigst Giensvar paa høilovlig Collegii naadigste Promemoria af 15 Martii indeværende Aar, angaaende Hvalfiskenes Gang her i Sysselet, meldes følgende.

Det er allene 2de Fiorde i dette Sysselet, hvor Hvalfiskene aarlig viise sig, nemlig: [209/210]

1) Arnefiorden, hvorpaa indkomme fornemmelig 7 Sorter Hvalfiske, som af Islænderne saaledes kaldes:

a) Geiredder Hval, disse ere 60 Alen lange, indkomme om Foraaret i April Maaned ved koldt Veir og Frost, dog ikke over 2 a 3 Stkr[.] aarlig.

b) Langreider eller Hafreiderr, 40 Alen lange, indløbe endog om Vinteren og ligeledes om Foraaret naar Veiret er koldt, ikke gierne over 6 a 7 i Tallet, og holde sig ikke samlede, men hver for sig.

c) De almindelige Horn-Hvale af ungefær 30 Alens Længde, disse indkomme om Foraaret, dog ikke gierne uden ved Varme og Søndens Vind, de opholde dem i Fiordene sædvanligst fra Junii Maaneds Begyndelse til hen imod Juul, ere i Tallet 10 a 15 Stkr. naar de ere flest, deres Indkomme paa Fiorden beroer meget paa Søndens Vind og Sildgang. Af denne Sort Hvalfiske er det, som Indbyggerne fange Kalve, naar de ere 6 a 8 Uger til halv Aars gamle, undertiden 2 a 3 i et Aar, og undertiden slet ingen.

d) Hrafnreider, 14 a 15 Alen lange, af disse indløber en Mængde paa Fiorden, naar Silden falder der.

e) Andarnefias [sic] af samme Størrelse som næste Sort, dog indkommer samme ikke i nogen Mængde.

f) Hundhvale af tvende Slags, den største Sort 10 a 12 Alen, og den anden ikkun 5 a 6 Alen, disse indløbe paa alle Tider af Aaret, og ansees skadelig formedelst at de foruroelige de andre Hvalfiske.

Andre Sorter Hvalfiske indkomme [210/211] ikke sædvanlig paa Arnefjorden, undtagen de saa kaldede Hnyser; denne min underdanigste Underretning har jeg forhen faaet af dem, som fange Hvalfiskkalvene, hvilke og ansees for de kyndigste herudinden.

2) Breidefiorden, hvorudi Indbyggerne formeener aarlig at opholde sig en Mængde Hvalfiske, som de dog ikke kiender, formedelst at de holde dem dybere og længere ud fra Landet end som Indvaanerne sædvanligt søge Fiskeriet, dog søge disse Hvalfiske ved Junii Maanedes Udgang, som oftest aarlig nærmere til Landet, og da tør Indbyggerne ikke begive dem noget langt ud paa Søen at søge Fiskeriet, formedelst de holde en Deel af disse Fiske farlige for Fiskebaadene.

Udi denne Fiord [ie, Breiðafjörður], have de ældste af Indbyggerne her i Sysselet fortalt mig, at i forrige Tider have en Deel franske, spanske og engelske Hvalfangere aarlig opholdt sig, og der giort en god Fangst. Udi min Tid ere der og seete 2 a 3 franske Hvalfangere, som have taget der en god Fangst.

Til Slutning indberettes underdanigst, at udi

denne Fiord [ie, Breiðafjörður], ere i Aar [ie, 1778], efter Indbyggernes Sigende, seet en Mængde af adskillige smaae og store Hvalfiske, derimod udi Arnerfiorden [sic] usædvanlig faa, og ingen af de trende førstbemeldte Sorter."¹

This report reads in draft translation as follows:

'There are only 2 fiords in this syssel where the whale fishes appear yearly, namely: [209/210]

1) Arnarfjörður into which come in particular 7 kinds of whale fish which by the Icelanders are called like this [ie, in Dano-Icelandic]:

a) *Geiredder hval*, they are 60 alen long, come in [to the fiord] in the spring in the month of April by cold weather and frost, however not more than 2 to 3 yearly.

b) *Langreider* or *hafreiderr*, 40 alen long, come in [to the fiord] even during the winter and also in the spring when the weather is cold, usually not more than 6 to 7 in number, and do not stay together but each one separately.

c) The common *horn-hval* of around 30 alen in length, they come in [to the fiord] in the spring, however, normally not except by warm weather and southerly winds; they stay in the [ie, 2 inner?] fiords usually from the beginning of the month of June towards Christmas, number 10 to 15 when they are most numerous; their arrival in the fiord depends much on southerly winds and herring presence. It is of this kind of whale fish that the inhabitants catch calves when they are 6-8 weeks to half a year old, sometimes 2-3 in one year, and sometimes none at all.

d) *Hrafnreider*, 14 to 15 alen long, of these come great numbers into the fiord when the herring is there.

e) *Andarnefia*, of the same size as the next kind, however, it does not come in [to the fiord] in any great number.

f) *Hundhval* of two kinds, the greatest kind 10 to 12 alen, and the other one only 5 to 6 alen; they run in [to the fiord] at all times of the year and are considered harmful because they cause anxiety with the other whale fishes.

Other sorts of whale fish do [210/211] not usually come into Arnarfjörður, except the so-called *hnyser*; this humble account of mine I have previously obtained from those who catch the whale fish calves who are also considered to be the most knowledgeable in this matter.

2) Breiðafjörður, in which the inhabitants believe a great number of whale fishes to stay yearly which they, however, do not know because they stay deeper and farther off the land than these

1 Scheving 1787: 209-211.

inhabitants usually pursue the fishing; however, towards the end of June these whale fishes normally yearly seek closer to the land and then the inhabitants dare not go relatively far into the sea to pursue fishing because they consider a part of these fishes [ie, whales] to be dangerous for the fishing boats.

The oldest inhabitants in this *sysse*l have told me that in earlier times quite a number of French, Spanish and English whalers have stayed in this fiord [ie, Breiðafjörður] yearly and made good catches. During my own time, 2 to 3 French whalers have also been seen there who have made a good catch there.

Finally, it is humbly reported that in this fiord [ie, Breiðafjörður], in this year [ie, 1778], there has been seen, according to what the inhabitants say, a great number of various small and big whale fishes while, on the other hand, in Arnarfjörður unusual few, and none of the three first mentioned kinds.¹

(C) Rentekammer memorandum, 1 December 1778, and Rentekammer letter, 3 February 1779, concerning whales and whaling in Iceland:

On 1 December 1778, the *Kongelige vestindiske og guineiske rente- og general-toldkammer* (ie, Treasury) sent the following *Promemoria* to the *Kongelige stats-balance-direction* (ie 'Royal State Bookkeeping Directorate'), also Copenhagen, in which it summarises the reports by then received concerning whales and whaling in Iceland:

"Efter den fra den Kongel[ige] Stats-Balance-Directions Side dertil givne Anledning, have vi fra samtlige Sysse[mænd] i Island indhentet [206/207] Efterretning om Hvalfiskens Gang sammesteds, hvilke dieres Efterretninger, saavidt de endnu ere indløbne, udfalde som følger:

For Bardestrands Sysse[l] melder Sysse[l]mand Scheving, at Hvalfiske jevnligen vise sig saavel paa Arnerfiorden, som og paa Bredefiorden, saaledes som herudi indsluttede Gienpart af hans Indberetning herom nærmere udviiser; ligeledes beretter Sysse[l]mand Axelson for Hnappedahls Sysse[l], at adskillige ham ubekjendte Hvalfiske pleie aarligen at vise sig fra midt i Mai Maaned indtil i August, og søge ofte nær ind under Landet, at de forfølge Fiskebaaden paa de Steder, hvor Titlinge eller smaae Fisk pleier at fanges.

I Dale, Arnæss, Rangervalle, samt Vester og Øster Skaptefells Sysler fornemmes ikke synderlig til Hvalfiske, deels da disse Sysse[l]er for det meeste ligge til Lands, deels og da deres Strandbredder ikke ere giennemskaarne med saadanne Fiorde, som

1 Cf Scheving 1787: 209-211.

Hvalfisken pleier at søge, men meget meere omgivne, saavel med Sandbanker og Grundsvand, som med Skiær og Klipper, hvorved Hvalfiske afskrækkes.

Derimod beretter Sysselmand Arnorson om Mule-Syssels Mid og Sønder Part: at adskillige Slags Hvalfiske store og smaae opholde sig aarlig deels udenfor Østfiordens [sic] paa den Fiskerbanke, Digremed kaldet, som ligger udenfor Lodmünder-[,) Seidis-[,) Miøe[-] og Nord-Fiordene, deels inde i Landets Bugter og Fiorde, og have deres Gang enten fra Langenes langs med Landet til den Søndre Huk, eller fra Westmanøe til Langenes.

Han er derfor af den Meening, at Hvalfiskefangst paa bemeldte Fiorde formedelst deres beqvemme Beliggenhed og Skibbarhed kunde forsøges med Fordeel. [207/208]

Udenfor Mule-Syssels Nordre Part er man siden Aar 1750, da det til samme Tid indtrufne gode Fiskerie forlod dette Syssel, meget sielden bleven Hvalfiske vaer, og desuden ikke i nogen Mængde eller til nogen vis Tid af Aaret, men førend bemeldte Tid, imedens Fiskeriet vedvarede, lod en stor Mængde Hvalfiske af saavel bekjendte som ubekjendte Arter sig aarligen tilsyne.

Sysselmand Jacobsen beretter, at inde paa Øefiorden haver 2 Gange i næstafvigte ti Aar ladet sig see en stor Mængde Hvalfiske, og ellers bliver man dem aarligen vaer i Munding af Fiorden udi May, Junii og Julii Maaneder, men dog ikke i synderlig Mængde.

Endelig beretter Sysselmand Gislesen for Hunevands Syssel, at omendskiønt Hvalfisken ikke har visse Opholdssteder der i Sysselet, eller søger derind i Fiorden [ie, Húnaflói], skal den dog undertiden løbe efter Sild, sværme enten til Skagen [ie, Skagi] eller til den Vestre Side af Watnæs i Junio og om Efterhøsten, dog ikke i nogen Mængde, men ellers nogle iblandt af anseelig Størrelse.

Forbemeldte Efterretninger have vi ikke skullet undlade herved tienstskyldigst at communicere den Kongl[ige] Stats-Balance-Direction, i Fald samme muelig kunde finde Leilighed til, at gjøre nogen Brug deraf, til Beste for Landet og Handelen, ligesom vi ikke skulle mangle i sin Tid at eftersende, hvad videre Efterretninger vi maatte erholde herom med de endnu uankomne Skibe for indeværende Aar.

Ellers vil Udslaget saavel af disse Efterretninger, som af hvad ellers er bekjendt om denne Sag, omtrent blive dette: at ligesom Hvalfiske aarlig kunne ventes, at lade sig tilsyne saavel paa Nordlandet, især i Øefiords og Skagefiords Sysseler, som og paa Øster- [208/209] landet Mule Syssel, saa ofte som der falder Fiskerie under Kysterne, da Hvalene jevnlig pleie at følge med det andet Slags Fiske, saa ville dog Faxefiorden paa Sønderlandet og paa Vesterlandet, Bredefiorden og Isefiorden

fornemmelig blive de Steder, som frem for andre fortiene Agtsomhed i denne Henseende; man haver og den Erfaring, at ei allene adskillige fremmede Hvalfangere saavel i forrige Tider, som endog i disse sidstafvigte Aaringer have af og til giort en god Fangst paa disse Steder. Men Indbyggerne selv allerhelst i Isefiords Syssel, have endog, næsten indtil denne tid, lagt nogen Vind paa Hvalfangst, skjønt ikke med den ønskede Fremgang, meest formedelst Mangel paa duelige Redskaber, hvorefter det og vilde falde saa meget lettere, at faae denne Nærings Vey sat i Gang hos dem, som de alt have noget Begreb om."¹

Stephensen and Sigurðsson (/LFI 4, 1854: 429) offer a brief summary of parts of the *Rentekammer* memorandum, 1 December 1778, and interpretations of a few otherwise uncertain aspects of it.

Stephensen and Sigurðsson also sum up a *Rentekammer* letter, dated 3 February 1779, which I assume was directed to the *Kongelige stats-balance-direction* in order to supplement the *Rentekammer* memorandum of 1 December 1778:

"I Toldk[ammer] Skriv[else] 3. Febr. 1779 berettes, efter Sysselmanden paa Vestmannöerne, at Hvale pleie at sees omkring Öerne först i Decbr. en kort Tid, [429/430] siden i Mængde fra Januar til Aprils Udgang, og endelig fra i Juni til Udgangen af August, da de pleie at gaae nærmere ind under Fastlandet."²

(D) Results of the *Rentekammer* inquiry, 1778: Summary by districts; *Rentekammer* conclusions:

The *Rentekammer* memorandum of 1 December 1778, etc, is best presented systematically according to districts, followed by the conclusions of the department.

The memorandum does not mention (1) Gullbringusýsla,³ (2) Kjósarsýsla, (3) Borgarfjarðarsýsla, (4) Mýrasýsla, (6) Snæfellsnessýsla, (10) Strandasýsla, (12) Skagafjarðarsýsla, (14) Þingeyjarsýsla.

(5) Hnappadalssýsla: *Sysselmand* Axelson informs 'that several, to him unknown, whale fishes' usually are present from mid May into August 'and often move so close to land that they pursue the fishing boat' at places where small

1 Pontoppidan 1, 1787: 206-209; LFI 4, 1854: 429, referring to the *Island copiebog*, litra S, nr. 638 of the *Rentekammer* for their brief summary of some aspects of the memorandum.

2 LFI 4, 1854: 429f; referring to *Island copiebog*, litra T, nr. 29.

3 For maps showing the 19 *sýslur* in Iceland about this time, cf, inter alia, Júlíusson, Ísberg and Kjartansson 1, 1990: 175, 213.

fish (*titlinge*) are caught.¹

(6) Snæfellsnessýsla as such is not mentioned in the *Rentekammer* memorandum which is a little strange. On the southern side of the peninsula the situation of *Hnappadalsýsla* could apply (cf previous item) and on the northern side that of *Barðastrandarsýsla* (cf item 8, below).

(7) Dalasysla is stated not to be particularly frequented by whales because of its inland location.² *Dalasysla*'s two westernmost municipalities, *Klofningshreppur* and *Skarðshreppur*, are where one perhaps might assume some whale occurrence similar to that in *Barðastrandarsýsla* (cf next item).

(8) Barðastrandarsýsla: The *Rentekammer* memorandum, 1 December 1778, writes 'that whale fishes regularly occur in both the *Arnarfjörður* and the *Breiðafjörður*'³ as described by *syssemand* Scheving (12 August 1778),⁴ namely:

1) *Arnarfjörður*:

1a) blue whale (*geirreiður*; 60 ells long), arrives in April (by frosty weather), yearly 2-3;

1b) fin whale (*langreyður/hafreyður*; 40 ells long), arrives during the winter and the spring, by cold weather, yearly 6-7 which stay separately;

1c) humpback whale (*horn-hvale* [sg, D] = **hornhvalur* = *hornfiskur*; ca 30 ells long), arrives during the spring, usually by warm weather, southerly winds and presence of herring; they stay in the 2 inner fiords from early June into December, 10 to 15 in years when they are most numerous; the inhabitants catch the calves when they are 1½-6 months old, sometimes 2-3 a year, sometimes none at all;

1d) minke whale (*hrafneyður*; 14-15 ells long), enters the fiord in great numbers when the herring is there;

1e) northern bottlenose whale (*andarnefja*, 10-12 ells long), not particular numerous;

1f) orcas (*hundhvale* [sg, D] = **hundhvalur* = *hundfiskur*; 10-12 and 5-6 ells long, respectively), come at all times of the year;

1g) harbour porpoises (*hnísur*).

2) *Breiðafjörður*:

2a) Many whales stay in this fiord but usually beyond the fishing range of the inhabitants except when they in the summer (late June) move closer to land; then, however, the inhabitants fear for going far at sea fishing; -

1 Cf *Pontoppidan* 1, 1787: 207; cf *LFI* 4, 1854: 429.

2 Cf *Pontoppidan* 1, 1787: 207.

3 Cf *Pontoppidan* 1, 1778: 207; cf *LFI* 4, 1854: 429.

4 Cf *Scheving* 1787: 210f.

presumably these whales are mostly rorquals;

2b) 'earlier' (ie, probably into the first half of the 18th century), French, Spanish and English whalers stayed in the fiord 'yearly and made good catches'; in the period 1752-1777, 2-3 French whalers also made good catches in Breiðafjörður; - it can hardly be any other species than the black right whale which these whalers took;

2c) various smaller whale species.

(9) Ísafjarðarsýsla: The northern part of Arnarfjörður belongs to Ísafjarðarsýsla but the whaling there is obviously covered in full by *syssemand* Scheving's report about Barðastrandasýsla (cf preceding item).

No report by the *syssemand* of Ísafjarðarsýsla is mentioned in the *Rentekammer* memorandum, 1 December 1778; if submitted it most likely dealt with whales and whaling in Ísafjarðardjúp because the *Rentekammer* makes observations in that respect, otherwise the *Rentekammer* could here also base itself on 'what is otherwise known about the matter', as it expresses itself,¹ eg, from Ólafsson (1772).

'... the inhabitants ..., most notably in Ísafjarðarsýsla, have ... nearly to this time, put some efforts into whaling, though not with the desired progress, mostly because of lack of suitable instruments' but it would nonetheless 'become the more easier to have this industry established with them which they already have some idea about.'² The whole context indicates that this refers to Ísafjarðardjúp and Jökulfirðir.

(11) Húnavatnssýsla: *Syssemand* Gislason informs that 'the whale fish' does not stay at particular places in that district or seek into Húnaflói; however, it sometimes pursue herring, approach Skagi or the west side of Vatnsnes in June and in late summer, 'though not in any great numbers but otherwise some of considerable size among them.'³

(12) Skagafjarðarsýsla: The reports concerning Húnavatnssýsla and Eyjafjörður (cf items 11 and 13) indicate whale presence off Skagi and Tröllaskagi, by extension in the outer Skagafjörður.⁴

(13) Eyjafjarðarsýsla: 'Syssemand Jacobsen informs that during the last ten years a great number of whale fishes have twice been seen in Eyjafjörður, and otherwise one is yearly aware of them in the mouth of the fiord during the months of May, June and July, but not in any particular

1 Cf Pontoppidan 1, 1787: 208.

2 Cf Pontoppidan 1, 1787: 209.

3 Cf Pontoppidan 1, 1787: 208; see also LFI 4, 1854: 429.

4 Cf Pontoppidan 1, 1787: 208; LFI 4, 1854: 429.

numbers.¹

(15) Múlasýsla: *Sysselmand* Arnórsson reports concerning the central and southern part of Múlasýsla 'that many kinds of whale fishes, big and small ones, yearly stay partly outside the Eastfjord [sic] at the fishing bank called Digramið which lies outside Loðmundarfjörður, Seyðisfjörður, Mjóifjörður and Norðfjörður, partly in the bays and fiords of the land, and move either from Langanes along the coast to the Southern Cape [ie, Kötlutangi or Dyrhólaey] or from Vestmannaeyjar to Langanes.' Off northern Múlasýsla 'a great number of whale fishes of both known and unknown species showed up yearly' while the good fishery lasted there, but 'people have, since 1750 when the previous good fishery left this district, very seldom observed whale fishes, and moreover in no great number or at any particular time of the year.' 'He was therefore of the opinion that the catching of whale fishes in the mentioned fiords [ie, of central and southern Múlasýsla], because of their convenient location and navigability, could be attempted with advantage.'²

(16) Skaftafellssýsla: The *sysselmand* report from Múlasýsla mentions whale migrations from South to Northeast Iceland and vice versa (cf previous item). The *Rentekammer* memorandum otherwise observes that the coast of Skaftafellssýsla, Rangárvallasýsla and Árnessýsla, ie, of southern Iceland, is generally characterised by sand banks, shallows, skerries and rocks 'through which the whales are scared away', rather than coasts into which cut 'such fiords which the whale fishes usually seek.'³

(17) Vestmannaeyjasýsla: According to the *sysselmand* in the Westman Islands 'whales are normally first observed around the Islands in December for a short time, then in great numbers from January through April and finally from in June through August when they use to move closer to the mainland.'⁴

(18) Rangárvallasýsla: Cf item 16, above.

(19) Árnessýsla: Cf item 16, above.

The *Rentekammer* concludes 'from this information, as well

1 Cf Pontoppidan 1, 1787: 208; see also LFI 4, 1854: 429.

2 Cf Pontoppidan 1, 1787: 207f; see also LFI 4, 1854: 429. Arnórsson presumably has hand harpoon whaling in mind (rather than spearing) but the whales he refers to will mostly have been rorquals which do not lend themselves to hand harpooning.

3 Cf Pontoppidan 1, 1787: 207.

4 Cf LFI 4, 1854: 429f; referring to *Island copiebog, litra T, nr. 29.*

as from what is otherwise known about this matter':

Whales may yearly be expected to appear at the Northland, in particular in Eyjafjarðarsýsla and Skagafjarðarsýsla; similarly in Múlasýsla on the Eastland when fishery takes place there because the whales often follow 'the other kind of fishes'; 'however, Faxaflói on the Southland and Westland, Breiðafjörður and Ísafjörður [ie, Ísafjarðardjúp], would especially be the places which among others deserve attention in this respect'; it is also known that not only in the past but also in recent times have several foreign whalers 'made a good catch in these places'.¹

'But the inhabitants themselves, most notably in Ísafjarðarsýsla, have even, nearly to this time, put some efforts into whaling, though not with the desired progress, mostly because of lack of suitable instruments, after which it would also become the more easier to have this industry established with them which they already have some idea about.'²

1 Cf Pontoppidan 1, 1787: 209.

2 Cf Pontoppidan 1, 1787: 209.

A.16.4 Whale names in *Hvalapulur*, *Skáldskaparmál* (*Edda*), and *Konungsskuggsjá*

Edda is the name of the body of ancient Icelandic literature contained in two 13th century AD works commonly distinguished as the *Prose Edda* (also called *Younger Edda*; *Snorra Edda*) and the *Poetic Edda* (*Elder Edda*; earlier also called *Sæmundar Edda*). They are the most comprehensive and most detailed sources about Germanic mythology.

The *Prose Edda* was written by the Icelandic chieftain, poet, and historian Snorri Sturluson (b 1179, d 1241 AD), ca 1220-1223 AD. It is a textbook on poetics intended to instruct young poets of the Christian age in the difficult metres of the early Icelandic scalds (ie, bards, court poets, who recited or sang their poetry) and to facilitate the understanding of the mythological subjects treated in, or alluded to, in earlier poetry. It consists of a prologue and three parts. *Skáldskaparmál* deals with the elaborate, riddle-like kennings and circumlocutions of the scalds; *Háttatal* gives examples of 102 metres known to Snorri; and *Gylfagynning* ('The beguiling of Gylfi'), cast in the form of a dialogue, describes the visit of a certain Swedish king Gylfi to Ásgarör, the citadel of the Norse gods. In answers to his questions, the gods tell Gylfi the Norse myths about the beginning of the world, the adventures of the gods, and the fate in store for all in the *Ragnarök* ('Doom/Twilight of the Gods').¹

The codices of the *Prose Edda* hold enumerations of names (*þula*, sg; *þulur*, pl; ON, I) as supplements to the section about synonyms (*heiti*; in contradistinction to *kenningar*). It is generally believed that Snorri Sturluson did not compose these *nafnapulur* and they are, thus, considered additions to, and not part of, the *Prose Edda* proper. E.F. Halvorsen finds it likely that the *nafnapulur* are the work of literate and learned systematists from the late 12th century or possibly later.² The enumerations of animal and bird names mainly contain more or less known words from everyday language; a part of these terms is otherwise known as dialectal words in more recent times.³ The enumerations include many marine creatures; the parts containing 'fish names' and 'whale names' are usually termed *Fiskapula* and *Hvalapula*, respectively. Here we shall only be concerned with the *Hvalapula* which is actually preserved in several variants for which reason it is most correct to speak of *Hvalapulur* (pl).⁴ Below they are presented as follows:

1 Cf Enc Br, Mic 3, 1981: 784; 9, 1981: 301; Holtsmark 1980b.

2 Cf Halvorsen 1982: 404f; Jónsson 1, 1988: 19.

3 Cf Halvorsen 1982: 404.

4 They shall be referred to as *Hvalapula* (1818) and (1848), respectively.

(a) the main manuscripts of the *Hvalapulur* (cf Rask 1818; Anon 1848), with variants;

(b) the *Hvalapulur* names listed alphabetically in normalised Old Norse spelling;

(c) comparison of names of presumed cetaceans, pinnipeds, sea monsters and other extraordinary natural phenomena in *Hvalapulur* and *Konungsskuggsjá* (1240-1263 AD):

(a) Main manuscripts of the *Hvalapulur*:

Rask 1818:

"Háfr, hvalr,
geirhvalr, oc
hafgufa,
hnísa,
hafstrambr, oc
hnýþíngar,
reyðr,
reyðar-kálfr, oc
rauðkembíngar,
bunúngar [var: burúngar],
rostúngar,
bleio-hvalr.

Norðhvalr,
kýrhvalr [var (?):
kurhvalr],

náhvalr oc
leiptr,
skeljúngar,
fiskreki oc
skútu-hvalr,

slettibaka,

skjaldhvalr oc
sand-lægja,

hrosshvalr,
andhvalr,
hrafneyðr oc
vögn [var: vagn]."

(Rask 1818: 219).

Anon 1848:

["Hvala man ek heiti
nemna]
Hafrhvalr [var: hafr
hvalr; háfr, hvalr],
geirhvalr ok
hafgufa,
hnísa,
hafstrambr ok
hnýðíngar,
reyðr,
reyðar-kálfr ok
rauðkembíngar,
bunúngar [var: burúngar],
rostúngar,
blæjuhvalr [var:
blæuhvalr, bleio hvalr].

Norðhvalr,
kýrhvalr [var: kvrhval,
kurhual, búrhvalr,
byrhvalr],

náhvalr ok
leiptr,
skeljúngar,
fiskreki ok
skútuhvalr [var:
skitvhvalr], [580/581]

sléttibaka [var:
sléttbaka, sléttbakr],

skjaldhvalr ok
sandlægja [var:
hrannlægja],

hrosshvalr,
andhvalr,
hrafneyðr ok
vögn [var: vagn].

[Ms variant adds:
búrhvalr,
sand-æta,
vánghvalr]."

(Anon 1848: 580f).

(b) Hvalaþulur names listed alphabetically:

andhvalr;
bunúngr (var: burúngr);
búrhvalr (with no var);
búrhvalr (var: kýrhvalr);
burúngr (var: bunúngr);
blæjuhvalr (vars: blæuhvalr, bleio hvalr);
fiskreki;
geirhvalr;
hafgufa;
hafrhvalr, háfrhvalr;
hafstrambr;
hnýðingr;
hnísa;
hrafneyör;
hrannlægja (var: sandlægja);
hrosshvalr;
kýrhvalr (var: kvrhval, kurhual, búrhvalr, byrhvalr);
leiptr;
náhvalr;
norðhvalr;
rauðkembíngur;
reyðar-kálfr;
reyör;
rostúngur;
sand-æta;
sandlægja (var: hrannlægja),
skeljúngur;
skjaldhvalr;
skútuvalr (var: skitvhuvalr);
sléttbaka, sléttbakur, sléttibaka;
vagn, vögn;
vánghuvalr.

(c) Comparison of names in the Hvalaþulur and Konungsskuggsjá:

Names (normalised ON) of presumed cetaceans in:

Hvalaþulur:

andhvalr

búrhvalr
búrhvalr
(var: kýrhvalr)
burúngur (var: bunúngur)
blæjuhvalr
fiskreki
geirhvalr

hafrhvalr, háfrhvalr
hnýðingur, nýðingur
hnísa, nísa;

Konungsskuggsjá:

andhvalr
barðhuvalr (var: búrhvalr)
búrhvalr (var: barðhuvalr)

fiskreki
geirhvalr
hafrkitti

hnýðingur, nýðingur
hnísa, nísa
hrafnhvalr

| | |
|-------------------------|-------------------|
| hrafneyör | --- |
| hrannlægja | --- |
| (var: sandlægja) | --- |
| --- | hvítingr |
| kýrhvalr (var: kvrhval, | --- |
| kurhual, búrhvalr, | --- |
| byrhvalr); | --- |
| leiptr, leiftr | leiptr, leiftr |
| náhvalr | náhvalr |
| nísa, hnísa | nísa, hnísa |
| norðhvalr | norðhvalr |
| nýðingur, hnýðingr | nýðingr, hnýðingr |
| reyör | reyör |
| reyðar-kálfr | --- |
| sand-æta | --- |
| sandlægja | --- |
| (var: hrannlægja) | --- |
| skeljungr | skeljungr |
| skjaldhvalr | skjaldhvalr |
| skútuvalr | --- |
| (var skituhvalr) | --- |
| sléttibaka, sléttbaka, | slettibaka |
| sléttbakr | --- |
| --- | svínhvalr |
| vagn, vögn | --- |
| vánghvalr | vognhvalr. |

Names (normalised ON) of presumed pinnipeds in:

Hvalapulur:

 rostungr

Konungsskuggsjá:

erknselr, ærcnsæl,
 aurksæl, orksæl
 flettuselr, flættosæl
 granselr, gransæl
 norðsæl (var)
 náselr, nasæl
 opnuselr, opnosæl
 (rauðkemingr)
 rostungr.

Names (normalised ON) of presumed marine monsters and extraordinary natural phenomena in:

Hvalapulur:

hafgufa
 hafstrambr
 hrosshvalr

 rauðkemingr

Konungsskuggsjá:

hafgufa
 hafstramba
 hrosshvalr
 margýgr, margygi
 rauðkemingr
 hafgerðingar.

A.16.5 Nordic ell measures

In historical times the ell (and related foot) measures in northwestern Europe have at any one time displayed great geographical variations as well as they have changed considerably down through the ages.¹

Alin [1]: The Norse Viking Age ell (*þumalöln*; originally possibly 1½ Greek foot à 30 cm) has been calculated to be 47.4-48 cm. In the beginning of the 11th century AD a longer trading ell came in use. The ratio between the older (shorter) and the new (longer) ell measures was stated to be 10:12. Ten twelfths of the so-called Hamburg ell of ca 57.3 cm make ca 47.7 cm. The change of the length of the ell possibly resulted from the influence of the church in the 11th century (ie, tables for astronomical and calendrical calculations, *computus*, and the tithe based on the decimal system).²

The mediaeval Norwegian short ell has been calculated to ca 47.4 cm and the longer one to ca 55.3 cm.³ In all Norse lands in the North Atlantic Ocean the shorter ell (*alin*, *öln*, sg; *álnir*, pl, ON) was used throughout the Middle Ages, in Iceland through the 15th century commonly as an ell of ca 49 cm. From the 13th century, the longer Hamburg, and later Lübeck, ells of ca 57.3 and ca 57.6 cm, respectively, came increasingly in use. A standard of ca 57.1 cm was widely used in Iceland in the 17th and 18th centuries. The further increase in the length of the ell, in early modern times, to around 60 cm made it equal to 2 (Roman) feet and one third of a fathom.⁴

In 1541, the Sealandic ell (*sjællandske alen*) of ca 63.3 cm,⁵ the early modern official Danish standard, became official standard in Norway, which was reiterated in the Norwegian Lawbook of Christian 4, 1604, and in 1683 common weight and measures for Denmark and Norway were decreed on the whole 'but people continued for a long time to use the Norwegian ell in certain fields'.⁶

The main decree concerning the new (common) weight and measures of the Danish-Norwegian realm is dated 1 May 1683 while the implementing Statutory Order (*Forordning om ny vægt og maals indrettelse og vedligeholdelse udi Danmark og Norge*) is from 10 January 1698. It fixes the so-called

1 Cf Hannerberg 1981; Lárusson 1981c; P. Rasmussen 1975: 54-56, 71; 1980; 1981a; Stigum 1981.

2 Cf Doursther 1976: 409; Lárusson 1981g: 84.

3 Cf Stigum 1980: 74.

4 Cf Doursther 1976: 36f; Gestsson 1969: 68, 73f 76; 1982; Hannerberg 1981: 445; ÍA 1, 1990: 32; Lárusson 1958: 242; 1981g: 84; P. Rasmussen. 1975: 55f; 1980; 1981a.

5 Cf Rasmussen 1975: 55.

6 Cf Stigum 1980: 74f.

Danish ell at 62.81 cm which in 1820 was modified to 62.75 cm and again in 1835 to 62.77 cm. The decree from 1683 was never published in Iceland but in 1776 it was referred to concerning the ell measure and 'relevant parts' of it were published in Iceland in *Forordning* of 18 June 1784.¹

When, by way of the Privilege dated 20 April 1602, the monopoly trade (of Copenhagen, Malmö and Elsinore) was first established in Iceland, 'correct Icelandic ell, measure and weight in all purchase and sale' should be observed.² This was reiterated in all subsequent octrois concerning the trade with Iceland until 1776.³

By *Forordning om den islandske taxt og handel*, 30 May 1776, the Hamburg/Lübeck ell was rescinded in trade in Iceland.⁴ On 22 February 1777, the Treasury (*General-Toldkammer*) in a letter to sheriff-steward Jón Arnórsson, Ísafjarðarsýsla, reiterated that the Sealandic (*sjállandske*) ell measure decreed in the octroyed trade is 'completely irrelevant to the ell measure which is used for the calculation of estate rights and mutual trade in the country', the difference being 10 % by conversion in both directions.⁵

It is uncertain whether the foot was used in mediaeval Norway. In sources of the time the foot (*fæti*, ON) occurs only once; its length and the degree of use is unknown.⁶ In mediaeval Iceland the foot (*fet*, ON) equalled $\frac{1}{2}$ ell and must have had a length of 23-24 cm, but its exact measure is unknown.⁷ It seems mostly used in foreign contexts. Most Danish authorities consider the mediaeval Danish foot to be in the range of ca 29.3-31.4 cm but a foot of ca 24.7 cm might also have existed in the late 9th century AD.⁸

The Norse ell (in its various standards) was traditionally divided in $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{4}$ (*fjórðungr*) and $\frac{1}{8}$, apart from the fraction resulting from the number of inches it contained, ie, basically 24, but 16, 20 and 32 are also known.⁹

Alin [2], as short for *alin vaðmáls*, ie, 'ell of wadmál' (of a certain breadth and quality), was also a currency unit, for example, in the Hebrides, 1202 AD, and in Iceland from the 11th century AD into modern times. One *hundrað*

1 Cf LFI 1, 1853: 530-541; Rasmussen 1975: 56.

2 Cf LFI 1, 1853: 140.

3 Cf Aðils 1971: 422.

4 Cf LFI 4, 1854: 329, 349.

5 Cf LFI 4, 1854: 383f.

6 Cf Steinnes 1936: 124; Stigum 1981: 445.

7 Cf Lárusson 1981c: 445.

8 Cf Rasmussen 1975: 54f.

9 Cf Gestsson 1969: 73, 76; Jansson 1936: 45.

('hundred') was a common short expression for *hundrað álna* ('hundred ells') and *hundrað vaðmála* ('hundred [ells] wadmal'). *Hundrað* was usually a long hundred of 120 (*tólfrætt*) but could also be a short hundred of 100 (*tírætt*). The standard currency and payment wadmal was usually 2 ells wide and 20 ells long.¹ Its ratio to other goods was defined by 6 ells of such wadmal being equivalent to 1 *lögeyrir* ('law ounce').² 1 *hundruð álna/hundruð vaðmála* may refer to simple ells, ie, 120 ells wadmal, but also 3 and 6 *álna aurar*, ie, 360 and 720 ells wadmal, respectively.³

Stika (or *stikka*, ON; *stikke*, N) was in Norway an ell measure of 55.3 cm⁴ but the term may also occasionally have been applied to the shorter ell (*tumalalen*) of 47.4 cm.⁵ After the ell dimension had been modified in Iceland around 1200 AD, the Icelandic *stika* was fixed at two ells. Towards the end of the Middle Ages the *stika* was apparently also used to signify one ell, the dimension of which is uncertain, although it could well be the Norwegian one.⁶

1 Cf Gunnarsson 1987: 26; Hoffmann 1982: 410; Lárusson 1981g: 83-85.

2 Cf Hoffmann 1982: 409f; Lárusson 1981g.

3 Cf Hoffmann 1982: 410; Lárusson 1981g: 85.

4 Cf Steinnes 1936: 123-126, 150.

5 Cf Bjørkvik 1982d: 184.

6 Cf Benediktsson 1982d.

A.16.6 Norse and German denominations of value (currencies) and reckoning

From the 9th century AD, the Norse *mörk* (mark) was 8 *aurar* (pl, ON; ounces; *eyrir*, sg) and 24 *örtogar* (pl), and was until the 12th century usually divided into 240 *penningar* (ie, 1 mark à 8 ounces à 3 *örtogar* à 10 *penningar*, ie, pennies). During the Viking Age the *mörk* was about 200 g while it in the early Middle Ages was up to ca 215 g. In the 12th century AD, the Norwegian mark 'burnt' silver (*mörk brend*; of 90-95 % purity) and mark money parted and the latter also developed along different paths.¹ In addition to gold and silver proper, and currencies based on them one way or another, there existed comprehensive *verðaurar* ('value ounces') and *lögaurar* ('law ounces') reckonings² in (standardised) goods. For instance, the oldest Norwegian laws mentions (*lög*)aurar of 12, 10, 9 and 6 ells wadmál.³ The last denomination is, however, the most important: In Norway until the enactment of MLL (1274 AD) and in Iceland into modern times, 1 *alin vaðmáls* ('ell wadmál', 2 ells wide) was fixed at 1/6 (*lög*)eyrir, thus, 6 ells wadmál were called 1 *eyrir* (*vaðmáls*), 48 ells were called 1 *mörk* (*vaðmáls*) and 120 ells, 1 *hundrað* (*vaðmála*) (ie, 'hundred')⁴ (cf item A.16.5: *Alin*, 2).

Around 1000 AD, the ratio between gold and silver was 1:8, eg, 1 *eyrir* gold = 8 *aurar* or 1 *mörk* burnt silver; similarly, GTL and FTL reckon 1 *mörk gulls* (mark gold) as 8 *merkur* (*penningar*) *vegnir* ('marks weighed money') in the situation when coined 240 *penningar* were still of full value. From the mid 11th to the early 13th century existed a currency systems called *mörk talin* ('mark counted'), with 1 mark burnt = 2 marks (money) counted = 480 pennies (weighed). In the first half of the 13th century the currencies depreciated and 1 *mörk penningar vegin* ('mark money weighed') became ¼ mark burnt (ie, 53.58 g), a standard which before 1263 was formalised in new currencies called *moneta subtilis/penningar veginir* and *grossa moneta*, containing 480 and 192 pennies, respectively. 'But the reckoning which had become the most usual one, if not the only one, as from the 1280s and a long time afterwards was equal to 1/3 mark burnt, a much used unit of calculation which was called *mörk forngild*.'⁵ Initially, 1 *mörk forngild* ('marks ancient money') equalled 1/3 mark burnt

1 Cf Barentsen 1911a: 13; Benediktsson 1982b; Bjørkvik 1981c; N.L. Rasmussen 1981d: 421, 423; Skaare 1982: 716; Zachariasen 1961: 381; see also Jansson 1936: 14.

2 Cf Benediktsson 1982b; 1982g; Lárusson 1981j.

3 Cf Steinnes 1936: 130, 136; Storm and Hertzberg/GTL 5, 1895: 168.

4 Cf Benediktsson 1982b: 651; Hoffmann 1982: 409f; Lárusson 1981g.

5 Cf Steinnes 1936: 131, see also 152 and Bjørkvik 1981a; 1981c: 431.

silver but about 1500 it was reduced to 1 *loth* silver = 1/16 mark burnt silver. As 1 mark gold was always reckoned 8 *merkur forngildar* silver the gold reckoning had by 1500 been reduced to the absurd.¹

Since before 1195 AD, when Shetland was separated from the earldom of Orkney and placed directly under the Norwegian crown, the archipelagos shared a (Norse) mark burnt silver, however, divided into 12 shillings à 12 pennies. This 144 penny mark lived up to the 17th century in Shetland.² Archivist Brian Smith (1995a-b, pers comms) suggests that this mark division is based on the Cologne 12 shilling mark of ca 1100 AD. On the other hand, from the early 11th century there are indications of some Norse value reckoning based on a genuine duodecimal system (12 x 12) and factors like 8, 6 and 3. Because 144 is difficult to use in the decimal system the tithe claim of the church may have resulted in modifications in unit groups, extent and weight of denominations.³ However, an archaic Norse mark of 144 pennies is not testified.⁴

In the early Middle Ages the Cologne and Lübeck marks developed in Germany and became important in the Norse area with regard to weight and reckoning, respectively.⁵ The Cologne mark, weighing 233.8 g, was divided into 8 ounces, 16 *loth*, 64 *quenten* and 256 *ort/pfennige* (ie, 1 mark à 8 ounces à 2 *loth* à 4 *quent* à 4 *ort/pfennig*).⁶ The use of the Cologne (weight) mark is recorded in Denmark in the 1280s and in Norway 1305. About 1330, it had attained a dominant position in Denmark and Norway in the (Lübeck) reckoning of 1 mark = 16 *skillinge* = 192 *penninge* (ie, 1 mark à 16 *skillinge* à 12 *penninge*) and it became the official weight standard for gold and silver of the Danish-Norwegian realm in 1514.⁷ Concurrently with this development the old denominations *eyrir* and *örtog* were superseded.⁸

The gold florin was originally coined in Florence as of 1252. It soon became popular in southern and central Europe where it was emitted at various places. However, it was the gold coin, of a lower value, which the four

1 Cf Bjørkvik 1981a; Steinnes 1936: 90, 92, 130f, 134, 152.

2 I am grateful to Archivist Brian Smith (1995a-b, pers comms) for his elucidating comments on this issue. See also Blom 1982: 447.

3 Cf Lárusson 1981g: 84f.

4 Cf Smith 1995b; Steinnes 1936: 131.

5 Cf N.L. Rasmussen 1981d: 421.

6 Cf Doursther 1976: 248f; N.L. Rasmussen 1981d: 421, 425; 1981e; 1982a: 719; P. Rasmussen 1981b.

7 Cf N.L. Rasmussen 1981f: 433; 1981g: 183; 1982a: 503f; 1982b: 126; Zachariasen 1961: 87, 386.

8 Cf Janson 1981.

Electors at the Rhine issued from 1386 that became leading in central and northern Europe under the names of *florenum*, *Rhine gulden* or *gulden*.¹ Florins were often used for big international financial transactions, including transfers to the Holy See in Rome; however, such sums were raised in, eg, Lübeck or Brugge through the exchange of North European money.² Because of a shortage of gold, Dutch guildens were coined with a lower value than the Rhine ones.³ Guildens of various kinds circulated quite widely in Denmark-Norway in the 15th and early 16th centuries.⁴ Since the 1490s some gold guildens, of poor quality, seem to have been emitted in Denmark but as of 1514 the Rhine gulden standard was observed.⁵

The increasing shortage of gold, together with the rising silver production in, eg, Tyrol and Saxonia, resulted in the coining of equivalent silver gulden, beginning in Tyrol, 1484-1486. This coinage spread and was issued in, eg, Denmark from 1514 into the 1530s. Its culmination is the Joachimsthaler which was first coined in Bohemia, 1519.⁶ Joachimsthalers were coined as of 1534 in Sweden and 1537 in Denmark, and from 1540 they had the same value as the Rhine gulden.⁷ The silver guildens contained 1 ounce or 2 *loth* (which conforms with 1/8 Cologne mark) but both the florin and the guildens are vigesimal⁸ (ie, are based on 20th parts) while the German (Lübeck) mark is octonary and sedecimal (ie, based on 8th and 16th parts) and the Danish-Norwegian mark is octonary and duodecimal (ie, based on 8th and 12th parts). The *gylden* appellations (*sølvgylden*, *gyldengroschen*) went out of use in Norway (-Denmark) around the mid 16th century.⁹

The systematic reckoning in Norway of farm land in ('ancient') *mörk forngild* and *eyrir forngildr*, as distinct from 'burnt' silver, and coined money, required an official registration of estates, something which is reasonably related to the regulations by the crown in the 13th

1 Cf MNL 6, 1973: 27; N.L. Rasmussen 1981a: 430; 1981b: 606f; SOED 1, 1987: 772, 901-903.

2 Cf N.L. Rasmussen 1981a: 431f.

3 Cf N.L. Rasmussen 1981b: 606f.

4 Cf N.L. Rasmussen 1981b: 610-613; 1982b: 126.

5 Cf N.L. Rasmussen 1981b: 612.

6 Cf N.L. Rasmussen 1981b: 613; 1981c: 580f.

7 Cf N.L. Rasmussen 1981c: 581.

8 Cf N.L. Rasmussen 1981a: 430; 1981b: 613; Zachariasen 1961: 394.

9 Cf Fladby, Imsen and Winge 1981: 337, see also 120; N.L. Rasmussen 1981b: 613.

century.¹ From the second half of the 14th century, *mörk forngild* became adapted to the currency units it interacted with, ie, the eastern and northern Norwegian *mörk* of 192 *penningar* became equal to one Danish/Lübeck mark of 16 *skillinge* while the West Norwegian *mörk* of 216 *penningar* was worth 3 English shillings (1 *peningr enskr* = 72 *peningar*) and 18 Danish/Lübeck *skillinge*.² In the course of the second half of the 14th century Danish and Lübeck money displaced English money in West Norway due to changed political and trade circumstances.³ From the mid 15th century, sources often mention a Bergen (calculation) *gylden* being equal to 12 Danish/Lübeck *skillinger*. A land register from Båhus fief (then southeast Norway) mentions a *gylden* of the same value in 1540.⁴

The Norse mediaeval currencies may be summed up like this:

1 Cf Bjørkvik 1981d: 441; Steinnes 1936: 142-144.

2 Cf Bjørkvik 1980: 632f; 1981c: 431.

3 Cf Bjørkvik 1980: 633.

4 Cf Steinnes 1936: 133, 137, 150.

A.16.7 Faeroese pilot whaling: Sources in draft translation

The oldest Faeroese mention of pilot whales as such, their stranding and division is found in a land and tax register for the year 1584 AD:

'Saint John's Day this summer, during an awful cold and snowstorm which happened in the Faeroes where, by the providence of God and wonderful occurrence, came on shore of the Lítla Dímun 4 small whale fish which are called *nyingar* [ie, pilot whales]; the rural dean Simen Joenson on Suðuroy took care of His Majesty the King's share of the earlier mentioned 4 whale fish which were assessed to *Gylden* XO [ie, 10-0].'¹

P. Claussøn Friis, in 1592 AD, writes:

'There are also several kinds of sea fishes at the country just as here at Norway, yet no troll whales [*trolldhuale*] come there, but rorquals [*roerhuale*] and small whales [*smaa huale*], 18 or 20 ells long, are sometimes driven ashore by orcas [*hualhunde*] when they run in shoal or are mating, and when they come into the creeks [*viigene*] then the inhabitants pursue them with boats and shots [*skud*]² and chase them ashore, because if one or two whales run ahead then all the others come running behind and it often happens that the whale carries boat and people a long way on the back, and some boats are upset, and sometimes a man, or two or more, drown and the others are rescued; a part of the whales also escape again and move to sea. After Anno Christi 1587, 300 small whales [*smaa huale*] were shot [*skiøt*] and slain and driven ashore that one year there on the islands, and so it has formerly happened and usually happens every 6th or every 7th year and that in fog darkness so the whales cannot see the land when they come running together in large groups, and they call the fog *grinde* darkness [*grindemørcke*]; it is fog or sudden darkness, which take the whale schools to land to them. (Everything that is made of wood or iron in trelliswork, like a grate (cratis), is called a *grind* in Norwegian, and because the whales run side by side with each other in large groups, when they mate, then that whale [431/432] group is called a *hualsgrind*, as is further dealt with in the treatise about fishes.'³

L.J. Debes, in 1673 AD, writes that the Faeroese 'drive the whale into a fiord or creek ["en Fiord

1 Cf Müller 1884b: 18; see also Müller 1883: 1f; Bjørk 3, 1963: 182.

2 The following account shows that 'shots' refer to stones.

3 Cf Friis 1881e: 431f.

eller Wiig"] where they know there is a good *hvalvaag*¹ and even sandy bottom, where they drive it onto the sand by great shouting, beating and throwing of stones and pursue it as fast as they can until they thereby get it onto the sandy bottom'.²

'Occasionally the [pilot] whale herd itself comes into the fiords by thick fog and nobody drives it in: Sometimes it in dark nights with rising tide runs onto the sands and when it ebbs they lie dry on the beach, so when the people come in the morning they see it [159/160] full with dead whales, which has also happened recently few years ago in Tjørnuvík [Streymoy].'³

J.C. Svabo, in 1781/82, gives a similar account:

'Occasionally it [ie, the pilot whale pod] runs ashore willingly, indeed examples exist where a pod has run ashore without any boat having been present. So, a pod of pilot whales nearly 40 years ago [ie, ca 1740] ran ashore at the southern bay in Vágur on Borðoy of which 12 died. The same happened quite some time ago, according to a report, at Miðvágur.'⁴

L. Debes, in 1673, in a somewhat ponderous style, offers the first comprehensive description of the Faeroese pilot whale hunt:

'When the inhabitants are out fishing and notice a pod of whales, then those who have first seen it, shout and wave to the other boats which are around, who leave the fishing and immediately come together and move to the whale and chase it towards land: But when the whale [ie, pod] will turn back out towards the sea, then they shout and beat in the boats the most they may and throw stones into the water and whatever they have at hand, until it turns around again; and when God's grace permits, they may drive the whales where they like, as one drives sheep or cattle. When they reach the land [156/157] they put a man or two ashore to pass the message around everywhere; and that messenger, called pilot whale messenger [*grindebud*], must move fast day and night; people who on land learn about it immediately light a fire at a certain place, so those on the next island ... may also learn about it, who, from the place where the fire and smoke rise, know what it means: After this many people in a hurry come together, some by land and some by water, having their whaling lance [*hvalspyd*; literally: spear]

1 *Ie*, *hvalvág* in modern spelling.

2 Cf Debes 1963: 157.

3 Cf Debes 1963: 159f.

4 Cf Svabo 1976: 252.

with them. When they then have gathered so many boats as is necessary, they drive the whale into a fiord or creek where they know there is a good *hvalvaag* and even sandy bottom, where they drive it onto the sand by great shouting, beating and throwing of stones and pursue it as fast as they can until they thereby get it onto the sandy bottom: Then, if necessary, the boats divide into two parties, one half lies outside in a crescent to meet the whale if it during the killing will run out; the other half part moves into the middle of the pod [literately: whale] and stick the whales in the abdomen with the whaling lances [*hvalspydene*]; some [157/158] people lie hidden on land until the whale has been stranded, then they wade out to the fish as deeply as they can and kill of all power with their weapon [*vaaben*]; and this in such a fieriness on both sides that the water becomes as red as blood from which the whale also is blinded so that it cannot see and run out. And it is also strange to see that these strong beasts offer no resistance: They only dive under the boats and the people where they can until death affects them; they strike terribly with the tail so they sometimes stave the boats and the people are injured [or: killed] if they are not cautious to beware of them. Yet a part breaks out from the sand and carries occasionally the boats a long distance on the back and wobble it [sic] to and fro and throws it [sic] full of water: But they who lie outside chase them in again, and if they are not powerful enough to force it, the other boats come to their assistance and so they often chase it in again. But it also happens at the end that they will no longer be chased when they dive so much and for so long and surface so far away that they must let [158/159] them go: Similarly, it often happens at sea when they first see it and will drive it to land, that they dive so much, and they then necessarily have to abandon it; from which one clearly sees that this act depends on God's blessing. When they have killed so many as they can get, which likely lasts a whole day or longer: They pull the whales ashore that have sunk on the deep [*paa dybet*], which rise on the second day and drift ashore. When all whales [literarily: whale] in this way have been moved onto the dry and been counted: the tithe is first taken off; thereafter the finder's whale [*findings-hval*] for the one who first saw it [ie, the pod]; the remainder is divided into two parts, the one part to the people and the other to the one who owns the land, whether it is the king, the nobility or an *odaller*.¹

The oldest systematic description of the economic,

1 Cf Debes 1963: 155-159.

customary and legal aspects of the Faeroese pilot whaling hunt I am aware of is found in the report by the royal commissioners for investigating economic matters 'in the country of the Faeroe Islands' (1709/10), apparently written by *landfoged* J.C. Klein.¹ It reads as follows:

'The whale is, with God's help, by the inhabitants chased and driven ashore with boats and is killed by both them and people on land after which, according to old custom, the largest whale, the finder's whale [*findingshval*], is immediately taken off the pod for the one, or those, who first see the whale at sea or in the fiord; thereafter all whales, small and big, are appraised by men appointed by the bailiff and each fish assigned its number and value. Then the tithe is taken off according to the total sum of the appraisal, thereafter five ordinary gift whales [*foræringshval*] are pointed out for the hospital in Argir, the rural dean, lawman, bailiff [79/80] and the chief clerk [*sorenskriver*]; then is paid for damages which may have occurred to boats during the killing; similarly, something is occasionally also given to the people who are injured or killed during the whale killing but not always, which according to our [*ie*, the commissioners'] humble ... thoughts should equitably happen. Hereafter the whale [*ie*, pod] is divided into two parts, the one part for the land where the whale is killed and the other part to all those who drive and kill the whale (which is otherwise called the drivers' [*rægstermændenes*] share), and so it has taken place since times immemorial; the inhabitants are also of the opinion that this is what the law [*ie*, NL 5-12]² article 6, ... provides for. The part which falls to the land is divided between Your Royal Majesty and the odalmen at the place, if any, according to *markatal*, but at several places Your Royal Majesty alone keeps the one half part. The other half the drivers divide between themselves so that every adult man who kills, for himself and his weapon, enjoys two parts, every boy who can row out fishing 1 part, but those who are smaller but are nevertheless able to row with one oar, are 2-3 in sharing one part, and each boat gets one part. And this year [*ie*, 1709] the generous God has blessed the country so plentifully with whales so that 14-15 catches have taken place, which nobody knows has ever taken place before, indeed even at places where whale has never earlier been caught (God give the inhabitants grateful hearts [80/81] that they may appreciate God's great grace and benevolence so that its continuation is not doubted). In Vágur, Sandoy and Suðuroy whales are killed on the ground of the glebe, of which they together with Your Royal

1 Cf Anon 1934: 66, 70; Høst 1875: 332.

2 Cf Høst 1875: 333.

Majesty have enjoyed their share, just as the odalmen, according to *markatal*, which the widows of vicars in the same way also have enjoyed from the annexed farms; and all widows of vicars in this country enjoy the full tithe of the annexed farm; ---.'¹

The mediaeval and early modern farm divisions complicated the Faeroese pilot whale drive hunts, as J.C. Svabo (1781/82) explains:

'It is of great inconvenience in the whale bays when the sides of it belong to different proprietors; because there is no law about this catching and the half belongs to the land, everybody wants to drive the pod to his own land although one side of the bay, as is often the case, is more suitable for landing than the other, and the pilot whale take [*grinden*] furthermore might be spoiled.'²

1 Cf Anon 1934: 79-81.

2 Cf Svabo 1976: 254.

A.16.8 *Hvalvík* and *Hvalvágr* place names: Extracts and summaries of definitions and explanations by Fritzner; Storm and Hertzberg; Rygh; Robberstad; Kjær; Collett; Sørensen; Nordby; Robberstad; Kolsrud; Johnsen; Sandnes and Stemshaug; Frøiland; and Wexelsen (in approximate chronological order)

J. Fritzner (1891) defines *hvalavágr* as 'a creek, bay of the sea where whaling occurs' ("Vaag, Bugt af Søen, hvori gives Hvalfangst, = *hvalvágr*") and *hvalvágr* as 'a creek, bay of the sea into which whales use to go and are killed or caught' ("Vaag, Bugt af Søen, hvori Hval pleier at gaa ind, og der bliver dræbt eller fangen").¹

G. Storm and N. Hertzberg (1895), in their explanations to *Norges gamle love (NGL)*, define *vágr* as 'a voe, creek, smaller bay' ("vaag, vig, mindre bugt")² and describe *hvalvágr* as 'a bay, creek, where whaling is conducted' ("bugt, vig, hvori der drives hvalfangst") and offer the passage 'reka hval i h[*valvá*]g annars manns' with reference to GTL 150 and MLL vii 64.³

K. Rygh (1905) writes: '*Kvalvik* ---. A frequent name which probably as a rule relates to whaling at the site'⁴ and '*hvalvágr* ..., an inlet into which whales usually come';⁵ later (1911) he extends the definition to be: '*Kvalvaag*⁶ ---. An often occurring place name in coastal areas; means an inlet [*vaag*] into which whales come and are caught' ("... betyder en Vaag, hvori Hval pleier at gaa ind og blive fanget"), however with the reservation of a possible figurative use:⁷ 'But as *Kvalen* is often used as a name for skerries and holms it is also possible that holms which are in the creek have, or have had, this name and that the name of the creek derives from this.'⁸

A. Kjær (1914) notes that '*Kvalvik* and *Kvalvaag* are very common place names.'⁹ K. Rygh (1901) states: '*Kvalvik* ---. A frequently found name along the whole Westcoast (like *Kvalvaag*).'¹⁰ Rygh (1905) more directly links the

1 Cf Fritzner 2, 1954: 110f.

2 Cf Storm and Hertzberg/NGL 5, 1895: 682.

3 Cf Storm and Hertzberg/NGL 5, 1895: 302.

4 Cf NG 16, 1970: 165.

5 Cf NG 16, 1970: 207.

6 *Ie*, -*våg* in modern spelling.

7 Cf NG 17, 1970: 170.

8 Cf NG 17, 1970: 156.

9 Cf NG 7, 1967: 73.

10 Cf NG 14, 1965: 12.

two names and terms: '... hvalvágr m, an inlet into which whales usually come. As a place name Kvalvik is more frequent.'¹ M. Olsen (1915) also associates the two names.²

R. Collett (1911-1912: 565) defines whale voes (*kvalvaage*) as 'fiord heads with a narrow entrance' and associates them in particular with the archipelagos off Bergen where the *vaagehval* (minke whale) is caught and has received its name.

G. Sørensen et al (1912: 14) define whale garths (*hvalgaarde*, pl) simply as 'smaller bays and creeks' into which whales are driven and then killed.

S. Risting (1922: 97) writes:

'On parts of the coast where schools of dolphins occur annually there has been an ancient catching. ---. There were certain inlets [*vaager*] which these toothed whales nearly regularly sought into and what was caught here should belong to the proprietor. The Gulathing Law [ie, GTL 150c-d] provides that if a man drives a whale into a whaling voe [*hvalvaag*] and encloses it ["*stænger for den*"] without the consent of the one who owns the voe [*vaagen*] then the one who owns the voe owns the whale. He shall pay the other for his trouble according to the judgement of six sensible men. But if a man drove a whale into a creek [*vik*] which earlier was not known [*kjendt*] as a whaling voe [*hvalvaag*] he should share equally with the proprietor.'

R. Nordby (1935: 134) mentions the net used at Kvalvåg/Skogsvåg and continues: 'In the old Norwegian laws we have rules about this way of whaling. But here the net is not mentioned so the whale was then probably enclosed in other ways.'

K. Robberstad (1952: 14) explains the issue as follows: At some place people had whale voes [*kvalvågar*] which the whale entered or which it was driven into. Such localities may still be called Kvalvåg; other such voes [*vågar*] are Skogsvåg and Telavåg. 'It was the proprietor who owned the whale voe [*kvalvågen*] and had the right to the whale there. Out on deep water whales could be caught freely; if somebody chased a whale into another man's voe [*våg*] which was not a whaling voe ["*ikkje var kvalvåg*"] the catcher and voe owner [*vågeigaren*] should have half of the whale each.'

K. Kolsrud (1955: 143) writes that (Store and Lille) Kvalfjord is a vestige of whaling having taken place in Rognsund, West Finnmark.

A.O. Johnsen (1962/1981: 161) finds that 'chasing and enclosure of whales in whaling voes [*hvalvåg*]' 'probably means: catching of minke whales [*vågehval*]'. Otherwise he speaks about 'chasing and enclosing of whales in creeks [*vik*] or voes [*våg*]' and of 'smaller whales in creeks [*vik*]

1 Cf NG 16, 1970: 207; see also Rygh [1908]: NG 13, 1969: 350.

2 Cf NG 10, 1969: 413.

and voes [våg]'.¹

O. Martinsen (1964) writes that it was 'comparatively easy' to conduct whaling 'in fiords, creeks or suitable bays. It is probably not without reason that we find the word *hvalvåg* very often in our old language.'² The old laws show that people did not wait passively until the whales came into it so they could be attacked; indeed, they attempted to drive them,

'just as it has been done in many places in Norway and the Faeroe Islands in much later times. When they first had got the whale into the creek or the bay they enclosed it there by ramming poles into the bottom behind the whale. Through this the killing was of course made much easier and the prey so to speak secured. Here the laws tell that if a man drives a whale into a *hvalvåg* of another man and encloses it then the one who owns the *våg* owns the whale. Hopefully the other (person) could count on a nice reward in such cases.

Most *hvalvåge*, also the place names, are found in western [, central] and northern Norway, as is natural. Whale presence has always been mainly there and also most important there when we think about the domestic catch. In a few cases the name became the name of farms but in the most cases they are only names of creeks and fiords where whaling has taken place in olden days. These *hvalvåge* often lie outermost by the sea and tell about whaling, most likely perhaps seasonal catching. People went there, there they probably kept watch and guard when they could expect whale migrations. The experience of generations told the old whalers that the whale, like the fish, at certain times move inshore or into the fiords. The geographical conditions at the locality seems also often to indicate that these places were suitable for enclosing whales in narrow bays or creeks.

It probably often happened inadvertently that the whale strayed into these places, quite accidentally. It could be disorientation or they followed fish or plankton shoals. But as mentioned, it is shown by the old sources that they also drove or scared the whales into such places. They were easier to catch there because these large and somewhat clumsy animals had difficulties in coming out again. And these traditional *hvalvåger* were protected by law. The whale fell to the owner of the *våg* if others drove the whale in(to it), enclosed it and [28/29] caught it. If this happened at a place which formerly was not acknowledged as *hvalvåg* those who caught it received at least half of the whale according to the laws. ---.

1 Cf Johnsen 1962/1981: 161f.

2 Cf Martinsen 1964: 27f.

Such a *våg* has quite certainly been an important pertinence to a farm, something which can also be seen in many deeds from the Middle Ages. It has provided an important supplement to the incomes from farming and has been an important part in the interaction of the farming culture and hunting/fishing culture which through the ages has characterised the life in the western and northern parts of the country. Also the church was interested in whaling and *hvalvåge*. Old letters testify to that end.

As mentioned earlier, the *hvalvåge* often lay far from permanent settlements, far from the farms - at the edge of the (open) sea and the fishing stations. People further inland have probably made seasonal hunting/fishing trips out there in order to conduct fishing and other catching, often probably combined with the catching of whales, too.¹

Robberstad (1969: 367), in his New Norwegian translation of GTL, defines *kvalvåg* as 'an inlet where whales are usually caught' ("... ein våg der dei plar fanga kval"). In 1978, he (p 186) writes that 'It was the proprietor who had the right to whales that entered whale voes (*kvalvågar*) and were caught there (G[TL] 150, [ML]L vii 69 and NL 5-12-11). Similarly, the proprietor had the exclusive right of fishing with stationary gear ["faste uppsette fiskegreidor"] off his land'. A report by the Civil Code Committee of the Norwegian Ministry of Justice and Police repeats this in 1988. They write "that the shore proprietor held comprehensive rights in the sea [*sjøområdet*]. The proprietor had the exclusive right to catching whales that entered whale voes [*kvalvågar*]. The proprietor had also the exclusive right to fishing with fixed fishing gear off his land and to fishery with seine."²

J. Sandnes and O. Stemshaug (1980: 192f) define *Kvalvåg* as a 'an inlet where whales enter and are caught'³ but they go even a step further: '*Kval-* in place names. Common at the coast. The large majority of names such as *Kval(a)våg*, *Kvalfjord*, probably derives from the circumstance that whales have entered and been caught there.' ("Kval- i stadnamn. Vanleg på kysten. Namn [192/193] som *Kval(a)våg*, *Kvalfjord* kjem nok for det aller meste av at det har komme inn og vorte fanga kval der."

Ø. Frøiland (1982: 11) draws attention to the fact 'that not all place names with *kval* need relate to whaling'; for example, a low holm having the shape of a whale's back would be sufficient to render the place its name.

E. Wexelsen (1987) finds that 'Names such as *Kvalsund*,

1 Cf Martinsen 1964: 28f.

2 Cf Anon 1988a: 17.

3 Cf Sandnes and Stemshaug 1980: 193.

Kvalfjord, Kvalvåg, Kvalvik, Kvalheim, Kvaløy, Kvalnes, etc, which ... first and foremost are found in West and North Norway, may indicate ... old catching localities. However, these names offer no further information.¹ Porpoises, dolphins and pilot whales which entered 'narrow fiords and inlets [våger]' will, since prehistoric times, have been driven ashore.² Netting of porpoises and dolphins has otherwise been widespread since prehistoric times; prehistoric finds of large meshing (netmaker's) needles may be linked with modern topographical descriptions such as the Sunnmøre porpoise nets and presumably also the Skarbøvig seining.³ 'In addition to closing off the very inlet [vågen] it in many places was normal to encircle the whale with a herring seine immediately at shore.' Manned boats were placed on the outside of the seine which was carried by the prows of the boats.⁴ Whales have furthermore been taken by means of seines (hvalsteng) shot athwart an inlet (våg), combined variously with ('poisoned') arrows or spears;⁵ the method probably

'has been common along large parts of the Norwegian coast in old times. The whaling voes [kvalvågene] often lie by the open ocean where the experience of generations have taught the hunters that the whale came in during certain times of the year. After a whale in voe was discovered the narrow inlet was closed, usually with a seine.'⁶

1 Cf Wexelsen 1987: 50.

2 Cf Wexelsen 1987: 62.

3 Cf Wexelsen 1987: 60, 64.

4 Cf Wexelsen 1987: 65. This presumably alludes to the Hordaland takes during the 18th to early 20th centuries.

5 Cf Wexelsen 1987: 63-65.

6 Cf Wexelsen 1987: 64.

A.16.9 Old Norse fences, barriers, weirs, enclosures, traps, etc

In order to facilitate the linguistic and technical understanding of the Old Norse *hvalgarðr ('whale garth') issue it must be seen in the context of other fences, barriers, weirs, enclosures, traps, etc, used by the early mediaeval Norse, particular Norwegians, at their farms, in the hunting of larger terrestrial animals and fishing. The key terms are, viz:

Gerði (ON, I, F; *gerdi*, NS) means a fenced-in piece of land, infield and partly also, in transferred use, the fence itself (I, NS);¹ the fence itself seems to have been made of wood (cf *gerðivöndr*, ON, 'fence pole', 'wood for the erection of a fence'),² perhaps sometimes in the form of wattle work; the fence will, thus, be a comparatively light construction;

garðr (ON; *garður*, I, F; *gard*, NS), ie, garth, has three meanings, namely: (a) a fence around infields, churchyards, etc, and (b) the area thus enclosed;³ a garth of this kind is apparently a solid and permanent construction, presumably made mostly of stone (*grjótgarðr*)⁴ or turf (*torfgarðr*)⁵ but occasionally, at least in Norway, of shides, ie, pieces of wood (boards, planks) split off from smaller boles, (*skið(na)garðr*);⁶ the area enclosed with shides is also called *skiðgarðr*;⁷ furthermore, (c) 'fence as a catching construction' ("gjærde som fangstindretning") (eg, *dýragarðr*, *grafgarðr*, *refgarðr*, *spjótgarðr*, *þvergarðr*; "i gorður eða gilldrum veiða"; cf GTL 85; MLL vii 48, 60);⁸

dýragarðr or dýrgarðr (ON) ('animal garth') is a 'permanent construction for the catching of wild animals' (cf FTL xiv 9; MLL vii 63; "staaende fangstindretning for

1 Cf Fritzner 1, 1954: 587; Jacobsen and Matras 1961: 111; Jakobsen 1, 1985: 218; Magnússon 1989: 241; Storm and Hertzberg/NGL 5, 1895: 235; de Vries 1977: 164.

2 Cf Fritzner 1, 1954: 587; Storm and Hertzberg/NGL 5, 1895: 235.

3 Cf Fritzner 1, 1954: 559f; Jacobsen and Matras 1961: 107; Jakobsen 1, 1985: 213; Magnússon 1989: 230; SOED 2, 1987: 833; Storm and Hertzberg/NGL 5, 1895: 228f; de Vries 1977: 156.

4 Cf Fritzner 1, 1954: 649; Storm and Hertzberg/NGL 5, 1895: 250.

5 Cf Fritzner 3, 1954: 713; Storm and Hertzberg/NGL 5, 1895: 647.

6 Cf Fritzner 3, 1954: 317; Storm and Hertzberg/NGL 5, 1895: 565.

7 Cf Fritzner 3, 1954: 316f.

8 Cf Storm and Hertzberg/NGL 5, 1895: 229; Halldórsson 1904: 160 (JB vii 30).

vilde dyr");¹

grafgarðr (ON) ('pit garth') is a 'construction for the catching of animals, a pitfall with fence' ("indretning til fangst af dyr, faldgrube med indgjærding (jfr. dýragröf, dýragarðr)" (cf MLL vii 63n; and FTL xiv 9, where *grasgarðr* probably is a writing error);² the *grafgarðr* was probably often erected in connection with a *dýragröf* ('animal pit'), ie, a pitfall for large terrestrial animals) (cf MLL vii 63);³

refgarðr ('fox garth') is a 'fence erected for the catching of foxes' (written *rævgarðr* in MLL vii 63);⁴

spjótgarðr (ON) ('spear garth') is a 'construction for slaying animals, probably consisting of a fence where spears have been placed in an opening in such a way that the animal by running through it will be hit by them' (cf FTL xiv 9; MLL vii 63) ("indretning til at fælde vilde dyr, formodentlig bestaaende af et gjærde, hvori der i en aabning var anbragt spyd paa saadan maade, at dyret ved sit løb derigjennem rammedes af det");⁵

grind (ON), as lattice or lattice work ("grind, sprinkel- el. gitterværk"), has three meanings: (a) lattice around hay, on carts, etc; (b) gate (in a garth or fence); and (c) a trap for larger animals (eg, to catch elk *i garðum eða gilldrum*, cf MLL vii 60; with the variant *i gorðum eða grindum*, cf MLL vii 60 [variant]); (b) and (c), but especially (b), form the main application of the term;⁶

bvergarðr (ON) ('thwart garth') 'fence which, for the purpose of catching, has been erected transversally from the shore of a river or the seashore' (if athwart a river it is prohibited, cf GG 1b: 123; 2: 510; MLL vii 48; JB vii 56);⁷ see also SKL 212;⁸

fiskigarðr (ON; *fiskegarth*, *fiskegaard*, OD;⁹ 'fishgarth'), "A garth or inclosure on a river or the seashore for preserving fishes or taking them easily";¹⁰

1 Cf Storm and Hertzberg/NGL 5, 1895: 142.

2 Cf Storm and Hertzberg/NGL 5, 1895: 245.

3 Cf Storm and Hertzberg/NGL 5, 1895: 142.

4 Cf Storm and Hertzberg/NGL 5, 1895: 508.

5 Cf Storm and Hertzberg/NGL 5, 1895: 599.

6 Cf Fritzner 1, 1954: 647; Storm and Hertzberg/NGL 5, 1895: 249, see also 602.

7 Cf Storm and Hertzberg/NGL 5, 1895: 750.

8 Cf Kroman and Iuul 1968: 72; see also 233.

9 Cf Granlund 1981a: 346, 350.

10 Cf OED 4, 1961: 258.

'fence, enclosure erected in a river because of fishery';¹ it is a comprehensive term; specific fishgarths are the *laxagarðr* (ON; 'salmon garth'; 'a fence erected because of the salmon fishery, for aiding it');² the *álagarðr* (ON; *aal(e)gaard*, OD; 'eel garth');³ and the *ørredgård* (D; 'trout garth');⁴ they are weirs and barriers made ('constructed', 'erected') of timber and wattle work;⁵ the Danish *skuldegård* (D; 'flatfish garth') is, however, made of twigs simply placed in the bottom of Vadehavet (on the southern West Jutlandic coast);⁶ the material in the *þvergarðr* may variously have been timber, wattle work and stone;

garðr (ON) may also be short for *fiskigarðr*⁷ just as garth in English is also short for fishgarth;⁸ *garðr* has been adopted in Norman and French as *gord* (Fr) meaning 'two rows of poles, rammed down into the bottom of a river as to form an [acute] angle at the point of which a net is placed';⁹ Fishguard is recorded as a Norse place name in North Pembrokeshire, southwest Wales, from ca 850-1063 AD;¹⁰

vágr (ON; *vágur*, F; *vogur*, I; *vo*, NS; *waa*, NO; *våg*, NN), as a topographical phenomenon, is a small bay, creek or inlet (cf GTL 150c,d; MLL vii 64 l,m);¹¹

fiskivágr (ON) is a 'fishing creek, bay where fishing is conducted' ("fiskevaag, bugt, hvori der drives fiskeri");¹² "ef sætt værða næt fyrir uaga" (FTL ii 26

1 Cf Fritzner 1, 1954: 420.

2 Cf Fritzner 2, 1954: 440; see also Granlund 1981a: 348; Iuul 1949: 258.

3 Cf Eithun 1982: 421; Granlund 1981a: 348; Iuul 1949: 257; H. Rasmussen 1982a: 416.

4 Cf H. Rasmussen 1982b: 13; Stoklund 1981: 352.

5 Cf Granlund 1981a: 349f; Pedersen 1992: 5-7; H. Rasmussen 1981: 381; 1982a: 416; Stoklund 1981: 351f; see also Andersen 1981: 101.

6 Cf Granlund 1981a: 349; Stoklund 1981: 351.

7 Cf Fritzner 1, 1954: 559.

8 Cf OED 4, 1961: 65; SOED 1, 1987: 833.

9 Cf Nyrup 1928; see also de Vries 1977: xxxi-xxxii, 156.

10 Cf Williams 1941: 156.

11 Cf Fritzner 3, 1954: 841; Jacobsen and Matras 1961: 483; Jakobsen 2, 1985: 1059f; Magnússon 1989: 1150; Storm and Hertzberg/NGL 5, 1895: 682; de Vries 1977: 639.

12 Cf NGL 2, 1848: 147 [note 28]; Storm and Hertzberg/NGL 5, 1895: 191.

[ca 1100 AD]);¹ "ef sætt varðr næt fyri vagma [var: j uagæ]" (EJK 30 [ca 1273 AD]);² "afstange ... viger ved hjælp af garn (for at tage den i vigen staaende sildemængde)";³

hvalvágr (ON) is a 'bay, inlet, where whaling is conducted';⁴ "reka hval i h[valvá]g annars manns" (GTL 150c; MLL vii 64 l);⁵

stik (n, sg; ON, I, F), stika (f, sg; ON, I, F; stikka, ON) is a stick, pole;⁶ as a collective noun stik (pl, ON) is a row of 'sticks rammed down in the water' ("i Vandet nedrammede Pæle").⁷

stika (vb, ON, I) (stikka, ON): to 'stake, ram down stakes' ("pæle, nedramme pæle"; "Pfählen");⁸ to 'close, furnish with sticks or poles, particular in order to prevent the passage' ("stange, besætte med Stanger eller Pæle, isar for dermed at hindre Passagen");⁹ in Faeroese stika (vb) is to 'place fence poles, erect a fence'¹⁰ while stikk (vb) in Shetland Norn means "to dam, esp[ecially] to construct a dam across a stream where it runs out from a mill-pond";¹¹ stika firi (cf GTL 150c; MLL vii 64 l), thus, means 'close, furnish with sticks or poles, particular in order to prevent the passage' of whales, 'to enclose [whales] by ramming down poles'.¹²

R. Frimannslund (1981) and M.M. Lárusson (1981e) offer more general presentations of the garth and fence issue.

1 Cf NGL 1, 1846: 139.

2 Cf NGL 2, 1848: 362.

3 Cf Storm and Hertzberg/NGL 5, 1895: 682.

4 Cf Storm and Hertzberg/NGL 5, 1895: 302.

5 Cf Storm and Hertzberg/NGL 5, 1895: 302.

6 Cf Fritzner 1954: 546; Jacobsen and Matras 1961: 412; Magnússon 1989: 959; de Vries 1977: 547.

7 Cf Fritzner 3, 1954: 545f.

8 Cf Storm and Hertzberg/NGL 5, 1895: 609; de Vries 1977: 548.

9 Cf Fritzner 1954: 546.

10 Cf Jacobsen and Matras 1961: 412.

11 Cf Jacobsen 2, 1985: 896. A secondary meaning of stika (vb, ON) for measuring (with a certain old measure) is preserved in Icelandic where the verb also means 'marking out' (with sticks) (cf Blöndal 2, 1980: 799; Fritzner 3, 1954: 546; Magnússon 1989: 959; de Vries 1977: 548).

12 Cf Fritzner 1954: 546; Storm and Hertzberg/NGL 5, 1895: 609.

A.16.10 Sources relevant to 14th-19th spear and harpoon whaling in Norway, Iceland and the Faeroe Islands: Translated extracts and brief comments

- (A) Norway and Iceland.
- (B) Iceland.
- (C) Norway.
- (D) Faeroe Islands.

Below the extracts (in draft translation) and comments are presented in approximate chronological order while maintaining internal logic. This excursus basically presents the issue in English and attempts to present as many sources as possibly directly; however, for certain extensive sources the reader is referred to the translations offered in item A.18; many original texts will also be found there.

(A) Norway and Iceland

P. Claussøn Friis (ca 1599 AD), writes:

'Concerning whaling. In olden days one has used many methods or ways in these countries in order to catch whale fish, which can clearly be understood from the Icelandic lawbook [ie, JB], but for the sake of people's incompetence has gone out of use, so they now know no way in which to hunt the whale unless he drifts ashore to them.

When they rowed out fishing or searching for the whale, then they always had some shot [skod] along with them as spears with sharp irons, so it could not be pulled out again, like the barbed spears [krogspiud], which the fishermen still use. And the same hand spear [handspiud] they should carry to the thing when they had been made and there have their mark cut in the presence of the thing men. When they then either by chance or when they searched for the whale (and lay in wait for him coming up) came close enough to him, then they shot [skøde] one of the same shot [skud], or more, into him. And if the shot [skudet] went through the blubber and into the flesh, then they believed that the whale could not live, and if the shot [schudet] [70/71] did not fasten deep enough, their opinion was that the whale would wallow on the bottom so the shot [schudet] would fall off, and thereby he thrust it deeper into himself. And in this way they got many whales ashore of the various kinds, one part dead and a part still alive, which whales were later partitioned and divided between those who had shot [schiøtt haffde] and the one who owned the land, or the one who first found the whale drifted ashore, according to the provisions of the law, and sometimes the king also received a share

therein.¹

Claussøn Friis (1545-1614) had a very good education and maintained contact with several learned people of the time. E. Bull (1916: 55) thinks that Claussøn Friis probably was taught Old Norse, especially the old laws, by the learned lawman of Agder, Jon Simonsen (d 1575). The text above seems indeed to demonstrate a good knowledge in this respect. He remained a vicar at Undal and dean of Lista, West Agder, southwestern Norway, from 1561 until his death and never travelled outside the southern dioceses of Norway.

Claussøn Friis is of the opinion that the spearing tradition had died out by the second half of the 16th century.² It is understandable that Claussøn Friis lacked detailed information and a comprehensive view of whale spearing in the vast country of Norway when Christie (1785/86) and his informants were also unaware of the spear whaling which at that time seems to have taken place in Nordland, Troms and Finnmark³ (cf below). Claussøn Friis's and Christie's statements can only be interpreted to the effect that whale spearing hardly existed in Southwest and West Norway since the 16th century.

F. Nansen (1911) describes what must be the Kvalvåg/Skogsvåg whaling ("in the neighbourhood of Bergen") as "very ancient" and how it makes use of old and rusty "poisoned arrows" that "convey bacteria from one whale to another", inducing blood poisoning, and continues:

"Possibly Peder Claussøn [157/158] Friis ... refers to a similar method of whaling when he says that ... [t]hey had 'a spear with sharp irons, so that it could not be pulled out again'. This was hurled into the whale, which died in a short time, or became so weakened that it could be drawn to land; ---.

We must suppose that this iron was poisoned with bacteria from former whales, in a similar way to the arrows mentioned above [ie, in Kvalvåg/Skogsvåg], whereby the animal's wound was infected. However, Peder Claussøn's description of the hunt is evidently [sic] taken in great measure from older literary sources, since similar descriptions are found as early as in Albertus Magnus (ob. 1280) (*De animalibus*, xxiv. 651), and in Vincent of Beauvais (*Speculum universalis*, i. 1272). In all three authors the whale dives after being struck, and tosses about on the bottom or rubs itself against it,

1 Cf Friis 1881a: 70f*.

2 This seems to have given rise to the general notion of 'decline', 'decay' and 'disuse' of Norwegian (asserted harpoon) whaling for large cetaceans during the late Middle Ages (cf Guldberg 1886: 162; Johnsen 1981: 162, 164; Martinsen 1964: 23; Nansen 2, 1911a: 178; Proulx 1993: 11; Schnall 1992: 214).

3 Cf Christie 1785/86, UBB 56: f43r-f43v, f46v.

thereby driving the spear farther in; but in Peder Claussön it does so in order to 'get rid of the shot', while in Albertus it is on account of salt water getting into the wound, and in Vincentius the salt water penetrates and kills the wounded whale. As the descriptions of Albertus and Vincentius evidently [sic] refer to ordinary harpoon-whaling, it may be doubtful whether Peder Claussön's statement really relates to a method of catching different from the usual one with harpoon and line, although one is disposed to believe that it does. --- [158/159] ---.

The method of whaling with poisoned arrows or throwing-spears must ... be very ancient. Whether it was invented by the Norwegians themselves, or whether they did not rather learn it from the older hunter-people of Norway the 'Finns' [ie, Samis], is difficult to determine. Nor do we know how ancient whaling in general may be in the North; it may date from early times, though Ottar's mention of it is the earliest known in the literature."¹

There are many facets to these elaborations of Nansen's:² He views (Norwegian) whaling in three categories only, ie, the Skogsvåg kind, harpooning proper of larger cetaceans in coastal waters, and drives and netting of small cetaceans;³ he nourishes the notion that the Norwegians invented the harpoon whaling of large cetaceans.⁴ For these reasons he partly attributes Claussøn Friis's account to a mediaeval scholarly tradition "evidently" concerning harpoon whaling proper and partly to a very ancient (primitive) tradition of actual arrow and spear whaling, perhaps even adopted from the Samis.

H. Falk (1914) relates Claussøn Friis's *krogspiud* to the Norwegian late Iron Age *krók(a)spjót*, the head of which has (two large) barbs, called (*spjót*)*krókar* (pl), intended to impede retraction. Such spears are common in Norwegian grave finds from the Early Iron Age but are rare in Viking Age graves. In Iceland, on the other hand, the *krók(a)spjót* seems to have been rather usual in the early Middle Ages.⁵

1 Nansen 2, 1911a: 157-159.

2 For the blood poison aspect, cf ch 12.

3 Cf Nansen 1911b: 2.

4 Cf Nansen 2, 1911a: 159.

5 Cf Falk 1914: 69 (incl figs 12-13).

(B) Iceland

Ólafur Ísfirðingur, 1385 AD: cf item A.16.11.

Ólafur Jónsson, before ca 1450: Jón Guðmundsson lærði (1640-1644)* writes about Ólafur Jónsson (Halldórssonar), of Æðey, Ísafjarðardjúp, Northwest Iceland (d after 1451 AD):¹

'Ólafur bóndi, who owned Æðey in Ísafjörður [ie, Ísafjarðardjúp] at the time of Björn Einarsson bóndi [ie, jórsalafari, d 1415], who was the father of Kristín from Vatnsfjörður, he was a most excellent whale shooter [hvalaskutlari], and a very wise and modest man. The last 15 years of his life the same blue whale [reidur] every summer presented its big [vaxinn] calf to him before she went to sea. He had marked (her) with a hole through the dorsal fin and wanted not to kill her, because he said that his life would end the same year as hers, which also happened after ... she had unintentionally been hit when he would hit the calf, and he made this his last whale.'²

Bishop Oddur Einarsson, in 1588/89,³ states that 'nowadays no whales at all are taken alive by our countrymen but rather nearly always drift onto our shores either recently dead from characteristic internal causes or dead from combat ...':

"... satis est illud de his omnibus in uniuersum scire, quod nullæ prorsus balenæ a nostratibus hoc tempore uiuæ capiuntur, sed semper fere jam dudum aut morbis suis peculiaribus aut intestina pugna demortuæ ad littora nostra appelluntur ..." (Cf Einarsson 1928: 60).⁴

Ólafur Gíslason (Ólafur hvalamaður), late 16th century:

Ólafur Gíslason, a rich peasant at the farm Hvesta, in Arnarfjörður, Northwest Iceland, 'was very active in shooting whales [hvalskutlan] and was for that reason called Ólafur hvalamaður', ie, 'whaler'.⁵ He lived in the late 16th century as his son, Jón Ólafsson hvalamaður (cf next entry) drowned in 1622.⁶ There are no indications as

1 Cf DI 3, 1896: 435f; Ó. Halldórsson 1978: 424; Hermannsson 1924: 38; Jóhannesson 1945: 86.

2 Cf Guðmundsson [1640/44] 1924a: 12*.

3 Cf, eg, Benediktsson 1971: 10, Burg 1928: xi, xxi.

4 A century later Resen (1991: 244) repeats this, presumably based on Einarsson.

5 Cf Davíðsson 2, 1978: 230.

6 Cf Davíðsson 4, 1980: 333, 344; see also 2, 230.

to the whaling method used.

Jón Ólafsson (Jón hvalamaður; Jón hvalfangari), 1610-1621: Jón Ólafsson *hvalamaður* is the son of Ólafur Gíslason (cf preceding entry) and lived finally at the farm Hvesta, in Ketildalahreppur, Vestur-Barðastrandarsýsla, Northwest Iceland; he drowned in 1622.¹ Hvesta is at the inner Arnarfjörður fiord complex. According to Sæmundsson (1903: 134) Jón Ólafsson *hvalfangari* ('whaler') is said to have conducted whaling in Ísafjarðardjúp, Northwest Iceland, 1610-1621 AD; later, Sæmundsson (1929: 87) explains that Jón Ólafsson *hvalamaður* ('whaler') had *strengjárnað* ('string-ironed') whales, *ie*, harpooned them.

Skarðsárannáll, 1610: cf item A.17.2.

Bishop Gísli Oddsson, in 1638,² describes tow harpoon whaling, using a line one hundred ells (50-60 m) long, fixed to the stem of the boat: "Balenas autem ferramentis aculeatis solent perforare ibidemque relictis et funiculo longiore ad 100 usque ulnas et ultra ad proram navis alligato ...".³ The gear he otherwise describes like this: "Sic propria velut industria ferramenta contemperare quidam soleter didicerunt. Alij quoque sagittas manuaris et arcus vulpium nec non frameas, lanceas &c. proprio Marte nullo praeunte institutore promptius, quam sperari poterat, effecerunt."⁴

Ólafur Jónsson, mid 17th century: Gísli Ásgeirsson (1946: 296f*), who grew up at Álftamýri, Arnarfjarðarströnd/Auðkúluhreppur, gives the following narrative of the whaling by Ólafur Jónsson, of Hvesta, in Ketildalahreppur, Vestur-Barðastrandarsýsla, also Vestur-Ísafjarðasýsla, both at the Arnarfjörður fiord complex, in Northwest Iceland:⁵

'Old men told in my youth many stories about Ólafur *hvalamaður* in Hvesta who had been an excellent whale shooter [*hvalaskytti*] in his days. They told that Ólafur had string-ironed [*strengjárnað*] the whale, as it was called, used a big ship, eight- or ten-oared, had had a gun [*byssu*] fixed in the forepart of the ship, and shot from it. The harpoon [*skutull*] which Ólafur used was very strong. [296/297] A line

1 Cf Davíðsson 2, 1978: 230; 4, 1980: 333; Sæmundsson 1929: 87.

2 Cf Oddsson 1917: 31, 82; 1942: 53, 135; Hermannsson 1917: viii.

3 Cf Oddsson 1917: 78; cf 1942: 129f.

4 Cf Oddsson 1917: 79; cf 1942: 131.

5 Guðmundsson (1933-1937: 16) says that Ólafur Jónsson lived 'about the mid 17th century'. His genealogical information indeed indicates that Ólafur may have been born just around the death of his father (1622).

[strengur] was attached to the harpoon [skutull] which could be let out to the extent of many tens of fathoms and many barrels¹ were attached to the line [strengur] which the whale had to drag until it gave up or collapsed [sprakk]. Despite this equipment it happened that the whale could not be coped with and Ólafur then had to hew off the line [strengur] so the whale would not pull everything under water. I also heard that Ólafur *hvalamaður* had received a grant from the Danish government for this catching.' (Cf Ásgeirsson, 1946: 296f*).

The land register by Árni Magnússon and Páll Vídalín (JÁMPV), 1710, details 'ironing' of whales and related driftage in, mainly, Northwest Iceland, in the two to three generations prior to 1710: cf item A.17.6.

N. Horrebow (1752) offers the following account of Icelandic whaling:

'The only manner, which they employ in some places of the country involves that a boat rows as close to the whale fish as possible, and then one who is used to it darts a large iron harpoon into him, and (the boat) immediately hastens away; this harpoon is marked with the mark of the one who has forged it; and as the whale fish will have to die from it, at least if it is well hit, it later drifts ashore somewhere, if the luck allows; yes presumably (it) also (drifts) off shore if the wind is like that; and if the fish then drifts ashore the one to whom the harpoon belongs receives a certain part of the whale fish according to the Icelandic law and the one on whose ground it drifts ashore the rest. This is all the art which the Icelanders perform in order to catch the whale fish, and so far has their [225/226] science hitherto extended.'²

Horrebow sees few positive things in J. Anderson's (1747) work but Anderson's words concerning the taking of large cetaceans seem very much to the point: 'the Icelanders ..., from lack of seaworthy vessels and equipment, would not harm it [ie, the whale] in open sea ...' ("die Isländer ... ihm aus Mangel tüchtiger Fahrzeuge und Geräthschaften in freyer See nichts anhaben würden, ...").³

This explains H. Becker's remarks, in 1736, that the Icelanders, 'as their condition now is', 'cannot take' the numerous whales which entered the fiords; he envisaged that

1 Ólafur Jónsson is variously said to have used barrels (cf Ásgeirsson 1946: 296f) or barrels and bundles of brushwood (cf Guðmundsson 1933-1937: 16; Sæmundsson 1929: 87) as additional impediment attached to the line. This could indicate some connection with Ólafsson's (1, 1772: 546f*) account (cf below).

2 Cf Horrebow 1752: 225f*

3 Cf Anderson 1747: 105.

privileges for whalers in Icelandic market towns and better ships could create a local whaling industry, even attracting Dutch and Hamburg whalers.¹

Regarding the speared whale 'Pincushion', 1833, in Arnarfjörður, Northwest Iceland,² cf chapter 12.5.

Melchior (1834) writes that the Icelanders do not know to catch the bottlenose whale in the Faeroese manner (ie, allegedly by fastening a line to the blowhole lid); they only take carcasses and live-stranded animals. 'In earlier times it was also regularly killed with harpoons.'³ This might reflect some spearing in Iceland of northern bottlenose whales.

Professor J. Steenstrup,⁴ in September 1846, attended and directed the Third Meeting of the Section for Zoology, Anatomy and Physiology at the 24th Meeting of the German Natural Scientists and Physicians, in Kiel. The protocol of the Meeting, *inter alia*, reads like this:

'Professor Steenstrup told that the coastal inhabitants of Iceland give their whale fishes proper names and that they actually know the various individuals as personalities. The whale fishes choose always the same bay in order to deliver their calves. The mother comes regularly every second year, people then take the youngs but spare the mother whose life is only threatened when they stray [or: lose their way] into a foreign bay.'⁵

Despite its attribution to Icelandic coastal inhabitants in general, this description clearly pertains to the calf whaling in Arnarfjörður, Northwest Iceland; its details

1 Cf N.N. 1798: 22. As a matter of form it should be recalled that Olavius (1780) on several occasions mentions Icelanders' lack of sealing equipment (pp cxxviii, 349, 513) or existing gear being weak (p 400).

2 Cf Davíðsson 2, 1978: 262; see also 4, 1980: 326.

3 Cf Melchior 1834: 297.

4 Japetus Steenstrup (1813-1897) was a prominent Danish naturalist. He lectured at the Academy of Sorø, 1841-1845, and was professor of zoology at the University of Copenhagen, as of 1845, as well as being director of the Natural History Museum there.

5 "Herr Professor Steenstrup erzählte, dass die Küstenbewohner Islands ihren Wallfischen eigene Namen geben und dass ihnen die einzelnen Individuen überhaupt als Persönlichkeiten bekannt sind. Die Wallfische wählen immer dieselbe Bucht, um ihre Kälber abzulegen. Die Mutter kommt regelmässig jedes zweite Jahr, man nimmt dann die Jungen, verschont aber die Mutter, deren Leben nur bedroht ist, wenn sie sich in eine fremde Bucht verirrt." (Anon 1846: 50. See also Bolau 1885: 356).

correspond with those from half a century later.¹

When Horrebow (1752) has described the Icelandic spear whaling (cf above), he adds:

"But as they now in addition to the hookers have had harpooning equipment sent to them, and one who understands it, who can teach them to manage this work, I expect that the whale fish will not get away with such an easy deal henceforth."²

The Danish government committee which was formed in March 1756 to investigate, and suggest solutions to, the controversy between the Icelandic Partnership and the monopoly merchants should also consider whether the hookers could be used in sealing and whaling.³ It is so far not known what their findings were.

The 'trustworthy account' which Eriksón (1768) refers to could well be by the senior treasury officer in Iceland, *landfógeti* Skúli Magnússon⁴ who was the driving force behind the Icelandic Partnership, its 'New Factories'⁵ in Reykjavik and the attempted introduction of hand harpoon whaling as of 1752, *inter alia*, through engaging foreign harpooners. In 1757, 'The king ... reminded anew the partners to pursue fisheries proficiently and to try to iron [*járna*, ie, harpoon] whales in the way the Greenland voyagers do' (*Sauðlauksdalsannáll*, 1757).⁶ The whaling venture clearly failed.⁷

J. Árnason (1862) writes that 'where the blue whale [*reyður*] may stay in peace with its calf, she always

1 It is to be assumed that J. Steenstrup communicated information which he obtained during his extensive travels in Iceland during the years around 1840 (cf Jónsson 1, 1988: 83; 2, 1990: 370).

2 Cf Horrebow 1752: 226*. S. Steindórsson (1966), in his translation of Horrebow's work to Icelandic, has presumably been unable to reconcile Horrebow's "stor Jern-Harpun" (p 225) with the *Harpuner-Redskab* here, and to the Icelandic *skutull*, so he translates the beginning of this passage incorrectly as: "En fiskiduggum þeim, sem þeir nú hafa fengið, fylgja fullkomnari og stærri skutlar, og ..." (cf Horrebow 1966: 164).

3 Cf Jónsson 1911: 103.

4 Born 1711, d 1794; *landfógeti* 1749-1793 (cf Eiríksón 1985: 13).

5 Usually called *Innréttingar* in Icelandic.

6 Cf Grímsdóttir 1987b: 447.

7 This attempt to establish a domestic commercial whaling enterprise along the lines of the Old whaling trade by S. Magnússon on the part of the 'Factories' has hitherto been given no attention (cf Einarsson 1987: 39f; Jónsson 1911: 82-124). The same concerns J. Tre(l)lund's station in Hrísey, *Eyjafjarðasýsla*, (*Vallholtsannáll*, 1661; cf Dorsteinsson 1924b: 357). Whether Jonas Tre(l)lund actually whaled inshore in (North) Iceland we cannot say; in 1661 the station was a basis for Spitsbergen/Jan Mayen whaling.

returns the next year.' 'So it is told that the inhabitants in Arnarfjörður may generally count on rorqual calves every autumn from that blue whale [reyður] which every summer is there every summer if they kill it in the month of September.'¹

Jón Eiríksson (1768)² writes:

'He [ie, Páll Vídalín, 1699] is of the opinion that the improvement of the fishery could so much easier put the whale fish and seal catching on a desirable footing as there still remains a kind of vestige of the former and the latter is really in considerable use.'³

'What has been said about the fishing in general ... applies also to the whale fish catching, that it ought to be counted amongst the big means to the furtherance of Iceland; because it is an undeniable truth that the Icelandic waters contain a large number of whale fish, both large and small, which nearly yearly show themselves, not only to the west of the country, where it faces towards Greenland, but also in by far most fiords around the same, even every year in some. The most prominent benefit, which the king and the country hitherto have had from them, consists alone in that some few, wounded or killed, mostly by foreign whalers, or also drowned in the sea ice proper, have occasionally been thrown on shore. But this must in truth be considered as nothing compared with the advantage in the economy of the inhabitants, but most of all in the trade [250/251], which could be had from this kind of catching, when it would be conducted such as it deserves. At least several foreigners have appreciated this --- the Icelandic whaling as such does not deserve less consideration. [251/252] Regarding the large whales, it is indeed correct, that the inhabitants have, right up to our time, maintained some idea about catching them, in fact also time and again caught a few ones. But as this kind of catching only takes place by throwing a harpoon into the whale, without having in addition other necessary equipment, to pursue or tire it, when it is wounded; then it only all too seldom occurs that they gain this advantage, on the contrary, in by far the most instances, that they not only waste their work, and lose their harpoons on top of it. This must be the cause that this catching seems to decrease more and more. But as it nevertheless

1 Cf Árnason 1, 1980: 626.

2 Icelander, b 1728, d 1787; professor of law at the Academy of Sorø, Zealand, Denmark, 1759-1771, and senior civil servant in the Rentekammer (Treasury), 1771-1787, in Copenhagen.

3 Cf Eiríksson 1768: 138f*.

regularly has been in some use, and is still in fresh memory, then it can so more readily be encouraged and established.'¹

Eiríksson uses the term 'harpoon' but there can be little doubt that he is actually describing spear whaling: 'necessary equipment to pursue or tire it' will imply, *inter alia*, the line. This is further confirmed in the continuation where he writes:

'In order to put this outside any contradiction I will only add in extracts the following trustworthy account in this respect written in the year 1758:² The inhabitants [253/254] have nothing of what is needed to repair the whale fish catching; neither vessels, lines nor other gear; they cannot afford to buy it, neither is it on sale with the merchants; everywhere they lack knowledge and experience in this occupation. --- [254/255] ---. The Icelandic Partnership has as yet not been able to adopt this catching. It hired in fact 1752 for one of the hookers a mate who had been on whale fish catching and should be harpooner, he stayed in the country the following year 1753, but because of the reluctance of the captain he could achieve nothing. In 1754 the Partnership organised yet another one, who had been on whaling with the Dutch for 8 years, but because all the other people, who should assist him in the catching, were inexperienced, so they could not be used without all too great danger for their lives, and he could not perform all work alone, so this was also in vain.'³

E. Ólafsson [Olafsen] (1772) reports on his and B. Pálsson's investigations in Iceland, 1752-1757. He writes that the blue whale (*Steipe-Reyður*) 'is occasionally shot with harpoon by the daring seamen in western Iceland [*ie*, Westfjords?] where it enters the fiords; it then depends on luck whether the shooter later gets it when either the blood has run out or the fish becomes inflamed through the iron of the harpoon which sticks in the flesh';⁴ 'on most occasions the wounded whale fishes run out to sea, and either they never come again or they first come when they have healed, then they afterwards avoid humans. It is only the male whale and the young fishes that the inhabitants pursue, but never the female fishes'.⁵

'In earlier times, when the inhabitants still had

1 Cf Eiríksson 1768: 250-252*.

2 By vice governor Skúli Magnússon?.

3 Cf Eiríksson 1768: 253-255*.

4 Cf Olafsen 1, 1772: 542.

5 Cf Olafsen 1, 1772: 546.

courage and faculty, certain men, who made whaling their trade, build large and strong boats and 2 or 3 such joined in hunting the whale. It was shot with two-barbed spears, with a strong line fastened to the handle [ie, shaft]; one had furthermore large bundles of brushwood tied at the front of the boats so it would mean the greater work for the fish to drag it behind itself. Despite this manner was dangerous it was nevertheless advantageous and it seldom failed the whalers that they got the fish because it was never attacked unless inside the fiords, as one in addition had small boats outside, loaded with small stones which were continuously thrown into the sea when the whale would (move) out, in order to restrain it, as all whale fishes are afraid of such throwing of stones for the reason, as is assumed, that the stone could fall [546/547] down into their blowhole ... When the whale become tired so that one can come closer to it, it is given several stabs whereby the blood runs from it. ---. It is a certain thing that the inhabitants could have much greater use of the whale fish catching than they have nowadays, but that would also require greater faculty. For the present time they are even very afraid of the whales when they perceive their presence because their boats and sea gear are weak and unsuitable. They even dare not mention the evil fishes by their proper name as long as they are at sea and use therefore fictitious names.'¹

Von Troil, 1772: From his visit to Iceland in 1772, von Troil writes concerning whales:

"The Icelanders, however, seldom venture to attack the larger ones as their boats [662/663] are so small, and they are unprovided with instruments proper for that purpose."²

Ó. Olavius (1780) seems to be the first who actually describes the Icelandic whaling 'shot', by him, *inter alia*, termed *skutull*.³ He writes:

'... that the inhabitants themselves in several places of the country in olden times have pursued whale catching, and among them in particular a peasant family at Ísafjarðardjúp which conducted it until the year 1760 under the mark of O.J. in the following way. A *skutul* [sic] or thin, flat and light harpoon with 2 small sharp-ground flues, of

1 Cf Olafsen 1, 1772: 546f.

2 Cf Troil 1808: 662f.

3 Cf Olavius 1780: 88. On many occasions (pp 87-90) he calls whale spearing for 'harpooning', once he compares simple iron spikes with 'a harpoon' (p 87) while he on another occasion (p 89) mentions harpooning proper by the correct term.

nearly 1 ell's¹ length, on the one side of which the name of the harpooner was engraved, and the year on the other (side). This harpoon was fitted into a slender wooden pole about one inch² thick on average and 5 ells long. --- because the fish was only reluctantly approached more closely than 10 to 12 fathoms [ie, ca 18-21.6 m], the shooter or harpooner had to be dexterous in order to hit it from so far away, which was not so difficult either for one who was well trained on land in advance; but despite that the harpooner did his task so well that the blood often spirted out of the wounded fish, which occasionally kept both harpoon and pole, but sometimes just the harpoon alone, so the game was not won by that; because no line was fastened from the harpoon to something that could impede the fish in its travel, and fatigue it, then it ran wherever it chose, until it eventually died ---. ... the oldest son of the earlier mentioned peasant, ... when he once in one day had harpooned 5 large whale fish in the manner earlier mentioned, and none of these drifted onto nearby shores, he became so annoyed, that he decided never again to attempt this hunting ...'.³

Olavius suggests improvements to 'the presently used Icelandic manner' of hunting whales by adopting the Dano-Greenlandic drogue and lancing method, for instance, by engaging Danes or even Icelanders who have experience in the method from Greenland. On the other hand, Olavius's informants consider the spearing method sufficient for the taking of whale calves.⁴ Olavius associates spear whaling particularly with the Ísafjarðardjúp,⁵ which is perhaps partly because his informants seem to come mainly from that part of the Westfjords (as Northwest Iceland is traditionally called). Jón Eiríksson adds a footnote to

1 This will be based on the accounts of the northwest Icelandic fishermen so I find it most likely that the ell referred to is the old Icelandic ell of ca 49 cm, rather than the trading ell of ca 57, not to speak of the official Danish ell of ca 63 cm which was made statutory in Iceland about this time.

2 One 1/24 ell, ca 2 cm (to 2.6 cm).

3 Cf Olavius 1780: 88f*. In the preceding paragraph Olavius considers sealing methods and seems somehow to confuse seal harpooning proper with whale spearing: The inhabitants at Ísafjarðardjúp, often with little results, return from seal hunting 'with flint-locks and harpoons' ("med Flint og Harpuner") while in Northeast Iceland people use nets; Olavius concludes that 'To shoot these animals with flint-locks does not reward the trouble and to harpoon them in the Icelandic manner will nearly be in vain.' ("At skyde disse Dyr med Flint, lønner ikke Umagen, og at harpunere dem paa Islandsk Maade, vil fast blive forgiæves."). (Cf Olavius 1780: 84f).

4 Cf Olavius 1780: 89f.

5 Cf Olavius 1780: 87-89.

the text saying that this hunting is now, ie, 1780, 'merely' executed in Arnarfjörður, Vestur-Ísafjarðarsýsla, where two to three practised peasants almost yearly 'harpoon' 1-3 of the 'young calves'.¹

Danish government efforts, 1778-1787: In a letter, dated 25 September 1778, the *sýslumaður* (sheriff-steward) of Ísafjarðarsýsla, Jón Arnórsson, informs the *Rentekammer* (Treasury) in Copenhagen 'that some peasants in the Arnarfjörður and Hrafnseyri parish ... still go in for harpooning whale fish, the catching of which, due to lack of knowledge, is said nearly to have gone out of use in other places of the country'. The *Rentekammer* responded, on 19 June 1779, to the *sýslumenn* of Barðastrandarsýsla and Ísafjarðarsýsla and by publishing in the Althings records that those who industriously pursue this catching will be awarded a bounty for it.²

The royal resolution regarding the sending to Iceland of implements for the catching of whale and basking sharks, of 26 March 1781, and the preparative of it, 1778-1781, is most revealing concerning the availability of whaling gear in Iceland around this time: Following the announcement by the *Rentekammer* of 19 June 1779, *sýslumaður* Scheving (Barðastrandarsýsla) requests from the *Rentekammer* that the peasant Eyjólfur Jónsson 'who seems well fitted for the whale fish catching' may 'free of charge be given lines and harpoons and other suitable gear for this catching'. The principal governor (*stiftamtmand*) over Iceland remarked that these lines, etc, had to be of the smallest sort 'because the peasants in the counties concerned are said only to pursue the young whales'; he found that the award for whaling should consist of the value of the equipment and that the *sýslumenn* should report whether they were diligently used. The chief governor also reported that two men from Rangávallasýsla had applied for 'similar gear free of charge to catch basking sharks with' which, in his opinion, could be less strong than that needed in whaling.³

The Greenlandic Trade Directorate (*Handels-Direction*) was by the *Rentekammer* requested to forward a

1 Cf Olavius 1780: 90.

2 Cf LFI 4, 1854: 493f, 571. In this respect T. Einarsson (1987: 38), *inter alia*, refers to LFI 3, 1854: 472 and 5, 1855: 635-641, both of which appear irrelevant; he also refers to LFI 5: 1855: 431, which also seems irrelevant as it only concerns possible wintering of the Danish Spitsbergen and Davis Strait fleet in Iceland and its right to bounties despite of departing from an Icelandic harbour (1784-1787); this document does not concern bounties to Icelanders but that is indeed the case with LFI 5, 1855: 450, which Einarsson, however, has omitted.

3 Cf LFI 4, 1854: 571. Around this time the Norwegians were active in basking shark fisheries (cf Alver 1986: 107-111; Andersen et al 1992 ms: 66; Strøm 1, 1762: 455 and table iii; Tufteland 1974-1975 ms).

'specification over how many harpoons, lances, foregangers and lines is required for one whaling shallop'. It responded that one whaling boat needed to be furnished with 7 harpoons including shafts, 6 lances, 7 whaling lines, ½ a hawser with foreganger, 2 tarpaulins for covering the lines and 1 for the foregangers; it also assumed that 4-5 boats were needed, each with a 6-7 man crew. At the prices which the Greenlandic Trading Company paid, equipment for one whaling boat would cost 132 *rigsdaler* and that for catching basking sharks 8 *rigsdaler*.¹

Upon this a 'Royal resolution regarding the sending to Iceland of implements for the catching of whale and basking sharks', issued at Christiansborg, 26 March 1781, resolved that one set of whaling equipment and a set of equipment for catching basking sharks be purchased in accordance with the specification of the Greenlandic Trade Directorate and be sent to Iceland and instructed the *Rentekammer*

'a) to have the equipment for the whaling handed over by the sheriff-stewards (*sýslumenn*) in Ísafjarðarsýsla and Barðastrandarsýsla to such a company of one or both counties which they can agree upon and find suitable to make use thereof under a certain foreman, whom they agree upon, and who presumably could be the suggested Eyjólfur Jónsson, and also -

b) to furthermore ... to have the equipment for the basking shark catching sent to Eyrarbakki harbour and addressed to the principal governor, for him to be given to a company, of a similar kind [ie, as the above], either in Rangáavalla- [572/573] sýsla or where it may be thought most proper.'²

This royal resolution was communicated to the sheriff-stewards (*sýslumenn*) in Barðastrandarsýsla and Ísafjarðarsýsla, governor principal (*stiftamtmand*) Thodal and the Greenlandic Trade Directorate by *Rentekammer* letters dated 31 March 1781.³ The equipment was presumably sent to Iceland during the summer of 1781.

Following a *Rentekammer* report about the situation in Iceland and Finnmark from the autumn 1780 to the autumn of 1781 and the economic initiatives taken in Iceland during that period the king, in a resolution of 8 April 1782, resolves, *inter alia*:

'2) that the peasant Gunnlaugur Magnússon of Strandarsýsla shall, to facilitate the whaling commenced by him, receive a reward of 10 *rigsdaler* from Our treasury. Similar We approve of

3) the reported measure by Our *Rentekammer*, by offering rewards for the development of the whaling in Iceland, to allow that the related 12 men

1 Cf LFI 4, 1854: 572.

2 Cf LFI 4, 1854: 572f.

3 Cf LFI 4, 1854: 573.

[636/637] in Aðalvík, who by judicial witness of 9 May 1781 are mentioned by name, may, for the further encouragement of this catching, from Our treasury enjoy a reward of 4 *rigsdaler* each, or 48 *rigsdaler* in all'.¹

P. Bjarnason (1976) lists the Aðalvík men who at the assembly (*manntalsþing*) at Slétta, Jökulfirðir, in the spring of 1783, each received their 4 *rigsdaler*; at least seven of the men were peasants of Aðalvíkursveit (or Sléttuhreppur, Norður-Ísafjarðarsýsla), one of them also *hreppstjóri* (ie, municipal officer) there, while one may have come from the neighbouring Grunnavíkursveit. The Aðalvík people seem not to have continued whaling.²

It is striking to see so many men suddenly involved in a whaling enterprise in a Northwest Icelandic community. It is also contrasted by the fact that Gunnlaugur Magnússon 'of Strandasýsla' seems alone 'to facilitate the whaling commenced by him' (whatever kind of whaling it may have been). The twelve men could be a crew of a 10-12 oared fishing boat, which is a very large boat by Icelandic standards, or two six-oared ones, attempting harpoon (tow) whaling; spear whaling does not involve so many men and such large boats. The Aðalvík men testify to some particular whaling activity on the 9 May 1781; this can hardly be related to the whaling equipment, bought pursuant to the royal resolution of 26 March 1781, as that gear (the fate of which is otherwise unknown) can hardly have reached the Westfjords by then.

Ordinance 1779: Probably in 1778, 'the farmer Einar Jónsson of Barðastrandarsýsla', petitioned the government in Copenhagen concerning a modification in the JB provisions about land share from 'transported whale' (*flutningshvalur*) in order to encourage those who go in for whaling; this was indeed approved by ordinance of 23 June 1779 (cf item A.15.2.5). The decree speaks of 'harpooning'³ but its provisions are applicable regardless of whether the whales are speared or harpooned. Einar Jónsson presumably whaled himself but we can say nothing about the method he used.

J. Eiríksson (1781) states that

'... it cannot be doubted, that whaling could be of great advantage to many seaside villages in that country, if people knew how to make correct use of it. --- this is demonstrated by those, particularly in the Westfjords, who conducted whaling in the past; because, just as imperfect as it has always been, it has nevertheless rewarded bountifully both costs and efforts, when it succeeded. ---. For that reason it is regrettable that this trade, which undoubtedly

1 Cf LFI 4, 1854: 636f.

2 Cf Bjarnason 1, 1976: 100-102.

3 Cf LFI 4, 1854: 494f.

could be most profitable to the country, is now mostly given up and faded away. But as the cause for this merely seems to be that people have not possessed the right knowledge, nor the equipment, to hold on to those whales, which they have *skutlat*, in order to recover them, then it seems to me not impossible that both may nowadays become so common in Iceland as necessity demands, because our king every year outfits whaling ships at his own expense from Copenhagen, and full knowledge now exists there about the whole method and all the equipment, which is necessary in whaling.'¹

Eiríksson continues by suggesting that young promising farmers' sons be sent to Copenhagen in order 'to learn this art' by joining the whaling expeditions of the Royal Greenlandic Trading Company for three to four seasons.²

In a decree of 13 June 1787 concerning the Icelandic commerce and shipping, announced at the Althing in 1788, the king offers, upon supplication, to provide grants for the purchase of whaling gear at the 'most suitable fiords, such as Ísafjörður market town and several fiords from Patreksfjörður to the Jökulfirðir' (Westfjords) and at Hvalfjörður (Westland), and 'that some able and teachable young persons from such places may, without payment, be thoroughly taught this catching and the way in which to treat the fish and that they thereafter receive some assistance in order to resettle in Iceland at one or another place which is suitable for such catching and there apply their acquired knowledge.'³

Skúli Magnússon (1786) writes:

'Alike and even more imperfect is the other both salt and fresh water fisheries in the whole country, like ... the whale fish catching ... The real Greenlandic whale is probably very rare off Iceland, but both in the (open) sea and the fiords swarm, during several of the year's seasons, the more of the other whale fish species, northcapers [*nordkapere*] and big and small *buskopper*. Foreigners, in recent times even Bostoners from America, have caught them. Merely in the Westfjords have a few inhabitants in earlier times shot them with a loose harpoon but not known (how) to lance it, or make further use of them, except when they coincidentally drift dead onto the beach.'⁴

M. Stephensen (1808a) touches upon cetacean takes in

1 Cf I.E. 1781: 143-145*.

2 Cf I.E. 1781: 145f*.

3 Cf ALDB 16, 1986: 434f; LFI 5, 1855: 450f. The translation is based on the Danish text.

4 Cf Magnússon 1944b: 48*.

Iceland: He divides them into (a) strandings and driftage offered by nature; (b) catching of smaller cetaceans (*marsvinefangst*); and (c) 'whaling' (*hvalfangst*). About the last one he writes:

'Some branches of fisheries wasted ... entirely away, like the whaling, which early was executed with more eager and luck. Now it is hardly known by more than the very name, and only in the Westfjords just a little more, because the insignificant attempts [or: experiments; "de intetbetydende Forsøg"] in Arnafjörður hardly deserve to be mentioned.'¹

The word *forsøg* can hardly be taken to mean 'experiments' with harpoon (tow) whaling; it seems rather to allude to the spear whaling there.

Rentekammer (Treasury), 1829: On 10 March 1829, the Rentekammer (Treasury) in Copenhagen mentions that provincial governor over the *Vester-amt* in Iceland, Bjarni Thorsteinsson,

'had investigated the causes why the whaling in Iceland did not yield more, and the means to its promotion. The present insignificance of the catching resulted in his opinion from the imperfect way in which it was conducted. It was therefore necessary partly to acquire better equipment, partly to educate [people] in their use, for which purpose he found it most convenient to use men who had been trained in whaling in Greenland.'²

As a result the Greenlandic Trade Directorate offers to engage a few (*et par*: 2-3) young Icelanders for two-three years in the Danish whaling fleet. It also calculates the costs for the whaling gear needed, 'and if the Icelandic boats would not be found suitable for the catching, whaling shallops had furthermore to be build, in a number of 3 to 4'.³

By royal resolution of 28 March 1829 merchant Friðrik Svendsen (of Flateyri, Öfundarfjörður, Vestur-Ísafjarðarsýsla) receives considerable financial support in order to establish a 'whaling works at Ísafjarðardjúp' ("Hvalfangerie-Anlæg ved Ísefjords Dyb"). Svendsen enthusiastically devised the project and apparently prepared it well, along the lines of the early bay whaling of the Old whaling industry. Whaling attempts, with several shallops, were made in the 1830 season only which totally failed and in 1831/32 Svendsen wished to withdraw from being in charge of the enterprise. Sometime after September 1833 the whaling boats and other equipment were

1 Cf Stephensen 1808a: 90.

2 Cf LFI 9, 1860: 384. This quotation is from the summary by the editors of LFI which usually seems to be nearly quotations from the originals.

3 Cf LFI 9, 1860: 384.

auctioned off.¹

G. Ásgeirsson (1929, 1946)* describes the spear whaling by his brother, Matthías Ásgeirsson, of Baulhús, and their father, Ásgeir Jónsson, of Álftamýri, and peasant at Hrafnseyri, until 1894 or 1896:² cf item A.18.

Ásgeirsson mentions that in his youth 'other famous whalers [hvalamenn]', who had died long before his 'recollection', were often mentioned, namely Einar Bjarnason, at Tjaldanesi (Arnarfjarðarströnd/Auðkúluhreppur, Vestur-Ísafjarðarsýsla), og Benedikt Gabríel: 'They both harpooned with an iron without having fasts in the whale';³ in other words, they used spears.

H.E. Oddsson (1960*) describes the spear whaling in Arnarfjörður, Northwest Iceland, as it was conducted in 1888-1889: cf item A.18.

1 Cf LFI 9, 1860: 384f, 394f; 10: 1861: 165f, 339. In this context Einarsson (1987: 40f), *inter alia*, refers to LFI 10, 1861: 26, which is unconnected as it concerns the auctioning off of the royal share of beached whales in the Arnarstapi district, West Iceland. In his chapter about 'Whaling by Icelanders', until 1863, Einarsson (1987: 39-41) does not mention that the government in Copenhagen during the period 1781-1829 (see also LFI 8, 1858: 406-408; 9, 1860: 385) donated whaling gear as well as substantial additional funds to individuals and companies in Iceland for the advancement of whaling.

2 In Lindquist 1993: 31, only 1896 is mentioned; however, the prime source, Gísli Ásgeirsson, is quoted as stating variously 'autumn 1894' (cf Guðmundsson 1946: 298; see also Jakobsson 19, 1975: 334; Sæmundsson 1903: 134) and 'October 1896' (cf Sæmundsson 1929: 87; see also Kristjánsson 5, 1986: 54).

3 Cf Ásgeirsson 1946: 297*.

(C) Norway

Troms fief accounts, 1682: In 1682, the accounts of Troms fief mention that a larger whale was recovered at Sørskar, Kvaløy municipality, Troms, with 2 broken weapons (in Bratrein's words: "2 avbrutte harpuner") in the body.¹ It is tempting to link this reference with later accounts by Brooke (1823), Thomassen (cf Helland 1899) and Larsen (1950), below.

Erich Lorch, 1692: On 3 December 1692, king Christian 5 granted to Captain Erich Lorch a privilege for a commercial whaling enterprise and a train oil tryworks between Ervik, Harstad municipality, South Troms (close to the border to Nordland) and Hasvåg (close by Hasvik, Sørøya), Hasvik municipality, southern West Finnmark. Article 1 contains the proviso: '... however so that Our subjects in their usual fishery thereby in no way are prejudiced, nor that anything is performed against book 5, chapter 12, article 5 of Our Norwegian Law.'² This provision is repeated word for word in article 2 of the renewed privilege from 11 January 1698.³ The reference to 'usual fishery' apparently encompasses whaling as well herring fishery. The evidence about whaling in Karlsøy municipality and Troms, as from 1614/15, which Bratrein (1989-1990) presents (cf item A.16.13) shows that the references regarding 'usual' whale fishery by the coastal inhabitants in Troms and West Finnmark were no formality and could allude to spear whaling.

P. Dass (1690s): In the 1690s, Petter Dass wrote *Nordlands trompet*. In the chapter *Tromsens fogderie* he ridicules a commercial whaling adventure and establishment at Nipøy in Grøtsundet, north of Tromsø, which apparently built on spearing.⁴ In the chapter *Svemvende dyr i det Nordlandske Hav* he states that the peasants of Nordland has 'never' been clever enough to harass the whale with 'his spear or hook' ("hans spyd eller krog"). Although poetic expressions are not straight forward, the 'spear' could indeed be that weapon proper while 'hook' might be a

1 Cf Bratrein 1, 1989: 472.

2 "... dog at Vores Undersaatter udi deres sædvanlige Fiskerie, ei derved i nogen Maade præjudiceres, ei heller noget imod Vores Norske Lovs 5 Bogs 12 Kapitel 5 Artikel handles." (Cf Lilienskiold 2, 1945: 300; Rothe 2, 1778: 924f). NL-5-12-5* protects whales associated with herring shoals.

3 Cf Lilienskiold 2, 1945: 300.

4 Cf Dass 1989: 134f*. Eriksen (1979: 189f) writes: "Den [ie, the whaling] skulle basere produksjonen på harpunfangst [sic] av kval - slike som de satte harpunen [sic] i og seinere tilfeldigvis fant igjen." In 1731-1732, it was tried to resume the operation but it again failed (cf Risting 1922: 101).

figurative expression for the harpoon.¹

K. Leem (1767: 302) writes:

'Even the Varangerfjord Sea Lapps executed in olden days [fordum] whaling, using for it impliments invented and made by themselves ---. This must also in our days ["i vore Tider"] be said about the Finns [ie, Samis] in Skjervøy [ie, in North Troms] and about one and another peasant in Nordland, in particular in Ofoten.'

Leem's first passage could possibly refer to the wooden lance described in 1694 by Knag (1938: 23) while the rest apparently refers to whaling spears proper.

E. Pontoppidan (1753); D.F. Eschricht (1845): E. Pontoppidan mentions the use of 'harpoons or darting spears' in the whaling in Sund municipality, Sotra, 'and at several places', which cause gangrene.² D.F. Eschricht associates the Sotra voe whaling with this method; he explicitly states that minke whales at the Norwegian coast are enclosed and speared, that they sink when they die but usually rise after ca 36 hours.³

Christie, in 1785/86, rejects that spearing is used in the Sotra voe whaling; furthermore, he found no evidence of voe, and similar, whaling outside Sotra and Askøy in North Hordaland.⁴

The association of spearing with the West Norwegian voe whaling is apparently incorrect, at least during the 18th-19th centuries; however, with a view to the positive evidence about spearing (beginning with Colban 1814), Pontoppidan and others (P. Ascanius?) seem to have had some idea of whale spearing taking place along the Norwegian coast.

E.A. Colban (1814), in his 'Description of the bailiwick of Lofoten and Vesterålen', writes:

'The whale swarms about the coast but is still unprosecuted in this bailiwick. On the other hand, in Senja [bailiwick] many are stuck with harpoons, however without lines, whereby it depends on chance whether it, after having bled to death, is found or not. ---. Otherwise whales are found every year on the sea as wreck, partly whole and partly in pieces, which have met their death either by the Greenland

1 Cf Dass 1989: 44*.

2 Cf Pontoppidan 2, 1977 [1753]: 193*.

3 Cf Eschricht 1845: 165, 196. In this respect Eschricht also refers to P. Ascanius (*Icones rerum naturalium*, 3rd part, text to table 26 [published sometimes between 1767 and 1777]) and Melchior (1834: 266f*) (cf Eschricht 1845: 165, see also 190).

4 Cf Christie 1785/86, UBB 221: f29v.

whale fishers or by its natural enemy, the orca.'¹

This spearing of 'many' whales by inhabitants of Senja bailiwick, southern Troms county, prior to 1814, seems to refer to the same activity which F. Boie (1822) describes (cf below).

The whale carcasses found off Senja, which Colban on doubtful grounds (cf item A.16.13) attributes to the so-called Greenland whalers (then operating off East Greenland and the Davis Strait), presumably carried some kind of weapon. Noticing the confused use of the term 'harpoon' this student tends to interpret such weapons first and foremost as having been spears.

F. Boie (1822)* writes from Hundholm, ie, Bodø, in Nordland, under 9 September 1817, about a newly established English merchant house there and continues:

'... already in the summer of 1816 an indeed unsuccessful attempt was made to catch whale fishes in the Westfjord. These animals the Coast Finns [Samis] in the Troms District and Finnmark, on the other hand, for the period of the last 5 years pursue with greater luck. For that purpose they make use of harpoons only, without attached lines for giving out, and leave it to the wind and weather to throw out the struck whale fish at the coast. In order to prevent disputes, every hunter is obliged to provide his harpoon with a mark which the official enters into the court records and which legitimates the one as the owner of a whale fish drifted ashore whose catching iron is found sticking in the animal. During the summer [ie, of 1817] this peculiar way of catching was the reason that a Finn [ie, Sami] offered a merchant in Tromsø to buy the mere claim to a whale fish which he believed to have wounded deadly [260/261]; the merchant accepted the proposal and the animal was indeed some days later found drifting on the water and adjudged to the buyer. Already a considerable number of whale fish have been caught in this way but far more have been killed without being of use to the catcher.'²

The English company presumably attempted to use tow or drogue whaling; the whales pursued by the Coast Samis seem to have been similar ones ('... catch whale fishes in the Westfjord. These animals ...'): there are strong indications that they were large rorquals which might also explain the failure of the English enterprise to catch them (any?).³

1 Cf Colban 1924-1927: 77.

2 Cf Boie 1822: 260f*; see also Melchior 1834: 255f.

3 Melchior (1834: 255) finds it likely that it was black right whales which the Samis pursued but that is mere speculation.

J. Fellman (1820s)* writes about whaling in Finnmark (in general) like this:

'When such catching has been executed at all, the method was that one stuck a harpoon into the whale, which thereafter was left to its own. Only if it later was found, dead or dying, it would be recovered ... Harpooning in the proper sense does not exist.'¹

'In West Finnmark whale catching was in the year 1816 already in its beginning when sticking whales with harpoons commenced. In this way in the Altafjord alone eight larger whale fishes were caught in the year 1818. What would not this catch provide for the local people if one began conducting it in an appropriate manner.'²

De Capell Brooke (1823: 299f*) gives a detailed account of Samish whaling with marked spears in the vicinity of Tromsø: His remark that the whalers 'break it off close' implies that it must have been thrust into the whale: cf item A.18.

Brooke (1827: 141*) continues by telling about an inhabitant (a Sami it seems) of Kvalsund, West Finnmark (in fact, situated at the innermost archipelago with narrow sounds), who had acquired the appellation of *hvalstikker*,³ or 'whale sticker'; In one year he had succeeded in obtaining 6 whales in this way while usually only 2-3 came ashore there (in Kvaløya), "the method which the Laplanders employ being too precarious to ensure success."

F. Rode, 1826-1833: Rural dean F. Rode (b 1800) who was parish minister in Alten-Talvik, West Finnmark, 1826-1833, writes about the whaling practised there:

'One rows in a boat as close as possible to the whale, which is not so dangerous as one should think, when one sees the back of this monster rise as a mountain above the surface of the water. A harpoon or strong iron hook with barbs, which is placed loosely on a long pole, is then thrust forcefully into the animal by a strong man, who then pulls the shaft towards himself again, so that alone the iron remains in place. As soon as the whale is wounded it seeks immediately into the open sea; but if it has been hit well it is assumed that it will lose its life after 24 hours' duration.' It was then a matter of luck whether the whale drifted ashore and would be

1 Cf Fellman 3, 1906: 71*.

2 Cf Fellman 1, 1906: 63*.

3 In plural, *hvalstikkere*. Brooke's (1827: 141) *hvalstikkare* must be wrongly spelled; Heizer (1941 ms: 23), adding to the misspelling, asserts that *hvaalstikkare* is "Norwegian for 'harpooner'"; I see no support for this view.

found.¹

Sørensen et al (1912: 14f) associates the Finnmark spear whale hunt with fin and, mostly, blue whales.

G.P. Blom (1830)* offers, from his studies in northern Norway, 1827, a very precise description of spear whaling there: cf item 18. The technique he describes is the marked detachable whaling spear which produces gangrene that eventually causes the whale's death. He speculates that less than one-third of the killed whales are recovered. According to him, this fishery had 'in olden days' been carried out more widely, in particularly around Tromsø island, in Balsfjord and Ulfsfjord, around Karlsø island (all Troms), and at several other places.² Blom does not associate the spear whaling with any particular ethnic group.

A. Helland (1899: 413f*) writes:

'Also the Finns [ie, Samis] seem to have known this mode of [ie, spear] catching according to teacher O. Thomassen: For [taking] whales in the old days the Finns [ie, Samis] are said to have used a kind of iron lance which, attached to a long shaft, was thrust into the whale, whereby the shaft at the same time was broken off and the lance remained in the whale. On the lance was chiselled the owner's name in [ie, by means of] a wooden mark, [413/414] so that he then, when the whale sometime was found dead, could prove his property right to the same. It also happened that he received nothing if the whale, for example was found by dishonest people.'

Thomassen's information presumably dates from the late 19th century and Helland seems to render his description faithfully: cf item A.18. Helland links Blom's (1830) and Thomassen's accounts but he does not reflect on the fact that they presumably describe two different types of spearing: Blom, the detachable spear head for darting; Thomassen, the head for thrusting and breaking off.

A. Larsen (1950): Shortly before his death, in 1949, 79 years old, Anders Larsen gave the following account (in Samish). Larsen's parents were Coast Samis and he was himself born (1870) in Selgvik, Outer Kvænangen, northern Troms. The account apparently refers to the late 18th and first half of the 19th century:

'Earlier the Coast Samis also caught small whales. They made a kind of spear which they lashed to a long shaft. When they rowed close to the whale they stuck [stakk] the spear into the whale. The shaft was broken off [brukket over] but the iron remained in the whale. In the iron they had put their name mark

1 Cf Sørensen et al 1912: 14; see also Juel 1888: 132f.

2 Cf Blom 1830, in Helland 1899: 413.

with a stamp. When the whale died and rose again and somebody found it it belonged to the one whose mark was on the iron. The one who found the whale received a reward [*finnelønn*], but if it was not an honest person he would not tell about it and took the (whole) whale for himself. This way of catching has stopped long ago but it was still in use when my father was young by the middle of the last century.'¹

C. Motzfeldt (1858): County governor (*amtmand*) C. Motzfeldt, in his five-year report to the Ministry of the Interior concerning the economic situation of Finnmark county, 1851-1855, concluded in August 1856, writes concerning hunting that 'The whale catching has much decreased. Occasionally one hears mentioned that some (whales) may have been stuck, but that they are later found again is a very rare thing'.²

J. Holmboe (1873): County governor (*amtmand*) J. Holmboe, in his account to the Ministry of the Interior in Oslo concerning the economic situation, etc in Finnmark, 1866-1870, describes how 'Vadsø in the five-year period has become the station for a magnificent new enterprise, Svend Foyn's whaling' and how Foyn in 1867 caught 1; in 1868, 30; in 1869, 17; and in 1870, 36 whales.³ Holmboe also writes:

'Whaling is only conducted by Svend Foyn whose activity mostly concerns Vadsø town ... The old primitive way of catching, by throwing marked irons (lances) into a passing whale, making it depend on whether it would die from it and drift ashore somewhere, has almost gone out of use. I doubt that anybody in these parts [of the country] any longer carries such implements with him. In 1870 an attempt was made by some Kvens⁴ in a usual fishing boat but without yield. On the other hand, hardly a year passes without a dead whale [or: dead whales] being found at sea or drifting ashore at one or another place in this county and bringing the finder and

1 Cf Larsen 1950: 24. It must be noticed that this translation is made from Norwegian. It is difficult to say whether Thomassen's and Larsen's information about the breaking off of the spear head are fully independent sources.

2 "Hvalfiskefangsten er meget aftaget. Man hører nok af og til Tale om, at nogle skulle være stukne; men at de sednere findes igjen hører til de store Sjældenheder." (Motzfeldt 1858: 24).

3 Cf Holmboe 1873: 51f.

4 Persons of Finnish stock settled in North Norway (cf Eriksen and Niemi 1981: 352).

proprietor an unexpected and considerable profit.'¹

N. Juel (1888: 132) writes that besides having been taken in creeks

'... the whale has also been shot with arrows or by thrusting [støde] marked irons into it, leaving it to the fate where it might drift ashore or be found. Usually it was probably shot in the fiords ... This ... way of catching has also lasted until far into the present [ie, 19th] century. So far known, the last, unsuccessful, attempt was made in 1870 by some Kvens from Vadsø.'

Juel here seems to refer to the same incident as Holmboe (1873: 24) but Juel apparently considers the method to be thrusting, in general, while Holmboe describes it as darting.²

Norwegian Whaling Act, 1896: The Norwegian Whaling Act, 1896 (NWA 1896), states: '§ 6. It is prohibited to employ hunting methods whereby it only depends on chance that the whale be found again.'³ This paragraph is based on the 'Proposal for a law regarding whaling' (*Forslag til lov om hvalfangst*), from 11 June 1892, by Naval Captain N. Juel, commissioned by the Norwegian Ministry of the Interior; it reads, *inter alia*: '§ 3. It is prohibited to use hunting methods whereby it only depends on chance whether the whale is found again or not. Violations hereof are punishable with fines from 100-800 kroner.'⁴ Juel's explanations leave no doubt that paragraph 3 in his draft and, consequently, NWA 1896, § 6, is first and foremost directed against the traditional Norwegian spear whaling; he writes: 'ad 3. This hunting method ... was used until this century and may come up again. It is highly destructive for the whale population but gives only a small and uncertain yield.'⁵ NWA 1896, § 6, seems not to have affected the Skogsvåg hunt which continued into the middle of this

1 Cf Holmboe 1873: 24*; see also p 17 for the boat used by the Kvens being a traditional open fishing boat.

2 Juel (1892: 14) does not mention any younger spearing incident so one may conclude that spear whaling came to an end in Norway in 1870.

3 *Lov om hvalfangst*, no 4, 6 June 1896: "§ 6. Det er forbudt at bruge Jagtmaader, hvorved det kun afhænger af Tilfældet, om Hvalen bliver gjenfunden." (Paulsen 2, 1908: 275).

4 "§ 3. Det er forbudt at bruge Jagtmaader, hvorved det kun afhænger af Tilfældet, om Hvalen bliver gjenfunden eller ikke. Overtrædelser heraf straffes med Bøder fra 100-800 Kroner." (Juel 1892: 14).

5 "ad 3. Denne Jagtmaade ... brugtes indtil ind i dette Aarhundrede og kan komme op igjen. Den er i høi Grad ødelæggende for Hvalbestanden, men giver kun lidet og usikkert Udbytte." (Juel 1892: 14). Steinsnes (1956: 79) seems mistaken in explicitly associating this prohibition with hand harpoon whaling and also in dating it to 1906 (rather than 1896).

century as a rifle hunt.

K. Kolsrud (1955): K. Kolsrud conducted field work among the Coast Samis of Rognsund (the sound between Stjernøya and Seiland), West Finnmark, in 1942;¹ he writes that during the preceding generations whales had been few in Rognsund.²

'In earlier times, however, it happened not seldom that whales were caught in Rognsund ---. In the old catching method, which was also in use amongst the Coast Samis in Rognsund, a 1½ m long iron spear [jarnspjot] was employed that was made by the smiths in Hammerfest.³ Name and residence of the owner is written on it. To the iron spear [ie, the head] proper a 3-4 fathom [ie, ca 5.4-7.2 m] long shaft was fastened. Three men cooperated in a six-oared boat. They followed the whale without interruption, it could be for up to 24 hours, until they came so close to the whale that they managed to drive [rende] the spear fast just behind the head of it. The whale went away, and the owner of the spear had to share the whale half-and-half with the finder of the dead whale.'⁴

Kolsrud's description of the Rognsund whaling spear and spear thrusting method is more detailed than dean Rode's account (ca 1830) but they complement each other. Norwegian museums appear not to hold any (recognised) whaling spear of the Rognsund type.⁵

1 Cf Kolsrud 1955: 81, 174.

2 Cf Kolsrud 1955: 143, 160. The reason for this is, of course, the wiping out of the population by the Modern whaling industry in Finnmark (ca 1870-1904).

3 I. Bjørklund kindly informs me that the first smiths probably settled in Hammerfest around the mid 19th century but remarks, rightly, that 'such a whaling spear could presumably also be made in a usual farm smithy.' (Cf Bjørklund 1993, pers comm).

4 Cf Kolsrud 1955: 143.

5 Cf Bjørklund 1993, pers comm.

(D) Faeroe Islands

Óli jarnheysur, after 1613: The legend about Óli jarnheysur may be summed up like this:¹

One day the people of Lambi (ie, on Eysturoy) saw a pilot whale pod off Lambavík. Together with other boats they attempted to drive the pod north to Vágur but did not succeed; 'the pod turned around and went into the (open) sea'. All boats abandoned the pursuit, except the one from Lambi because the peasant of Lambi intended to get a whale. 'Óli was foreman on the boat. When they had reached Mjóvaness sound the peasant asked Óli to stick with the harpoon [*stinga við skutli*] and be great-minded.' Óli stuck a whale behind the dorsal fin which rushed off with such a force so 'that the rope which was fixed to the harpoon ["*togið, sum fast var í skutlinum*"] ran through Óli's hands. In that moment another whale came and entangled itself in the rope [*togið*], threw with the tail so that a loop came around the tail, and both whales were now fastened.' Óli threw the line around his back and placed both feet against the gunwale. The harpoon was fast in the former whale, the boat moved with a 'terrible speed' and the stem was in danger of being pulled under water. The peasant called to Óli and asked him to let go but Óli answered that he had been asked to be great-minded when he stuck and now he had caught something big. The peasant rushed from the stern where he sat and steered and intended to come to the fore and cut the rope off, but Óli said that anyone coming to the fore would go over board; so the peasant stayed in the stern. 'When they had come so far east out to sea [110/111] that Svínøoy [island] came under Borðoy [island], the whales became exhausted - one hung athwart so each one tired the other one - and Óli managed to kill both of them.' Then they rowed to the nearest shore and pulled the whale ashore. The pilot whale pod turned from the sea and went ashore north in Vágur. The people from Lambi went to the killing but they had these two whales in excess of the others.²

Ólavur Larvasson (Olof Lauridsen), 1619: Olof Lauridsen (Ólavur Larvasson; F) who is a historical person, was lawrightman (*lögrættumaður*), copyholder at Skáli, 1613-1631, and from 1628 also held two farms at Sjógv.³ Under 20 August 1619, the Law court records mention that he had 'shot' three pilot whales, 6 *alen* (2.8-3.8 m) and 4 *alen*

1 The legend confuses and mixes details regarding Óli jarnheysur (Ole Joensson), who is only mentioned once in the sources, in 1616/17, when he is associated with a murder, and Ólavur Larvasson (Olof Lauridsen) who somehow seems to be the main person of this narrative (cf Thorsteinsson 1976: 7), cf the following entry.

2 Cf Jakobsen 1, 1984: 110f.

3 Cf Thorsteinsson 1976: 7.

(1.9-2.5 m) long, and a smaller one (< 2.5 m), with a *skutel* (D/F; ie, harpoon) in Hvalvík 'on the deep' after the other whales had escaped to sea. Because other boats had abandoned the pursuit the court ruled that the catch belonged to Olof Lauridsen, less tithes to the crown and the poor:

"Om 2 [sic] grindehvale som Oloff Lauridsenn havde skudt på dybet udi Huallwijg med skutel anno 1619 den tid, de andre hvale rømde bort til havs. Blev så påsaugt af Laugmanden og af menige laurettesmend samtykt, at den hval som for'ne Oloff Lauridzen på den tid skød med skuttelen norder udi Huallwijg på dybet, som vare 3 hvale, den ene liden, den anden 4 alen og den 3die 6 alen. Det skulle være Oloff Laridzenns vejde uden hvad tiender af bør gives til K.M. og de fattige. Efterdi alle andre både vare rømt bort fra hvalene."¹

L. Debes (1673) writes about the Faeroe Islands: 'The inhabitants receive also occasionally good use from the large whales stuck to death by the whale staves which sometimes drift inshore at this country.'²

J. Landt (1800) writes something similar: '*Balæna physalis*, Lin[aeus], F[aerose] rojur, in Danish *rørhval*, is not seen alive but it comes drifting dead to the country, presumably such ones that might have been shot dead by the whalers.'³

The first impression is that these accounts refer to struck and lost whales from the Old whaling at Spitsbergen, Jan Mayen and East Greenland, as it would be between 1673 and 1800. However: Firstly, currents and winds are unlikely to carry whale carcasses from these whaling grounds to the Faeroe Islands (if they indeed would stay afloat long enough) because the Norway Current flows from the southwest towards the northeast, from the central North Atlantic Ocean towards the Barents Sea, in a broad band on both sides of the Faeroe Islands.⁴ Secondly, Landt's scientific term identifies the whales in question as fin, possibly blue, whales⁵ which the Old whaling industry generally did not attempt to catch; thirdly, Debes's and Landt's accounts do not occur in contexts related to the

1 So transcribed by Bjørk 3, 1963: 166; see also Svabo 1976: 253f; Thorsteinsson 1976: 7. This resembles what the legend tells about Óli *jarnheysur* (cf preceding entry).

2 "Indbyggerne bekomme oc undertiden temmelig Nytte udaff de store Hvale ihjelstungne aff Hval-Stængerne, hvilcke undertiden indflyde her under Landet." (Debes 1963: 167).

3 "*Balæna Physalis*, Lin. f. rojur, paa dansk: Rørhvalen, sees ikke levende, men kommer død drivende til Landet, ventelig saadanne, som kunne være ihjelskudte af Hvalfangere." (Landt 1800: 240).

4 Cf Neumann 1981: 438 [map].

5 Cf Jacobsen and Matras 1961: 338.

Old whaling trade and there is nothing compelling about interpreting the expressions 'whale staves', 'sticking to death' and 'shooting to death' as harpoons and harpooning used by the Old whaling industry. All this seems to suggest that the majority of these large rorquals were actually speared in northern Norway, that they on their autumn migration (*ie*, moving against the Gulf Current) reached the waters around the Faeroe Islands where they will have died and drifted inshore.

A.16.11 Björn Einarsson's travel description and Ólafur ísfirðingur's spear whaling, 1385 AD¹

The Icelandic chieftain Björn Einarsson *jórsalafari* (ca 1350-1415 AD)² had his main farm at Vatnsfjörður, at the inner Ísafjarðardjúp, Northwest Iceland. He was very wealthy and spent many years abroad; during the late Middle Ages no other Icelander is known to have travelled as widely as he did. Björn Einarsson wrote a travel description which seems to have existed into the early 17th century.³ It must have contained a section about the involuntary stay in Greenland, 1385-1387, which he, Sigurður hvítkollr í Ögri and their two ship crews were subjected to after they in the summer of 1385 sailed from Bergen but because of ice failed to reach Iceland and, by the same token, were unable to leave Greenland the following summer. The stay in Greenland and its circumstances are well documented because of the ensuing court case in Bergen, 1388-1389 AD, where Björn Einarsson *jórsalafari* and Sigurður hvítkollr, on 20 May 1389 were acquitted of the charges of having traded illegally in Greenland 'without the king's permit' and of having bought 'the crown's goods' there.⁴

While living at the Eastern Settlement, Björn Einarsson was given the office of *sýslumaðr* (ie, royal steward) for the Eiríksfjarðarsýsla.⁵ Despite certain dues which he obtained in kind in that capacity, he apparently had problems with providing enough food for his crew members. Björn Jónsson á Skarðsá (BJÁS), in the *Grænlands annáll* from 1623, reports:

'It then aided Björn *bóndi* to the relief of his people that the best blue whale [*steijpireyður* came [*kom*] there with a marked shot [*merktu skoti*] of Ólafur ísfirðingur's from Iceland.'⁶

1 This is basically a reproduction of the account offered in Lindquist 1993: 28, with reference to fig 1 (map, p 20) there.

2 Cf Jóhannesson 1945: 69, 95; Ó. Halldórsson 1978: 411. A. Sigurjónsson (1975: 117-119) argues that the extant accounts actually pertain to another chieftain, Björn Þorleifsson *ríki* (b ca 1408, d 1467) and Ólafur, who around 1450 was a steward for Kristín, the mother of Björn Þorleifsson, in *Æðey*. At this stage, I have doubts about Sigurjónsson's conclusion and therefore uphold the traditional interpretation.

3 Cf DI 3, 1896: 434, 438f; Jóhannesson 1945: 71.

4 Cf DI 3, 1896: 432f, 441 [dipl 367]; DN 18/1, 1907: 29-31 [dipl 33]; Jóhannesson 1945: 91, 94.

5 *Sýsla* is 'district'. Eiríksfjörður is the present Tunugdliarfik-fjörð, Narssaq municipality, southwest Greenland.

6 Cf DI 3, 1896: 436. Nansen (2, 1911a: 112) renders "merktu skoti" as "a marked harpoon" which this student considers incorrect. Moreover, I fundamentally disagree with Nansen's (2, 1911a: 113) view that Einarsson's account "is full of extravagances and anything but

Jón Guðmundsson lærði (JG1), who personally knew Einarson's travel description, relates the incident as follows in *Tíðfordríf*, written 1644:

'Then a (large) blue whale [reidur] was found there with the shot [skoti] of Ólafur's, peasant in Æðey, in Ísafjörður, and the bóndi [ie, Björn Einarsson] obtained the shooter's share [skotmannzhlut] which he needed as food for his people.'¹

This may be interpreted as follows: In the autumn of 1385 AD, a blue whale (or perhaps a fin whale, in case the field identification has been incorrect?) stranded while still alive (BJÁS: *kom*), or was found (JG1: *fanst*) drifting or beached newly dead, somewhere in the Norse Eastern Settlement in southwest Greenland after having been 'shot' (speared) in the Ísafjarðardjúp of Northwest Iceland (cf fig 1). Because the whale was good for food, putrefaction, which progresses very quickly in whale carcasses because of the internal body heat, the whale's body mass and its blubber insulation,² and spoils the meat in 2-3 days time, cannot have been significant. We know that people occasionally ate tainted whale meat and blubber but if the meat and blubber in this case had been in a very poor state it would probably have been hinted at. Therefore, the whale is unlikely to have been a blasted drifting carcass, rather it will have moved inshore at the Eastern Settlement by itself and I imagine that it was on its southward bound late autumn migration when it succumbed to the wound and blood poisoning inflicted on it by Ólafur ísfirðingur's skot (spear head) earlier in that summer.³

The shot mark of Ólafur ísfirðingur's was recognised, probably by Björn Einarsson himself as it belonged to a whaler in his own part of the country, on the basis of which he was able to take charge of the shooter's share in kind. He will then have paid Ólafur ísfirðingur his shooter's money upon his return home to Iceland in the autumn of 1387 AD.

trustworthy".

1 Cf Hermannsson 1924: 38. For the identification of reyðr and steypireyður, cf ch 6.2.K21.

2 Cf Barthelmeß and Münzig 1, 1991: 16f; Burton 2, 1875: 234; Collett 1911-1912: 562; Conway 1900: 629; Eschricht 1845: 164f, 196; Helland 1921: 337; Lytle 1984: 42; Martens 1923: 114; Sandison 1896: 45.

3 Cf map in figure 1. For movements of large rorquals that have been speared in the Icelandic Westfjords, cf Ásgeirsson 1929: 89*; 1946: 298*; Olavius 1780: 88f*; and ch 11 about mark recoveries in Iceland.

A.16.12 Ropes and lines in the Norse area during the Middle Ages

Ohthere of Hálogaland, in the late 9th century AD collected 'Finn tax' (*finnskattr*) from the wealthiest (Coast?) Samis which contained, among other things, 'two ship ropes; each is sixty ells long [ca 28.5 m]: one made of whale hide, the other of seal's (hide)'.¹ On account of their great natural strength such *sciprap* (sg; *sciprapas*, pl) in Old English is likely to be the Old Norse *svarðreip*, for walrus rope,² which was used in Norse ships for rigging (*svarðreiði*) and anchor cables,³ and for church bell and crane cables, eg, in Bergen as late as ca 1600.⁴ In the early 15th century, a Norwegian farmer, Hákon at Nøste (in Slidre, Valdres, Oppland county) used *swordræip* as payment.⁵ Jón Guðmundsson lærði (1640/44) mentions that *suardreip* which is cut from an old walrus sustains the force of 60 men, so does Claussøn Friis (ca 1599).⁶ The hide of a large walrus bull weighs (unprepared) 2-300 kg, occasionally 400 kg.⁷

When Norse mediaeval sources speak of *reip* we may assume that these ropes to have been made of hides⁸ but in such cases other words are also used, eg, *ál* (*ól*) (sg; *álar/ólar* or *slagálar*, pl), meaning leather straps;⁹ straps used at a Norwegian farm in 1330 AD are referred to as *ólargögn*.¹⁰ About 1440, a tenant in Gudbrandsdal is listed in Aslak Bolt's land register as holding his farm of the archbishopric in Trondheim on paying annually '2 hides for a seine'¹¹ which points to the warps, hanging and

1 "twegen sciprapas; ægber sy syxtig elna lang: oþer sy af hwæles hyde geworht, oþer of sioles" (cf Bately 1980: 15). 'Whale hide' is walrus hide.

2 Cf Fritzner 3, 1954: 609.

3 Cf Fritzner 3, 1954: 609; Marcus 1980: 50. Arngrímur Jónsson (1622) quotes an ancient verse: 'Færum festar vorar / ferr sæk at knerri / svörð tekr heldr at herða ...' (normalised, from Torfæus 1706: 83; 1927: 60).

4 Cf Friis 1881a: 87f.

5 Cf DN 9/1, 1876: 249 [no 263]).

6 Cf Guðmundsson 1924a: 13; Friis 1881a: 87f.

7 Cf A.W. 1901: 80.

8 "At huða fange scal reip meta" (GTL 308) (cf NGL 1, 1846: 101).

9 Cf Fritzner 1, 1954: 26; 2, 1954: 887; 3, 1954: 424; Stigum 1982: 11.

10 Cf DN 1/1, 1847: 170 [no 207].

11 "Af ... alt ofrene bygt fore ij huder j warp"; cf Munch 1852: 104.

ground ropes of beach seines being made of leather.¹

Icelandic bird cliff ropes illustrate what strong hide ropes are about: Plaited mediaeval and 18th century bird cliff ropes of eight and nine comparatively thin stands (thongs) are known; if the rope consists of a single strap, the thong is broader, or perhaps 6-6.5 cm, as an extant part of such an old rope shows.² The Drangey *festi* consisted of 7 ox leather strands, each 80 fathoms long fully stretched, cut from the thickest parts of the hide; it required 16 average ox hides; in dry condition it weighed 1½ *vætt* or 120 Danish *pund* (ca 60 kg).³ GG (3: 387) describes the legal whaling fast (*festr*) transparently as consisting of ten *reip* (ie, stands or thongs) each of which must withstand the pull of two men. Other kinds of rope (*taug*, *tog*) were apparently mainly made of lime bast but a wide variety of similar materials were used.⁴ GTL 150 speaks of bast ropes as if they were readily at hand onboard any early mediaeval ship.⁵ The detailed analysis, by E. Schjølberg (1988), of the cordage finds at Bryggen, Bergen, from the mid 12th century AD through the Middle Ages, and finds in Oslo⁶ confirm that hemp ropes have not been used in Norway during the Middle Ages, except perhaps for ship tackle towards its very end.⁷ Strong bast ropes had a diameter of up to ca 5 cm⁸.

The Norse seal/porpoise harpoon (*skutill*, *skutull*) presumably carried a seal skin line, ca 0.5 cm wide and perhaps a hundred metres or so long.⁹ For sealing from the ice in the Baltic Sea, the Ruhnu (Runö), Estonia, harpoon was fitted with a 10 fathom (18 m) long line made of twisted and plaited horse hair.¹⁰

Icelandic fishing gear remained essentially unchanged through the Middle Ages and into the 17th-18th

1 Aslak Bolt's land register mentions feus being paid in hides on many other occasions (cf, eg, Munch 1852: 102f) which presumably were also mainly intended for ropes and straps.

2 Cf Kristjánsson 5, 1986: 149.

3 Cf Olafsen 2, 1772: 707.

4 Cf Schjølberg 1988: 75, 105.

5 Cf NGL 1, 1846: 59.

6 Cf Molaug 1993: 121f [incl ill].

7 Cf Schjølberg 1988: 133. See also Christensen Jun 1982: 196; Høeg 1981: 108; Stigum 1982: 12.

8 Cf Eriksson, Norberg and Bringéus 1982: 14; Molaug 1993: 122.

9 Cf Kristjánsson 1, 1980: 337; Jensen 1975: 68.

10 Cf Klein 1924: 246f [incl ill]; see also 1935: 134 [ill 3a].

centuries.¹ The oldest and most common gear was the *haldfæri* (*handfæri*, *handfesti*, *djúpshöfn*), ie, the handline (with a hook and sinker). As recently as in the 16th-18th centuries these, usually 40-60 fathom long, lines were made of skin, coarse woollen tread or horse hair; flax may occasionally also have been used. Imported handlines, of unknown material, are mentioned in English and Icelandic sources as from the 16th century. From the mid 17th century hemp was imported to Iceland in small quantities.² The *lóð* (longline) is first recorded in 1482 AD when an east Icelandic church inventory mentions one being 180 fathoms long and carrying 120 hooks.³ The longlines used in the 15th and 16th centuries were probably obtained from the English, Germans and Dutch; after 1619, longlines are listed in the Danish import tariffs.⁴ Into the 17th century the *handvaður* ([shark] handline, with one large hook) was the only gear used in Icelandic shark fishing.⁵ Inventories of monasteries and churches from the 16th century mention *ólarfæri*, *skinnfæri*, *setufæri* and *vaður* (sg; *vaðir*, pl) which were found in all parts of Iceland but seem to have been most common in the North and the East. Although it is seldom directly mentioned, there can be little doubt about the shark fishing lines usually being made of ox hide (*ólarvaðir*).⁶ On rare occasions horse hair was used as fibres.⁷ The length of the shark lines varied from some 30 fathoms (ca 56 m) inshore to more than 200 fathoms (> 378 m) offshore⁸ although it in earlier centuries will normally not have been longer than approximately 50 fathoms (ca 94.5 m).⁹ Foreign thread, cords, lines and ropes are mentioned in the trade tariff (*kaupsetning*) of *sýslumaður* Ari Magnússon, from 1615, including *hakallsfærum streing*, ie, rope suitable for taking sharks.¹⁰

Sources which must be considered to be quite comprehensive, especially since the late 15th century, are the Icelandic *búalög*, ie, enumerations of the legally

1 Cf Aðils 1971: 451f.

2 Cf Aðils 1971: 451f; Kristjánsson 3, 1983: 409f, 451; Resen 1991: 244; Þorsteinsson 1981a: 305.

3 Cf DI 8, 1906-1913: 71 (dipl 67); Kristjánsson 3, 1983: 416, 451.

4 Cf Kristjánsson 3, 1983: 416.

5 Cf Kristjánsson 3, 1983: 322-351, 366f.

6 Cf Kristjánsson 3, 1986: 322.

7 Cf Kristjánsson 3, 1986: 323.

8 Cf Kristjánsson 3, 1983: 323f.

9 Cf Kristjánsson 3, 1986: 323.

10 Cf ALDB 4, 1920-1924: 271.

prescribed values (ratios) of goods in kind. Such legal values are known since the 12th century AD and have been fixed as recently as the mid 20th century.¹ From the beginning the *búalög* cover domestic as well as foreign goods.² Parts of the *búalög* are found in GG and incorporated in JB (viii 5-6); later editions are greatly expanded and form large catalogues.³ A complete manuscript of *búalög* from the second half of the 15th century⁴ in the context of lines and ropes only mentions the ordinary (cod) fishing line and the shark fishing line (literally: 'line that can hold a fish' and 'line that can hold a shark and sustain the pull of a sinker', respectively; the former at 1 *alin wadmál*, the latter at 2 *alin wadmál*, each ell.⁵ The Hrappsey edition of *búalög*, from 1775 (in chapter 24, on the prices of tools), enumerates the (cod) fishing line, and the anchor and shark fishing line in the same way as the previous manuscript does but contains also a third item: 'new leather strap rope', 1 ell for 12 *alnir wadmál*.⁶ In North Iceland, around 1775, the upper two-thirds of shark handlines were hide ropes, the lower third (to which a short chain and the hook are attached) 'consists of treble twisted Danish fishing lines, for want of other for such use far more suitable cordage.'⁷

The *búalög* from 1775 reflects the state of affairs at the end of a long period of known local whaling activity in (northwestern) Iceland. The absence of 'whaling line' in any form from this, most comprehensive, *búalög* is therefore particularly notable; moreover, it shows that the absence of such a line from the *búalög* of the late 15th century is hardly a coincidence.

1 Cf Benediktsson 1982a: 131; Sigurjónsson 1966: 9f, 63f.

2 Cf Benediktsson 1982a: 131; Sigurjónsson 1966: 6.

3 Cf Benediktsson 1982a: 131.

4 Cf Sigurjónsson 1966: 10, 24.

5 "Alin er alin af fiskheldum vað, en tvær af hákarlsheldum vað stjórheldum." (Cf Sigurjónsson 1966: 23; modernised spelling).

6 "Ný Ólar-reipe ..." (cf Anon 1775: 64; see also Sigurjónsson 1966: 45).

7 Cf Olavius 1780: 338f.

A.16.13 North Norwegian whaling, 17th-19th century, as described by H.D. Bratrein in *Karlsøy og Helgøy bygdebok* (1989-1992): Presentation and discussion

This excursus considers particular aspects of north Norwegian whaling, during the 17th-19th century, as described by H.D. Bratrein, in *Karlsøy og Helgøy bygdebok. Folkeliv. Næringsliv. Samfunnsliv*, vols 1-3, 1989-1992, especially vol 1 (*Fra steinalder til år 1700*; 1989) and vol 2 (*Fra år 1700 til 1860*; 1990).

'Harpoon', spear: Bratrein describes the 'shooting' method like this: 'The whales were approached in rowing boats and harpooned with marked irons and have then swum away with the harpoon in them. The hunter then in most cases depended on somebody finding the dead whale and reporting it.' ("Kvalene er blitt opprodd og harpunert med merka jern, og har så svømt avgårde med harpunen i seg. Fangstmannen var da i de fleste tilfeller avhengig av at noen fant den døde kvalen, og meldte ifra.").¹ This, of course, is spearing rather than harpooning. A further linkage between the spear and Bratrein's usage seems to be the illustration (cf Bratrein 2, 1990: 191) which shows what presumably is a spear head (ca 115 cm long), with the caption: '*Skottal* or *skuttel*, a kind of harpoon [made] of iron, is mentioned in the 18th century. It was in particular used for catching halibuts. Here we see an old *skottal* from Bogen on Karlsøy, of unknown age. In private possession'.²

In the following extracts and summaries I have consequently translated Bratrein's *skottal*, *skuttel*, 'harpoon', *skutle* and 'harpooning' as 'shot' and 'shooting'. However, the reader should be aware that the spearing method may partly or wholly have been by thrusting the spear into the whale, rather than darting ('shooting') it.

Evidence about (spear) whaling: According to fief accounts a whale was in 1614/15 caught locally and landed at Torsvåg, Vanna island, Karlsøy municipality, Troms.³

In the period 1627/28-1665, ca 25 finds of whales: 17 seems to be finds of 'dead whales from the ocean', 8 cases involve 'smaller whales [*småkval*] that were caught locally' by Samis ('Finns') in the deeply indented fiords of

1 Cf Bratrein 1, 1989: 471.

2 Cf Bratrein 2, 1990: 191, incl photograph IL/EI 1970. Although certain pronged weapons, even toggle harpoons, usually called *skottal*, etc, in recent times indeed have been used for catching halibuts (cf Nesheim 1947: 82f, incl fig 3e), the character of the Bogen *skottal* deserves to be positively determined.

3 Cf Bratrein 1, 1989: 355.

Ullsfjord, Lyngen and Kvanangen, northern Troms.¹ Bratrein writes that 'as to the other [ie, 17] finds of whales we cannot exclude that some were the result of Sami whaling. In most cases it must nevertheless have been drift whales from the sea. ---. In some cases it involved animals too large that they can have been pursued locally.'²

The fief account of 1627/28 mentions 'young whales that the Finns have shot' ("unge kvaler, finnene har skutlet").³

In one case, before 1700, it is mentioned that 2 Samis ('Finns') have taken a whale at Sandvær ('Sandtiehr', [unidentified]) and that they 'according to the law' kept the catch after tithing. 'This indicates that the whale had been killed at this place'; it was a 'small young whale' ("liten ungkval").⁴

In another instance, before 1700, the sheriff for the Samis (*finnelensman*) in Lyngen, northern Troms, forwarded the tithe of '2 small finder's whale calves' ("2 små enfindings kvalunger").⁵

The fief accounts, in 1682, mention that a whale had been shot (*skutlet*) at Sørskar (being on the northwestside of Nord-Kvaløy, Kvaløy municipality, Troms, by the open ocean) which had later been recovered with 2 broken shots (Bratrein: "2 avbrutte harpuner") in the body. After the tithe had been deducted its value was 24 daler 'so it must have been a larger whale from the (open) sea.'⁶ It is not mentioned whether the whalers in this case were Samis or Norwegians.

In 1710, a whale was shot (Bratrein: 'harpooned') by people from Jøkelfjord, and in 1744 by people from Lyngen, both in northern Troms. The latter took place three weeks before Easter and the whale with marked iron(s) drifted ashore at Hamnes, Uløya, Nordreise municipality, northern Troms. It was a small whale, with only 3 fathoms of 'cutting blubber'. A controversy arose between the bailiff and the steward (of the Rosenkrantz estate?) as to whether this whale was a 'caught whale'⁷ or a drift whale.⁸

In 1769, the chief clerk (*sorenskriver*) mentions that a

1 Cf Bratrein 1, 1989: 471.

2 Cf Bratrein 1, 1989: 472, see also 471.

3 Cf Bratrein 1, 1989: 471.

4 Cf Bratrein 1, 1989: 471.

5 Cf Bratrein 1, 1989: 471.

6 Cf Bratrein 1, 1989: 472.

7 Bratrein (2, 1990: 174) quotes it as *veidekval*; the original probably has it *veydehval* (D/N).

8 Cf Bratrein 2, 1990: 174.

basking shark or a small whale was caught in Troms bailiwick. 'He did not attribute this catching to the Samis in particular and we have also information about such catching in the Norwegian settlements in Karlsøy.'¹

Sometime during the periods 1713-1787 and 1818-1830 a living whale was found, presumably beached, in an inlet at (Store?) Skorøy (northeast of Vanna), Karlsøy municipality, Troms. It was killed with a scythe and treated as 'caught whale' (*veidekval*) 'and only divided between finder and proprietor' (Bratreim); 'finder' must mean 'killer'. Bratreim writes: 'it was 17-18 ells (*alen*) long (ca 11 metre'² [or rather 8.3 m?]).

In 1830, a small whale was also killed after live stranding at (Store?) Skorøy (northeast of Vanna), Karlsøy municipality, Troms.³

During the first half of the 19th century, 'The catching of smaller whales [*småkvalfangsten*] was still conducted by the Samis, *inter alia*, in Karlsøy and Tromsø parishes but seems to have been decreasing in the 1820s'.⁴ 'In 1835, we have a mention⁵ of such catching in North Troms and from Kvanangen [northern Troms] there exists an account about traditional whaling of smaller cetaceans with harpoon ["tradisjonell småkvalfangst med harpun"; *ie*, spear] in the latter half of the 19th century.'⁶ The Samish whaling is documented in Lyngen and Kvanangen, northern Troms, into the 19th century.⁷

Samish and Norwegian (spear) whaling, discussion: Bratreim (1, 1989: 471) writes that Samish whaling involved 'smaller whales [*småkval*] that were caught locally'; he mentions that according to the fief accounts (1627/28) the Samis took whale calves and concludes that 'The Samish whaling has clearly only involved small animals, but it must ... have been old.' Bratreim's terminology seems far from consistent: does he mean 'smaller whales' = 'smaller animals' = calves, or does he mean that the whales (even calves) belonged to some 'smaller cetacean' species? - *Småkval*, *småkvalfangst* in contemporary Norwegian usage is associated with minke, bottlenose, pilot and white whales, orcas and dolphins.⁸ Either way, this student disagrees

1 Cf Bratreim 2, 1990: 175.

2 Cf Bratreim 2, 1990: 176.

3 Cf Bratreim 2, 1990: 176.

4 Cf Bratreim 2, 1990: 520.

5 The source is not mentioned.

6 Cf Bratreim 1, 1989: 471.

7 Cf Bratreim 2, 1990: 174.

8 Cf Jonsgård 1992: 9-15.

with such unqualified conclusions. Among the whales shot we also find large ones (eg, the Sørskar one, 1682). Bratrein (1986: 471f) seems to be captive of the harpoon tow whaling notion and tries hard to interpret the sources accordingly. However, spearing does not exclude that large cetaceans are shot so Bratrein's conclusion that certain whales were 'too large' to have been pursued by the coastal inhabitants is clearly not sustainable; in fact, Bratrein (1, 1989: 472), in the following passage, gives a clear example about a larger whale taken at Sørskar, Nord-Kvaløy, in 1682, which was recovered with '2 broken shots'.

The Icelandic and Greenlandic evidence shows that within a region spearing may have been applied equally to adult whales, calves and juveniles but that local traditions varied considerably. Calves and juveniles are presumably easier to keep embayed than adults, if that is part of the tradition; otherwise, it seems more feasible to spear adult whales.

Bratrein (1989-1990) considers the shooting, ie, spearing as I see it, of whales to be an essentially Samish activity. According to the 17th-19th century sources the Samis undoubtedly conducted spear whaling but ethnicity is hardly of particular relevance here: whale spearing has clearly a long Norse history and being a simple economic activity in a region of mixed settlement nothing precludes that Norwegian peasant fishermen pursued this whaling alongside the Coast Samis.

Drifting whale carcasses, discussion: Bratrein considers the drift whales recovered in Karlsøy municipality, northern Troms, in the following terms, viz:

Those recovered in Karlsøy municipality, ca 1600-1620, were mostly killed 'by foreigners in the the Arctic Ocean [Nordishavet] and along the coast of North Norway'¹ from whence they even drifted far inshore;² during the years, ca 1620-1700, the number of 'finds of drift whales ... declined somewhat, concurrent with the reduced big-whale catching in the Arctic Ocean in the period.'³ During the 18th century, 'Several of the whales had obviously drifted for a long time and were greatly reduced and spoiled so the proceeds were not great. ---. It was assumed that a whale carcass could have drifted at sea for years before it drifted onto a shore in Helgøy.'⁴ In the period, ca 1815-1860, whales occasionally drifted ashore 'despite catching

1 Cf Bratrein 1, 1989: 355.

2 Cf Bratrein 1, 1989: 354. Colban ([1814] 1924-1927: 77*) also suggests that whale carcasses which at that time were found off Senja, *inter alia*, originated with the so-called Greenland whalers.

3 Cf Bratrein 1, 1989: 471. The source for this seems to be Paine's (unreferenced) remark that "there was a decrease in the number of whales off the Finnmark coast after the seventeenth century" (cf Paine 1, 1957: 36).

4 Cf Bratrein 2, 1990: 176.

in the Arctic Ocean [Nordishavet] decreased'.¹ 'The catching of smaller whales was still conducted by the Samis, *inter alia*, in Karlsøy and Tromsø parishes, but seems to have been decreasing in the 1820s, very likely because of reduced abundance of whales.' ("Småkvalfangsten blei fortsatt drevet av sjøsamene, bl.a. i Karlsøy og Tromsø prestegjeld, men synes å ha vært i tilbakegang i 1820-åra, vistnok p.g.a. mindre mengde av kval.").²

Apart from the (correct) reference by Bratrein to the Basque and Dutch inshore whaling in North Norway during the first decades of the 17th century this student finds no support for Bratrein's notions and whole reasoning:

Firstly, the drifting of carcasses from Spitsbergen or the Spitsbergen-Jan Mayen area, where the bowhead whaling took place, to North Norway is hardly possible on grounds of the ocean currents;³

secondly, the decomposition of a whale carcass is so rapid that it will soon become blasted and explode, if birds, sharks, orcas, etc, not otherwise cause it to sink;

thirdly, the old 'Greenland' whaling pursued the bowhead whale whose habitat is the polar waters and which as such has nothing to do with most of the Norwegian (temperate) waters, except perhaps occasionally in East Finnmark during winter;

fourthly, the black right whale was caught inshore in Finnmark, possibly also in northern Troms, by the Basques and the Dutch in the 17th century; the krengs (qv) from this whaling were obtained and used by the local inhabitants;⁴ given a struck and lost rate of at least 20 % in the Old (hand harpoon) whaling industry,⁵ the Basque and Dutch whaling will certainly also have resulted in many drift whales in the inner and outer archipelagos of Troms and Finnmark while it lasted but these whales have nothing to do with the Spitsbergen/East Greenland whaling; the Basque and Dutch whaling undoubtedly augmented the number of drift whales in Troms and Finnmark in the 17th century but before, during and after this time both natural causes and, presumably, spearing by the coastal inhabitants resulted in other drift whales.

1 Cf Bratrein 2, 1990: 520.

2 Cf Bratrein 2, 1990: 520.

3 Cf Neumann 1981: 438 [map].

4 Cf Anon 1938: 40-43; Lilienskiold 1, 1942: 100, 206f.

5 Cf de Jong 1983: 97.

A.16.14 Toggle and grommet harpoons in Norway and Iceland

Toggle and grommet harpoons¹ play a role in the interpretation of especially Norwegian peasant fisherman whaling. The earliest certain references to historical toggle and grommet harpoon this student is aware of are as follows:

In 1762, H. Strøm describes in detail and illustrates a grommet harpoon ("skuttel eller harpun") and its use in the catching of bluefin tuna or sturgeon which was then mainly executed in Jørgenfjord and Volden parishes, Sundmøre. To judge by the illustration the grommet harpoon is of a very light construction.²

H. Strøm (1762) also mentions the taking in northern Norway of basking sharks (*Cetorhinus maximus*) by drogue (casks) and tow harpooning (lasting several days) (cf Strøm 1, 1762: 274f); he does not mention what kind of harpoon was employed.

Around 1800, Henrik Christie, based on his own pioneering experiences, writes a treatise about the west Norwegian basking shark fishery, *Brygden og brygdefangsten* (UBB ms 145; here based on J. Tufteland's 1974-1975 transcript and Alver's 1986: 107-111 presentation of it;³ see also Hanssen 1927: 5; Rathke 1907: 66). H. Christie, in the *11te Afd. Anhang* discusses the technical aspects of the harpoons used in this basking shark fishery. He explains that the grommet harpoon used 'now', ie, ca 1800,⁴ is an 'English invention' (cf Kraft 1830: 611; Tufteland 1975-1975: 256). H. Christie also mentions that another toggle harpoon type had just become known to people in West Norway

1 Some harpoons with a toggling head need a grommet in order to keep their head in the darting and penetrating position for which reason they are termed 'grommet harpoons'.

2 Cf Strøm 1, 1762: 455f; plate iii, fig 14. Strøm (1, 1762: 455) writes "Størje eller Stør" (in Dano-Norwegian); I am not convinced about Vollan's (1981b: 326) understanding that this means *makrellstørje*, ie, the bluefin tuna (*Thunnus thynnus*). Pontoppidan (2, 1777: 244), in 1753, illustrates a *størje* which beyond doubt is a sturgeon (*Acipenser sturio*). The modern Danish and Norwegian meaning of *stør* is sturgeon; *størje* (N) may also mean *håstørje* (*haastørje*) (cf Falk and Torp 1992: 858f) where the prefix *hå-* has the connotation of 'shark' (cf Jakobsen 1, 1985: 322; Magnússon 1989: 306; de Vries 1977: 209) which also point towards the sturgeon. J. Rathke, in September 1800, saw a great number of "Størje /: accipenser Sturio :/" gambolling in Korsfjord, near Bergen, and mentions that they had at least once been seined in Skogsvåg, Sotra, in the same way as dolphins. (Cf Rathke 1907: 66). It is also difficult to disregard Professor Rathke's observation. Both species seem to be candidates on grounds of distribution. Strøm's (1, 1762: 455f) account is so detailed that an ethologist and ecologist should be able to identify the species behind the description.

3 The original seems now lost (cf Alver 1986: 109).

4 Cf Alver 1986: 107.

which he states to be 'English', too, and of the same kind which the English use in shark fishing (cf Tufteland 1974-1975 ms: 255f). Whether H. Christie was able to distinguish between New England and English inventions in this field or not, he is most likely right in that these grommet harpoons came to Norway from Britain. With the original manuscript missing I have been unable to study Christie's drawings but if the impression from a (relatively poor) reproduction (cf Alver 1986: 108 [ill, fig 6]) is correct the (New England) grommet harpoons, which according to Lytle (1984: 32, 203f [figs 72f]) were developed around 1835-1845 (as porpoise/dolphin harpoons), seem to have a predecessor, perhaps of English origin, reaching back into the mid 18th century.

Anders Christie (1785/86, UBB 221: f5v) mentions that about 1759 dolphins and orcas enclosed at Bildøy were stuck with, and pulled ashore by means of, the grommet harpoon (*skutel*). He also describes in detail the grommet harpoon used for towing in the Skogsvåg (minke) whaling in the 1780s (cf Christie 1785/86, UBB 56: f39v; UBB 221: f28r-f29r) but the peasant fishermen there were also equipped with harpoons of the Basque type (cf Christie 1785/86, UBB 56: f39v). He was therefore fully aware of the difference between them.

The basking shark fishery, at least on a larger scale, making use of the grommet harpoon and lines 240 fathoms (ca 450 m) long, commenced in Sund, Fjeld and Herløe parishes, central Hordaland, in 1790, but the fishermen from Nordmøre and Romsdal possibly began earlier with it. Around 1830, it was clearly still conducted from Hordaland. (Cf Alver 1986: 107; Kraft 1830: 611).

Rev I.A. Heltzen describes basking shark fishery in Nordland around 1834: The fishermen row to the shark, equipped with a harpoon attached to an iron chain and this is in turn attached [108/109] to a rope (*taug*) several hundred fathoms long; the rope must lie properly coiled in the boat. When the shark has been harpooned in the side the boat retires quickly from the animal while it rushes right down. When the shark does not pull the line any more the fishermen begin hauling it so as to tire the animal; when dead, the shark will float at the surface. If the line does not run out properly the fishermen must cut it to avoid the boat being pulled under. If the shark is only slightly wounded the basking shark may pull the boat far out to sea so the fishermen attempt to pull out the harpoon or must cut the line. (Cf Heltzen 1981: 108f).

Since 1910, the Historical Museum, Bergen, holds a grommet harpoon, a two-flued harpoon with acute stop withers, and a slender spear (lance?), from Skogsvåg.¹ The design of the grommet harpoon is unusual; it fits fully Christie's (1785/86 UBB 56: f39v; UBB 221: f28r) description of the

1 Cf HMUiB main catalogue no 1910:25/photo catalogue no 2185/negative no D.746^x, ms.

sku(t)tel (in contradistinction to the *harpun*) and appears also to be comparatively old. The two-flued harpoon is similar to the one illustrated by Scoresby (2, 1969: plate xviii, fig 2) from 1820; it may even be somewhat older (cf Lytle 1984: 23). Barsnes illustrates a grommet harpoon which he implies has been used in Kvalvåg/Skogvåg (cf Barsnes 1932: 87 [ills]; Østberg 1934: 83 [ills]); it is virtually identical with a basking shark harpoon (from Bøvåg) which the Historical Museum, Bergen, holds.¹

Vollan (1981b: 326) writes that of the harpoon (*skutill*) two kinds are known: 'the older one', with barbs, being the sealing harpoon, and 'the younger one' which has a toggle. 'In the mediaeval trading place Borgund in Sunnmøre bones of bluefin tuna [*makrellstørje*] have been found which show that a similar tuna [*størje*-] fishery to that which Hans Strøm mentions in the 18th century must also have been conducted in the Middle Ages.'²

Andersen et al (1992 ms) write that in the West Norwegian voe whaling and seining of smaller cetaceans "Only the harpoons were made specially for whaling, but the same type of harpoons were also used in catching tuna (*tunfisk* or *størje*) and, from late 18th century, basking shark (*burgde*)."³ In my opinion this (unreferenced) passage contains several problematic statements, viz, that the toggle grommet harpoons used in these takes were 'made specially for whaling', only later to be adopted in tuna and shark fishing, furthermore the implication that they were produced locally. The historical sources first refer to the grommet toggle harpoon being used in this respect in whaling by Christie (1785/86) while it occurs in tuna and basking shark fishing earlier (Strøm 1762) and later, respectively. Various 18th-19th century grommet harpoons were evidently of foreign origin while others may have been locally made (not unlikely to the foreign design). This hardly give reasons to assume the existence of a modern technical toggle grommet whaling harpoon tradition in (western) Norway.

Furthermore, this student is of the opinion that H.D. Bratrein (1989-1990) confuses at least two, if not even three, different piercing weapons:

- (a) *skottal/skuttel* of the Karlsøy sort (cf Bratrein 2, 1990: 191, including photograph IL/EI 1970);
- (b) *brugdeskuttel*, with line (*brugdeline*), recorded in

1 Cf HMUiB, Photo catalogue no 2126; negative no D.701^X; n y; ms.

2 Apart from my reservation as to the species involved (cf above), I find it improper to draw conclusions from simple finds of osteological material of (aquatic) animals to the method of taking when the bone material cannot be related to any means or method of taking identified *in situ*.

3 Cf Andersen et al 1992 ms: 24.

1796 in *skipperleiet* Vannstua, similarly in 1799 in Fagerfjord, and in 1797 (line only), at Storvoll (Reinsvoll) (cf Bratrein 2, 1990: 175, 191f);

(c) '*Skottal* or *skuttel*, a kind of harpoon, ... mentioned in the 18th century', for taking halibut (*kveiteskottal*) (cf Bratrein 2, 1990: 190f).

My tentative observations are the following:

Re (a): It actually constitutes the ancient Norse detachable whaling spear. Several of Bratrein's references to, and descriptions of whaling by *skottal/skuttel* and *skutle* (cf, eg, Bratrein 1, 1989: 119, 471f; 2, 1990: 175) confirm that we are dealing with spear whaling, others do not contradict this view. The enumeration from Kvitnes (1771; cf Bratrein 2, 1990: 175) is quite revealing: no 'whaling line' is mentioned in connection with the 4 whaling shots, only a (separate, old) shark line which must have been used with a shark harpoon (*brugdeskuttel*). This reinforces the view about the whaling spear.

Re (b): The *brugdeskuttel* is most likely similar to the grommet harpoon illustrated by Henrik Christie (ca 1780-1800) (cf Alver 1986: 108 [ill, fig 6]: "En Brygde Skuttel") rather than the different kind of grommet harpoon which Strøm (1762) illustrates and explains was used in sturgeon fishery (cf Strøm 1, 1762: 455 and table iii [fig 14]).

Re (c): I have no proper evidence, except perhaps Nesheim 1949: 82 (incl fig 3e), to verify the character of the *kveiteskottal*, ie, whether it is of the spear or the (toggle grommet) harpoon kind; Bratrein writes: '*Skottal* or *skuttel* ... is mentioned in the 18th century. It was in particular used for catching halibut', but adds: 'Surprisingly enough the *kveiteskottal* is only mentioned in the division of two estates, in Nord-Grunnfjord, 1785, and Rødgam, 1803'. (Cf Bratrein 2, 1990: 190f). This points to the *kveiteskottal* perhaps not being so common as Bratrein otherwise assumes and, most importantly, that it is a (late) 18th century phenomenon. It could possibly indicate a third application of the grommet harpoon.

Olavius (1780: 171) refers to a harpoon which is being used 'everywhere in Strandasýsla' in northwest Iceland, as 'much safer' than gaffs in securing Greenland sharks. This seems to hint at a toggle or grommet harpoon. In the following time such harpoons could have been adopted in other places.¹

The historical evidence about grommet harpoons in Norway only reaches back to the 1750s and in Iceland to the 1770s. On the whole the so-called grommet, temple, humpback and swivel-barbed harpoons appear to be very late 18th and 19th centuries American (New England) developments (cf Lytle 1984: 28-43 (incl ill), presumably with some early to mid 18th century predecessor of the grommet type.

1 Cf LFI 4, 1854: 571.

It seems compelling to establish typologies and chronologies of northwest European seal, porpoise/dolphin, walrus¹ and whaling harpoons held at the various museums in the region (similar to Lytle's work, 1984) in order to establish a frame of reference and, thus, to facilitate the attribution of individual weapons to particular activities.

1 Kristjánsson (5, 1986: 52, ill 14) hardly shows a whaling harpoon but rather a walrus harpoon (cf A.W. 1901: 78 [incl ill]).

A.16.15 Concepts of *djúp* ('the deep'), *marreinsbakki* (subtidal slope) and *garðr* ('garth') in old Norse legal sources

The concept of the *djúp* ('deep') plays a central role in the discourse about the character of the old Norse taking of larger free-swimming cetaceans (cf chapter 10.4.1). The *djúp* must be considered in relation to the *marreinsbakki* (*marbakki*) (subtidal slope). The character and arrangement of the old Norse inshore and littoral régimes (cf chapters 4.4 and 4.12) also require an examination of the *marreinsbakki* (*marbakki*) (subtidal slope) and *garðr* ('garth') concepts. This makes it feasible to consider these concepts together.

GTL 149f reads 'If a man hunts a whale and it is wounded on the deep [a *diupi*]'; MLL vii 64g contains a similar provision and GTL 149c stipulates that whales of non-proprietors must be cut up 'on the deep' and not carried up on the green sod. Storm and Hertzberg explain *djúp* (*á djúpi*) as 'deep; in particular concerning the deep of the sea' ("dyb; især om sødybet");¹ taken in isolation this is, I think, an inadequate interpretation and likely to cause misunderstandings.

In my opinion the *djúp* ('deep') is a legal category which designates the waters (of sailing depth) outside the *mareinsbacka* (*marbakki*), being common, in contradistinction to the allodial zone of the shore estate 'above the subtidal slope [*ofan mareins backa*]' (cf MLL vii 65e).²

A man has left a farm when 'he walks outside the garth, or move out over the *marreinsbakki*' (GTL 37), or when 'he rows outside the *marreinsbakki* or walks outside the garth' (GTL 268).³ The *garðr* (garth) which surrounds the infield and constitutes the boundary of the (shore) farm proper on land plays a prominent legal-symbolic role which is, *inter alia*, found in the proverbial expression "*garðr er granna sættir*" ('a garth is neighbours' peace') (GTL 82; MLL vii 29; JS 99; JB vii 30);⁴ on the water side the boundary lies by the *marreinsbakki* (*marbakki*)⁵ whereby the *garðr* and the *marreinsbakki* are of equal legal status. Consequently, the littoral above the *marbakki* directly off the farm has the same status as the infield.

1 Cf Storm and Hertzberg/NGL 5, 1895: 133.

2 Cf NGL 1, 1846: 59; NGL 2, 1848: 147, 149. *Marreinsbakki* (etc) is defined as "*molbakke, braastyrtning udenfor stranden mod sødybet*" (cf Storm and Hertzberg/NGL 5, 1895: 437).

3 Cf NGL 1, 1846: 23, 89.

4 Cf Storm and Hertzberg/NGL 5, 1895: 228f.

5 Cf Storm and Hertzberg/NGL 5, 1895: 437: "... *m[arreinsbakki]* dannede ... *gaardens grændse mod søsiden*".

Unless the *djúp* in this context of property rights and claims does not extend to the *marreinsbakki* (*marbakki*), it creates a 'legal vacuum' in the inshore waters between the littoral zone belonging to the shore estate and the (then undefined) 'deep'. This would, in my opinion, defy the rationale of the whole issue of legislation which is to offer clear delineations and eliminate areas of dispute.

One might mention further examples concerning the 'deep':

GTL 149c provides that a man may cut a whale up 'on the deep' (*a diupi*) but shall 'not carry (it) up on the green sod' (*up a græna torvo*) of another man but 'if he carries it up then the one who owns the ground owns half of the whale except he [*ie*, the former] redeems it with the fine for trespass if he finds the whale (to be) better.'¹ This provision seems only relevant where flensing takes place near shore, but outside the *marreinsbakki*, apparently because the boat(s) or ship(s) cannot carry all products off directly and they have to be brought the shortest way ashore.

Under 20 August 1619, the Faeroes court book registers a judgement by the lawman that no land share was due from a rotten whale salvaged off Nólsoy 'because the whale did not touch the ground but came drifting on the deep with the current' ("*efterdi hvalen nam ikke landet, men kom rekendis paa dybet med strømmen*").² L. Debes, in 1673, refers to pilot whales sinking in Faeroes whaling bays as having sunk 'on the deep' ("*hvilcke der ere nedsunkne paa Dybet*").³ Moreover, J.C. Svabo, in 1781/82, speaks of killing pilot whales 'on the deep' when this takes place at the head of a bay where they cannot be beached ("*skjønt inderst paa Bugten ... man maa dræbe hver Hval paa Dybet*").⁴ H.E. Høst (1875: 324f, 327) mentions that enclosed pilot whale pods may either be driven ashore, killed 'on the deep in the whaling bay' or released to the open sea.

In these cases 'on the deep' is clearly near to shore and it seems to mean 'beyond a man's depth' or something similar; in other words 'on the deep' would be waters deeper than ca 2 m.

If the 'deep' (*á djúpi*) would actually be the 'open sea' and, thus, be comparatively far off shore, it seems unnecessary to account for whale products being brought ashore on foreign private property, especially the grass above high water level. The master of a ship sailing somewhat offshore would certainly have cut as much off a drifting whale carcass as his vessel could carry; in my opinion he is quite likely to continue the voyage with these products. If he were to attempt to sail back and

1 Cf NGL 1, 1846: 59.

2 Cf Bjørk 3, 1963: 170.

3 Cf Debes 1963: 159.

4 Cf Svabo 1976: 251.

forth between shore and the carcass (provided he could find it again) in order to recover more products he seems, with the distance involved, to have plenty of opportunity to land them either at home or at a suitable place in the commons, rather than bringing them onto the ground of a foreign farm. The *djúp* (*á djúpi*) should therefore not be associated with the 'open sea' as this term is commonly understood.

GTL 150a also operates with an outer ('whaling') zone beyond the *marreinsbakki*, called *í landvón* ('in hope of land'), the outer limit of which I tend to identify with *landsýn* ('in sight of land'; GTL 312). GTL 150a deals with drifting carcasses which cannot be salvaged, apparently because of their distance from shore, but stipulates rules to secure that they continue to drift for the benefit of others, and perhaps come inshore. *Landvón* is therefore hardly 'close to shore' ("nærhed af land"), in general, as Storm and Hertzberg (/NGL 5, 1895: 383) write, but is rather 'land kenning'.

A.16.16 Faeroese driving and gaffing of northern bottlenose whales

- (A) Faeroese driving and gaffing of northern bottlenose whales (proper evidence)
- (B) Accounts of the Suðuroy bottlenose whaling containing misconceptions (in logical order)

(A) Faeroese driving and gaffing of northern bottlenose whales (proper evidence)

The oldest record about the taking of the northern bottlenose whale in the Faeroes Islands is found in the country's accounts of crown incomes, 1584 AD:

'First has Mr Ismael, living in Suðuroy at Hvalba rowed out on [48/49] the fiord off Hvalba and there found 3 small whale fishes which are called *deulinge* and [which] were alive, being approximately 6, 7 and 8 ells [*alne*] long, and he got a hawser fastened on [*fast paa*]¹ one and rowed with it ashore and the other two followed and ran alongside the other onto the ground, and the mentioned sort of whale fish is unsuitable to be eaten. Royal Majesty's share of the mentioned whale fish blubber the dean named Simen Jenssen [*ie*, Simon Jenssøn?] has taken charge of, of which gave train oil 1 barrel.'²

H.E. Høst (1875) and H.C. Müller (1884) offer the best and most comprehensive descriptions of the Faeroese bottlenose driving and gaffing which may be summarised as follows:

'The way of catching, which for the bottlenose whale is not regulated by statute,³ is ... very simple and partly still takes place in the same way as it has been for centuries. There is neither used whaling lance [*ie*, *hvalvákn*] nor harpoon but only (the) gaff [*ie*, *sóknarongul*] with attached line, (the) knife and stones. Neither are many boats used as is with the pilot whale catch, although there should possibly be 3 boats for each whale, but if they cannot be present one for each whale will sometimes have to suffice.'⁴

When the bottlenose whales are discovered boats row out to drive them ashore. In the same manner as with pilot whales the boats position themselves in a semicircle behind the whales; small stones are thrown into the water if the whales do not swim towards land by their own accord. It is necessary to proceed with extreme caution and the greatest

1 This indicates gaffing.

2 Cf Müller 1884a: 48f; see also Matras 1960: 178.

3 *Ie*, in contrast to the pilot whaling.

4 Cf Høst 1875: 349.

possible silence because the bottlenose reacts to the slightest noise and then turn towards the sea whereby it is lost.¹ In Hvalba they took the precaution of slipping woollen mittens over the rowlocks so they would make no noise. The dogs of the settlement were taken indoor to prevent their barking from scaring the whales off.²

When the whale arrives in shallow waters it rises to, and stays at, the surface. If its head points towards the shore and the whale is considered close enough to it a boat rows up to it, pulls in the oars on one board and positions itself at the side of the whale touching it. Then the gaff (*sóknarongul*), being a strong iron hook attached to a suitable line, is hewn into the thick part of the head which consists of a fat cushion (in males) and an oil cavity (in females) at the frontal bone on the outside of the cranium.

'However, one should not at all believe that the whale accommodates itself to the boat, on the contrary, it attempts to escape, something which nonetheless seldom happens and not at all is known to have happened when the gaff [*sóknarongul*] has been made fast at the convenient moment ... after one has gone alongside with the boat. Then one or more gaffs are hewn into the thick blubber on the head and to prevent them from pulling out they are driven deeper in by means of a stone placed on the front thwart for that purpose.'³

Either because of the pain, or perhaps because the crew as far as possible holds its head at the surface, the whale swims towards the shore. The crew then rows on the board away from the whale until it is grounded or the gaff lines can reach to shore. The line is either rowed ashore, fetched by a man wading out to the boat or, if nobody is on the shore, brought ashore by a crew member. After that the bottlenose is pulled, and partly works itself, so far onto the foreshore that a man may wade to it, cut into its neck and sever the spinal cord with a pilot whale knife [*grindaknívur*] just as in the pilot whaling.⁴ During the manoeuvring towards the shore it is necessary to be very careful not otherwise to wound the bottlenose in the flesh (by a spear, etc) and generally to stay clear of the tail because it strikes terribly with it, at least after being grounded.⁵

1 Cf Høst 1875: 349; Müller 1884a: 52, see also 53.

2 Cf Müller 1884a: 52.

3 Cf Høst 1875: 350.

4 Cf Høst 1875: 350f; Müller 1884a: 52, 66.

5 Cf Høst 1875: 350f; Müller 1884a: 53. Harpooned bottlenose whales exert great strength and tenaciousness of life, as D. Gray reported from his commercial operations in the late 19th century (cf Müller 1884a: 66); similarly, they have displaced very large pieces of rock

Chief clerk (sorenskriver) Høst (1875: 351) writes:

'When the bottlenose whale has been killed it is appraised in the same way as the pilot whale according to the distance from the eye to the genital slit [gatboret], ie, a whale that between these points measures 10 [Danish] feet [fod] is appraised to one *gyllin*.

The division is not entirely the same everywhere in the Islands as the finder's whale [*findingshval*] is calculated differently; in Suðuroy it takes place according to the following rules: Firstly, the tithe and damage compensation are deduced, then $\frac{1}{4}$ *skinn* is given as the finder's share, and that regardless of whether one or more whales have been killed, to which the finder receives the beak and the dorsal fin of every whale; then 1 % is deduced for division and appraisal; the remainder is divided into two equal parts between the estate where the catch has taken place and the drivers, or rather the inhabitants of the settlement concerned, according to the provision in NL 5-12-6 and 11, 2nd passage, so as local custom has modified it.¹

(B) Accounts of the Suðuroy bottlenose whaling containing misconceptions (in logical order)

J. Landt (1800) offers the following account:

'Apart from these small [ie, pilot] whales the large whale called *døglingur* [ie, the northern bottlenose whale] is sometimes also caught, however, it is mostly in Suðuroy that this catching occurs and notably in Hvalbiarfjørður. This whale is easy to catch: The inhabitants row close to it, and with an oar they scratch it on the back whereby it lies absolutely calm, they then put their woollen mittens into the blowhole which prevents the whale from submerging if it should get that idea, thereafter they prick a hole in the blubber by which a line is made fast and at this line the bottlenose whale is towed ashore; people assert that it does not hurt but rather tickles the bottlenose whale that it is pricked in the blubber which may also well be the case as it willingly subjects itself to it; when it has come close to land and the line has been made fast ashore others row out in their boats and stick it until it bleeds out but this last work is associated with greater danger because it then beats

when beached (cf Müller 1884a: 51).

1 The information from Suðuroy was provided by Effersø, the longstanding *syssemand* there.

terribly with its tail.'¹

E.H. Grieg (cf Anon 1856: 75) repeats much of this story under the scientific name of *Balæna rostrata* (Müller 1776; = northern bottlenose whale).

L. Debes, in 1673, writes with regard to the taking of bottlenose whales:

'They are caught in a strange manner. Because when the people see them outside the fiord, they row out to them with lines in the boat; if the sea is bad so they cannot come (close) to them, they chase them in, as is normally done with the pilot whale schools: But if the sea is quiet, they row close to the whale which remains laying quietly by the boat, perhaps it thinks it is its mate, in the meantime they make a hole in the thick blubber, usually in the eyelid, by which they make the line fast; the stab does not hurt it but only tickles it for which reason it easily stands it. When they in this way have made the line fast, they row to the sand with it, whereto it easily have itself pulled, the others [ie, whales] follow, until they get them all onto the sand: Then they in the same manner make lines fast into the other whales, but the other ends of the lines they make fast on the land around big stones; then they go out to them in [163/164] boats and stick them with their whale spears, until the blood has run from them, to the death, when the people must give way and beware, because they then strike terribly.'²

E. Pontoppidan (2, 1977: 200f), in 1753, briefly refers to Debes's account and states that the kind of whales which Debes calls *døgling* 'is most easily caught as it lies quietly when one slips a line through its eyelids (which this whale fish kind has [200/201] beyond other fishes) and thereby it is pulled ashore.'

T. Tarnovius, in 1669, states that the bottlenose whaling only takes place at Hvalba where usually a few whales arrive annually:

'... and no-one knows before they have come inshore and because the water is not very deep they, caused by their thickness, cannot come closer to the sand than a stone's throw, then the inhabitants wade out and cut holes over the eyes on this whale when they lie alive and slip lines through these [ie, holes] and so pull them to the shore and later stick

1 Cf Landt 1800: 400; see also 1965: 228. Landt's work was published in English as *A description of the Feroe Islands* in 1810 but it has not been used in this study.

2 Cf Debes 1963: 163f.

them.'¹

P. Hansen Resen, ca 1688, essentially repeats Debes's story in the Latin text about the Faeroe Islands in Atlas Danicus.² It contains the following central passage:

"Ubi insulani animadvertunt bestiam, adremigantes si tranquillum et mare, vulnere et formine facto in lardo libenter hoc patiente ceto, tanquam eâ re titillarentur, alligant belluam: et ad brevia navigant, sequente haud ægre ceto."³

In the Danish translation,⁴ made 1746 or later, the passage reads:

"Naar Indvaanerne formærke et af disse Beester i Søen, roe de ud til det, dersom det er stille paa Søen, og kaste derpaa en Harpuun i Spekket paa Fisken og saarer den, hvilket Fisken gierne kand lide, og ligesom kildres derved og derpaa binde de den med Tovet fast til deres Baad og seyle ind iblandt Skiærene; da Fisken godvillig følger dem."⁵

H.B. Melchior writes in 1834: After the bottlenose whale has been approached in silence and scratched on the back, 'in a hurry a hole is then cut in the lid which is intended to close the breathing hole and a line made fast in it by which the bottlenose whale is with care tōwed to shore. Because the lid through which the hole is made only consists of skin and blubber without nerves or veins the animal feels no pain there but perhaps rather a tickle and (it) therefore exerts no resistance.'⁶

He remarks that it is 'but a fable' that the Suðuroy bottlenose whalers thrust their woollen mittens into the blowhole of the whales to prevent them from diving.⁷

1 Cf Tarnovius 1950: 61.

2 Cf Resen 1972: 68, 70 (Latin).

3 Resen 1972: 70.

4 Cf Resen 1972: 69, 71.

5 Resen 1972: 71.

6 Cf Melchior 1834: 297.

7 Cf Melchior 1834: 297.

A.16.17 West European whaling weapons in 16th century printed graphics, as described by K. Barthelmeß and J. Münzing in *Monstum horrendum* (1991): Presentation and discussion

K. Barthelmeß and J. Münzing (1991) offer a highly valuable documentation of European 16th century illustrations of cetaceans, mainly in leaflets and books. The illustrations form an important window to the (non-Basque) mediaeval West European whaling methods.

Evidence: The illustrations which show whaling gear fall into four categories, viz:

(a) Roman spectacle with the killing of an orca: Item 3 (from between 1578 and the 18th century): spears and handheld spear-sized arrows with stabilising vanes; item 23 (1602): spears and nets (the legend mentions 'multiple nets'); item 24 (1620): handheld arrow with stabilising vanes.¹

(b) Whaling scene with naked hunters: Item 11 (1582): handheld spear-sized arrows with stabilising vanes; the legend reads: "Corpora dum gaudent immania tollere Cetæ. Sic varijs telis, varjis feruntur aristis." ("Während die Wale sich daran erfreuen, ihre gewaltigen Körper über das Wasser zu erheben, werden sie von vielerlei kleinen Wurfgeschossen getötet.");² item 12 (1592-1592): handheld spear-sized arrows with stabilising vanes; item 33 (ca 1593): handheld spear-sized arrows with stabilising vanes; item 36 (age not mentioned): hand-held arrows with stabilising vanes;³

(c) Marine creature: Item 34 (1610): spears.⁴

(d) Whaling scenes, with whaling lines: Item 35: Barthelmeß and Münzing have noted that this item is much more akin to the illustrations of the post-1611 Spitsbergen bay whaling and have doubts about its authenticity.⁵

Item 38: *Wie die Wilde Barbarische Leute in der Insel S. Maria die Wallfische fangen*, book illustration in Johann Theodor and Johann Israel de Bry (eds), *Vierder Theil der Orientalischen Indien ...* (being the travel description of van Linschoten), Frankfurt am Main, 1600: The legend reads:

"Die Indianer vnnd Eynwohner der Insel S. Maria fangen ihre Wallfische auff folgende weiß / Wann sie einen Wallfisch merken / so fahren sie mit ihren

1 Cf Barthelmeß and Münzing 2, 1991: 67 [ill]; 3, 1991: 126, 127 [ill]; 129 [ill]).

2 Cf Barthelmeß and Münzing 2, 1991: 88, 89 [ill]).

3 Cf Barthelmeß and Münzing 2, 1991: 91 [ill]; 3, 1991: 151 [ill], 157 [ill].

4 Cf Barthelmeß and Münzing 3, 1991: 153 [ill].

5 Cf Barthelmeß and Münzing 1, 1991: 31f; 3, 1991: 154f.

Nachen nahe hinzu / vnd wann sie auff ein Steinwurff nahe / zu jhm kommen / so werfen sie jhm einen Angel oder Hacken in den Leib / den sie an einem langen Seyl von Basten gemacht / geknüpffet oder begunden haben / das Ende aber dieses Seyls behalten sie im Hachen / vnd ziehen den Fish so lange / biß sie ihn gar müde machen / dann das Loch durch vielfaltiges Zappeln im Wasser ziemlich groß gemacht wird / also daß er sich etlicher massen verblutet / vnd krafftloß wird / wann das geschehen / so ziehen sie jhn mit Gewalt auff das Vntieffe / vnd zerhauwen jhn / vnd nimpt alßdann ein jeglicher daruon / so viel jhm gefellet."¹

Illustration 38 shows a whaler in a boat holding a comparatively short line with a quite small hook fastened to it and another one holding a boat hook-like instrument. The whale is being pulled by another crew at whose line a small hook is possible discernable at the surface of the whale; however, at the whale on the shore the line goes straight through the surface of the whale.²

The authors find that we have to do with whaling by the natives of Île Ste. Marie, off Madagascar, 'who still in the 19th century used to harpoon whales from their small rowing boats. ---. The whales caught seem to be young animals, probably of the sperm whale.'³

Item 39 (ca 1730) repeats, *inter alia*, the theme of the whale being pulled by a line similar to that in item 38; the fastening to the whale is not obvious although there could be an indication of a hook where it also is in item 38.⁴

Discussion: The illustrations of the themes a-c display spears proper and enlarged arrows with stabilising vanes with no sign of the whaling harpoon (including the line). Two illustrations show whaling lines (theme d): If item 35 is not unauthentic althogether (as Barthelmeß and Münzing consider possible) I would suggest, without knowing the particulars, that it shows Basque Grand Bay whaling in the 16th century;⁵ anyway, I agree with the authors that it cannot be placed in the usual West European early modern tradition. This leaves us with item 38: Although the illustrated whaling weapon as such could suggest the method to be gaffing the narrative in the travel description leaves no doubt about the method being harpooning. The hooks illustrated are unsuitable both as gaffs and harpoons; perhaps it may be taken as an indication of the

1 Quoted by Barthelmeß and Münzing 3, 1991: 160.

2 Cf Barthelmeß and Münzing 3, 1991: 161 [ill]).

3 Cf Barthelmeß and Münzing 3, 1991: 160; see also 1, 1991: 34.

4 Cf Barthelmeß and Münzing 3, 1991: 163 [ill]).

5 This possibility is not discussed by the authors.

illustrator, and possibly also the author, being unfamiliar with the design of the harpoon proper? This also speaks against author or illustrator having been influenced by the Basque whaling technique. My conclusion is therefore that item 38 shows the indigenous whaling in Île Ste. Marie, prior to 1600, seen with the eyes of a European unfamiliar with harpoon whaling. It can hardly be disputed that item 38 has been properly explained and placed in the Indian Ocean context.

This student has strong reservations as to Barthelmeß's and Münzing's interpretation of other items (than nos 35 and 38) when they write:

'... the fact that the whale is attacked with feathered arrow-shaped darts ["gefiederten, pfeilförmigen Wurfgeschossen"] ... derives from ... the effort by the artist to explain to the readers the catching-technical principle of the harpoon ["fangtechnische Prinzip der Harpune"] which at that time was still generally unknown in Flanders: After all, already mediaeval text sources speak of "arrow-pointed spears" with which whales were attacked. The characteristic feature of arrow-pointedness was by the artist translated figuratively into a full arrow as his readers were familiar with it from archery.'¹

Barthelmeß and Münzing add that 'Albertus Magnus (before 1200-1280) in his work *de animalibus*, book 24, uses the expression *sicut [...] sagitta barbata* [ie, "as well as ... a bearded arrow"] in order to describe the harpoon point ... In this he is followed by Rondelet and the compilers of other fish books in the 16th century. Also Martens, p 110, describes 1675 the crucial, catching-technological feature of the harpoon in comparison with an arrow.'²

Firstly, Martens indeed compares the harpoon head to that of the arrow but he immediately continues with describing the main warp and foreganger.³ We are here within the Basque tow whaling tradition and in a methodological situation very similar to that concerning the Norse whaling history. This student doubts the validity of retrogressive inference from the late mediaeval and early modern Basque whaling to (high) mediaeval West European whaling in general.

Secondly, if Albertus Magnus indeed only refers to 'a bearded arrow', and there is no indication of a whaling line in his account and that of other mediaeval scholars,

1 Cf Barthelmeß and Münzing 1, 1991: 30f.

2 Cf Barthelmeß and Münzing 1, 1991: 30.

3 Taken in isolation this student disagrees with the 'arrow-shaped' head being "das entscheidende, fangtechnologische Merkmal der Harpune" (cf Barthelmeß and Münzing 1, 1991: 30), even if it is considered to be barbed (which is not at all a necessary attribute of arrow and spear heads); as already elaborated on (cf Lindquist 1993: 19, 34, 53 [note 220]) I consider the whaling line to be the crucial feature from this point of view.

a re-interpretation of these sources and the spear/arrow illustrations presented by Barthelmeß and Münzing seems inevitable.

This writer tentatively concludes that, apart from the distinct Basque hand harpoon tow whaling tradition, we in the European context have to do with evidence about spear and crossbow whaling which should not be pulled and twisted in order to make it fit the notion of harpoon (tow) whaling.¹

1 The authors acknowledge that item 12 is directly adopted from item 11. The fact that the former is used to illustrate Basque whaling at New France on a map (cf Barthelmeß and Münzing 2, 1991: 88-91) does not, in my opinion, justify the conclusion that 'Consequently it [ie, item 12] illustrates unequivocally the whaling operations which at least after 1543 were conducted from the coast of Newfoundland and Labrador, respectively, by the Basques.' (Cf Barthelmeß and Münzing 1, 1991: 31). The map illustration is in my opinion purely decorative, taken from a source known to the artist, with only a nominal relationship to Basque whaling by way of the legend and hardly of source value concerning Basque whaling in North America.

A.16.18 Descriptions of the disease-causing whaling at Skogsvåg, Sotra, West Norway

Chief physician G. Armauer Hansen in 1887 writes:

'... one will note that there always around one of the arrows that have hit the whale will be a part of the flesh which is like rotten, [ie,] where the wound had burned [ie, caught gangrene]. This the inhabitants know well and an arrow which has had this effect is called a "death arrow" because people are of the opinion that it has caused the death of the animal and the fishermen dip the other arrows into the burned flesh in order to poison them and give them similar killing properties, [ie,] making them death arrows.'¹

'... the death or the weakening is caused by a blood poisoning that has its cause in the bacterium in the blood and which is inflicted upon the whale by the arrows being infected, through dipping into the burned flesh. It thus looks as if the peasants here in this area preserve a kind of bacterium on their arrows from one whale catch to the next in order to kill the caught animals by it; indeed a highly peculiar way [3/4] to kill one's prey, even more peculiar because it is so old and because the equipment, arrows and bows, which are still used for the whaling are very primitive and seem to have great similarity with those which our earliest ancestors used.'²

City veterinarian of Bergen, I. Nielsen, prior to 1889, on a few occasions visited Kvalvåg/Skogsvåg (together with chief physician Armauer Hansen). His account is as follows:

As soon as the whale has been enclosed the shooters take to the boats and shoot 'poisoned arrows' ("forgiftede Pile") into it. 'When a sufficient number of such arrows, which only passes through the blubber and a little [281/282] into the flesh, have hit the whale, the shooting is halted and the course of events is watched. One will see that the whale after a period of 24-36 hours begins to become less lively in its movements and surfaces more often in order to breathe.'³ 'Now the harpooning begins and with 10 or 12 harpoons in the body the animal is pulled ashore.'⁴

Over an area of more than an ell (ie, 2 feet = ca 63 cm; Nielsen 1890: 268: 'several feet') around the arrow

1 Cf Hansen 1887: 2.

2 Cf Hansen 1887: 3f.

3 Cf Nielsen 1889-1890: 281f; 1890: 270; see also Hansen 1887: 2f.

4 Cf Nielsen 1890: 268; see also 1889-1890: 282.

'considerable haemorrhagic infiltrations' ("betydelige hæmorrhagiske Infiltrationer") are found which are nearly identical with the 'pathological-anatomical changes by anthrax emphysema, and the air generation may be so substantial that it during the cutting out of the diseased part may look as if its surface is in a boiling movement.'¹

No morbidity is found in the inner organs. 'In the poisoned wound, on the other hand, one finds huge amounts of a bacillus which perhaps is somewhat larger but otherwise in shape and way of forming its spore is not dissimilar to the anthrax emphysema bacillus. Numerous of these bacilli stick to the arrow when it is pulled out of the wound and give the ability by later use to produce the same pathological processes. The arrow is what at the place is called a "death arrow"'.²

'The repeated manifestation of the pathological changes in the surroundings of the death arrow and the finding of the same bacillus in great numbers in the pathologically changed parts make it indisputable that a bacillus is engrafted by the death arrow which at the place develops a ptomaine in the wound which, through being absorbed in the system, develops the ptomaine poisoning which makes the whale sick.'³

Nielsen remarks that this is the general picture but details remain to be determined. He notes that he has not cultivated the bacillus anaerobically.⁴

'The least interesting explanation is that it here, as otherwise so often, is the accident which has played the most important role. One of the arrows has accidentally been infected with disease carrier and has produced the "wound" mentioned in the whale. This arrow has then continued to be a "death arrow" as it is pulled out of the wound dirtied with the spore-containing exudation which, dried up on it, can maintain its infectious efficacy until the next time it will be used. When another arrow then has hit the whale at a spot which lies so near to the site of the death arrow that it protrudes into the pathological changed parts this one in the same way also becomes [284/285] a death arrow. In this way people have regularly been supplied with infected arrows.'⁵

Extracts from M. Christiansen's (1919) article Hval-septikæmibacillen og dens forhold til ødembacilgruppen ('Whale septicaemia bacillus and its relationship to the group of oedematous bacilli'):

1 Cf Nielsen 1889-1890: 282; see also 1890: 268.

2 Cf Nielsen 1889-1890: 282; see also 1890: 268.

3 Cf Nielsen 1889-1890: 283; see also 1890: 269.

4 Cf Nielsen 1889-1890: 283; see also 1890: 269.

5 Cf Nielsen 1889-1890: 284f; see also 1890: 270.

By way of introduction Christiansen writes:

'As I ... for other reasons came to deal more closely with those bacteria that belong to the group of oedematous bacilli, it was a matter of course, especially as material which contained the whale bacillus was then at my disposal, that I tried to cultivate purely and closer examined this bacterium. There was the more reason to do this experiment as there only exists very little of this material and the possibility of obtaining new (material) must be considered to be [994/995] out of the question, both now and in the future. Furthermore, so many interesting circumstances are associated with the bacterium and the peculiar use which has been made of it that a more specific knowledge of its properties and place in relation to the other oedematous bacilli for this reason also would be most desirable.'¹

The English language summary of Christiansen's (1919) article reads, *inter alia*:

"In a certain place on the west coast of Norway - close to Bergen - from as far back as the middle ages the fishermen have practised a peculiar method of catching whales. The method consisted in inducing in the hunted whale (*Balaenoptera rostrata*), by means of special arrows (the so-called 'death arrows'), a blackquarter-like [or blacklegs-like] infectious disease that quickly exhausted the animal which could then easily be harpooned and killed.

By several Norwegian investigations (Klaus Hanssen, Armauer Hansen, Ivar Nielsen) it was demonstrated at the close of the eighties [ie, 1880s] that the cause of the infection was a bacterium morphologically very similar to the bacillus of blackquarter, and Ivar Nielsen regards it as very closely related to or perhaps even identical with this bacterium. The whale bacillus, however, has not hitherto been isolated so that its place in relation to the other forms belonging to the group of oedematous bacilli has not been determined.

This peculiar manner of catching the whale has long since been discontinued, partly because more modern methods have now come into use, and partly because the whales now only very seldom enter the fiord where the catching was practised. It has therefore been impossible to obtain fresh material from infected whales. Muscular tissue of an infected whale has, however, been kept in the Veterinary Serum Laboratory of Copenhagen for many years; it was long ago given [1034/1035] to Professor C.O. Jensen by Ivar Nielsen who had collected it at the close of the eighties.

From this abt. 30 years old material it has been possible, by means of v. Hible's brain substrate, to cultivate the whale bacillus in pure culture which

1 Cf Christiansen 1919: 994f.

was then subjected to a closer examination and comparison with the forms belonging to the group of oedematous bacilli.

Through these investigations it could be established that the whale bacillus is closely related to the Ghon-Sachs bacillus and the bacteria which group themselves round it (the braxy-bacillus, bacteria isolated from 'malignant oedema' in various animals, and further certain carcase bacilli etc.), yet in some particulars there are characteristic divergences.

1) The whale bacillus is *immotile* and not furnished with flagella. ---.

2) The whale bacillus *liquefies* gelatine considerably slower than the others. ---.

3) The whale bacillus seems in general *more apt to form spores in the infected organism* than the other strains of the Ghon-Sachs group. Even in the living animal lots of spores may be found in the oedematous liquid.

Otherwise there was the greatest similarity between the whale bacillus and the other strains mentioned above in all other morphological and cultural respects (the size and shape of the rods and spores, the situation of the spores and their resistance to thermic influence, granulose formation etc., furthermore in regard to the shape of the colonies and the mode of growth in various substrates, inter alia v. Hibler's brain substrate and Zeissler's dextrose-blood-agar). --- [1035/1036] ---.

Inoculated in small doses subcutaneously or intramuscularly the whale bacillus is highly virulent for guinea-pigs, domesticated, black spotted rats, brown rats, mice, pigeons and sparrows which as a rule died after 8-24 hours with a large sero-hemorrhagic oedema and emphysema at the place of inoculation and the adjacent part. For rabbits the bacterium is also highly pathogenic by intramuscular inoculation, but less pathogenic by subcutaneous inoculation. It is only slightly pathogenic to poultry which only reacts with purely local affections. Finally it has been attempted to infect a porpoise (*Phocaena communis*) with pure culture of the whale bacillus. The animal in question, which was inoculated intramuscularly with 0.4 [c]cm. of a brain substrate culture, was found dead abt. 20 hours after inoculation, and in the muscles at the place of inoculation, in a circumference of twice the palm of a hand, a hemorrhagic inflamed oedema and emphysema were found. In histological preparations of the muscles thus changed strongly pronounced pathological alterations were found, viz. oedematous infiltration and extensive hemorrhage in the perimysia, where swarms of bacteria were also found, and furthermore very extensive necrosis and degeneration (hyaline (waxy)

degeneration) of the muscle fibrillæ.

There can thus be no doubt of the pathogenity of the isolated bacterium for whales.

In the infected experimental animals the bacterium was found in great numbers in the oedematous liquid and as a rule also on peritoneum, in the latter place they formed chains or filaments."¹

J. Brunchorst (1899) explains that in Skogsvåg the 'burned flesh' is cut away as being inedible 'but the piece is not immediately thrown away. It is put aside on the shore or in a boat and "the arrows which have not been in a whale or killed [one] are placed in the rotten flesh for half a day or so in order to become like those that kill", as one of the shooters expressed it in a conversation I [ie, Brunchorst] had with him.'²

The shooter keeps the arrows 'from one year to the next in a special skin sheath. ---. They are neither polished nor honed when they have been used and are most often so rusty that the mark they carry is difficult to detect. If they become all too rusty their tips are honed a little but they are never subjected to any thorough cleaning or honing. At the most they may be rinsed with a little water when they are removed from the most rotten flesh so that not too much sticks to them. Whether there in this way of treatment - the lack of cleaning and, despite this, careful keeping in a sheath - is some conscious element is difficult to tell but the treatment is anyway able to maintain the infectious capacity of the arrows from one year to the next.'³

A. Barsnes (1932) writes that 'Several arrows could cause burn wounds but the arrow that burned unto the spinal marrow [sic] was called death arrow.'⁴ This indicates that one arrow causes a very large wound while other arrows may cause minor wounds.

He was informed by a Skogsvåg shooter that the 'smith had to forge the arrow from soft (English) steel - and then he should harden it [88/89] at the point. Then it killed best but not before it had been kept in burned flesh. A new arrow would not kill, he thought. A harpoon [skutel] can also burn. This summer [ie, 1932] a new harpoon was embedded in a whale and it had burned so new weapons can burn. The arrow should not be polished, only rinsed when it was taken out of the burned flesh and then it was kept in a skin sheath. It should not be ground, only whetted,

1 Christiansen 1919: 1034-1036; cf also Holmboe 1919.

2 Cf Brunchorst 1899: 150.

3 Cf Brunchorst 1899: 153.

4 Cf Barsnes 1932: 86.

if it had become blunt.¹

1 Cf Barsnes 1932: 88f.

A.17 Calendars of diplomas, documents, annals, place names, etc, concerning whaling and sealing

A.17.1 Calendars of unpublished source material: Orkney and Shetland

- (A) Calendar and some tentative transcriptions of unpublished documents concerning cetaceans and their division in Orkney
- (B) Calendar and some tentative transcriptions of unpublished documents concerning cetaceans and their division in Shetland

Calendars, and some tentative transcription, of unpublished documents concerning cetaceans and their division in Orkney and Shetland, held in the following archives: Shetland Archives, Lerwick (SA); Orkney Archives, Kirkwall (OA); Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh (SRO); SRO West Register House (WRH) and the private collection at Gardie House, Bressay, Shetland (GH).

(A) Calendar and some tentative transcriptions of unpublished documents concerning cetaceans and their division in Orkney:

1708, 6 Nov OA D38/2543/13.
Part of letter, dated at Kirkwall, about whales; the writer is a person acting on behalf of the Earl of Morton as proprietor or Admiral.

1712, June OA D14/2/10.
Expenses on account of "the Whale that Cam ashoar in the Lamb Head in Stromsay June 1712".

1712, 29 Dec OA D38/2526A.
Letter from J. Stewart, dated at Newark, to George Traill, Chamberlain of Orkney, concerning payments to 15 named men for their work at a whale for the Earl.

1714, 20 April OA D38/2526A.
Letter, probably written in Kirkwall, to Mr. John Morton Drugist, in Edinburgh (?), to find a person knowing the nature of spermaceti and the whales in which it occurs, etc.

1714, ca April OA D38/2526A.
Instruction for Mr Gibson to inquire about ambergrese and spermaceti apparently sent to Edinburgh, druggists, chemists, books, etc, in that respect.

1715, 21 April OA D38/2526A.
Answers by the procurator fiscal of the Admiralty Court of Orkney to the declinator and protestation given in by John Stuwart of Burgh for himself and others.

- 1715, 26 April OA D38/2526A.
Dated at Kirkwall, Replies to the answers given in by the procurator fiscal of the Admiralty Court of Orkney and his assessor against John Stewart of Burgh and others.
- 1715, 30 April OA D38/2526A.
Statement by John Stewart and others challenging the jurisdiction of the "alleged deput Admirall" and his Commission "from the Late Queen which is now Extinct"; nor should he allege that the King has given a new gift of Admiralty to the Earle.
- 1715, 4 June OA D38/2526A.
Judgement, dated at Kirkwall, by James Earl of Morton, Vice Admirall of Orkney and Zetland against John Stewart of Brugh and James Stewart Younger to pay £3696 Scots less £600 Scots in damages and expenses.
- 1715, 10 June OA D38/2526A.
Judgement, at Kirkwall, by the procurator fiscall of the Admiralty Court of Orkney against John Stewart of Brugh and others concerning approximately 66 whales and other fishes of extraordinary largeness "Commonly called pellocks or Spout Whales" that came ashore in Sanday, January 1715.
- 1716, 28 Sept OA D38/2546/30.
Letter, dated at Scotshall, from John Scott to the Earl of Morton concerning the division of 25 pellocks driven ashore at Herleswick, Unst, Shetland.
- 1723, Dec, to May 1724 OA D38/2526A.
Account of expenses by George Traill, Chamberlain of Orkney, concerning the salvage and flensing of pellocks which came ashore on the ground of Orbister and Elsness in December 1723 and January 1724.
- 1723, Dec, to June 1724 OA D38/2526A.
Account of expenses by George Traill, Chamberlain of the Earldom of Orkney, for making oil of some pellocks that came upon the ground of Orbister and Elsness in December 1723.
- 1724, May-June OA D38/2526A.
Account of 64 barrels of oil consigned by George Traill to James Traill in three ships May-June 1724.
- 1724, 31 Dec OA D38/2526A.
Letter, from the Earl of Morton to George Traill concerning the pellock whales that were driven ashore in Overbister and in Sanday in November or December 1723.
- Ca 1730 OA D38/2023/1.
Orkney and Shetland rentals, according to inventory, ca 1730.

1734, 19 April

OA D38/2549/22.

Letter, dated at Kirkwall, from John Rideloch, apparently to the Earl of Morton:

"My Lord[.] Since my Last of the 11th ffebruary, I have to Inform your Lordship That about six weeks ago Seventeen Whales were Driven a Shoar upon the Lands of Kersten and were publickly roused by the Admiralls order & Caried at £29. Sterld the highest offer which was Divided in three parts one to the proprietar of the ground, one to the Salvors, and one to the Admirall." And from one of "two Dutch Groenlanders" wrecked: "Sixty Coilh of whale roaps which the Captain Reserved to himself, and gott a Disposition from him prto ffor Which Mr Trail told me he payed twenty Guineas in Cash".

1734, 10 Dec

OA D38/2526A.

Letter, dated at Burray, from James Stuart apparently to the Earl of Morton, apologising for having written rather late concerning certain whales.

1737, 25 May

OA D38/2526A.

Decree, dated 25 May 1737 at "Smiddybanks in South Ronaldshay", "George Piteairn writer in Kirkwall Pro[curato]r ffiscal of the Admirall Court of Orkney Against Sir James Stewart of Burray Barronet Defender" stating the stranding "on Shoar of the Ground of the Lands of Hoxa, in South Ronaldshay belonging to Said Sir James Stewart a large Whale fish about Ten fadoms long which Whale fish after being Reduced into Oyle may be worth Seventy five pound Sterling and That by the practice of the Country when any Whale fish Either come a Shoar of themselves or are Driven on shoar by Boats and Men one third part thereof belongs to the proprietor of the ground on which they come on shoar One third to the Salvors and the other third to the Admiral free of any Charge. And True it is That the said Whale fish Came on Shoar in manner above Represented and that the said Sir James Stewart by himself and Tennents has Intromitted with the Spect of the said whale fish, And appropriated the Same to his own use and behoof Therefore that ---" he should pay £25 Sterling to the Admiral together with £5 Sterling "for the use and behoof of the Court after the usual practice in the like Cases".

1737, 26 May

OA D38/2526A.

Letter, dated at Kirkwall, from John Rideloch Lord Aberdour, Edinburgh, concerning a whale, 10 fathom long whale, came ashore at Hoxa, South Ronaldsay, 23 May 1737.

1737, 6 March

OA D38/2526A.

Letter, dated at Kirkwall, from John Rideloch, presumably to Lord Aberdour, concerning 27 pellock whales which were driven ashore at Hobister.

1741, 17 Aug

OA D38/2566A.

Copy letter, dated at Edinburgh, from the Earl of Morton to

Andrew Ross, instructing him to bring the Admiralty accounts concerning pellocks, etc, with him to Edinburgh.

1741, Aug/Sept OA D38/2566A.
Incomplete letter, from Andrew Ross to the Earl of Morton, in reply to Morton's letter of 17 Aug. 1741, about a 36 foot long whale which came upon Sir James's ground in south Ronaldsay.

1742, 4 March OA D38/2566A.
Letter, dated at Kirkwall, from John Rideloch to "Andrew Ross, Esqr. Stewart Depute of Orkney att My Lord Mortons Lodgings London" about a large whale which came ashore on Grænisays ground but was good for nothing.

8 April 1742 OA D38/2566A.
Letter, dated at Edinbrugh, from Andrew Ross, apparently to the Earl of Morton, regarding the Earl's share in whales, owed by tenants of propriety land, salvors and washers, people not being his vassals or tenants.

1742, 22 April OA D38/2566A.
Letter, dated at Edinbrugh, from Andrew Ross to the Earl of Morton, stating that Busta, in Shetland, has the least reason to beg down rents as he has been lucky with whales and other casts.

1742, 8 Dec OA D38/2566A.
Letter, dated at Kirkwall, from Andrew Ross to the Earl of Morton, about Busta's purchase of land, debts to the Earl of Morton, and whales: "In 1740 I am Sure he had a fine Job of it by his whales from which he had as Im told 26 Lasts of Oil which Sold at an extraordinary price".

1742, 14 Dec OA D38/2566A.
Letter, dated at Kirkwall, from Andrew Ross to the Earl of Morton: Since the conclusion of the Earl's agreement with the Gentlemen in Zetland, Windhouse and David Spence have got 39 and Busta 270 pellocks, of which the third part had been received. In the summer of 1741 a large dead whale came ashore in Unst and another at Hillswick on Busta's ground for which no particular account had been given.

1742, 15 Dec OA D38/2566A.
Letter, dated at Kirkwall, from Andrew Ross to the Earl of Morton: Clestron has got 83 small whales onto his ground in Eday; as he will not conceal anything it has been deferred to approach him about it.

1777, 26 July-27 Aug OA D14/5/13.
Expense account by Robert Murray for taking a whale ashore in Auskerry, 26 July 1777.

1777, 29 July-23 Dec OA D14/5/13.
Expense account concerning a whale taken ashore in Auskerry.

1777, 2 Aug OA D14/5/13.
Letter, dated at Kirkwall, from Thomas Balfour to Thomas Sclater with very detailed instructions as to the disposal of a whale in Auskerry, the safe keeping of the blubber, construction of pit lined with clay & stones for boiling the blubber, and punishment of thieves.

1777, 4-8 Aug OA D14/5/13.
List of people employed at the flensing of a whale at Auskerry.

1777, 13 Aug OA D14/5/13.
List of the men employed in cutting the blubber (apparently of the Auskerry whale) into small pieces for trying out in the pit.

[1777, 28 Aug-3 Sept] OA D14/5/13.
Undated list of people employed to cut blubber, found with papers on the Auskerry whale and certainly belong to them.

[1777, 9 Aug-3 Sept] OA D14/5/13.
Undated account of expenses regarding work on the whale in Auskerry, to judge from the cover, perhaps submitted in 1778.

1802, 17 Jan OA D14/5/13.
Protest by, and claim of, Mrs Elizabeth T. Urquhart of Elsness against James Watson, Vice Admiral Depute of Orkney, for having taken exclusive possession of a whale driven ashore on Holm at Auskerry, as a royal fish.

1806, 22 Dec OA D5/8/7.
Letter, dated at Graemeshall, to Admiral Alexander Graeme (in Edinburgh?), from his factor David Petrie who reports how 93 whales had come ashore in Scapa Bay and 30 more in a bay in Stromsay.

1807, 16 Jan OA D5/8/8.
Letter, dated at Edinbrugh, from Admiral Graeme to David Petrie in Kirkwall: "You were perfectly right in claiming the small whales or palacks that came on shore on my grounds in Scapa..."

1814, 17 Sept OA D5/8/14.
Letter, dated at Graemeshall, from David Petrie to Admiral Graeme (at Edinburgh?) reporting that whales have come ashore on Sanday and at Hoxa, South Ronaldsay.

1815, 14-15 Sept OA SC11/62/2/31.
Agreement between the captors regarding 22 whales at Scapa.

1815, mid-Sept OA SC11/62/2/31.
Undated "Claim for James Charles Cumming and Boats crews, Petitioners on the proceeds of the Sale of the Whales drive ashore by the and others in Scapa Bay".

- 1815, 15 Sept OA SC11/62/2/31.
Petition of James Charles Cumming, Peter Peace, William Pederson Saddler and Themen Taulis, Sheriff and Admiralty Officer regarding proceeds from sale of whales which they drove ashore and killed at Scapa, 1815.
- 1815, 16 Sept OA SC11/62/2/31.
"Minute for David Spence of Upper Scapa. - In the Petition of James Charles Cumming residing at Lingro - Peter spence His Servant, William Paterson, Saddler in Kirkwall and Thomas Toulis Sheriff Officer in Orkney" including decree by the Vice Admiral Depute that the auction take place at 16 September 1815, at 4 o'clock.
- 1815, 16 Sept OA SC11/62/2/31.
"Articles and Conditions of Roup of Whales at Scapa sold by Warrant of the Vice Admiral Depute of Orkney upon Sixteenth September Eighteen hundred and fifteen by James Spence Clerk of the Vice Admiralty Court of Orkney".
- 1815, 16 Sept OA SC11/62/2/31.
"State shewing the proceeds of the Whales Sold at Scapa on 16 September 1815 by authority of the Vice Admiralty Court".
- 1815, 15 Sept-31 Oct OA SC11/62/2/31.
"Account of Expense incurred by David Spence, in the Proceedings respecting the Whales driven on Shore at Scapa Bay".
- 1815, 18 Sept OA SC11/62/2/31.
Letter, dated at Kirkwall, from William Firth to James Spence.
- 1815, 18 Sept-31 Oct OA SC11/62/2/31.
Account of expenses incurred by James Charles Cumming and others respecting whales driven ashore at Scapa Bay.
- 1815, 19 Sept OA SC11/62/2/31.
"Claim for David Spence residing at Scapa In The Petition of James Charles Cumming, residing at Lingro, Peter Peace his Servant, William Patterson Saddler in Kirkwall and Thomas Foulis Sheriff Officer there".
- 1815, 27 Oct OA SC11/62/2/31.
Two documents, Process No. 10 & 11: "Diligence David Spence against Witnesses & Havers".
- 1815, 31 Oct OA SC11/62/2/31.
Minutes of proceedings in the Admiralty Court, Kirkwall, regarding "a parcel of Whales being drive ashore at Scapa in the middle of last month", ie, mid September 1815.
- 1815, 7 Dec OA SC11/62/2/31.
"Division of the proceeds of the Whales 26 March 1816 sold at Scapa under authority of the Vice Admiralty Court

of Orkney made up by the Clerk of Court agreeably to the directions of the Vice Admiral Depute".

1821 SA D8/244.
Two copies, one dated, the other undated: "Notes as to case respecting Whales that came ashore of themselves on How. Taking it as between Landlord & Tenant."

1823 SA D8/244.
"Notes as to the whales driven on the shore of Rothiesholm".

1823, 11 Feb SA D8/244.
Letter, dated at Stronsay, from Mr George Sherar to Mr Heddle regarding whales driven ashore on Rothiesholm.

1823, 25 March SA D8/244.
Letter, dated at Kirkwall, from Fothringhame to (his son) W.H. Fothringham, How Street, Edinburgh.

1823, 17 April SA D8/244.
Letter, dated at Edinburgh, from William H. Fotheringhame to his father, Patrick Fotheringhame, Kirkwall.

1823, 3-4 Aug SA D8/244.
Correspondence regarding 50 whales driven ashore on Rothiesholm by 11 boats on 2 August 1823: Letter, dated 3 Aug 1823 at Rothiesholm, from Mr Shearer to Mr Heddle; letter, dated 3 Aug. 1823 at St. Salvator, from Mr Scollay Skethway to Mr Fotheringhame; letter, dated 3 Aug 1823 at Kirkwall, from Mr Fotheringhame to Mr Skethway; letter, dated 4 Aug 1823 at Kirkwall, from Patrick Fotheringhame to William H. Fotheringhame, Edinburgh.

1823, 4-5 Aug SA D8/244.
Correspondence concerning the auction and division of the whales in Rothiesholm: Letter [no place, but apparently Kirkwall, 4 Aug 1823] from Mr Fotheringhame to Mr Scollay Skethway; letter, dated 4 Aug 1823 at Stronsay, from Mr Skethway to Mr Fotheringhame; letter, dated 5 Aug 1823 at Kirkwall, from Patrick Fotheringhame to William H. Fotheringhame, Edinburgh.

1823, 5 Sept-11 Oct SA D8/244.
"Memorial for Robert Heddle Esqr of Melsetter - for the opinion of Council", dated 5 Sept 1823, by W.H. Fotheringhame, 11 Young Street, [Edinburgh]; with Opinion by George Jos [sic] Bell, dated at Edinburgh 11 Oct. 1823, concerning whale drives: (i) Jan 1823: 100 whales driven on shore at Rothiesholm [Stronsay, Orkney]; (ii) 2 Aug 1823: 50 whales "driven ashore and killed in like manner"; Memorialist claiming "some proportion".

1823, 22 Nov OA D14/5/13.
Letter, dated at Kirkwall, from Patrick Fotheringham to John Traill Urquhart of Elsness, Sanday, describing the

legal and practical situation in Orkney with regard to proprietor's share, and requesting information on some divisions.

1824, 10 Dec OA SC11/62/2/1.
"List of Whales Sold by Auction at Scapay 10th December 1824"; contains also the length of the whales.

1824, 10 Dec OA SC11/62/2/1.
Undated, but obviously 10 Dec 1824: "Articles of the Sale" of the whales at Scapa.

1824, 13 Dec-16 June 1825 OA SC11/62/2/1.
Petition by David and James Eunson and David Spence Jun, in Upper Scapa claiming salvors' share of a shoal of whales driven ashore on the ground of Upper Scapa and auctioned off by John Eunson there for £100. Minutes of the Sheriff Court in Kirkwall.

1824, 13 Dec-16 June 1825 OA SC11/62/2/1.
"Petition of David Spence Esquire of Upper Scapa" and Minutes of Sheriff Court. Process document no 1.

Ca Dec 1824 OA SC11/62/2/1.
"Answers for John Eunson, Farmer in Knarston, To The Petition of David Eunson, Farmer in Cannigill, James Eunson there his son and David Spence Junson of David Spence Senr. of Upper Scapa". On the cover: "Admiralty [Court], Answers for John Eunson. 1824. [Process No.] 2".

1824, 23 Dec OA SC11/62/2/1.
"Answers for John Eunson, farmer in Knarston in the Parish of St. Ola To The Petition of David Spence in Upper Scapa".

Ca Dec 1824/Jan 1825 OA SC11/62/2/1.
"Replies for David Spence Esquire of Upper Scapa To the Answers for John Eunson Farmer in Knarston."

Ca Dec 1824/Jan 1825 OA SC11/62/2/1.
"Replies for David Spence Junior in Upper Scapa, and for David Spence Senior His Father and Administrator in Law To The Answers for John Eunson farmer in Knarston".

1825, 7 March OA SC11/62/2/1.
Declaration, dated at Cannigill, by David Eunson.

1825, 23 June OA SC11/62/2/1.
"Condescence for David Spence Junior in Upper Scapa and for David Spence Senior his Father & Administrator in Law". Process document no 7.

1826, 8 July OA SC11/62/2/1.
"In the Vice Admiralty Court of Orkney. Account of Expenses incurred by John Eunson in Knurston - Respondent - In the Action at the instance of David Spence Esqr. of Upper Scapa".

1827, 10 Sept OA SC11/62/2/25.
Petition and complaint to the Vice Admiral of Orkney and Shetland or his Depute for Orkney by David Spence regarding whales driven on shore in Scapa Bay 7 Sept 1827 and a whale cast ashore 9-10 Sept 1827 in Fea against various persons for "in a lawless and violent manner" carrying away the blubber.

1827, 10 Sept-2 Jan OA SC11/62/2/5.
Account of expenses from David Spence of Scapa to John Mitchell, Kirkwall, for the Admiralty Process against John Comming and others.

1827, 26 Sept OA SC11/62/2/25.
"Answers for John Cumming Mason in Kirkwall, Eduard Traill Sailor there, James Groundwater Mason in the Parish of St. Ola, William Hercus, Weaver there, Thos. Heddle in Braehead, Thomas Sinclair in Fingrick and William Bews Junior in Dyke-end."

1827, 11 Oct OA SC11/62/2/25.
"Replies for David Spence Esquire To The Answers for John Cumming and others."

1827, 13 Oct-31 Dec OA SC11/62/2/25.
"Minutes & Interl[ocuto]r In Causa Spence v. Cumming and others."

1828, 18-19 Dec OA SC11/62/3/11.
"Petition of David Spence Esquire Proprietor and occupier of the lands of Upper Scapa" against "John Morrison Blacksmith in Orquhil, and George Morrison Farmer there" for carrying off a whale.

1828, 22 Dec OA SC11/62/3/11.
"Answer for John Morison Blacksmith in Orquill and George Morison Farmer there To The Petition of David Spence proprietor and occupier of the farm of Upper Scapa."

1828, 27 Dec-16 July OA SC11/62/3/11.
"Replies for David Spence Esquire of Scapa To The Answers for John Morrison Blacksmith in Orquill, and George Morrison Farmer there" and "Pleas in Law".

1828, 30 Dec-23 April 1829 OA SC11/62/3/11.
"Admiralty [Court]. Minutes & Interlocutors In causa Spence v. Morrisons."

1829, 17-24 July OA SC11/62/3/11.
Two summons in case David Spence of Upper Scapa against John Morison Blacksmith in Orquhil and George Morison Farmer there.

1829, 21-31 July OA SC11/62/3/11.
"Respondents proof In causa Spence v. Morisons".

- 1829, 24 July OA SC11/62/3/11.
"Execution of Citation Morrisons v. Sinclair".
- 1829, 25 July OA SC11/62/3/11.
"Execution of Citation Morison v. Sclater".
- 1829, 25 July-8 April 1830 OA SC11/62/3/11.
"Objections to the admissibility of Thomas Bews as a Witness" and answers thereto in case Spence against Morisons.
- 1829, 25-31 July OA SC11/62/3/11.
"Petitioners Proof In Cause Spence v. Morisons".
- 1829, 25 July-23 April OA SC11/62/3/11.
"Respondents Proof In Cause Spence v. Morisons".
- 1830, 4 May OA SC11/62/3/11.
"Account of Expense David Spence Esq Petitioner against John and George Morrison Respondents", covering 18 Dec 1828-3 May 1830.
- 1834, 29 July OA SC/62/3/31.
"Petition of William Watt Bain Procurator Fiscal of Court for the Public interest" claiming "a large Whale, measuring upwards of Sixty feet in length", which on 29 July 1834 was "driven ashore and killed in the harbour of St. Margarets Hope in the Island of South Ronaldshay, by John Sutherland auctioneer there and others" as a Royal Fish, which "falls to His Majesty as a droit of Admiralty". With minutes of the Court.
- 1834, 23 Aug OA SC/62/3/31.
Claim and plea for John Sutherland, Knockhall, South Ronaldshay and George Wildrige, sailor there.
- 1834, 2 Sept-12 Feb 1835 OA SC/62/3/31.
Minutes and interlocutors in petition of the Procurator Fiscal for sake of a whale drove ashore in South Ronaldshay.
- 1834, 14 Nov-2 Feb 1835 OA SC/62/3/31.
"Replies for William Watt Bain, Procurator Fiscal of the Vice Admiralty Court of Orkney To The Answers for John sutherland, in Knockhall, south Ronaldshay, and George Wildridge Sailor there", with minutes.
- 1837, 14 Aug OA D14/5/13.
"List of the Boast w[hich] engaged in the Capture of a Shoal of Whales in Scapa Bay on the Morning of the 14th Aug. last 1837."

(B) Calendar and some tentative transcriptions of unpublished documents concerning cetaceans and their division in Shetland:

- 1713, 21 Sept SA D19/2526B.
Copy of contract, dated at Lerwick, between the Earl of Morton, on the one part, and the Gentlemen Heritors and Udallers of Zetland, for themselves and their tenants, on the other part, "anent whales & pellocks": From "any whales or pellocks ... driven ashore by any of the inhabitants or othrways cast ashore" (1) the proprietor shall receive one fifth and the fishermen and salvors another fifth and (2) the proprietors shall have "good and sufficient oyle" made from the remaining three fifths and deliver it free of charge to the trustees of the Earl, with the Earl furnishing the casks or paying the value thereof, while the salvors are obliged to flense the whale and "bray the speck".
- 1715, 15 Aug SA D19/2526B.
Decree in action Earl of Morton versus Robert Sinclair of Quendall, Charles Stewart of Bigtoun, Laurance Bruce of Sumburgh, John Scott of Scotshall and John Scott for carrying off 30 whales.
- 1716, 28 July SA D19/2526B.
Letter, dated at Scotshall, from John Scott (to the Earl of Morton?).
- 1721, 16 Jan SA D19/2526B.
List of people in Shetland who have intromitted with whales or pellocks.
- 1731, 3 Aug/1733, 11 Aug SA D19/2526B.
Charge upon Magnus Henderson of Gardie, dated 3 Aug 1731, for the Admiral's 1/3 share in 52 whales at Sellafirth and "Some Whales" at Buglon's Banks; and obligation by Magnus Henderson for the amount, dated at Bressay, 11 Aug 1733.
- 1733/34, 7 Jan SA D19/2526B.
Letter, dated at Lerwick, from Captain William Irvine to the Earl of Morton, Edinbrugh.
- 1733, 17 July SA D19/2526B.
Sales account, dated at Busta, of a part of a rotten whale found far out at sea and with much difficulty and labour brought in to Hilswick, March 1732; net proceeds at Leith £232 6d Scots money.
- 1734, 13 Jan SA D19/2526B.
Extracts of Process of the Procurator Fiscal of the Admiral Courts of Zetland anent a 50 foot long whale found ashore and secured at Gunielsta in Bressay, on 28 Dec 1733.
- 1734, 26 Jan SA D19/2566B.
Letter, dated at Lerwick, from Andrew Ross to William

Drummond concerning a whale, 8½ fathom long, that was brought ashore on Gardie's ground in Dec 1733 and "the Methods that were to be laid down for defrauding the Admiral of his Share" and "Complaining of the discouragement to Driving of Pallacks by the havie Tax Exacted from the poor Salvors by Some Baillies of Some parishes".

1734, 25 June SA D19/2566B.
Letter, dated at Lerwick, from Andrew Ross to Mr Drummond; in page 2 he finds that "the Whale" (which one?) shall yield an "inconsiderable" amount.

1735, 10 Jan SA D19/2566B.
Letter, dated at Lerwick, from Andrew Ross to Mr Drummond.

1736, 20 March SA D19/2566B.
Letter, dated at Lerwick, from Andrew Ross to Mr Drummond "Anent Setting of my Lord Morton Estate in Zetland, & of his Lop.s Affairs there". (Draft & copy).

1736, 3 May 1736 SA GD 144/188.
[Orig not seen]
Bruce of Symbister: Process relating to 14 small whales driven on shore near Urafirth.

1737, 11 March SA D19/2566B.
Letter, dated at Lerwick, from Andrew Ross (most probably to Mr Drummond, cf letter to him of 20 March 1736).

1738, 20 Sept SA D19/2566B.
Letter, dated at Lerwick, from Andrew Ross to the Earl of Morton informing that "upon the Eighteenth Instant There was a dead Whale brought to Shore in the Island of Ness belonging to Henderson of Gardie which was found floating upon the Water Some Miles from Land by the Inhabitants of that Island. ---. And the whale being about fifty feet betwixt the Head & Tail I guess it may yield about three Lasts of oil - Gardie's Widow told me she would insist for a third to the Ground according to the ancient Zetland practice And no doubt she has Zetland Lawers to advise her in the matter."

1739, 7-9 July SRO (WRH) CS 46/86/1890.
(Cf original, SA D8/244; and copy with SA GD 144/117).

Cf 10 January 1890, SRO (WRH) CS 46/86/1890, item ii: Registered agreement between the Earl of Morton and the Heritors of Zetland, dated 7 July 1739, and recorded in the Register of Bonds etc. for the County of Zetland, 9 July 1739:

"Articles of Aggrement betwixt the Right Honourable the Earl of Morton and the Heritors of Zetland. As to all wheales and pallocks as well great as small of whatever kind or denomination. The Earl of Morton consents and

agrees that in all time hereafter, during the continuance of His Lordship's Right of Admiralty of the Islands of Zetland, a division be made in manner following, viz.:" "Of all whales or pallocks" 1-4 fathoms long, the salvors shall have a full 1/3 (without any deductions) and the proprietor(s) the other 2/3; "Of any whale fish exceeding four fathoms long. The heritor or heritors of the ground where the same is driven or run ashore shall have the sole management or disposal in having the same made in oyle, upon giving proper security to the Bailie to accompt to the salvors, and the Earl or his order, upon oath, by equall this really divisions, for two-thirds of the oyle, and paying to them Recevie ffifteen shillings sterling for each barrel thereof, the heritors bearing all the charge upon the subject."

1740, 5 Dec SA D19/2566B.
Letter, dated at Lerwick, from Andrew Ross to the Earl of Morton: "This Summar there Came 39 small whales ashore in Yell And that is all that has happen'd in the Admiralty".

1741, 14 April SA D19/2566B.
Letter, dated at Lerwick, from Andrew Ross to the Earl of Morton, informing that he has got Busta's account for the Earl's share of about 280 small whales that came in upon his ground in January 1741 and payment for the third part of another parcel of 39 that were driven ashore in the summer of 1740.

1758. SA GD 144/108.
[Orig not seen]
Bruce of Symbister: Deposition of witnesses anent wreck and a large whale found on the coast of Dunrossness, 1758.

1765, 15 Sept GH 445.
[Orig not seen]
Letter, dated at Lerwick, from Arthur Nicolson to William Mouat, per "Mr. Warren": Goods on board the *Dolphin*; warns Mouat that John Ross of Rue (Unst) has written to the Earl of Morton informing him of Mouat's activities in the salvage of whales, sea wreck and one wreck in particular.

1771, 4 Nov SA GD 144/100.
[Orig not seen]
Bruce of Symbister: Extract account of expenses anent whale oil.

1785, 9 Nov SA D8/174.
Letter, dated at Lerwick, from Mr Hunter to John Bruce of Sumbrugh, discussing the division of whales in Shetland in general, the 1739 Agreement, etc.

1787, 4 Oct SA D8/154.
List of "Points to be Proven in the whale Proof Octbr. 1787" regarding the Whale at Hillswick, February 1787.

1788, 25 April SA D8/154.
Account of payments to named people by James Cheyne for their work at the Whale at Hillswick, February 1787, and for rendering the blubber into oil, with the expense of fuel, for the account of John Bruce of Sumburgh, Vice Admiral Depute of Zetland.

1805 GH 1763.
[Orig not seen]
Letter by Thomas Mouat of Belmont asking his brother what his legal rights may be regarding the stranding of small whales on the beach near Hoversta in the previous year.

1805, 21 Feb / 29 Sept 1806 GH 1771.
[Orig not seen]
Memoranda relating to claims about whales driven ashore at Hoversta in Unst. Dates of whale drives (all at Hoversta, Uyeasound) and participants:
21 Feb 1805 - 190 whales - 26+8 salvers;
19 March 1805 - 120 whales - 75 salvers;
29 Sept 1806 - 50 whales - [no information].
William Fordyce, tenant of Hversta, is one of the complainers. Trouble developed with imposters claiming to be salvers in order to get a portion of the proceeds.¹

Ca 1807 Shetland Library,
Pamphlet Box 16, item
no 5.
Pamphlet "Memorial and Queries, submitted for the Opinion of Counsel, for the Poor Fishermen in Uyea, in the Island Unst, in Shetland", written by Mr Small, the tenants' solicitor, containing notes by Thomas Leisk of Uyea, the prosecuting landlord (ca 1807).

1814, 20 Aug GH 2196.
[Orig not seen]
Copy of receipt, dated at Uyeasound, from William Angus to Thomas Mouat of Belmont for a cargo of 2171 dry ling (110 cwts), 368 cod (11 cwt), 778 tusk (9 cwt), 35 cwt 2 qrs kelp, and 2 barrels whale oil, shipped on board the *Coldstream* for Robert Strong & Co, Leith.

1814, 2 Nov GH 2214.
[Orig not seen]
Letter, dated at Lunna, from Thomas Leisk to James Mouat of Annsbrae (the brother of Thomas Mouat of Belmont) informing of progress in the whale process; Thomas Leisk undecided whether to press his claim for the proprietor's ground share of stranded whales.

1819, March GH 2386
[Orig not seen]
Memorandum by John Mouat of Annsbrae concerning the

1 This pertains to the beginning of the so-called Uyea (Unst) Whale Case, 1807, which is described by Wills (1975).

proposed division of Sandwick Scattald, Bastavoe, North Yell, with details of the relative agricultural value of the various parts of this large scattald and discussion of the preservation of rights to grounded and driven whales.

1823, 16 July

SA D8/244.

Letter, dated at Lerwick, from J.B. Nicolson to W.H. Fotheringhame, 11 Young Street, Edinburgh, outlining the past and present situation regarding division of whales, and the claims of the Admiral, being $3 \times \frac{1}{3}$ in the past, with clauses increasingly being inserted in tacks and leases stipulating $\frac{1}{2}$ to the landlords, thus making the division a private contract arrangement.

1825, 18 March

SRO (WRH) CS 46/86/1890.

Cf 10 January 1890, SRO (WRH) CS 46/86/1890, item viii: Account of the proceeds of the Landlord's Half of 60 whales killed at Vidlin.

1831, 15 June

SRO (WRH) CS 236/5/36/10.

Sheriff Court, Lerwick. Advocation John Scott of Scalloway and others against Robert Reid in Witesness, Walls, and others. (Cf also 30 April and 6 Sept 1838; and 8 Jan 1839).¹

1832, 6/7 Aug

SRO (WRH) CS 46/86/1890.

Cf 10 January 1890, SRO (WRH) CS 46/86/1890, item viii: Roup roll of 39 whales stranded at Flotta, 6 Aug 1832, and sold by auction on 7 Aug 1832; and account of sales of 57 whales killed at sea and, by permission, taken on shore on Mrs Jack's property to be flensed: Salvors' proportion was $\frac{2}{3}$ of those stranded but they received the full proceeds of those killed at sea less costs.

1838, 30 April

SA D8/244.

Court of Session, Outher-House, First Division, (Lord Cockburn). Declartor, etc, for John Scott and others against Robert Reid and others and evidence obtained 21 Jan-16 Nov 1837.

1838, 6 Sept

SRO (WRH) CS 236/5/36/10.

Court of Session, First Division. Reclaiming note for John Scott of Scalloway, etc, against Lord Cuckburn's interlocutor. (Cf also 15 June 1831; 30 April 1838; and 8 Jan 1839).

¹ This constitutes the beginning of the so-called Uyea (Northmaven) Whale Case which is treated of by Tait (1947), including:
(a) 1834: Full text of Statement by the Defence (pp 103-5);
(b) 21 Dec. 1840: Full text of a letter from HM Treasury to the Vice Admiral and Sheriff of Orkney and Shetland (p 107); and
(c) ca Dec 1840/Jan 1841: "Notice to the Inhabitants of Zetland respecting Whales" (p 108).

1839, 8 Jan SA D8/244.
"Interlocutor in conjoined process of advocacy and declarator. Scott v. Poor Reid and Others" in the Uyea, Northmaven, Whale Case: Article in *The Orkney and Shetland Journal and Fisherman's Magazine*, no 13, January 1839, pp 101f (cf Anon 1839b). (Cf also 15 June 1831; 30 April and 6 Sept 1838).

1843, 14/15 Sept SRO (WRH) CS 46/86/1890.
Cf 10 January 1890, SRO (WRH) CS 46/86/1890, item viii: Account of sales of 129 large and 5 small whales captured at Sand on 14 Sept 1843 and sold by auction on the next day, with 1/3 to the landlord and 2/3 to the salvors.

1840s SA D8/332a.
Undated rules and regulations agreed upon by the men of Dunrossness, Sandwick and Cunningsburgh for regulation the driving of whales and division thereof, including a sketch for the positioning of the boats during the drive. (According to SA Index this part of a bundle of Sumburgh and Lunna Estate and miscellaneous papers is from the 1840s).

1886-1847 SRO (WRH) CS 46/86/1890.
Cf 10 January 1890, SRO (WRH) CS 46/86/1890, item vi: Excerpts from leases, estate regulations, etc, containing reservations regarding landlord's right to whales.

1854, 5 Aug SA D8/244.
"Inventory Papers as to stranded Whales sent Mr M. Ayton [Sheriff?] by W.H. Fotheringhame [Sheriff Depute, Orkney?], 5 August 1854", including Orkney cases from 1821-1823.

1858-1866 SRO (WRH) CS 46/86/1890.
Cf 10 January 1890, SRO (WRH) CS 46/86/1890, item vii: Extracts from Valuation Rolls of the County of Zetland for 1858, 1861, 1863-64, 1864-5 and 1865-66 showing proceeds of landlord's 1/3 share of whales.

1861, 7 Oct SA D8/244.
"Copy Agreement between The Heritors of Lands on the north & south sides of Midyell Voe. 1861. 89.as." (Cf 10 January 1890, SRO (WRH) CS 46/86/1890, item vi).

1870, 28 Jan SRO (WRH) CS 46/86/1890.
Cf 10 January 1890, SRO (WRH) CS 46/86/1890, item viii: Division of proceeds from whales at Scalloway, January 1870, detailed as 1/3 to the proprietor and 2/3 to the captors.

1882 SA Tom Henderson
Collection, vol *Shetland*.
Hoswick Whale Case, 1889.
Newspaper clipping *Chasing the Whale in Shetland*. (From the *Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*) (1882).

1882, 10 March SRO (WRH) CS 46/86/1890.
Cf 10 January 1890, SRO (WRH) CS 46/86/1890, item viii:
Account of sales of blubber and heads of whales at Weisdale
on 10 March 1882, with 1/3 to the proprietor and 2/3 to
captors.

1886 SRO (WRH) CS 46/86/1890.
Cf 10 January 1890, SRO (WRH) CS 46/86/1890, item viii:
Extract from an account of charge and discharge by W.C.
Hamilton of the Estates Garth and Annsbrae, in Unst and
Yell, 1886, specifying 1/3 of whale proceeds going to the
estate.

1886, April/May SRO (WRH) CS 46/86/1890.
Cf 10 January 1890, SRO (WRH) CS 46/86/1890, item viii:
Account of 80 whales driven ashore at Sandwick, 9 April
1886, divided with 1/3 to the proprietor and 2/3 to the
salvors.

1889, 10 July SRO (WRH) CS 46/86/1890.
Court of Session, First Division, (Sheriff of Caithness,
Orkney and Zetland). Record, interlocutors, etc, in
Appeals John Bruce against Robert Smith and others.
Summary, etc, of evidence obtained 26 Sept 1888-26 June
1889.

1889, 10 July SRO (WRH) CS 46/86/1890.
Court of Session, First Division, (Sheriff of Caithness,
Orkney and Zetland). Record, interlocutors, etc, in
appeals John Bruce against Robert Smith and others.
Evidence obtained on 26 Sept 1888-26 June 1889.

1889, 20 Oct SA D8/349.
Letter, dated at Melsetter, Orkney, from J.G. Moodie Heddle
to John Bruce of Sumburgh, containing a "Memorandum as to
Dividing of Caa'ing whales after being driven ashore" with
extracts from *Iceland, Greenland and the Faroe Islands*,
Oliver & Boyd, Edinburgh, pp 328f, and references to Graba,
Landt and Debes.

1889-1890 SA Tom Henderson
Collection, vol *Shetland*.
Hoswick Whale Case, 1889.
Printed song & melody *The Hoswick Whale Case, Shetland*
(signed Duncan).

Ca 1890 SA D8/349.
Note by Thomas Edmundston, apparently addressed to John
Bruce, with names of proprietors who have contributed to a
"whale case fund" on Bruce's behalf, or refused to do so.
(No date given but according to the SA Index, ca 1890).

1890, 10 Jan SRO (WRH) CS 46/86/1890.
Court of Session. Transferred Case. Second Division.
Appendix for the Pursuer and Appellant in Appeal John Bruce
against Robert Smith and Others. Containing material

dating from 1733-1886:

1838, 11 July: (i) Interlocutor and Note by Lord Cockburn (Ordinary), in causa Scott and Others v. Reid and Others, 11 July 1838;

1739, 7-9 July: (ii) Extract registered agreement between extract the Earl of Morton and the Heritors of Zetland, dated 7 July 1739, and recorded in the Register of Bonds etc for the County of Zetland, 9 July 1739 (cf orig SA D8/244, with copy SA GD 144/117).

1733/1786: (iii) Excerpts from *Historical Description of the Zetland Islands in the Year 1733* by Thomas Gifford of Busta;

1806: (iv) Excerpts from *A Tour through some of the Islands of Orkney and Shetland* by Patrick Neill;

1809: (v) Excerpt from *A View of the Ancient and Present State of the Zetland Islands* by Arthur Edmondston, MD;

1847-1881: (vi) Excerpts from leases & tacks containing reservation of Landlords right to Whales: Lands of the Lunna Estate in North Nesting, 1881; lands of the Ollaberry Estate in Northmaving, 1868; Sumburgh Estate 1874; farm of Sumburgh Estate in Sandwick 1877; lands and islands of Skerries of the Symbister Estate, 1847; ground upon the south shore of Baltasound belonging to Ordale, Unst, 1886; and from Estate Regulations: Regulations to be Observed by the Tenants and Fishermen upon the Estate of Scalloway, and Others Engaging in the Capture of Caa-ing Whales within the Voes or Inlets of the Sea, and upon the Shores Bordering said Estate, 1850; Regulations Regarding Wales on Kergord Estate, 1863; Conditions of Set of all lands of the Busta Estate, 1858, 1859; Sumburgh Estate, 1872; Agreement between Heritors of Lands on the north and south sides of Mid Yell Voe, 5 & 10 Sept. & 7 Oct. 1861 (cf copy 7 Oct 1861, SA D8/244).

1858-1866: (vii) Extracts from Valuation Rolls of the County of Zetland for 1858, 1861, 1863-64, 1864-5, and 1865-66, showing Proceeds of Landlord's Share of Whales;

1825-1886: (viii) Accounts and Statements showing division between Landlords and Captors of Proceeds of Whales: Vidlin, 18 March 1825; Sand, 14 Sept 1843; Flotta, 6 Aug 1832, and at sea; Heglibister, Weisdale, 5 March 1872; Scalloway, January 1870; Weisdale, March 1882; Garth and Annsbrae Estate, 1886; Sandwick, 9 April 1886.

1890, 6 May

SA D8/244.

Letter, dated at Melsetter, Orkney, from J.G. Moodie Heddle to John Bruce of Sumburgh, enclosing all papers concerning whales he had been able to find and explaining that his "grandfather did wrong in raising an action in a case where Laing and other proprietors had previously been allowing the people to do as they chose."

A.17.2 Extracts from, and draft translations of, Icelandic annals concerning cetaceans and pinnipeds, ca 1200-1800 AD

- (A) Introduction.
- (B) Extracts from, and draft translations of, Icelandic annals concerning cetaceans and pinnipeds:
 - (Ba) Index (by year).
 - (Bb) Extracts and draft translations.
- (C) Extracts from, and draft translations of, Icelandic annals concerning pinnipeds.

(A) Introduction:

The Icelandic annals are roughly contemporary records of the events they describe. For the time until 1800, this great body of source material is published in G. Storm's *Íslandske annaler indtil 1578* (1888/1977) and *Annálar 1400-1800* (Anon 1922-1987; 6 vols). These publications are not subject-indexed so they had to be read from the beginning to the end in order to identify passages concerning cetaceans, pinnipeds, Icelandic and foreign whaling in Icelandic waters, etc. It is, thus, likely that relevant items may still be hiding in the texts but I am confident to have identified the vast majority of them. Storm (1977) contains *Flateyjarannáll* in extracts; a thorough study of the full annal in *Flateyjarbók* might also offer some additions.

It is impossible here to elaborate on the authors, character, qualities, main districts, possible links, etc, of the Icelandic annals; the standard editions contain detailed introductions in that respect.

The extracts below are grouped in two tables, viz: (B) about cetaceans, also including pinnipeds where they occur together, and (C) for pinnipeds only. Most extracts are accompanied by a draft translation or summary. Where two or more annals offer entries for the same year the arrangement is by the name of the annal.

A few relevant items of annal character are entered from Jón Guðmundsson lærdi (JG1; [1640/44] 1924a); Jón Eiríksson (1768); N. Mohr (1786); Olafsen 1-2, 1772; C. Pontoppidan (1, 1787); and S. and M. Stephensen (1-3, 1796-1808b).

The annal entries constitute a body of detailed as well as background information the surveying of which was necessary for this thesis but which has so far only been partly analysed and incorporated into the main study. The connection between the main text of this study and these annal extracts is otherwise the provisional subject index to table (B), referring to year of entries; moreover, potential items are referred to by year in round brackets; the items coming from other sources than the annals proper are referred to in square brackets.

For the translation of *reka* (vb) and *hvalreki* (sb), cf chapter 4.8.3, and for *hvalrekstr*, cf chapter 9.3.2. Identification of place names is usually entered in square

brackets without *id est*. The municipal names are, where possible, updated to the state of 1967, otherwise they are according to JÁMJV. Other explanations are kept at a minimum.

(B) Extracts from, and draft translations of, Icelandic annals concerning cetaceans and pinnipeds:

(Ba) Index (by year):

'Coming' ('driftage'/'stranding', unspecified), Cetacean:
1231; 1399; 1402; 1403; 1416; 1426; 1427; (1442); 1470;
1503; 1512; 1522; 1530; 1533; 1535; 1538; 1575; 1583;
1604; 1606; 1625; 1639; 1655 (thrice); 1665; 1667; 1669;
1674; 1681; 1682; 1683; 1686; 1687; 1688; 1691 (four
sources); 1694 (twice); 1695; 1697; 1698 (twice); 1703;
1704; 1726 (twice); 1727 (twice); 1728 (four sources);
1734 (twice); 1741 (twice); 1743 (twice); 1746; 1749;
1746; 1749; 1750 (twice); 1751 (twice); 1752; 1753
(twice); 1754; 1757; 1758; 1760; 1763 (twice); 1768
(five sources); 1770; 1771; 1772; 1773 (twice); 1774
(thrice); 1775 (thrice); 1777 (thrice); 1778 (twice);
1780 (twice); [1780]; 1781 (twice); 1782; 1784; 1785;
1786 (twice); 1787 (thrice); 1788; 1789 (thrice); 1791;
1794 (twice); [1798-1799]; [1800].

Driftage limit (fiskhelgi): 1772.

'Driving', Cetacean (hvalrekstur): 1250; 1335; 1560.

Drive hunts of cetaceans: 1583; 1606; [1607]; 1611; 1637;
1691 (thrice); 1693 (thrice); 1699 (thrice); 1704; 1705
(twice); 1714; [ca 1721]; [ca 1738]; [1741]; 1733
(twice); [1797-1798].

Flensing, etc., of cetacean: 1250; 1674 (twice); 1775;
[1801/1802].

Foodstuff, Cetacean as: 1386; 1393; 1397; 1702; see also
1784; [1801/1802].

Foreign whalers off Iceland: (1580); 1608; 1613 (1613);
1614; 1615 (twice); 1616; 1626; 1627; (1627); (1632);
1651 (twice); 1655 (twice); 1661; 1662; 1663 (twice);
(1663); 1664; 1698; (1670 [twice]); 1677; 1678 (twice);
1680; 1681; 1683; (1683); 1685 (thrice); 1686; 1688
(twice); 1689; 1690; 1691; 1693; 1694; (1695 [four
sources]); 1695 (twice); (1698 [thrice]); 1698; 1699;
1702 (twice); 1705 (twice); 1710 (twice); 1719 (twice);
(1720); (1722); 1728; (1735); [1744]; 1747; (1761);
1761; 1775; (1778); 1791.

Ice/polynia, Cetacean in: 1277; (1295); (1296); (1310);
1319; 1375; (1470); 1566 (twice); 1603; (1604); 1625;
(1625); 1657; 1666; 1687; 1672; 1694; 1695; 1697
(twice); (1727); (1728 [twice]); 1729; (1743); 1757
(twice); 1766 (twice); 1772 (thrice); 1775; 1782
(thrice); (1787); [1800]; [1801/1802].

Monster, Sea (lake): (1403); 1583; 1644; 1764; 1788.

Narwhal tusk: 1604; 1767; [1800].

Natural live stranding, Cetacean: 1373; 1377; (1442);
1600; 1635; 1691; 1693; 1694; (1704); 1727; 1741; 1744;
[1744]; 1775; 1786; [1800].

Occurrence, Cetacean: 1638; 1641; 1749; 1768; 1773; 1780.

Old whaling at Spitsbergen, Greenland, Iceland: by the
Danish-Norwegian crown; the 'Factories' (Reykjavik);
etc: 1621; [1660]; 1661; 1699; 1752; 1757; 1775; 1776
(thrice); 1777; 1780.

Piercing weapons, Cetacean takes with: [ca 1400]; 1538;

(1558); 1610; 1635; 1667; 1677; 1693 (twice); 1728 (twice); 1742; [1744]; 1772; 1780; 1786; [1801/1802].

Pinnipeds:

Seal (unspecified): 1279; 1403; 1470; 1558; 1604 (twice); 1606; 1617; 1638; 1639; 1761; 1764 (twice); 1768 (thrice); 1773; 1774 (twice); 1780; 1782; 1786; 1787; 1788; 1789.

walrus: 1694.

vöðuselur (harp seal): 1773, 1774.

Products (inter alia quantities), Cetacean: 1644; 1662; 1665; 1695; 1698; 1702 (twice); 1760; 1761; 1766; (1775); 1785.

Wrecking boat, whale; wicked whale: 1617; 1662; 1663 (twice); 1668 (twice); 1690; 1697; 1748 (twice); 1749 (thrice); 1752; 1768; 1780 (thrice); 1781.

Take (unspecified), Cetacean: 1681.

Cetaceans (normalised where appropriate):

andhvalur (bottlenose whale): 1728.

botnungur (pilot whale): 1798-1799.

búrhvalur (sperm whale): 1727 (twice).

geirreyður (/steypireyður) (?/blue whale): 1727; 1766.

hafhyrningur (orca): [1797-1798].

hafreyður (blue/fin whale?): 1657; 1666.

hafurketti (black right whale): 1687, 1758 (twice); [1801/1802].

háhyrningur (orca): 1600; 1693; 1782, [1798-1799].

hnísa (harbour porpoise): 1672; 1681; 1728; 1757; [1797-1798].

hnúfubakur (humpback): 1760.

hnydingur (pilot whale?): 1373.

hnýðingur (?): 1693; [1797-1798]; [1798-1799].

hnýðingur (orca): [1797-1798].

höfrungur (dolphin spp): 1691; 1699 (twice); 1726; 1727; 1757; 1782; [1797-1798].

höfrungur/nýðingur (normalised /níðingur) (orca): 1691; (1691).

hrafn-reyður/hrefna (minke whale): [1780].

hrosshvalur: 1606.

hundfiskur (pilot whale): 1744; [1744].

hundfiskur (orca): 1786; [1797-1798]; [1800].

hundfiskur (?): 1691; 1693; 1733.

marsvín (smaller cetacean spp): [1797-1798]; [1800].

náhvalur (narwhal): [1800].

níðingur/hnýðingur: 1442.

nýðingur: 1733.

reyður/reyðarfiskur/reyðarhvalur, etc, (blue whale): [ca 1400]; 1538; 1763; 1768; 1778 (twice); 1782.

síldreki: 1727 (twice).

sléttbakur/sléttbökuhvalur: 1606; 1693; [1801/1802].

sperm whale: [1742].

steypireyður (blue whale): 1426; 1512; 1530; 1575; 1606; 1727 (twice); 1774 (thrice).

white whales: 1641 (twice).

vagnhvalur/vognuhvalur/vögguhvalur/vöggufiskur (orca): 1606; [1607]; 1611; 1691; 1693; 1699; 1714; 1741.

(Bb) Extracts and draft translations:

1231 "Rak yfir 100 hvali á Suðurnesjum í einu vestanveðri." (*Setbergsannáll*; cf Jóhannesson 1940: 26).

'More than 100 whales came ashore at Suðurnesja [ie, Reykjanes, Gullbs] during a westerly storm.'

1250 "Hvalarekstur mikill víðast um Austfirði. Druknaði maður einn í einum þeirra. Hann var að skera hvalinn og [26/27] féll inn í hann á höfuðið og kafnaði svo, og þótti þar ekki hreint eftir." (*Setbergsannáll*; cf Jóhannesson 1940: 26f).

'Considerable whale driving/coming widely in the Eastfjords. A man drowned in one of them. He was cutting the whale and fell into it head first and suffocated then, and there [þar] it was not considered (to be) clean afterwards.'

The suffocation accident involves a large whale which probably drifted ashore.

1277 "Það vor var unninn hvalur í Ölvesá á ísi, er synt hafði þar upp um ósinn og náðist á einni sandeyri í ánni. Hann var vel mönnum ætur." (*Setbergsannáll*; cf Jóhannesson 1940: 26).

1279 "Admodum austera et dura hyems glacie marina regionem undiqvaqve (qvam Grónlandicam appellamus) unde passim homines et pecora subdialia fame perierunt. Deus autem hoc tempore misit ursos albos et phoca marina ad hanc famem levendam."

'Afar bitur og harður vetur með hafís, sem kringdi landið hvaðanæva, (köllum vér hann Grænlandsís); af því féll fjöldi manna og útigöngupenings. En Drottinn sendi þá hvítabirni og seli til að létta því hungri.' (*Annalium in Islandia farrago*; cf Grímsdóttir 1988: 479).

Very severe winter with sea ice, which is called Greenland ice; enclosed the land everywhere; many people and domestic animals in the open died. But God send then white bears and seals to relieve this hunger.

1295 "Hualvetr mikill." (*Henrik Høyers annaler*; cf Storm 1977: 72).

'Winter with many whales.'

1296 "hualrettr mikill." (*Flatøbogens annaler*; cf Storm 1977: 385).

'Much whale coming.'

1310 "Hual rettr mikill." (*Flatøbogens annaler*; cf Storm 1977: 391).

'Much whale coming.'

1319 "Haf ísar fyrir Aust fiörðum ok Siðunni. Ok do

.xiiij. hvalir i einni vik fyrir Litla heraði ok komu nær allir á land." (*Skálholts-annaler*; cf Storm 1977: 204).

'Sea ice off the Eastfjords and Síða [V-Skafts]. And 13 whales died in an inlet at Litlahérað [A-Skafts] and were nearly all secured.'

1335 "Hvalarekstur mikill fyrir Suðurnesjum, einninn í Hafnarfirði syðra og svo víða með suðurlandinu." (*Setbergsannáll*; cf Jóhannesson 1940: 32).

'Whale driving/coming was much at Suðurnes [ie, Reykjanes], also in southern Hafnarfjörður and then widely along the Southland.'

1373 "kom at stadnum aa Helga felli a Snæfells nesi m°d°cc° hnydinga og rendu aller kvicer aa land." (*Gottskalks annaler*; cf Storm 1977: 363).

'... at the glebe of Helgafell on Snæfellsnes came 1700 *hnýðingar* [pilot whales?] and all ran live ashore.'

In Torfæus's *Crymogæa* the year is wrongly printed '1337' and also so mentioned in the annal of Halldór Þorbergsson (cf Storm 1977: lv). The great pot size indicates this *hnýðingur* to be the pilot whale.

1375 "vetr sua hardr ok vór at eigi mundi slikt. grasvoxtr angi haf isar framan til Bartholomeus messo. --- [411/412] --- huala vetr." (*Flatøbogens annaler*; cf Storm 1977: 411f).

'Winter and spring so severe that nobody remembered anything similar. Grass growth hampered by sea ice until Bartholomew mass [ie, 24 August]. --- Whale winter.'

1377 "jtem komv a Snæfells nesi iiiij^c hnydinga at stadnum [a] Helga felle." (*Gottskalks annaler*; cf Storm 1977: 364).

'Similarly, came at Snæfellsnes 400 *hnýðingar* [pilot whales?] at the glebe of Helgafell.'

1386 "do mart folk af hual i Skagafirdi." (*Flatøbogens annaler*; cf Storm 1977: 414).

'Many people died from whale in Skagafjörður.'

1393 "kom hualr j Gudmundar lonj og hafdi eitt auga a baki aptur uid bæglit og uar etin af allmenningi og grandadi sumvm eckj en svmm dugdi [hann] vm dægr eda skemur og do þar af c manna. af þeim sama hval var tekit eitt spis og lagt j ketil og vall fra dagmalvm og til nons og var kallt er ur var tekit. uar sidan heitid aa Torlak byskup og vitradis hann þeim og sagdi at ætr uar halfr hvalurinn og letti af þadann fra mannfallinnu." (*Gottskalks annaler*; cf Storm 1977: 368).

A whale came into Guðmundarlón and had one eye on the back behind the dorsal fin and was eaten by the common people and did not hurt some but others (it) only served a day [24

hours] or shorter and 100 people died from it. Of this same whale a (soup) piece was taken and put in a kettle and boiled from about 9 o'clock until 3 o'clock in the afternoon and was cold when it was taken from it. Then bishop Þorlákr was invoked and he appeared before them and said that half of the whale was edible and the the deaths then ceased.

1397 "dou .v. menn aa Brodda nesi af hualati með bradasott." (*Gottskalks annaler*; cf Storm 1977: 369).

'At Broddanes [Strs] 5 people died immediately from eating whale.'

1399 "Þetta haust rak 40 smáhvali á Suðurnesjum." (*Setbergsannáll*; cf Jóhannesson 1940: 36).

'This autumn 40 small(er) whales came ashore at Suðurnes [ie, Reykjanes].'

1402 "Jtem kom ut Hual einar Heriolds son með þat skip er hann atti sialfur. kom þar ut j suo micil brada sott, at menn lagv daudir innan þriggia natta. Þar til er heitid uar þrimur lofmessvm með sæmeligv bæna halldi oc lios bruna." (*Lögmanns-annáll*, cf Storm 1977: 286; see also *Skálholtsannáll*, cf Þorsteinsson 1922d: 9f).

'Similarly, Whale-Einar Herjólfsson came out [ie, to Iceland] with that ship which he owned himself. ---.'

1402 "Item kom út Hval-Einar Herjólfsson með það skip, er hann átti sjálfur. Kom [9/10] þar út í svo mikil bráðasótt, að menn lágu dauðir innan þriggja náttu, þar til er heitið var þremur lofmessum með samilegu bænahaldi og ljósbruna ...". (*Skálholtsannáll*; cf Þorsteinsson 1922d: 9f).

1402 "Hvalreki á Austfjörðum." (*Setbergsannáll*; cf Jóhannesson 1940: 37).

'Whale coming in the Eastfjords.'

1403 "Rak um haustið á Eyrarbakka stórhval einn, sem enginn þekkti, því mönnum þótti hann annarlegur í sköpun. [37/38] Hann var 60 álnir að lengd. Hann tók út aftur í stórflóði einu viku síðar.

Selatekja mikil fyrir norðan á hafís, því hann kom þar mikill. Á þeim ísi komu bjarndýr á landið, gjörðu ekki skaða." (*Setbergsannáll*; cf Jóhannesson 1940: 37f).

'In the autumn came a large whale ashore at Eyrarbakki [Árns] which nobody recognised because people found it strange in shape. It was 60 ells long. It drifted out (to sea) again a week later during a spring tide.

The seal catch was much in the north on sea ice as it came in great amount. On that ice a bear came ashore, did no harm.'

1416 "Vetur rosasamur. Hvalreki í Grindavík."
(*Setbergsannáll*; cf Jóhannesson 1940: 41).

'---. Whale coming in Grindavík.'

1426 "Rak um veturinn í miklu vestanveðri steypireyðarkálf
í Grindavík á þorra". (*Setbergsannáll*; cf
Jóhannesson 1940: 42).

'During the winter a blue whale calf [*steypireyðarkálfur*]
came ashore in Grindavík mid January/mid February [*þorri*].'

1427 "Hákarlaveiði mjög mikil fyrir norðan, einninn
hvalreki." (*Setbergsannáll*; cf Jóhannesson 1940:
42).

'Shark fishery very much in the north, also [some?] whale
coming.'

1442 "Rak um haustið 12 smáhvali, er sumir kalla níðinga
eða hnýðinga, inn hjá Þerney í Mosfellssveit og voru
þar skornir." (*Setbergsannáll*; cf Jóhannesson 1940:
45).

'In the autumn 12 small(er) whales, which some people call
níðingar or *hnýðingar* [pilot whales?], came in at Þerney
[Kjósarhr, Kjóss] in Mosfellssveit and were cut there.'

Before ca 1450¹ "Ólafur bóndi, sem átti Æðey j Jsafirdi, á
dögum Biörns bónda Einarssonar, sem var fadir
Vatnsfiardar Kristijnar, hann var hinn mesti
hualaskutlari, og vitringur mikill og hóglátur. Þau
sijdustu xv. ár hans lijfdaga færði honum hin sama
reidur kálf sinn vaxinn á hvoriu sumri, fyr en hún
fór til hafs. Hann hafði markað með gati j gegnum
hornid, og vildi henni ecki granda, því hann sagði
sama ár verda mundi sijns lijfs enda og hennar, sem
og skedi að lidnum þeim tijma, að hún varð fyrir
óviliandi, þá er hann vildi kálfinn hæfa, og liet
hann það vera sinn sijdasta hual." (*Íslands
adskilianlegar náttúrur*, Guðmundsson [1640/44] 1924a:
12).

'Ólafur bóndi, who owned Æðey in Ísafjörður [ie,
Ísafjarðardjúp] at the time of Björn Einarsson bóndi [ie,
jórsalafari, d 1415], who was the father of Vatnsfjarðar-
Kristín, he was a most excellent whale shooter [*hvala-
skutlari*], and very wise and modest. The last 15 years of
his life the same blue whale [*reidur*] every summer
presented its big [*vaxinn*] calf to him before it (she)²
went to sea. He had marked it with a hole through the
dorsal fin and wanted not to kill it (her), because he said
that his life would end the same year as its (her), which
also happened after ... it (she) had unintentionally been

1 Cf DI 3, 1896: 435f; Ó. Halldórsson 1978: 424; Hermannsson 1924:
38; Jóhannesson 1945: 86.

2 *Reyður* is feminine which may here be the reference.

hit when he would hit the calf, and he made this his last whale.' (Cf Guðmundsson [1640/44] 1924a: 12).

1470 "Vetur harður frá jólum til vors. Hróflaðist víða af peningum. Hvalreki ofsamikill á Austfjörðum. Hafís lá um landið fram á sumar. Selveiði mikil á honum fyrir norðan." (*Setbergsannáll*; cf Jóhannesson 1940: 50).

'Severe winter from Christmas to spring. Domestic animals widely died. Whale coming extraordinary in the Eastfjords. Sea ice lay around the country into the summer. Much sealing on it in the north.'

1503 "Rak á Hornströndum 8 stórhvali í einu veðri vel mönnum æta. Hafði þar margur gott gagn af.

Sama ár um veturinn snemma rak á Álftanesi inn hjá Seylu 20 hnísur í útnyrðingsveðri." (*Setbergsannáll*; cf Jóhannesson 1940: 53).

'8 large whales came ashore at Hornstrandir [N-Ísfjls] in a storm; well edible for people. Many (people) had good use of it. In the same year during the early winter 20 harbour porpoises [hnísur] came ashore at Seilan (Seylan) [Bassastaðahr, Gullbs] in a northwesterly storm.'

1512 "Rak um veturinn fyrir jól suður á Vatnsleysuströnd steypireyður 80 álna að lengd á Kálfatjarnarrekum. Tók presturinn þar hana til sín. Var mælt hann hefði gefið helming hennar húsfólki sínu." (*Setbergsannáll*; cf Jóhannesson 1940: 55).

'During the winter before Christmas south at Vatnsleysuströnd [Gullbs] a blue whale [steypireyður], [sized] 80 ells, came onto the driftage shore of Kálfatjörn. The vicar there appropriated it. It was said that he had given half of it to the people of his household.'

1522 "Sama ár rak syðra í Hafnarfirði á jólaföstu 8 stórhvali upp á Hvaleyrargranda, vel mönnum æta, og 4 suður í Straumsvík, tvo suður á Vatnsleysu á Strönd, 5 í Selvogi. Þetta skeði í vestanveðri miklu." (*Setbergsannáll*; cf Jóhannesson 1940: 56).

'In the same year in the south in Hafnarfjörður [Álftaneshr, Gullbs] came 8 large whales ashore at Hvaleyrargrandi during Advent, well edible for people, and 4 south in Straumsvík [Álftaneshr, Gullbs], two south at Vatnsleysa á Strönd [Vatnsleysustrandarhr, Gullbs], 5 in Selvogur [Selvogshr, Árn]. This happened during a great westerly storm.'

1530 "Rak steypireyður á Vestfjörðum, tók út aftur og skaut upp í öðrum stað." (*Setbergsannáll*; cf Jóhannesson 1940: 57).

'A blue whale [steypireyður] came ashore in the Westfjords, drifted off again and came ashore at another place.'

1533 "Hvalreki á Seltjarnarnesi við Víkursand."

(*Setbergsannáll*; cf Jóhannesson 1940: 59).

1535 "Hvalreki mikill fyrir vestan. Sagt var, að hefði verið 70 að tölu." (*Setbergsannáll*; cf Jóhannesson 1940: 59).

'Great whale coming in the Westfjords. It was told that they numbered 70.'

1538 "Hvalreki í Grindavík um jól. Item í Garði og Vatnsleysuströnd. Item einn í Hafnarfirði. Allir vel mönnum ætir.

Sama sinn var unnin reyður eður reyðarkálfur af Álftaness búendum á skipum í Skógtjörn; hafði synt inn ós þann, er þar er um stórstraumsflóð, milli jóla og áttadags. Þann sama hval tók allan til sín Diðrich hirðstjóri, en þeim, sem unnu hann, voru vís slög, ef þeir um kvörtuðu. Þetta og annað flera jók honum óvinsæld." (*Setbergsannáll*; cf Jóhannesson 1940: 60).

'... a blue whale [reyður] or blue whale calf [reyðarkálfur] was killed by peasants from Álftanes on ships in Skógtjörn; had swum into the estuary which is there by spring tide' after Christmas. [Vice] governor Didrich [van Mynden] appropriated the whole whale 'and those who killed it were sure of being flogged if they complained. This and many other things increased his unpopularity.'

1558 "Vorur um veturinn á þorra drepnir 8 selir og 4 höfrungar á einum degi á fjörunni fyrir framan Garðastað á Álftanesi í einu norðanveðri." (*Setbergsannáll*; cf Jóhannesson 1940: 65).

'In the winter, during mid January/mid February [þorri], 8 seals and 4 dolphins [höfrungar] were killed in one day in the littoral off Garðastaður [= Garður, Garðahr, Gullbs] in a northernly storm.'

1560 "Hvalrekstur mikill var víða um Ísland það haust; voru sumir vel mönnum ætir." (*Setbergsannáll*; cf Jóhannesson 1940: 65).

'Considerable whale drivings/comings widely around Iceland that autumn; some were perfectly edible for people.'

1566 "felli uetur micill og snioa. kom godr bati paska dagin og var halfa adra viku. sidan kom hafis með miclum kulldum. feill sidan margt af fataukum. ---. Lagu hafisar fyrir nordan til midsumars. kom svo micill snior sidast j jvlius manadi at tok aa kvid hesti. --- havst gott og fiskí ar. komu storfiuk vicu fyrir uetur. --- kom micid fiuk joladagin ... kom godur bati laugardagin j ymbro uicu ... a fostu rak þria storhuali j einu aa Midfiardar nesi vndan hafis. og einn j Nvpa sveit nordur." (*Gottskalks annaler*; cf Storm 1977: 376).

A winter with much snow and great loss [of domestic animals

and people]. Sea ice lay at North Iceland until midsummer. It snowed very much at the end of July. ---. Good autumn and fishing. Forced by the sea ice three large whales came ashore on the same occasion during Advent at Miðfjarðarnes [V-Húns] and one in Núpasveit [N-Þings] in the north.

Although the context is a little confused, with 'jóladað' being mentioned before *imbruvika, á föstu* can actually only mean *á jólaföstu*, ie, in Advent.

1566 "Rak þrjá stórhvali í einu á Miðfjarðarnesi under hafís, og einn í Núpasveit norður." (*Skarðsárannáll*; cf Þorsteinsson 1922a: 145).

'Three large whales came ashore at Miðfjarðarnes [V-Húns] from under the sea ice and one north in Núpasveit [Mýrahr, V-Ísafjs].'

1575 "Þetta haust rak steypireyður í Fáskrúðsfirði." (*Setbergsannáll*; cf Jóhannesson 1940: 68).

'This autumn a blue whale [*steypireyður*] came ashore in Fáskrúðsfjörður [S-Múls].'

1580 "Þá voru spanskir útdrifnir af Íslandi, sem hér innfélldu árinu áður." (*Sjávarborgarannáll*; cf Jóhannesson 1942: 241).

'Then the Spanish, who invaded here the year before, were driven off Iceland.'

Jóhannesson (1942: 241) considers this to be a misunderstanding because annals do otherwise not mention the Spanish in 1579.

1583 "Rak um haustið 3 stórhvali suður á Hvalsnesi. Voru 30 hnýðingar á land reknir á skipum inn í Leiruvoga í Mosfellssveit og þar drepnir." (*Setbergsannáll*; cf Jóhannesson 1940: 69).

'In the autumn 3 large whales came ashore south at Hvalsnes [Miðneshr, Gullbs].

30 *hnýðingar* [ie, pilot whales?] were chased ashore on ships in Leiruvogur [Mosfellshr, Gullbs] in Mosfellssveit and killed there.'

1591 "Fæddist Árni Jónsson hvalamaður á Vestfjörðum ...". (*Eyrarannáll*; cf Þorsteinsson 1933a: 257).

'Árni Jónsson *hvalamaður* [ie, 'whaler'] born in the Westfjords ...'.

1599, cf 1600, below.

1600 "Eodem anno scribet Jonas lógmannus duos cetos minores (qvi nostra lingua *háhyrnijngar* appellantur) proximo autumnno orcam maximæ molis ab alto mari usque ad littora compulisse, nec prius horundem iram deferbuisse quam hostis mortuus, ruptus mersusque jaceret in Lone, qvod Snæfellsjókle vicinum est, atqve ita tandem a littoribus ad nota vada divertisse." (*Annalium in Islandia farrago*; cf

Grímsdóttir 1988: 493; transl by Jónas Rafnar).

In this year lawman [lögmaður] Jón Jónsson [ie, b 1536, d 1606; about 1600 living at Arnarstapi, Snæfellsnes; cf Grímsdóttir 1988: 542] writes that two smaller whale fishes (which in our tongue are called *háhyrningar*) have in the past autumn [ie, 1599] chased an *orca maxima* from the open sea all the way onto land and did not end their brutality before their enemy was dead, exhausted and sunk in Lón which is near Snæfellsjökull [ie, western Snæfellsnes]; then they finally turned from the land and went out onto their usual deep.

It remains a matter of speculation which species Gísli Oddsson means by *orca maxima*. J. Rafnar's translation of it as 'big harbour porpoise' (*stór hnýsa*) (cf Grímsdóttir 1988: 493) is hardly correct; it is likely to be a big rorqual.

1603 "Fiskileysi fyrir norðan. Kom ís. Rak þá hvali allvíða; fóru upp á grynningar og sprungu, vofruðu um landið um vet-[75/76]urinn og sveimuðu víða í vikur og firði sunnanlands, fyrir innan Skaga, allt inn í Hvalfjörð, svo fólk gat ei til fiski róið. Sveimuðu í burt á þorra í skörpu norðanveðri. Aflaði það stórfiskavað mörgu fátæku fólki harðinda upp á bjargleysi sökum fyrirfarandi ára." (*Setbergsannáll*; cf Jóhannesson 1940: 75f).

No fish in the north (of the country). Came ice; whales then came ashore in many places; they stranded on shallows and burst, moved back and forth around the country during the winter and into many creeks and bays in the southern part of the country, inside the Reykjanesskagi, all the way into the Hvalfjörður, so people could not row out fishing. It moved away between mid January and mid February during a strong northerly storm; that school of big (ie, whale) fishes [*stórfiskavaður*] caused hardship with many poor people on top of the previous meagre years (ie, those beginning in 1601).

Gísli Þorkelsson in *Setbergsannáll* bypasses the accounts of *Skarðsárannáll* and *Fitjaannáll* for the year 1603; many of their accounts for 1604 are in the *Setbergsannáll* found under 1603.

1604 "Þá fann einn Reynistaðarlandseta eitt einhyrningshorn með dýrsins höfði á hafís um vorið, meira en 2 vikur sjávar undan landi, hvert horn lögmaður Jón keypti af manninum. Það var nærri 3 álnir að lengd, en brotið var þó af því það mjósta, nærri ½ alin; hornið hafði vegið 26... Lögmaður skrifaði fram fyrir konung um fund þennan, ef hans ráð vildi hornið girnast." (*Fitjaannáll*; cf Þorsteinsson 1926: 92).

In the ice, some 15 or more kilometres north of the Skagafjörður, a tenant under the Reynistaður estate (Staðarhr, Skags) found a narwhal tusk with the cranium attached; it was nearly three ells long (ie, < 147 cm) but

lacked the most narrow part, being nearly ½ ell long; it weighted 26... (lacuna). Lawman [lögmaður] Jón bought it from the man and reported it to the king should the crown wish to acquire it.

1604 Cf 1603, above.

1604 "Dn. Gudbrandus, episcopus Holensis, annotavit duobus proximè evolutis annis in Skagafiardar sýslu octingentos homines fame et frigore mortuos, fuisseque multo plures morituros, nisi Dominus penum suam aperiens tres [496/497] magnos pisces et innumerabilem fere focarum multitudinem famelicæ plebi sustentandæ misisset." (*Annalium in Islandia farrago*; cf Grímsdóttir 1988: 496f).

Guðbrandur, bishop at Hólar has mentioned that during the past two years [ie, 1602/3-1603/4] 800 persons in Skagafjarðarsýsla have died from starvation and cold and many more would have died if the Lord had not opened his store of food and sent three large [ie, whale] fishes and numerous seals to the aid of the hungry common people.

1604 "Kom ís. Rak hvali. Selatekja mikil. Þetta var kallað Eyndaár." (*Skarðsárannáll*; cf Þorsteinsson 1922a: 191).

'Came ice. Came whales (ashore). Much seal takes. This was called Year of Misery.'

1606 "Voru reknir inn á voginn í Bjarneyjum 40 vöggufiskar og þar lagðir." (*Eyrarannáll*; cf Þorsteinsson 1933a: 257).

'40 orcas [vöggufiskar] were chased into the creek in Bjarneyjar [Flateyjarhr, A-Barðs] and killed there.'

This is presumably the same event which JG1 attributes to the year 1607 and *Ballarárannáll* to 1611 (cf below).

1606 "Selatekja mikill fyrir norðan. Rak 3 stórhvali á Vestfjörðum. Hafði þar margur [76/77] gott gagn af af fátæku fólki og barnamönnum, því það voru góðir fiskar, sléttbakur og steypireyðarkálfur 20 álna langur. Spurðist, að út lengst á öræfum [sic] hefði rekið hrosshval á þessu ári og hafði þar átt etinn að vera." (*Setbergsannáll*; cf Jóhannesson 1940: 76f).

'Great seal catch in the north. 3 large whales came ashore in the Westfjords. Of this many poor people and such with children had good use because they were good [ie, whale] fishes, sléttbakur [ie, (black?) right whale] and a blue whale calf 20 ells long. It was told that far out in rþfi [A-Skafts] a hrosshvalur [ie, wicked/sperm? whale] had in this year come ashore and people had eaten from it.'

1607 "Sá mesti margfiöldi smáhvalakyns og happavænlegasti kalla menn vagnhvali edur vognuhvali ---, en so marga edur fáa, sem menn finna til samans, má með skipum og grióti á land reka. xiiij. og xiv. [var: xvi. og

xvij.] alna. Fiórir gódir menn til ródurs ráda við þá. 1607 var eg staddur í Bjarneyum á Breidafirði, og þekkti ecki [6/7] utan eg eirn þessa hvali, og liet á land reka xl. í einu. Var riette ræntur sem optar. Eyagálar kölludu fyrst haftröll, og grýttu þá úr fiörunni fram aptur undir vor skip, fáein [ie, ships] sem með mier voru, en ræntu oss riette sijdar." (Guðmundsson [1640/44] 1924a: 6f).

'The greatest number of small kinds of whales and the most beneficial ones people call *vagnhvali* or *vognuhvali* [ie, orcas] ---, but so many or so few which people find together may be chased ashore with ships and stones. [Sized] 13 and 14 [var: 16 and 17] ells. Four good rowers cope with them. In 1607, I [ie, JG1] stayed in Bjarneyjar in Breiðafjörður, and nobody [6/7] except me alone knew these whales, and [I] had 40 chased ashore simultaneously. [I] Was robbed of my rights, as so often. The foolish islanders called them at first *haftröll* [ie, sea trolls] and stoned them from the beach off under our ships, those few that were with me, and robbed us later of our right [ie, to the driver's share].' (Cf Guðmundsson [1640/44] 1924a: 6f).

This is presumably the same event which *Eyrarannáll* attributes to 1606 and *Ballarárannáll* to 1611 (cf below); allowing JG1's mind (ca 1640-1644) to be at fault this drive seems to have occurred in 1606, rather than 1607 or even 1611.

Hermannsson (1924: 34) finds that the *vögnhvalur* here does not fit the usual identification as the orca and suggests the longfinned pilot whale instead; however, in addition to the name, JG1's measures agree with the orca; it also lives in pods of up to 20-40 animals, occasionally 100 or more (cf Evans 1987b: 163; Watson 1985: 214). JG1's (admittedly confusing) remark that 'Large whales disperse or kill them' (cf Guðmundsson [1640/44] 1924a: 6) presumably hints at large whales defending themselves, rather than being an erroneous reversal of roles.

1608 "Komu Spanskir [var addition: fyrst] fyrir norðan á þrennum skipum, hvalamenn á Strandir, ræntu viðum og líka peningum, og voru stráksfengnir. (*Ballarárannáll*; cf Þorsteinsson 1930b: 191).

'The Spanish came [var addition: for the first time (hardly: first)] in the north with three ships, whalers, at Strandir [ie, Strandasýsla], stole wood and also domestic animals, and were scampish.'

In this and the following entries I generally assume Spanish and French whalers to be Basques. The meaning of *fyrst* seems explained by the entry in *Ballarárannáll*, 1626, about the 'first' arrival of the French (Basque) whalers (cf Þorsteinsson 1930b: 196).

1610 "Tókst upp hvalaskutlan á Vestfjörðum." (*Skarðsárannáll*; cf Þorsteinsson 1922a: 198).

'Whale harpooning [hvalaskutlun] was begun in the

Westfjords.'

1611 "31. Maii um vorið voru reknir í land á skipum í Bjarneyjum 40 vögguhvalir [var: vagnhvalir], sunnan af Stagleyjarhöggum, inn í voginn, og lagðir þar allir." (*Ballarárannáll*; cf Þorsteinsson 1930b: 191).

'31 May in the spring 40 orcas [vögguhvalir; var: vagnhvalir] were chased ashore on ships in Bjarneyjar [Flateyjarhr, A-Barðs], south from Stagleyjarhögg, into the creek and all killed there.'

Þorsteinsson (1933a: 257) finds the year 1611 to be more likely than 1606 in *Eyrarannáll* (cf above); however, JG1's account (cf 1607, above) increases the likelihood of 1606 being correct, with JG1's mind (ca 1640-1644) being at fault.

1613 "Þetta ár byrjuðu spanskir að hafa sína höndlun og hvalveiði í Steingrímsfirði og voru í fyrstu meinlitlir." (*Sjávarborgarannáll*; cf Jóhannesson 1942: 247).

'This year the Spanish began trading and whaling in Steingrímsfjörður [Strs] and were to begin with inoffensive.'

1613 "Lágu spænskir hvalskutlarar kringum allt Ísland á 18 skipum, gerðu glettingar sumstaðar. Einir fyrir Vestfjörðum fengu hafvillu, sigldu í vesturhöf, [200/201] rötuðu í ís, voru í honum 9 daga, komu að Grænlandi (sem sumir halda) með hörkubrögðum. Skutu landsmenn af þeim 3 menn til dauðs með sínum bogum og beinpílum, en hinir spönsku sáu þó engan, héldu síðan með það frá landi, og sögðu happ, og sem fram á sjó komu sáu þeir ógrynnislið á landi. Þeir sigldu síðan til Íslands, undu upp skip sitt og gerðu að því, sem lest var orpið, héldu brott um veturnatur." (*Skarðsárannáll*; cf Þorsteinsson 1922a: 200f).

Spanish whalers lay all around the country with 18 ships, causing trouble in some places. One vessel off the Westfjords strayed into ice off Greenland. 'The inhabitants [ie, Inuits] shot three of them [ie, crew members] dead with bows and bone arrows but the Spanish saw none (of them)', went to Iceland where they wound up the vessel and repaired it.

1614 "Þá tóku spanskir til að ræna nautum og sauðum á Vestfjörðum og hræða af fólki sína peninga. Forgekk þá eitt af þeirra skipum, en fólkið komst af. Item [247/248] 14. Junii komu ræningjar spanskir og engelskir upp á Vestmannaeyjar, inntóku þar og ræntu ...". (*Sjávarborgarannáll*; cf Jóhannesson 1942: 247f).

'Then the Spanish began to rob cattle and sheep in the Westfjords and frighten people to give up their domestic animals. Then one of their ships wrecked, but the people

were rescued. Similarly, 14 June, Spanish and English robbers came onto the Westman Islands, captured them and looted ... '.

1615 "Hafís svo mikill fyrir sunnan, að ekki varð róið fyrir sunnan Skaga. Á honum drukknuðu 2 menn, er fóru að drepa seli. Þá brotnuðu 3 spönsk skip í Strandasýslu, hvaraf að kom það Spanskaslag, að Íslenzkir slógu í hel af þeim Spönsku 31, af því þeir ræntu og stálu." (*Fitjaannáll*; cf Þorsteinsson 1926: 99).

Much sea ice at southern Iceland. 2 men who went out killing seals drowned on it. 'Then 3 Spanish ships wrecked in Strandasýsla of which arose the Spanish Battle, (so) that the Icelanders killed 31 of the Spanish because they robbed and stole.'

1615 "Þar eftir í Augusto lágu þrjú stór skip spönsk fyrir Vestfjörðum uppá hvalfang. Þau brotnuðu öll í einum útsynningsbyl á einni nóttu. Voru þá eftir 80 spanskir menn á átta bátum og meintu að ala sig þann vetur á sínum ránskap. Þeir reru á millum fjarðar og sveita á sínum bátum og einni skútu, hverja þeir höfðu rænt á Dynjanda í Jökulfjörðum. Þeir voru flestir vestur á Vatnseyri [Rauðasandshr, V-Barðs] um veturin og lifðu mest á sínu ráni. 31 af þeim voru drepnir í Ísafirði, á Skaga í Dýrafirði 13, í Æðey og Sandeyri 18. Hinir, sem eftir urðu, ræntu um vorið í Apríli engelskri duggu með fólki og öllu saman og þar til góssinu af annarri, drápu þar af einn mann og sigldu með það í burt." (*Sjávarborgarannáll*; cf Jóhannesson 1942: 248).

'... in August three big Spanish ships lay off the Westfjords for whaling. They all broke in a southwesterly storm in one night. 80 Spanish men remained on eight boats ---.'

1616 "A Vestfjörðum brotnuðu um haustið tvö skip spönsk [var: sem áður með fleirum höfðu þar á hvalveiðum verið í Strandasýslu og stolið sauðum og smjöri frá búendum þar, einninn viði og öðru, þetta var seint um hausttíma] og gerði það spanska fólk stórar áspektir í ránum og öðrum tiltekjum. Tók sig þá mannfólk saman með ráði og yfirsýn b[óndans] Ara Magnússonar sýslumanns á Vestfjörðum, og voru Spanskir slegnir til dauðs 18 [var: 13 slegnir vestur á Skaga, að auki hinna 18 á Sandeyri og í Æðey á Ísafirði] af mönnum Ara [205/206] Magnússonar, hvert Spanskaslag til landhreinsunar virtist, sem dómar þar um gengnir ganga og votta, og á alþingi var yfirséð. Um þetta Spanska slag finnst gerr skrifað á Vestfjörðum, hverja sem það girnir að lesa." (*Skarðsárannáll*; cf Þorsteinsson 1922a: 205f).

'In the Westfjords two Spanish ships broke in the autumn [ie, 1615] ---.'

1617 "Skiptapi í Eyrarsveit, 6 menn; segja menn, að hvalur hafi tekið þá alla, sérhvern einn í senn og gleypt. ---. Það kaupskip, sem koma skyldi á Eyrarbakka, það fann aldrei Ísland um sumarið, villtist af þokum, rötuðu fyrir hafís, komu í mikla neyð í margan máta, bæðir sakir skips- [207/208] ins og sjálfa þeirra; þeir urðu að slá selinn á ísnum, og silgdu svo fram aptur í Danmörk og sögðu happ." (*Skarðsárannáll*; cf Þorsteinsson 1922a: 207f).

'Loss of a ship in Eyrarsveit [Snæfs], 6 men; people say that a whale took them all, each one at a time and swallowed (them).' ---. A Danish merchant vessel bound for Eyrarbakki lost its way in fog that summer and never found Iceland; its crew killed seals on the ice and returned to Denmark and praised themselves lucky.

1621 "Forgekk hafskip í ísi norður undan Íslandi, er kong Christian 4. sendi að veiða hvali við Grænland; höfðu þeir þar hvali veitt hið fyrra sumarið [ie, 1620] við land, og sáu þá ekki nema snjó á landinu, höfðu höfn góða, komu nú í dimmur og villtust síðan, rak svo að þeim ís, tóku síðan báta og settu um ísin, en gengu þar frá skipinu, dóu tveir menn í þeim kjalardrætti; komst einn bátur þessi í Grímsey og þaðan á Eyjafjörð, annar á Tjörnes, þriðji á Sléttu; dóu tveir af þeim, þegar á land komu; lágu 9 af þeim skipbrotsmönnum norskum hér í landi um veturinn, fjórir kaldir; hinir sigldu allir." (*Skarðsárannáll*; cf Þorsteinsson 1922a: 215).

'A high sea vessel, which king Christian 4 had send to catch whales off Greenland [ie, Spitsbergen], was lost in the ice north of Iceland; they had caught whales there the previous summer [ie, 1620] and saw then nothing except snow on land, had a good harbour; arrived now in darkness and lost then their way, ice then drifted at; (they) then took the boats and placed them on the ice and left the ship there; two men died in that keelhauling [ie, some repair?]; one of these boats came to Grímsey and from there to Eyjafjörður; another one to Tjörnes [Þings], a third one to Slétta [Þings]; two men died after they had come ashore; 9 of the shipwrecked Norwegians lay (sick) here in the country [ie, Iceland] during the winter, four with gangerene; the others sailed (abroad).'

1625 "Jarðbannsvetur mikill [kallaður Svellavetur] ---. [220/220] Kom ís á góu, lá til alþingis. Hvalrek nokkur. Linun kom fyrst hinn 5. Martii, þó spillti aptur." (*Skarðsárannáll*; cf Þorsteinsson 1922a: 220f).

'---. Ice came mid February/mid March [góa] and lay until the Althing [ie, mid June]. Some whale comings.'

1625 "Kom ís á góu og lá til alþingis. Hvalreki nokkur." (*Vatnsfjarðarannáll hinn yngri*; cf Þorsteinsson 1931a: 105).

'Ice came mid February/mid March [góa] and lay until the Althing [ie, mid June]. Some whale comings.'

1626 "Þá komu fyrst Franskir á Strandir, drápu 20 hvali." (Ballarárannáll; cf Þorsteinsson 1930b: 196).

'Then came for the first time the French to Strandasýsla, killed 20 whales.'

These are most likely French Basques. In the subsequent entries referring to French whalers they are also assumed to be Basques although this may not be mentioned in the translation or notes. For the 'first' arrival of the Spanish (Basque?) whalers, cf *Ballarárannáll*, 1608 (cf Þorsteinsson 1930b: 191), above.

1627 "Enskar duggur höfðu og 2 varnarskip, sem tóku franskt hvalfangaraskip fyrir Vestfjörðum við Látrabjarg." (*Sauðlauksdalsannáll*; cf Grímsdóttir 1987b: 389).

'English [ie, fishing] vessels had also 2 warships which seized a French whaling ship off the Westfjords at Látrabjarg.'

1627 "Danskir reiðarar sendu kaupskip á Vestfirði síð sumars í stað þess, er rænt var, og þar með kom varnarskip. Engelskt varnarskip við duggur enskar var fyrir Vesturlandi. Það tók franskt hvalfangaskip eitt fyrir Vestfjörðum; komust af skipinu á báti og í land franskir menn 16; þeir komu 2 til alþingis, og sigldu í Seilu." (*Skarðsárannáll*; cf Þorsteinsson 1922a: 229).

An English warship seized a French whaling ship off the Westfjords; from the ship 16 French crew members came ashore in a boat; two came to the Althing, and sailed (abroad) from Seilan (Seylan) [Bassastaðahr, Gullbs].

1632 During the summer of 1632, a Dutch vessel, on which the Icelander Halldór Þórðarson was master, lay at Búðir, Staðarsveit, Snæfs, for some time. (*Ballarárannáll*; cf Þorsteinsson 1930b: 191). He was the son of Þórður Böðvarsson, of Reykholt, and married in the Netherlands; drowned in 1647. He and Pétur Einarsson, the author of *Ballarárannáll*, were cousins. (Cf Þorsteinsson 1930b: 191). It is not indicated which kind of vessel Þórðarson commanded.

1635 "Komu á land í Vestmannaeyjum fiskar, sem engir höfðu fyrr slíkir sést, nær hundrað að tölu; voru með tveimur höfðum, emjuðu upp og ýldu með aumlegum hljóðum; væri til þeirra járnum lagt eða höggvið, beit ekki á; fóru í sjó aptur." (*Skarðsárannáll*; cf Þorsteinsson 1922a: 243).

'In the Westman Islands came fishes ashore, which no-one had previously seen the like, numbering nearly one [long?] hundred; (they) had two heads, whined loudly and wailed with miserable sounds; they were attacked with irons or

hewed, (which) did not wound (them); went into the water again.' Perhaps this was a pod of adult (male) bottlenose whales (cf beak and melon)?

1637 "16. Julii voru 19 níðingar á land reknir með grjóti og lagðir á Þorkötlustöðum í Grindavík." (*Sjávarborgarannáll*; cf Jóhannesson 1942: 270).

'On 16 July, 19 níðingar [ie, orcas?] were chased (ashore) with stones and killed at Þorköllustaðir, in Grindavík [Gullbs].'

1638 "Þá kom stórfiskavað í flesta firði sunnanlands þann vetur fyrir innan Skaga í einu útnyrðingsveðri. Lágu við land nokkra stund, hvörfluðu frá aftur. ---. Druknaði skip með selafarmi." (*Setbergsannáll*; cf Jóhannesson 1940: 88).

'Then came a school of big [ie, whale] fishes [stórfiskavaður] in most fiords at the Southland that winter inside [ie, at the northside of?] Reykjanesskagi in a northwesterly storm. ---. A ship drowned with a load of seals.'

1639 "Þann vetur í Hornafirði austur varð mikill fiskreki á jörðu einn- [273/274] ar ekkju, svo þar rak í einu 70 hundruð skreiðarþorsks, er sjálf ekkjan með sínu fólki gat yfir komizt, en það var ekki reiknað, sem hún leyfði öðrum að taka, svo sem hver náði og gat að sér fært. Síld rak og þar með undrunarlega, svo ei varð tölu á komið. Þar eftir rak einn stóran hvalfisk á fjörur þeirra ekkju og tvo hvali aðra þar í Hornafirðinum.

Hafís hræðilegur kom þrem vikum eftir páska austan fyrir landið og varð landfastur fyrir öllu Suðurlandinu allt að Reykjanesi. Hann hraktist eftir straumum og veðurstöðu austur og vestur með landinu fram yfir fardaga. Honum fylgdi ekkert gagn af sel né trjám. Hann skar burt allar fjörur í Grindavík, svo ei var þari eður þongull, söl eður grös." (*Sjávarborgarannáll*; cf Jóhannesson 1942: 273f).

Fish drift in great number and quantities onto the ground of a widow in Hornarfjörður (Nesjahr, A-Skafts). 'Thereafter a large whale fish came onto the widow's shore and two other whales there in the Hornarfjörður.' Terrible sea ice off South Iceland until ca 21-27 May [fardagar]; 'nothing useful' accompanied the ice, 'neither seals nor wood'.

1641 "Það haust var góð veðurátta frá vetri og fram að jólum. Þá sáu undarlegir og sérlegir hvalfiskar tvær í Borgarfirði og Hvalfirði; voru alhvítir á lit, sem stór útselur að vexti; sá í Hvalfirði sást var þar frá krossmessu um vorið og fram á jólaföstu það menn vissu; þeir fóru svo grunnt, að menn máttu gerla sjá þá af þurru landi." (*Fitjaannáll*; cf Þorsteinsson 1926: 139).

In the autumn 'two strange and peculiar whale fishes were

seen in Borgarfjörður and Hvalfjörður; (they) were totally white in colour, like a big grey seal in size; the one in Hvalfjörður was seen there from 3 May and until Advent so far people knew; they went so close to shore that people could see them clearly from dry land.'

1641 "Þá sáu undarlegir og sérlegir hvalfiskar í Borgarfirði og Hvalfirði, allhvítir á lit, sem stór útselur að vexti; sá í Hvalfirði sást var þar frá krossmessu um vorið og fram að jólaföstu, það menn vissu; þeir fóru svo grunnt, að menn máttu gerla sjá þá af þurru landi." (*Skarðsárannáll*; cf Þorsteinsson 1922a: 267).

'Then two strange and peculiar whale fishes were seen in Borgarfjörður and Hvalfjörður, totally white in colour, like a big grey seal in size ...'

1644 "Ekkert hér á sveitum sérlegt, nema upp úr Haukadalsvatni komu flykki og bútar með rifjum kringum vatnið; var eins tilskýndar og meiðarhvalur, ekki neitt dökkt í; þá kastað var í eld tundraði það ofurlega upp. Rifin sá eg, þau voru rétt sívöl, nokkuð stærrí en hestrið. Geta menn til, að verið hafi af ormi þeim, sem í því vatni áður sézt hefur, svo á því ári þar eptir heyrðist enginn ókyrleiki í vatninu, sem áður mjög mikið heyrðist." (*Ballarárannáll*; cf Þorsteinsson 1930b: 203).

'... out of Haukadalsvatn [Haukadalshr, Dalas] came, from around the lake, formless parts and pieces with ribs; (they) looked like meiðarhvalur [ie, 'blubber whale'], nothing dark in it; when fire was thrown into it, it blazed strongly up. The ribs I [ie, Pétur Einarsson, b 1597, d 1666] saw myself, they were straight, cylindrical, somewhat bigger than horse ribs. People assume that they have been from that serpent which has previously been seen in that lake, so in the following year one heard no unrest in the lake which had previously been heard so much.'

1651 "Lágu 2 hollenzk hvalaskip í Reykjarfirði norður." (*Vatnsfjarðarannáll hinn elzti*; cf Þorsteinsson 1931b: 74).

'2 Dutch whaling ships lay north in Reykjarfjörður [Grunnavíkurhr, N-Ísafjs].'

1651 "Hvalaskip tvö lágu í Reykjarfirði norður." (*Vatnsfjarðarannáll hinn yngri*; cf Þorsteinsson 1931a: 127).

'Two whaling ships lay north in Reykjarfjörður [Strs].'

1655 "Þá rak hval á Reykjum á Reykjaströnd, hvar af ágreiningur varð millum prestsins í Hvammi í Laxárdal og klausturhaldarans á Reynistað um rekamarkið. Hafði nokkru áður rekið á þær fjörur 3 smáhvali." (*Sjávarborgarannáll*; cf Jóhannesson 1942: 293).

'Then a whale came ashore at Reykir [Skarðsh, Skags] at

Reykjaströnd from which arose a dispute between the vicar in Hvammur [Skefilsstaðahr, Skags] in Laxárdalur and the holder of Reynistaður monastery [Staðarhr, Skags] about the driftage limit. Some time earlier 3 small(er) whales had come onto those shores.'

1655 "Tvö skip, franskt og hollenzkt lá(gu) á Norðurströndum. - Víða hvalrekar." (*Vatnsfjarðarannáll hinn elzti*; cf Þorsteinsson 1931b: 81).

'Two ships, a French one and a Dutch one lay at northern Strandasýsla. - Widely whale comings.'

1656 "Franskir og hollenzkir hvalamenn lágu í Strandasýslu." (*Vatnsfjarðarannáll hinn yngri*; cf Þorsteinsson 1931a: 131).

'French and Dutch whalers lay in Strandasýsla.'

1657 "Á þessu ári kom upp ein hafreyður undan ís í Gerfidal í Ísafirði." (*Vatnsfjarðarannáll hinn yngri*; cf Þorsteinsson 1931a: 142).

'During this year a hafreyður [ie, blue/fin whale] came from underneath (the) ice in Gerfidalur [= Gjörfidalur, Nauteyrarhr, N-Ísafjs] in Ísafjörður.'

This entry has great similarity with that of *Eyrarannáll*, 1666 (cf below); perhaps they actually pertain to the same event and either is wrongly dated.

1660 "... Jonas Trellund, som for sig og Arvinger udvirkede et Privilegium, som paa andet Fiskerie, saa især paa Hvalfiske-Fangst paa 20 Aar 1 eller 1½ Mil omkring Island, samt at lade opbygge ved een eller anden Havn, som Grundefjord, Havnefiord eller andensteds, hvor han agtede bekvemmest, Huuse til Fisk, Tran og Hvalfiske-Barder, Fiske-Redskab og andet, imod at betale for dette Privilegium 2000 Rdlr. in specie eengang for alle." (*Eiríksson 1768: 251*).

'... Jonas Trellund, who for himself and his heirs obtained a privilege [18 July 1660; cf ALPB 6: 645/1661, no 2], for other fishery, but in particular concerning whale fish catching, for 20 years (within) 1 or 1½ mil [probably à 7.4 km] around Iceland, and to build at one or another harbour, such as Grundarfjörður, Hafnarfjörður or another place, which he considered most suitable, houses for fish, train oil and whale fish baleen, fishing gear and other things, against paying for this privilege 2000 rigsdaler in specie once and for all.' (Cf *Eiríksson 1768: 251*).

Vallholtsannáll 1661 offers further details (cf below).

1661 "Það haust brotnuðu hvalaraskip fyrir norðan." (*Fitjaannáll*; cf Þorsteinsson 1926: 191).

'That autumn whaling ships wrecked in the north.'

1661 "Friðrik kongur lénti Jónas Trelund Hríseyju til búðarstöðu að drepa hvali, og kaupa við landsfólk sér

til matar, ef á lægi. Gerðu þeir þar vanar búðir, og voru hér um veturinn fleiri [var: ei færri] en 30, en um vorið fóru sumir til Grænlands að hvalfiski, en sumir voru eptir við búðirnar. Hafði Jónas veitt kongi styrk mikinn móti Svíum." (Vallholtsannáll; cf Þorsteinsson 1924b: 357).

'King Frederik [ie, 5th] feued Hrísey to Jonas Trelund for having sheds (in order) to kill whales, and (to) buy food from the inhabitants of the country if necessary. They erected good sheds there and during the winter (var: no) more than 30 stayed here but in the spring some went to Greenland for whale fishing while some stayed behind at the sheds. Jonas had supported the king much against the Swedish.'

Eiríksson (1768: 251) explains the background, cf 1660, above.

1662 "Skiptapi hjá Höskuldstöðum á Skagaströnd; voru á 6 menn, steypti hvalur undir þeim, er Franskir höfðu skutlað, hljóp á skipið og klauf það; gátu Franskir hjálpað tveimur, en fjórir dóu.

Brann bærinn allur að Kjalarlandi á Skagaströnd. - Þar á ströndinni kom blinda furðuleg á sauðfé, urðu bæði augun hvít á þeim sauðum, er hana fengu, og varð að skera af. Sást hún fyrst á Hafstöðum, síðan á Höskuldsstöðum og færðist um bæi inn eptir ströndinni, allt að Breiðavaði, og þó enn lengra fram. Meir en 60 fjár á Höskuldsstöðum fengu blinduna og svo víðar; batnaði því aptur, en hitt varð af að skera, sem hana fékk á bæði augu. Grunaði suma þetta mundi gert hafa franskir galdrastrákar, því sumarið fyrir [ie, 1661] höfðu Strandarmenn djarfir verið að ná sér nokkru af hvalreitum þeirra. Komu Franskir nú aptur þetta sumar [ie, 1662] að ströndinni á land hjá Syðri Ey, og vildu gefa bónda þar eða hverjum sem þiggja vildi, lamb franskt, er þeir höfðu með sér, en enginn vildi þiggja, og höfðu það svo með sér aptur. Frá þessu kom blinda féð, en sást ekki fyrr. Sögðust þeir hafa gefið 2 lömb á Ströndum og skilið eptir, en með þessu, er enginn þág, má vera þeir hafi gert galdur sauðfénu. NB. Sást mönnum yfir, að þeir tóku ekki við; hefðu þeir átt að þiggja og brenna jafnskjótt til ösku; kan vera, þá hafði farið betur." (Vallholtsannáll; cf Þorsteinsson 1924b: 359).

'Shipwreck off Höskuldstaðir at Skagaströnd [Vindhælishr, V-Húns]; 6 men were on board; a whale which the French had harpooned plunged under them, ran against the ship and cut it (in two); the French managed to help two (men) but four died.'

The farm at Kjalarland, Skagaströnd, burned. A strange blindness developed in the sheep in the Skagaströnd area; eyes turned white in the sheep; the animals that blinded in both eyes were destroyed, others recovered. The illness moved southward during the district. 'Some suspected that French sorcerers had brought it about because in the

previous summer [ie, 1661] inhabitants in Strandasýsla had audaciously appropriated something from their whale [flensing?] areas. The French now returned this summer ashore on the ground of Syðri Ey [Vindhælishr], and wished to give the peasant there, or anybody who would accept it, a French lamb which they had brought with them but none would accept it and they took it with them again. From this came the blind sheep which did not occur earlier. They said that they had given 2 lambs at Strandir [Strs] and left there but with this, which nobody accepted, they may have bewitched the sheep. NB. People overlooked that they did not accept; if they had accepted and immediately burned it to ashes it is possible things could have turned out better.'

1663 "Brotnaði hvalveiðaskip franskt á Ströndum norður í Bolungarvík, og urðu sumir hér vetrarlægir." (Annálsgreinar Árna Magnússonar á Hóli; cf Þorsteinsson 1933b: 430).

'A French whaling vessel wrecked north in Bolungarvík [Grunnavíkurhr, N-Ísafjs] at Strandir and some stayed here through the winter.'

1663 "Það sumar urðu þrjú skiptapar fyrir norðan, sem hvalfiskur skyldi grandað hafa, og einn skiptapi varð á Breiðafirði nærri Flatey. Þar komst af einn. ---. Það haust brotnaði franskt hvalaraskip fyrir vestan á Vestfjörðum; drukknuðu þar af átta, en þrjátíu komust af, lágu hér eptir um veturinn." (Fitjaannáll; cf Þorsteinsson 1926: 197).

'That summer three ships were lost in the north which whale fishes should have caused, and one loss of ship in Breiðafjörður near Flatey. There one (man) was rescued. That autumn a French whaling ship wrecked at the Westfjords; eight men drowned there but thirty were rescued, stayed here during the winter.'

1663 "Þá brotnaði hvalaraskip á Vestfjörðum, drukknuðu 8, en 30 lágu eptir um veturinn fyrir norðan og vestan." (Kjósarannáll; cf Þorsteinsson 1928: 442).

'Then a whaling ship wrecked in the Westfjords, 8 drowned but 30 stayed here during the winter in the north and (north) west.'

1663 "24 Aug[usti], brotnaði franskt skip í hafís vestra; létust þar af 8, en 43 komust af; sigldu sumir á Vestfjörðum, sumir í Hofsós, sumir á Akureyri." (Vallaannáll; cf Þorsteinsson 1922b: 430).

24 August, a French ship wrecked in sea ice off northwestern Iceland; 8 men died but 43 were rescued; some sailed abroad from the Westfjord, some from Hofsós, some from Akureyri.

This is probably a French Basque whaling vessel; a crew of 51 corresponds to the crew of ca 50 mentioned for such a vessel in 1695 (cf *Mælifellsannáll*; cf Þorsteinsson

1924a: 362).

1663 "... Septembris ... [362/363] Skiptapi í Hrísey, létust 4 menn; sást, að hvalur hvelfdi under þeim skipinu. ---. 1. Oct[obris] skiptapi í Ólafsfirði, létust 7 menn; hafði hvalur steipt under þeim." (Vallholtsannáll; cf Þorsteinsson 1924b: 363).

'September ... Shipwreck in Hrísey [Eyjafs], 4 men died; people saw that a whale upset the ship with them. ---. 1 October, shipwreck in Ólafsfjörður [Eyjafs], 7 men died; a whale rose under them.'

1664 "Þá brutu skip sitt vestur á Ísafirði franskir hvalfangarar, svo og engelskt fiskiskip á utanverðum Tálknafirði; komust af 7 menn." (Sjávarborgarannáll; cf Jóhannesson 1942: 296).

French whalers wrecked their vessel at Ísafjörður (ie, Ísafjarðardjúp).

1665 "Var allvíða hvalreki og hverjar 15 vattir hvals seldar á 60 álnir." (Sjávarborgarannáll; cf Jóhannesson 1942: 298).

'Whale comings widely and 15 vattir [ie, ca 600 kg] were sold for 60 álnir.' (60 álnir = ½ hundruð).

1666 "Á þessu ári kom upp hafreyður úr ís í Gerfidal". (Eyrarannáll; cf Þorsteinsson 1933a: 274).

'During this year a hafreyður [ie, blue/fin whale] came up from the ice in Gerfidalur [= Gjörfidalur, Nauteyrarhr, N-Ísafjs].'

This entry has great similarity with that of Vatnsfjarðarannáll hinn yngri, 1657 (cf above).

1667 "Á þessu ári rak hér á Vestfjörðum alls að samtöldu 15 stórfiska, suma með járn en suma fyrir utan járn, þó skutlaðir hefðu verið." (Vatnsfjarðarannáll hinn yngri; cf Þorsteinsson 1931a: 146).

'During this year a total of 15 big [ie, whale] fishes [stórfiskar] came ashore here in the Westfjords, some with iron but some without iron, although they had been skutlaðir.'

It cannot be determined from the passage what skutlaðir actually means, ie, whether 'speared' or 'harpooned', or even both, let alone whether by Icelanders or foreigners.

1668 "Skiptapi varð á Akranesi, létust 2 menn; grandaði þeim illhveli, hinum þriðja varð hjálpað." (Fitjaannáll; cf Þorsteinsson 1926: 216).

'Loss of a ship occurred at Akranes [Borgfs], 2 men died; a wicked whale killed them, the third one was rescued.'

1668 "Á Akranesi varð skipreiki af illhveli; týndust 2 menn, en þriðja varð mannbjargað." (Hestsannáll; cf Þorsteinsson 1929: 494).

'At Akranes [Borgfs] a ship stranding was caused by a

wicked whale; 2 men were lost, the third one was rescued.'

1668 "Af Akranesi varð skiptjón af illhveli. Týndust tveir menn, en þeim þriðja varð bjargað. (*Setbergsannáll*; cf Jóhannesson 1940: 106).

1669 "Rak þrjár andarnefjur á Rifhlíð um haustið. --- [300/301] Rak tvo hvali í einu á Böggvisstaðasandi í Svarfaðardal. Þá var gott fiskiár og grassumar." (*Sjávarborgarannáll*; cf Jóhannesson 1942: 300).

'Three bottlenose whales came onto Rifhlíð in the autumn. ---. Two whales came at the same time onto Böggvistaðasandur in Svarfarðardalur [Eyjafs].'

Rifhlíð seems to be somewhere between Borgarfjarðarsýsla and Vestur-Barðastrandarsýsla.

1670 "Franskt skip forgekk fyrir Örafum austur og fólk." (*Fitjaannáll*, cf Þorsteinsson 1926: 222; *Hestsannáll*, cf Þorsteinsson 1929: 498).

'A French ship wrecked in the east off Örafi [Hofshr, A-Skafts] together with the people.' This is possibly a French (Basque) whaling vessel.

1672 "Í Dýrafirði í Ísafjarðarsýslu lagðist upp rostungur. Þennan vetur á föstu kom mikillegur hafís, svo fyllti allt Ísafjarðardjúp og mestalla þverfirði og svo hvern fjörð vestur eptir, einninn Hvammsfjörð allt að Breiðafirði, og að Skjálfanda norður. Úr þessum ís kom viðarreki nokkur á Breiðafirði, en mikill á Rauðasandi, og svo víða um Vestfjörðu og Staðarsveit, en lítill eða enginn til Stranda.

Item hnísur á Eyri í Skutulsfirði, voru drepnar 24 á Pollinum fram undan Dönskubúðum." (*Eyrarannáll*; cf Þorsteinsson 1933a: 292).

'In Dýrafjörður in [ie, Vestur-] Ísafjarðarsýsla a walrus went ashore.' During Lent sea ice filled the fiords from the Breiðafjörður fiord complex, the Westfjord all the way to Skjálfandi bay, off Northeast Iceland. 'From the ice came some drift wood ... Similarly, on Eyri in Skutulsfjörður [Eyrarhr, N-Ísafjs] were 24 harbour porpoises [hnísur] killed below the Danish sheds.'

1673 "Fyrir norðan Langanes komu á tveimur bátum spanskir og franskir skipbrotshvalamenn, 30 að tölu; höfðu beðið skipbrot í hafís við Grænland; sigldu sumir í Seilu suður, sumir fyrir Jökli, og sumir annarsstaðar í höfnum." (*Eyrarannáll*; cf Þorsteinsson 1933a: 300).

'North of [ie, at?] Langanes came in two boats Spanish and French shipwrecked whalers, 30 in number; (they) had suffered shipwreck in sea ice at Greenland; sailed (abroad) from Seilan [or: Seylan; Bassastaðahr, Gullbs] south, some from western Snæfellsnes and some from other harbours.'

1674 "Rak hval á Nesi í Grunnavík, sem var 32 álnir, voru

á tíutíu vattir." (*Annálsgreinar Árna Magnússonar á Hóli*; cf Þorsteinsson 1933b: 432).

'A whale came ashore at Nes [Grunnavíkurhr, N-Ísafjs] which was [sized] 32 ells; on it were one hundred vattir [ie, 100, tíutíu, = 3970 kg].'

1674 "Í Hrútafirði skaðaði einn maður annan á hvalfjöru, stakk hann með broddstaf í fótinn, hvar af að blástur kom í allan búkinn, svo hann dó innan fárra daga, en vegandinn komst undan." (*Hestsannáll*; cf Þorsteinsson 1929: 506).

'In Hrútafjörður a man hurt another one during whale flensing, pricked him with a pointed staff in the foot from which the whole abdomen became distended so he died within few days but the killer escaped.'

1674 "Stakk Sigurður Jónsson í Húnavatnspingi Árna Sigurðsson til dauðs, að menn meintu, með broddstaf á hvalfjöru við Hrútafjörð." (*Sjávarborgarannáll*; cf Jóhannesson 1942: 303).

'Sigurður Jónsson of Húnavatnssýsla pricked Árni Sigurðsson to death with a pointed staff during whale flensing at Hrútafjörður, according to people's opinion.'

1677 "Steytti franskt hvalaskip í Skellibjarnarvík á Ströndum; sigldu sumir skipbrotsmenn á 2 bátum suður fyrir land og sigldu á Bessastöðum, Hólmi og Hafnarfirði, voru aflagðir í Geluckstað. - Sýslumaður Magnús Jónsson í Strandasýslu tók að sér skipbrotin uppá kong. Majest. vegna að fara til reikningsskapar. ---.

Sama ár um sumarið ræntu franskir hvalamenn á nokkrum bæjum fyrir norðan í Siglufirði. - Einninn randi annað skip á nokkrum bæjum í Eyjafirði, einkanlega í Hrísey hjá Þorvaldi þar búanda, ríkum manni, við hvorn, hann, hans mág og dóttur þeir illa að sögn höndlað hefðu." (*Eyrarannáll*; cf Þorsteinsson 1933a: 309).

'A French whaling ship struck in Skellibjarnarvík [= Skjaldabjarnarvík, Árneshr, Strs] at Strandir; some of the shipwrecked sailed on 2 boats around the country to the south and sailed abroad from Bessastaðir [Gullbs], Hólmur [= Hólmskaupstaður, Seltjarnarneshr, Kjóss] and Hafnarfjörður, disembarked in Glückstadt [ie, in Holstein]. The sheriff-steward [sýslumaður] Magnús Jónsson in Strandasýsla took charge of the ship wreck on behalf of (His) Royal Majesty to be entered into the accounts. ---. In the same year French whalers plundered at some farms north in Siglufjörður. - Another ship also looted at some farms in Eyjafjörður, in particular in Hrísey with Þorvaldur [Gunnlaugsson] peasant there, a wealthy man whom, his brother-in-law and their [sic] daughter, it was said, had been badly treated.'

1677 "Þá skutlaði Oddur Ólafsson, búandi á Svalbarði

norður, nokkra hvali á Eyjafirði, ítem árlega hnísur, höfrunga, klassekki. Hann sótti og fast eftir háskerðinga (hákarla-)tekju og vann mikinn sigur á sögðum fiskum. Hann fékk á einu ári sérdeilis 45 fiska, auk há- [305/306] karla, og var hinn mesti aflafangsmaður. Voru þó títt þröngvar búsigfjar hans." (Sjávarborgarannáll; cf Jóhannesson 1942: 305f).

'Then Oddur Ólafsson, tenant at Svalbarð in the north [Svalbarðsstrandarhr, S-Þings], skutlaði [ie, speared or harpooned?] some whales in Eyjafjörður, ítem yearly porpoises [hnísur], dolphins [höfrunga], small porpoises [klassekki]. He also strongly pursued the taking of sharks and won a large victory over said fishes. ... and he was an outstanding fisher (-hunter). Nevertheless, his means were often limited.'

1678 "Þá steyttu sig franskir hvalfangarar fyrir Söndum, og rak upp mikið góss." (Sjávarborgarannáll; cf Jóhannesson 1942: 306).

'French whalers wrecked off Sandar and many goods drifted ashore.' Sandar occurs as farmstead and church in Þingeyrarhr, V-Ísafjs, and in Ytri-Torfustaðahr, V-Húns, at the bottom of Miðfjörður.

1678 "Franskir komu á land á Svalbarðsströnd norður og ræntu, en þó einna mest í Hrísey; þar tóku þeir margt fémuna og drápu kvikfé nálega allt." (Vallaannáll; cf Þorsteinsson 1922b: 387).

'French [ie, Basque whalers?] went ashore at Svalbarðsströnd in the north and looted, however mostly in Hrísey; there they took many goods and killed nearly all domestic animals.'

1680 "Tóku þeir Dönsku Skutulsfjarðarskip, þá þeir inn á Djúpið sigldu fyrir Bolungarvík, hollenzkt ófríhöndlara skip ..., og skip og góss á Tunguþingi til prís dæmt og síðan til Bessastaða fært, og það ár síðar framsent með hesta. - Húsavíkurskip tók og annað ófríhöndlara skip, en hollenzkt hvalaskip tók það af þeim aptur. - Komu 3 dönsk stríðsskip á Skutulsfjörð, sem áttu að taka ófríhöndlara við landið." (Eyrarannáll; cf Þorsteinsson 1933a: 314).

Danish merchants ships bound for Skutulsfjörður (ie, Ísafjörður) seized a Dutch ship trading illegally; at Tunga thing (ie, Ísafjörður) the ship and goods were ruled to be a prize, sent to Bessastaðir and sailed abroad with horses. - 'Húsavík merchant vessel(s) also seized another illegal trader, but a Dutch whaling ship took it back from them.' 3 Danish warships which should confiscate illegal traders at the country were in Skutulsfjörður.

1681 "Hvalaraskip breimskt sigldi upp á Skagarif norður og brotnaði, kostaði það son stýrimannsins, er skipverjarni drápu; héldust allir menn aðrir, en góss

þeirra rak upp á Skaga, skemmt að miklu leyti."
(Vallaannáll; cf Þorsteinsson 1922b: 390).

'A whaling ship from Bremen sailed upon Skagarif [ie, off Skagi, V-Húns] in the north and wrecked; the son of the mate paid for it with his life, whom the crew killed; all other men were rescued but their goods drifted ashore at Skagi, damaged to a great extent.'

1681 "Ráku 130 hnýsur um allraheilagra messu á Þingeyrasand; um vorið höfðu veiðst af (þeim) hálf tannað hundrað á Skagaströnd." (Mælifellsannáll; cf Þorsteinsson 1924a: 555).

'About All Saints mass [ie, 1 November], 130 harbour porpoises [hnýsur] came ashore at Þingeyrasandur [V-Húns]; in the spring one hundred and fifty of them had been caught [ie, netted?] at Skagaströnd [V-Húns].'

1682 "Þá voru þrætur um hvalamálið í Húnavatnspingi millum Sanda og Litla-Óss." (Sjávarborgarannáll; cf Jóhannesson 1942: 309).

'Then there was dispute concerning the whale issue between Sandar [Ytri-Torfustaðahr] and Litli-Ós [Kirkjuhvammskr] in [ie, Western] Húnavatnssýsla.'

1683 The fined Jón Eggertsson sailed abroad 'with the Dutch ... but his stepson Magnús Benediktsson with the French.' (Fitjaannáll; cf Þorsteinsson 1926: 263).

Entries from these years give reason to consider these vessels to have been whaling ships.

1683 "Þá gekk yfir hvalmálið millum herra Gísla biskups og séra Páls Jónssonar. --- [309/310] Þá skeði lögmansárið Magnúsar Jónssonar á Sandarifi við Miðfjörð vestur, er af hvalreka orsakaðist millum Hóladómkirkjujarðar Litla-Óss og bóndaeignar Sands, svo sem allir þeir processar og málavastur hlýðir og það þar af kom." (Sjávarborgarannáll; cf Jóhannesson 1942: 309f).

Lawman (lögmaður) Magnús Jónsson inspected the locality Sandarifi at the west side of Miðfjörður, where the whale, which bishop Gísli and rev Páll Jónsson disputed about, had stranded.

1683 "Jón Eggertsson sigldi um sumarið með hollenzku Grænlandsfari, er kom við Grímsey, án passa. --- [395/397] Mörg hvalaraskip hollenzk og frönsk brotnuði í ísi, er hann var mjög á reki um hafið." (Vallaannáll; cf Þorsteinsson 1922b: 395, 397).

'Jón Eggertsson sailed (abroad) in the summer with a Dutch Greenland [ie, whaling] vessel which passed by Grímsey, without a passport. ---. Many Dutch and French whaling vessels wrecked in the ice when it drifted much around the sea.'

1685 "Steytti fransktt hvalaskip á Dýrafirði og rak upp á Arnarnessland; þeir sögðu, að við Spitsberg hefði þetta sumar bezta árferði og íslaust verið, og stórt hundrað skip hefðu þar til hvalaveiðar við verið og þessum hingað undir landið fylgt, hvar af 52 skip hafi hér undir landi í hafís tapast, og hefðu hinn önnur skipin fólkinu hjálpað, og á skipin skipt, á sum 30, sum 20 fram yfir kost, svo hjá þeim er mjög materlítið orðið." (*Eyrarannáll*; cf Þorsteinsson 1933a: 342).

'A French whaling ship struck in Dýrafjörður and drifted onto the ground of Arnarnes [Mýrahr, V-Ísafjs]; they said that at Spitsbergen the weather had been very good this summer and without ice, and a long hundred [ie, 120] of ships had been there whaling and followed this one here to this county, of which 52 ships were lost in sea ice here near this country, and the other ships had helped the people and distributed (them) on the ships, on some 30, (on) some 20, in excess of the provisions so with them food is in very short supply.'

1685 "Á því sumri fórust mörg hvalfangaraskip frönsk og hollenzk af hafísum þau sem voru í fiskifari og hvalveiðum í Grænlandshafi fyrir norðan Ísland [var: í millum Grænlands og Íslands], [268/269] svo fjöldi Franskra og annara framandi var hér um veturinn fyrir norðan og vestan, sem skilið höfðu við skipin brotin eður lest í hafísum, en settu róðrabáta sína á ísnum, og reru þeim stundum, þar vakaði [var: vakarnar voru]. Margir af þeim komust hér á land í Austfjörðum og fyrir norðan um haustið með mestu raun, kaldir og kvaldir af hungri, frosti og veðrum, en hvað margi hefðu með bátunum farizt vissi enginn." (*Fitjaannáll*; cf Þorsteinsson 1926: 268f).

'During that summer many French and Dutch whaling ships perished because of the sea ice, [ie] those that were fishing and whaling in the Greenland Sea north of Iceland [var: between Greenland and Iceland] so numerous Frenchmen and other foreigners were here, in the north and (north-) west, during the winter, who put their rowing boats onto the ice and rowed them sometimes where there were polynias. Many of them came ashore here in the Eastfjords and in the north during the autumn with the greatest effort, cold and suffering from starvation, cold and (changing) weather, but how many had perished with the boats nobody knew.'

Þorsteinsson (1926: 269) finds that instead of 'Eastfjords' is probably meant 'Westfjords'. This may indeed be correct if the vessels had been abandoned in the Strait of Denmark; if they had been abandoned in the Jan Mayen field, northeast Iceland is closer and currents in these areas would favour a landing in eastern Iceland.

1685 Sea ice lay off the whole of northern and eastern Iceland through August. 'Of this ice the French and Dutch incurred great ship and crew losses.' (*Hestsannáll*; cf Þorsteinsson 1929: 524).

1686 "Þann vetur kom það upp, að rekið hafði franska jullu hjá Brimnesi, og bændur tveir hana til sín tekið og leynt, en er eptir var grennslazt kom upp hið sanna; hafði hana slitið frá Frönskum út við Málmei um sumarið. Fluttu þeir heim til Hóla, er leynt höfðu, rekald það: 190 faðma kaðals, hvalavopn, árar og borðvið úr bátum. Var þar um þingað í Viðvík um vorið og sett til alþingis straff þeirra sökuðu." (*Mælifellsannáll*; cf Þorsteinsson 1924a: 566).

'That winter it was revealed that a French dinghy had drifted ashore near Brimnes [Ólafsfjörður/Upsalaströnd hr, Eyjafs] and two peasants had taken and concealed it but when there was inquired about it the truth was disclosed; it had broken away from the French off Málmei [ie, in Skagafjörður] in the summer. Those, who had concealed it, transported the driftage [rekald] to Hólar [ie, the cathedral]: 190 fathom [ie, ≥ 280 m] of rope, whaling weapon [hvalavopn], oars and planks from the boat. This case was considered at the thing in Viðvík [ie, near Hólar; Skags] in the spring and referred to the Althing concerning the punishment of the accused.'

1686 "Þann vetur seint rak níræðan hval í Vík á Vatnsnesi, Vesturhópshóla- og Þingeyrarjörð ... í þörf, því hart var í landi með mönnum." (*Sjávarborgarannáll*; cf Jóhannesson 1942: 313).

'Late that winter a whale [sized] 90 [ells] came ashore in Vík on Vatnsnes [V-Húns], an estate belonging to Vesturhópshólar [church] and Þingeyri [monastery].'

1687 "Bar að landi í Álftafirði sjö stórhvali undan hafís, hvör þá lá fyrir Austfjörðurm. Voru þessir fyrir nefndir fiskar 60 og sumir 80 alnir að lengd. Héldu margir þessa fiska heita hafurketti, því þeir höfðu mör mikinn." (*Desjarmýrarannáll*; cf Vilmundarson 1958: 282).

'In Álftafjörður [S-Múls] seven large whales came ashore caused by the sea ice which then lay off the Eastfjords. The fishes mentioned were 60 and some 80 ells long. Many (people) believed these fishes to be called hafurketti [ie, black right whale], because they had much tallow.'

1688 "Var harður vetur með snjóum og jarðbönnum, allt fram að sumri og sumstaðar til fardaga, og misstist mikill fjöldi af friðum peningum um allt landið, svo og einnig féll fólk víða um landið í ófeiti, því fiskfátt var til sjóarins, einninn hafís fyrir öllu Vesturlandinu og víðar í kringum það, úr hverjum að rak upp marga hvalskrokka, hvar við fólkið lifði.

Einninn um sumarið steytti mörg hvalveiðarskip í þessum hafísum kringum landið, og ráku sum up brotin. Item komu 6 bátar, fullir með fólk, af hafi frá þessum skipum, sem steytt höfðu, bæði við Grænland og annarsstaðar í þessum hafísum, hverjir hér á landi um veturinn dvöldust, og var skipt manna á millum, sem

bæði voru þýzkir Ha[m]borgarar, Hollenzkir og Franskir. Sá 7. bátur, með franskt fólk, kom um veturnatur í Hælarvík á Hornströndum." (*Eyrarannáll*; cf Þorsteinsson 1933a: 352).

The winter was very severe, lasting into early June. A great number of domestic animals died all around the country, similarly people for lack of fat (í ófeiti: 'because of fatlessness') because the fishery yielded little; 'there was also sea ice at the whole of the Westland and more widely, from which drifted ashore many whale carcasses that the people lived on. Also in the summer many whaling ships struck in this sea ice around the country and some drifted ashore broken. Similarly came 6 boats from the sea, full of people from these ships that had struck, both at Greenland and elsewhere in this sea ice, who stayed here in the country during the winter and were distributed between people [ie, farms]; (they) were both German Hamburgers, Dutch and French. The 7th boat, with Frenchmen, came in late October [veturnatur] to Hælarvík [Sléttuhr, N-Ísafjs] at Hornstrandir.'

1688 "Þá skeði það skyndilega upphlaup Grænlandinga við franska hvalfangara þar, svo sem sú historia ávísar." [In the margin:] "1(ege) vitr(una)bók, 4to". (*Sjávarborgarannáll*; cf Jóhannesson 1942: 313).

1689 "Rak viðá kringum landið skipflaka af útlenskum hvalveiðiskipum, er í hafís tapazt höfðu um sumarið. ---.
Tóku tvö frönsk hvalaskip eit spanskt skip að herfangi á Önundarfirði." (*Eyrarannáll*; cf Þorsteinsson 1933a: 357).

'Widely around the country drifted ashore shipwrecks from foreign whaling ships which had been lost in sea ice during the summer [ie, 1688]. ---. Two French whaling ships took a Spanish as prize in Önundarfjörður [V-Ísafjs].'

1690 "... varð skiptapi ... í Höskuldsey af hval, dóu 6 menn. --- [359/360]
Á þessu voru komu ei utan 3 engelskar fiskiduggur til Íslands; þeir sögðu samt strið milli Engelskra, Hollenzkra og Franskra með kong Jacob. Spanskir halda með Engelskum og Hollenzkum. Tóku þau hollenzku stríðsskip mörg frönsk hvalveiðarskip hér við land að herfangi. Brenndu Franskir upp eitt spanskt hvalaskip fyrir Grænuhlíð á Ísafjarðardjúpi og ræntu góssinu." (*Eyrarannáll*; cf Þorsteinsson 1933a: 359f).

'... was loss of a ship ... in Höskuldsey [Eyrarsveit, Snæfs], by a whale, 6 men died. ---. In the spring came merely 3 English fishing vessels to Iceland; they said that war continued between the English, Dutch and French with king James. The Spanish side with the English and Dutch. The Dutch seized many French whaling ships here at this country as war booty. The French burned a Spanish whaling

ship off Grænuhlið in Ísafjarðardjúp and robbed the goods.'

1691 "Kom ekki utan 1 engelskt kræskip til Íslands, en mörg frönsk hvalveiðarskip komu, hvar af hollenzk stríðsskip tóku 14 frönsk skip með fragtinni hér við land." (*Eyrarannáll*; cf Þorsteinsson 1933a: 363).

'Only 1 English warship came to Iceland but many French whaling ships came, of which Dutch warships seized 14 French ships with (their) cargo here at this country.'

1691 "Um haustið rak á Álptanesi suður höfrunga eður nýðinga (er sumir kalla) [var: vöggufiska, er sumir kalli hundfiska], er hlupu á land og voru drepnir 130." (*Fitjaannáll*; cf Þorsteinsson 1926: 291).

'In the autumn came ashore south at Álftanes [Kjóss] höfrungar or nýðingar (as some people call them) [var: vöggufiskar (ie, orcas), which some people call hundfiskar] which ran ashore and were killed, 130 [ie, in number].'

In this apparently confused enumeration the references to orcas dominate. It implies that in West Iceland höfrungur ('dolphin') perhaps comprised the orca.

1691 "Um haustið rak höfrunga, og voru á land reknir á Álptanesi suður, hundrað og þrjátíu." (*Hestsannáll*; cf Þorsteinsson 1929: 532).

'In the autumn höfrungar [ie, dolphins?] came ashore, and south at Álftanes [Kjóss] one hundred and thirty were chased ashore.'

At face value höfrungar here means 'dolphins' but according to *Fitjaannáll* 1691 the animals caught were probably orcas which might be included in an extended (West Icelandic) meaning of höfrungur. Cf *Hestsannáll* 1691 and *Setbergsannáll* 1691.

1691 "Um haustið rak á Álftanesi höfrunga eða nýðinga, (sem sumir svo kalla), er hlupu á land í plássi því, sem kallast Eskjunes, og voru drepnir sumir hjá Arnarnesi, alls 130 að tölu." (*Setbergsannáll*; cf Jóhannesson 1940: 133).

'In the autumn höfrungar or nýðingar (as some people call them) came ashore at Álftanes [Kjóss], which ran ashore at the locality [ie, croft?] that is called Eskines [Álftaneshr], and some were killed at Arnarnes [Álftaneshr], numbering 130 in all.'

Cf comments concerning *Fitjaannáll* 1691 and *Hestsannáll* 1691.

1691 "23. Augusti, á sunnudag nokkru eptir miðdegi, hlupu hér um 120 hnýsur og höfrungur inn í Bessastaðatjörn. Fóru menn til á skipum og eltu fiskanna á land með grjóti. Það rekald heyrði til Garðakirkju, er reka á í þeim stað." (*Vallaannáll*; cf Þorsteinsson 1922b: 417).

'23 August, a Sunday some time after noon, approximately 120 harbour porpoises [hnýsur] and höfrungar [ie,

dolphins?] ran into Bessastaðatjörn [ie, -lagoon]. People arrived on ships and chased the fishes ashore with stones. This driftage shore belonged to Garðar church [Álftaneshr, Gullbs] which owns the driftage at this place.'

1692 "Kom engin frönsk eður engelsk sigling til Íslands, utan 1 engelskt kræskip og 1 spanskt hvalveiðarskip, sökum þess mikla og blóðuga stríðs, sem enn nú yfir stendur ..." (Eyrarannáll; cf Þorsteinsson 1933a: 367).

'No French or English sailing to Iceland except 1 English warship and 1 Spanish whaling ship, because of the great and bloody war which now takes place ...'.

1693 "Fyrir Jökli voru reknir á land af 8 skipum 280 háhyrningar, hvar af lögmaður fólkinu fyrir sitt ómak gaf 20 af þeim fiskum, og fátækum nokkra. -

Einninn hlupu á land á Sléttanesi út af Skaga fyrir norðan 500 háhyrningar og einn sléttbakur, á Hólabiskupsstóls rekum. -

Einninn hlupu margir háhyrningar á land á Melum og víðar í Trékyllisvík. -

Í sama máta rak marga þessa háhyrninga og hnýðinga á Kirkjubóli í Arnarfjarðardölum og víða um Barðaströnd og til eyja á Breiðafirði. -

Á Skjaldindafossi rak sama ár [371/372] einn sléttbak heilan og annan í Miðhlíð. -

Sama árs haust rak yfir stórt hundrað þessa sömu hvali á Bessastöðum, af hverra speki landsfógetinn Heidemann lét bræða mikið lýsi, og hafði þar af mikinn profit. -

Í sama máta í Garðastaðarlandi á Álptanesi rak og marga af þessum háhyrningum, hverjir til lýsis bræddir voru. Svo og rak þá allvíða annarsstaðar kringum landið, þó hér sé ei getið, svo þetta ár má með réttu kallast Hvalrekaár." (Eyrarannáll; cf Þorsteinsson 1933a: 371f).

'At western Snæfellsnes 280 háhyrningar [ie, orcas] were chased ashore by 8 ships of which the lawman [lögmaður; the proprietor?] gave the people 20 of these fishes for their trouble, and the poor some. - Also ran ashore in the north at Sléttanes, off Skagi [A-Húns/Skags], 500 háhyrningar [ie, orcas] and one right whale [sléttbakur], on the driftage shore of Hólar bishopric. - Also ran many háhyrningar [ie, orcas] ashore at Melar and more widely in Trékyllisvík [Árneshr, Strs]. - Similar came many of these háhyrningar [ie, orcas] and hnýðingar [ie, pilot whales] ashore at Kirkjuból in Arnarfjarðardalur, and other places at Barðaströnd and in the islands of Breiðafjörður.

At Skjaldindafossi [= Skjallandafoss = Skjaldvararfoss; Barðastrandarhr, V-Barðs] came in the same year a whole right whale [sléttbakur] ashore, and another [ie, carcass?] at Miðhlíð [Barðastrandarhr].

In the autumn of the same year came more than a long

hundred [ie, 120] of these same whales¹ at Bessastaðir [Gullbs], of which blubber *landfógeti* [ie, bailiff] Heinemann caused to be boiled much oil, and (he) had large profit thereof.

In the same way many of these *háhyrningar* [ie, orcas] came ashore at Garðastaðir [= Garður, Garðahr, Gullbs] which were boiled into oil. Similarly came (whales) ashore in other places widely around the country, although it is not mentioned here, so this year may appropriately be called Whale Stranding Year'.

Eyrarannáll in its published form is an edition of three, partly overlapping, manuscripts by Magnús Magnússon (cf Þorsteinsson 1933a: 236). This circumstance is presumably responsible for the insertion of the Skjaldindafoss right whales passage which interferes with the reference 'these same whales' in the Bessastaðir passage; they must be what the author calls *háhyrningar/hnýðingar*, not right whales.

This student thinks that Magnús Magnússon (b 1630, d 1704), the author of *Eyrarannáll*; Oddur Eiríksson (b 1640, d 1719), the author of *Fitjaannáll*; and Benedikt Pétursson (b 1639/40, d 1724), the author of *Hestsannáll*, may partly have misunderstood and/or confused the information they received concerning the mass takes of smaller cetaceans in 1693 (cf also below): namely, that they have taken the designation *hnýðingur* for *níðingur* (or *nýðingur*, in its non-standardised form), on the basis of which all the mass takes become such of orcas (*háhyrningar*), rather than of pilot whales. That pilot whales are involved seems indicated by Magnússon himself in the Kirkjuból passage ('these *háhyrningar* and *hnýðingar*) but to what degree is more difficult to say.

1693 "Þá voru um haustið stungnir og á land reknir í Rifi vestur undir Jökli smáhvalir, sem menn kalla höfrunga, nýðinga eður háhyrninga, að tölu um 4 hundruð [var: 2 hndr. eður 3 hndr. vöggufiskar eða hundfiskar], einninn margir í Hrútafirði, norður á Skaga margir og vestur á Ingjaldssandi." (*Fitjaannáll*; cf Þorsteinsson 1926: 299). The variant is also read: "... frá 2 til 3 stórra hundraða af vöggufiskum" (cf O.S. 1787: 28).

'Then in the autumn small(er) whales, which people call *höfrungur*, *níðingar* [ie, normalised] or *háhyrningar* [ie, orcas] were stuck [stungnir] and chased ashore at Rif [Neshr, Snæfs] in the west on (outer) Snæfellsnes, 4 hundred [ie, 480] [var: 2 hundred or 3 hundred (ie, 240-360) *vöggufiskar* (ie, orcas) or *hundfiskar*], similarly many in Hrútafjörður [V-Húns], north at Skagi [A-Húns/Skags] and west at Ingjaldsandur [Mýrahr, V-Ísafjs].'

1693 "Þá voru stungnir og á land reknir í Rifi vestur mikill fjöldi smáhvala, er menn kalla *hnýðinga* [var:

1 Cf explanation below.

nýðinga] (höfrunga)." (*Hestsannáll*; cf Þorsteinsson 1929: 535).

'Then a great number of small(er) whales which people call *hnýðingar* [var: *nýðingar*] were stuck [*stungnir*] and chased ashore west at Rif [Neshr, Snæfs].' We are here dealing with orcas (cf *Fitjaannáll*, 1693) but the spelling of their designation is here greatly confused.

1694 "Um sumarið kom franskt stríðsskip á Vatneyri í Patreksfirði; þess kapteinn var Jóhannes [...]par [ie, Disipar?], er lengi hafði verið hvalveiðarmaður hér við land. ---.

Úr þessum miklu hafísum rak í kringum Strandir frá Aðalvík og að Gjögurum í Neshrepp, 9 stórhveli, hvar af sumir lifandi á land hlupu, en suma dauða upprak, hvar á meðal 4 hlupu á land í Fljótum, 3 á Almennungum, 1 á Látrum, 1 á Gjögurum, er í hafís drepizt höfðu." (*Eyrarannáll*; cf Þorsteinsson 1933a: 373).

'During the summer a French warship came to Vatneyri in Paterksfjörður; its captain was Jean Disipar [?] who had been a whaler here at this country for a long time. ---. From this heavy sea ice around Strandir [ie, incl Hornstrandir] from Aðalvík [Sléttuhr, N-Ísafjs] and to Gjögur in [Kaldrana-] Neshreppur [ie, modern Árneshr, Strs], 9 large whales, of which some ran live ashore and some drifted dead ashore, including 4 that ran ashore at Fljót [Sléttuhr], 3 in Almennungar [ie, the Western Commons, from Kögur to Kjaranesvík, Sléttuhr], 1 at Látur [Grunnavíkurhr, N-Ísafjs], 1 at Gjögur [Árneshr, Strs], which had died in the sea ice.'

1694 "Á Möðruvallaklaustursjörð í Svarfaðardal [var: fyrir norðan] rak 168 [var: 2 hundruð] höfrunga. [302/312] ---. Novembris ---. Sást rostungur hjá Flangastöðum á Miðnesi suður." (*Fitjaannáll*; cf Þorsteinsson 1926: 312).

'At the estate of Möðruvellir monastery in Svarfðardalur [Eyjafs] (var: in the north) 168 (var: 2 hundred) *höfrungar* [ie, dolphins] came ashore. ---. A walrus was seen near Flángastaðir on Miðnes [Rosmhvalaneshr, Gullbs] in the south.' The walrus appeared in November or December.

1694 "Jón Eyjólfsson og Einar Eyjólfsson riðu norður í Skagafjörð, er áleið sumarið, eptir skipan amtmanns. Þar var þing haldið á Vallalaug um hvalmálið." (*Vallaannáll*; cf Þorsteinsson 1922b: 428).

'Jón Eyjólfsson and Einar Eyjólfsson rode north in Skagafjörður in late summer, by order of the *stiftamtmaður* [ie, governor principal Ulrik Kristian Gyldenløve]. Thing was held there at Vallalaug [Skags] concerning the whale case.'

1695 "... kom hafís fyrir allt Norður- og Vesturland og

inn af fjörður um [377/378] þorra og lá þar fram að sumri, úr hverjum að kom 1 hvalur í Bolungarvík, þá 3 vikur voru af góu; voru á 70 v(ættir) spiks, item annar uppkom í Ögurhólum um kongsbænadagsleytið. --- [378/383] ---.

Á þessum miklu ísum suður fyrir Garði á Suðurnesjum brotnaði eit fransktt hvalveiðarskip, með því móti, að þeir eltu eina skozka fiskiduggu, her inn í ísinn til lands á undan þeim hleypti til skipbrots, og komust svo á land á skipbrotunum, en þeir Frönsku hleyptu [383/384] inn í ísinn eptir þeim, en ísinn klemmdi utan að þeim, svo þeir misstu þar skip og góss, en komust með lífi á land, og fóru að sunnan til Bessastaða og svo vestur undir Jökul, þaðan á Barðarströnd, Víkur og Arnarfjörð frönsk skip upp að leita, hvað þeim tókst. Þessir höfðu með sér Jóns Eyjólfssonar viceamtmanns seðil upp á fylgd og greiða landsfólksins.

Einninn stytta annað fransktt hvalveiðarskip í ís fyrir Akranesi; menn allir komust á land, en skildu eptir skip og góss í ísnum, og fóru sömu leið vestur, og komust í skip til sinna landsmanna, því mörg hvalaskip voru hér fyrir Vesturlandinu það vor og sumar." (*Eyrarannáll*; cf Þorsteinsson 1933a: 377f, 383f).

'... came sea ice at the whole Northland and Westland and into the fiords about mid January/mid February [þorri] and stayed there into the summer, from which 1 whale came ashore in Bolungarvík [Hólshr, N-Ísafjs] when three weeks had passed of góa [ie, in early March]; there were 70 vættir [ie, ca 2780 kg] blubber on it; similarly, another (one) came ashore in Ögurhólmar [ie, by Ögur, in Ísafjarðardjúp, N-Ísafjs?] about Prayer Day [ie, 19 April 1695].'

A French whaling vessel wrecked in this great ice at Reykjanes after it chased a Scottish fishing vessel into the ice but the ice squeezed at it; 'they lost the ship and goods there but managed to get alive ashore and went south to Bessastaður [Gullbs] and then west to western Snæfellsnes, from there to Barðaströnd, Víkur and Arnarfjörður to find French ships, which they also succeeded in. These (men) had with them a letter [seðill] of vice governor Jón Eyjólfsson that they should be accompanied and helped by the inhabitants.

Another French whaling ship also struck in ice off Akranes [Borgfs]; all men came ashore but left ship and goods in the ice, and went west along the same route and came on board ships of their countrymen because many whaling ships were here off the Westland during that spring and summer.'

1695 Sea ice enclosed the country and extended two-thirds in the direction to the Faeroe Islands. The ice was not only 'entirely useless', it also prevented fishing during the spring fishing season. (*Fitjaannáll*; cf Þorsteinsson 1926: 314).

"Franskir ræntu skozkt eður engelsk skip fyrir sunnan; komst fólk af, og var því skipt á bæi um Suðurnes, þar til það sigldi aptur með kaupförum. Síðan eltu sumu Franskir hollenzka duggu inn í ísinn nálægt Reykjanesi, og brutu þar sjálfir skip sitt í isnum, komust af 42 menn; nokkrir af þeim lögðu á tveimur bátum af Miðnesi undir Jökul í góðu veðri, og þaðan á Vestfirði; hinir fóru landveg vestur eptir, og sigldu þar með öðrum Frönskum." (*Fitjaannáll*; cf Þorsteinsson 1926: 316).

'The French plundered a Scottish or English ship in the south; the people were rescued and were distributed among the farms in Suðurnes until they sailed (abroad) again with merchant vessels. Later some Frenchmen chased a Dutch vessel into the ice near Reykjanes and wrecked their ship there in the ice themselves; 42 men survived; some of them went on two boats from Miðnes [ie, Reykjanes] to (the outer) Snæfellsnes in fair weather, and from there to the Westfjords; others went overland to the (north-) west and sailed from there with other French (vessels).'

1695 "Við Geirfuglasker brotnaði franskt skip. Mennirnir komust á land á Miðnesi; voru svo ferjaðir á Vestfirði að leita landa sinna; (voru) eitthvað um fjörutíu." (*Grímsstaðaannáll*; cf Þorsteinsson 1934: 495).

1695 "Við Geirfuglasker brotnaði Franskt skip; menn komust í bátum á land á Miðnesi; voru svo færðir um land vestur að leita sinna landa, yfir 40." (*Hestsannáll*; cf Þorsteinsson 1929: 538).

'At Geirfuglasker [ie, a southern islet in the Vestmannaeyja archipelago] a French ship wrecked; the men came ashore in the boats at Miðnes [ie, Reykjanes]; were then transported through the western part of the country to find their countrymen; more than 40 [ie, men].' This could be a French (Basque) whaling vessel.

1695 "Þann 19. Aprilis kom hér inn fyrir Skaga inn í alla firði sá mikli hafís ...; var hér um krossmessuleyti; var af sumum kallaður lausaís. Það hafði áður spurzt til hans á Austfjörðum og milli lands og Vestmannaeyja. Gagnlaus var hann hér sunnanlands. Brunaði hann inn djúpflóann, þrengdi sér inn í hverja vík, inn lengst í Hafnarfjörð, svo á landi stóð, einninn Skerjafjörð og svo fjörð af firði inn með öllum sveitum og í Hvalfjörð. ---. Í þessum ís hleypti hollenzkt skip undan frönskum inn í ísinn í Höfnum suður, en þeir frönsku fyrirfórust í isnum. Hollenzkir björguðust og náðu landi með nauðum í Höfnum syðra. Fóru 24 af þeim fótgangandi inn eftir byggðum og vildu komast vestur. Tvær sluffurnar með 9 menn á hvorri tóku það fyrir sig í fögru veðri, að þeir lögðu frá Sandgerði á Miðnesi og sigldu á stað og vildu vestur undir Jökul. Sú önnur frá Útskálum 17. Maii, degi síðar en hin, vildi sama kóss.

Hrepptu báðar gott veður.

Tuttugasta og fimmta [ie, May] komu hingað á Nes 6 engelskir eða skozkir, að á tileinkuðum bæjum væri þar til skip kæmi, ... Þessa höfðu [140/141] franskir rænt skipi og gózi við Vestmannaeyjar og helming fólks landsett þar á eyjunum, en umboðsmaður eyjanna lét þá á land setja og fluttust svo til Bessastaða.

27. Maí kom þessi ís hér syðra inn fyrir Skagann ..., en ekki þann 19. Aprílís." (*Setbergsannáll*; cf Jóhannesson 1940: 140f).

On 19 April came the ice into all fiords inside Reykjanes-skagi; stayed until mid September. It came earlier in the Eastfjords and between the Westman Islands and the mainland. 'It was of no use here in the south.' A Dutch ship ran ahead of the French into the ice south in Hafnir but the French perished in the ice. The Dutch were rescued. 25 May, came here to Reykjanes 6 Englishmen or Scots to stay at designated farms until ship arrived. 'The French had taken their ship and goods at the Westman Islands and put half of the crew ashore there on the islands, and the steward of the Islands had them transferred to the mainland and from there to Bessastaðir.'

1695 "Kom havís fyrir norðan og lá fram um þing. --- [429/430] ---

Litlu eptir vertíðarlok eltu franskir hvalarar duggu hollenzka inn fyrir Reykjanes; hún lagði undan inn í ísinn og þeir á eptir, brutu svo skip sitt, en duggan komst klakklaust norður úr ísnum, og höfðu þeir henger ekki, en urðu að ganga af skipinu föstu og brotnu; þeir komust af velflestir, 50 saman, og stefndu inn eptir Nesjum og vestur um land í fjörðu, óðfara. Þeir námu staðar í Tálknafirði; lá þar skip eitt, er þeim þótti líkt frönsku hvalaraskipi, og fóru þeir strax til þess, en er þeir komu á skipið, voru þar fyrir Hollenzkir og hjuggu þá þegar alla fyrir borð. Þá er þeir voru nýfarnir sunnan ---. Hval rak í Siglufirði norður." (*Vallaannáll*; cf Þorsteinsson 1922b: 429f).

Sea ice lay off North Iceland into June. Shortly after 11 May, French whalers chased a Dutch (fishing) vessel inside Reykjanes; she went ahead into the ice, the French followed and wrecked their vessel but the Dutch came, without damages, northward through the ice; the French did not fetch her but had to leave their vessel stuck in the ice and broken; most of them survived, 50 in all, and headed quickly inland through Reykjanes (peninsula) and the western part of the country to the Westfjords. They stopped in Tálknafjörður [V-Barðs]; there was a ship which they believed to be like a French whaling ship and went immediately to it but when they came onto the ship they found Dutchmen on board who fought them all over board. They then went south ... In the north a whale came ashore in Siglufjörður.

1697 "Hafís kom á þorra fyrir norðan, fullir allir firðir. Tvo hvali rak á Grenjaðarstaðar reka." (*Grímsstaðaannáll*; cf Þorsteinsson 1934: 504).

'Sea ice came in the north in mid January/mid February [þorri], all fiords full. Two whales came ashore at the driftage shore of Grenjaðarstaðir [Aðaldalahr, S-Þings].'

1697 "Hafís kom fyrir norðan á þorra, fullir allir firðir. Rak tvo hvali á Grenjaðarstaðarekum. --- [149/150] Á Gufunesi í Mosfellssveit grandaði hvalfiskur skipi með þremur mönnum. Sáu nálægir menn, að hann svelgdi í sig 2 mennina, eftir það hann hafði hvolft skipinu undir þeim." (*Setbergsannáll*; cf Jóhannesson 1940: 149f).

'Sea ice in the north in mid January/mid February [þorri], all fiords full. Two whales came ashore at the driftage shore of Grenjaðarstaðir [Aðaldalahr, S-Þings]. ---. At Gufunes in Mosfellssveit [Kjóss] a whale fish destroyed a ship with three men. Nearby men saw that it swallowed 2 of the men after it had upset the ship under them.'

1698 "Franskir hvalfangarar hleyptu frá Grænlandi í áttina til Íslands. Vissu ei fyr til en strönduðu vestra, nálægt Rauðasandi." (*Annálgreinar Sigurðar Jónssonar í Holti*; cf Þorsteinsson 1931c: 175).

'French whalers ran [ie, sailed] from Greenland in the direction of Iceland. They unexpectedly stranded in the west, near Rauðasandur [V-Barðs].'

1698 "Nálægt Rauðasandi strandaði franskt skip, drukknuðu af því 6 menn. ---. Þær systur úr Vestmannaeyjum, Ingibjörg og Ingveldur Oddsdatur, voru á þessu alþingi dæmdar rétttakar og skyldu færast til næsta alþingis under frekari lagaaðgerðir, því heyrðist, að hér í landi væru ennþá --- [331/332] þeim varð það ár komið í skip með frönskum hvalföngurum." (*Fitjaannáll*; cf Þorsteinsson 1926: 331).

'A French vessel stranded near Rauðasandur [Rauðasandshr, V-Barðs], 6 men drowned from it.' The convicted and banished sisters, Ingibjörg and Ingveldur Oddsdóttir 'were that year secured the passage with French whalers.'

In 1694 and 1695, the Althing convicted these sisters, from Vestmannaeyjar, of perjury and sentenced them to flogging and banishment. Many people believed that they had been involved in the murder of Gísli Pétursson, at the instigation of their mother, Guðrún.¹ Rumours told that dean Páll Björnsson (1621-1706) in Selárdalur, V-Barðs, had secretly, in 1698, send the sisters abroad on board a whaling vessel (cf *Setbergsannáll*, 1698, below); Ingibjörg may later have married in England.² However, *Eyrarannáll*, 1702, asserts that Ingibjörg left Iceland in 1700 while

1 Cf Þorsteinsson 1922b: 428.

2 Cf Jósepsson and Steindórsson 4, 1983: 38; Þorsteinsson 1922b: 431.

Ingveldur is said to have done so in 1702.¹

1698 "Um haustið strandaði fransktt hvalfangaraskip á Rauðasandi; kom að því leki, og sigldu á þurt og brotnaði í spón; týndust sex menn. Þar voru á þrjú hundruð tunnur lýsis. Fólkið allt af skipinu fór til Bæjar á Rauðasandi; þar bjó þá sú göfuga ekkja Guðrún Eggertsdóttir. Þeir dvöldu þar á meðan þeir sendu til annara Franskra, sem vestur í fjörðum lágu. En að skilnaði gáfu þeir Guðrúnu Eggertsdóttur öll skipbrotin með því öllu, sem þeir ei með sér komu [þar með 3 lýsistunnur], fyrir utan beztu kaðla og akker, sem þeir tóku ári síðar. ---. Á þessu sumri rifnaði klukka að Melakirkju í Melasveit, þá hringt var um credo. ---. Hval rak þar á kirkjunnar land litlu síðar." (*Grímsstaðaannáll*; cf Þorsteinsson 1934: 505).

'In the autumn a French whaling vessel stranded at Rauðasandur [Rauðasandshr, V-Barðs]; it sprang a leak and sailed onto the dry and broke to pieces; six men were lost. On it were three hundred [ie, 300 or 360] barrels of train oil [lýsi]. All men from the ship went to Bær at Rauðasandur; there lived then the generous widow Guðrún Eggertsdóttir. They stayed there while sending (message) to other Frenchmen who lay west in the fiords. And at parting they gave Guðrún Eggertsdóttir all pieces of wreck without exception which they could not take with them, including 3 train oil barrels [ie, barrels of train oil?], apart from the best ropes and the anchor which they took a year later. ---. During this summer the bell at the church of Melar in Melasveit [Leirrár- and Melahr, Borgfs] cracked when it was sounded ---. A little later a whale came ashore there on the ground of the church.'

1698 "Á þessu sumri rifnaði klukka að Melakirkju í Melasveit, þá hringt var ---. Hval rak þar á kirkjunnar land litlu síðar." (*Hestsannáll*; cf Þorsteinsson 1929: 545).

'During this summer the bell of the church at Melar in Melasveit [Leirrár- and Melahr, Borgfs] cracked when it was sounded ---. A little later a whale came ashore there on the ground of the church.'

1698 "Á þessu ári kom prófasturinn, séra Páll Björnsson í Selárdal, annarri Vestmannaeyja-konunni í skip, svo hún sigldi með frönskum. Þetta var Ingibjörg ... Brotnaði fransktt skip nærri Bæ á Rauðasandi. Týndust af því 6 menn." (*Setbergsannáll*; cf Jóhannesson 1940: 154).

1699 "Vorur grýttir í land á 6 skipum í Helgafellssveit 140 smáhvalir [eða vöggufiskar]." (*Fitjaannáll*; cf

1 Cf Þorsteinsson 1933a: 418.

Þorsteinsson 1926: 336).

'On 6 ships, 140 small(er) whales [smáhvalir] or orcas [vöggufiskar] were stoned ashore in Helgafellssveit [Snæfs].'

Fitjaannáll here differs from *Sauðlauksdalsannáll* and *Grímstaðaannáll* regarding the location of the take.

1699 "Á Básendum voru grýttir á land 140 höfrungur á 6 skipum." (*Grímsstaðaannáll*; cf Þorsteinsson 1934: 510).

'At Básendar [= Bátsendar, Hafnarhr, Gullbs], 140 höfrungar were stoned ashore using 6 ships.'

1699 "Á því sumri hófu Danskir fyrst að senda skip til hvaladráps í Grænlandshaf. Mælt var, að á því ári væru send 100 skip til hvalveiða frá Frankaríki, frá Hollandi 80, en 10 frá Danmörk." (*Hestsannáll*; cf Þorsteinsson 1929: 547).

'During this summer the Danish for the first time send ships to whale killing in the Greenland Sea. It was said that in that year 100 ships were sent whaling from France, from Holland 80, and 10 from Denmark.'

The passage 'first time ... Greenland See' presumably indicates pelagic whaling.

1699 "Grýttu 6 bátar á land suður á Bátsendum 140 höfrunga." (*Sauðlauksdalsannáll*; cf Grímsdóttir 1987b: 402).

'6 boats stoned 140 höfrungar ashore south at Bátsendar [Hafnarhr, Gullbs].'

1700 Cf *Eyrarannáll*, 1702, below.

1702 "Steytti franskt hvalfangaraskip fyrir Barða fyrir utan Ingjaldssand; komust allir á önnur tvö frönsk skip, sem í samfloti (þó án skaða) voru með þessu." (*Annálgreinar Sigurðar Jónssonar í Holti*; cf Þorsteinsson 1931c: 176).

'A French whaling ship grounded off Barði outside Ingjaldssandur [Mýrahr, V-Ísafjs]; everybody came on board two other French ships which accompanied, though without damage, the former.'

1702 "A þessa ár sumri með skipherra Páli Andréssyni, skipherra á Skutulsfjarðarhöfn, sigldi Vestmannaeyjakona Ingveldur Oddsdóttir, en hennar systir Ingibjörg sigldi með engelsku hvalveiðaskipi af Tál(k)knafirði Anno 1700." (*Eyrarannáll*; cf Þorsteinsson 1933a: 418).

'... sailed (abroad) the Westman Island woman Ingveldur Oddsdóttir, but her sister Ingibjörg sailed (abroad) with an English whaling ship from Tálknafjörður [V-Barðs] year 1700.'

1702 "... dó ... maður af hvalbita í Selvogi."

(*Fitjaannáll*; cf Þorsteinsson 1926: 347).

A man in Selvogur [Selvogshr, Árns] 'died from a piece of whale.'

1702 "Dó maður í Selvogi af hvalbita, sem hann var að eta.
---.

Þá brotnaði hvalaskip á Vestfjörðum."
(*Grímsstaðaannáll*; cf Þorsteinsson 1934: 522).

'A man in Selvogur [Selvogshr, Árns] died from a piece of whale he was eating. ---. Then a whaling ship wrecked in the Westfjords.'

1702 "Dó maður í Selvogi af hvalbita, sem hann var að eta.
---. [173/174]

Brotnaði á Vestfjörðum hvalaraskip."
(*Setbergsannáll*; cf Jóhannesson 1940: 173f).

1703 "Magnús slapp ... úr þjófakistunni á Bessastöðum, og annar þjófur með honum, er Guðmundur hét Ásgrímsson úr Flóa ..., er Páll Beyer var riðinn heiman í Hafnir suður til að sjá fyrir hval þeim, er þar hafði rekið." (*Vallaannáll*; cf Þorsteinsson 1922b: 460).

Two thieves escaped from imprisonment at Bessastaðir 'when Páll Beyer [Pétursson; *ie*, *landfógeti*, bailiff] had ridden away south to Hafnir to take care of the whale that had come ashore there.'

1704 "Skömmu síðar [*ie*, eptir alþing] hlupu inn í Njarðvíkum suður á sunnudagsmorgun hundrað smáhvalir; voru bátar útsettir, hlaðnir grjóti og 37 grýttir í land." (*Mælifellsannáll*; cf Þorsteinsson 1924a: 601).

'Shortly afterwards [*ie*, after the Althing, end of June], on a Sunday morning, hundred small(er) whales [*smáhvalir*] ran into Njarðvík [Gullbs]; boats were put into the water, loaded with stones and 37 (whales) stoned ashore.'

The cetaceans concerned are most likely dolphins, orcas or pilot whales.

1704 "Rak 60 smáhvali suður á Vatnsleysuströnd."
(*Setbergsannáll*; cf Jóhannesson 1940: 180).

'60 small(er) whales came ashore at Vatnsleysuströnd [Gullbs].'

1705 "Fjörutíu smáhvalir reknir á land hjá Innri-Njarðvík. Franskur sjóreyfari tók við Grænland 2 eður 3 hollenzk hvalaraskip, sigldi með skip og fólk hingað í Austfjörðu, slepti þar sumu af því á land; það kom sér héðan burt aptur með kaupförum." (*Fitjaannáll*; cf Þorsteinsson 1926: 358).

'Forty small(er) whales chased ashore near Innri-Njarðvíkur [Njarðvíkurhr, Gullbs]. At Greenland [*ie*, Jan Mayen/East Greenland?] a French pirate vessel seized 2 or 3 Dutch whaling vessels, sailed hither with the ships and people into the Eastfjords, released some of them there ashore;

they went away from here again with merchant vessels.'

1705 "Komu nær því upp á land hjá Innri-Njarðvík (eða Norðvík) 40 smáhvalir (eður höfrungar), hverjir á skipum unnir voru. Almennilega er haldið, að þessir hvalir á sumartíma verði sjónlausir, en hvað lengi þeir svo eru, munu fáir vita (ef satt er). ---.

Tók einn franskur kapteinn við Grænland 3 hollenzk hvalaraskip með fólkinu og sigldi svo með hvorutveggja inn á Seyðisfjörð á Austfjörðum og létu þar upp fólkið, hvert að ráfaði um Austfirði og norður í kaupstaði sér fars að leita." (Setbergsannáll; cf Jóhannesson 1940: 183).

In the autumn¹ 'came at Innri-Njarðvík (or Norðvík) [Gullbs] 40 small(er) whales (or höfrungar [ie, dolphins?]) that were taken with [or: killed from] ships. It is commonly held that these whales in the summer time become blind but for how long they are so (only) few know (if it is true). ---.

A French captain seized at Greenland [ie, Jan Mayen/East Greenland?] 3 Dutch whaling ships with the people and sailed then with both into Seyðisfjörður [N-Múls] in the Eastfjords and put the people ashore there who roamed about the Eastfjords and northward to the trading places in search of passage.'

1710 "Undir veturnatur kom hollenzkt skip í Hafnarfjörð, sem laskazt hafði í hafísnum í Grænlandshafi; á því 70 manns, næsta kostlitlir; gerðu þeir að skipinu, keyptu [379/380] naut og sauði, sér til kosts, af landfógetanum, og sigldu burt aptur." (Fitjaannáll; cf Þorsteinsson 1926: 379f).

'Towards the end of October a Dutch ship, which had been damaged in the sea ice in the Greenland Sea, came to Hafnarfjörður; on it were 70 men, with few provisions; they repaired the ship, bought an ox and sheep for supplies from the landfógeti [ie, bailiff] and sailed away again.' This is likely to have been a whaling vessel.

1710 "Hólmsskipið var tekið af svenskum hvalföngurum. Skip kom í Hafnarfjörð miðvikudaginn seinastan í sumri. Það hafði verið í hafís 18 vikur fastir [sic]; höfðu og fólk af öðru skipi, sem strandað hafí í ís. Þeir voru alls 70, og komnir í dauða af sulti. Hjálpaði svo fógetinn þeim um kost: fisk, smjör, naut og sauði; þeir undu skipið á þurt og bættu að því; sigldu, þá vika var af vetri." (Grímsstaðaannáll; cf Þorsteinsson 1934: 545).

'The Hólmur [= Hólmskaupstaður, Seltjarnarneshr, Kjóss] ship was seized by Swedish whalers.

A ship arrived in Hafnarfjörður [Gullbs] the last Wednesday in the summer season [ie, 22 October]. It had been fixed in sea ice for 18 weeks; had also people from

1 Cf Jóhannesson 1940: 182f.

another ship (on board) which had stranded in ice. They were 70 in all and close to death from starvation. The bailiff [fógeti] helped them with provisions: fish, butter, cattle and sheep; they wound the ship onto dry land and repaired it; sailed (away) in early November.'

The Swedish whalers seem to have been privateering in the course of the Danish-Norwegian war on Sweden as of 1709 (during the Great Northern War, 1709-1720).

1714 "80 smáhvalir og vöggufiskar reknir á land á Vatnsleysuströnd." (*Fitjaannáll*; cf Þorsteinsson 1926: 391).

'80 small(er) whales and orcas [vöggufiskar] were chased ashore at Vatnsleysuströnd [Vatnsleysustrandarhr, Gullbs].'

1716 "8 höfrunga rak á Ketu á Skaga á góunni; fékk stóllinn þar af 19 fjórðunga." (*Mælifellsannáll*; cf Þorsteinsson 1924a: 617).

'8 höfrungar [dolphins?] came at Keta [Skefilsstaðahr, Skags], in mid February-mid March [góa]; the bishopric [of Hólar] received 19 fjórðungar [ie, ca 94.2 kg].'

1719 "Strönduðu franskir hjá Laugarnesi supur milli jóla og nýárs; voru hér um veturinn." (*Ölfusvatnsannáll*; cf Jóhannesson 1944a: 354).

'Frenchmen stranded at Laugarnes [Seltjarnarneshr, Gullbs] ... between Christmas and New Year; stayed here during the winter.' According to *Hvammsannáll* this stranding occurred 1720 (cf below).

1719 "Um vorið steytti hvalfangaraskip á skeri hjá Melrakkaey á Grundarfirði, hvaðan skipið losnaði, og hleyptu þeir því upp undir Kirkjufell, hvar mennirnir við það skildu, en komu sér með öðrum hvölurum." (*Hvammsannáll*; cf Þorsteinsson 1930c: 687).

'During the spring a whaling ship hit a skerry at Melrakkaey in Grundarfjörður [Snæfs], whence the ship floated free, and sailed it ashore at Kirkjufell [Eyrarsveit, Snæfs] where they left it, and went away with other whalers.'

1720 "Franskt skip með borðvið and bjálkatré strandaði þar suður við Seltjarnarnes." (*Hvammsannáll*; cf Þorsteinsson 1930c: 689).

'A French ship with planks and balks stranded there south at Seltjarnarnes [Gullbs].'

Ölfusvatnsannáll dates the incident to 1719 (cf above). Whether this was building materials for a whaling station or timber intended for repair of whaling vessels and boats damaged in the ice during the whaling expedition is not indicated.

Ca 1721 At the farm Þernuvík, Ögurhr, N-Ísafjs, 100 small(er) whales were chased ashore ["á land reknir"]. (Stephensen 1, 1796-1798: 441; quoting

a letter, dated 17 January 1798, from rural dean Guðlaugur Sveinsson).

1722 "Capitain Adam rifur það franska skip undir Kirkjufelli." (*Hvammsannáll*; cf Þorsteinsson 1930c: 689).

'Captain Adam cuts up the French ship at Kirkjufell [Eyrarsveit, Snæfs].' (Cf *Hvammsannáll*, 1719).

1726 "Hafís kom um pásكاتíma fyrir norðan, og hvalir nokkrir á land þar." (*Hvammsannáll*; cf Þorsteinsson 1930c: 695).

'Sea ice came (inshore) in the north at Easter time and some whales (came) ashore there.'

1726 "Rak 3 höfrunga í Sléttuhlíð, item einn stórfisk á Garðssand í Hegrnesi." (*Sjávarborgarannáll*; cf Jóhannesson 1942: 344).

3 *höfrungar* (dolphins?) came ashore at Sléttuhlíð, Hofshr/Fellshr, Skags; similarly a big (*ie*, whale) fish (*stórfiskur*) at Garðssandur, Rípurhr, Skags.

1727 "Þetta haust rak þrjá hvali á Söndum í Miðfirði; síldreka, steypireyður, sem sprakk á millum skerja, og kálf hennar." (*Hrafnagilsannáll*; cf Jóhannesson 1948c: 662).

'This autumn three whales came ashore at Sandir [Miðfjarðarhr, V-Húns] in Miðfjörður; a fin whale [síldreki], a blue whale [steypireyður], who exhausted herself between the skerries, and her calf.'

1727 "Rak stórfisk (búrhveli) á stólsreka í Sléttuhlíð, item einn á Skaga; item geirreyðar- (steypireyð-[344/345] ar-)fisk á Vargá í Eyjafirði. Item hlupu kvikir á landgrynnsli 3 stórfiskar fyrir veturnatur á þessu hausti á Sanda-reka í Miðfirði fyrir vestan ósinn, sem var síldreki, steypireyður og þeirra kálfur fertugur að lengd." (*Sjávarborgarannáll*; cf Jóhannesson 1942: 344f).

'A big [*ie*, whale] fish (sperm whale) came ashore at the driftage shore of Hólar bishopric in Sléttuhlíð [Hofshr/Fellshr, Skags]; similarly, one at Skagi; similarly, a *geirreyður*, (also called) *steypireyður* [*ie*, blue whale], at Vargár [Varðgjá, Svalbarðsstrandarhr, S-Þings]. Similarly, in the autumn, before the end of October, 3 whales ran live aground on the shallows at Sanda-reka, in Miðfjörður [V-Húns], which were a fin whale [síldreki], blue whale [steypireyður] and their calf, 40 [ells] long.'¹

1727 "Hláka góð á nýjárstag, en deginum eptir stórhrið norðan með miklu frosti og rak in hafís; dreif 10

1 The last passage presumably implies the then common notion of the blue and fin whales being mates.

höfrunga upp í Fljótum og ein í Sandvík hjá Höfða 30 álnir; sögðu sumir, það hefði búrhvalur verið og eigi ætur." (*Mælifellsannáll*; cf Þorsteinsson 1924a: 635).

New Year's day it became severely cold in the north and sea ice drifted inshore; 'came 10 höfrungar [dolphins] ashore in Fljót(in) [Haganeshr/Holtshr, Skags] and one in Sandvík near Höfði [ie, at Höfðaströnd, Skags, or Höfðahverfi, S-Þings?], sized 30 ells; some said it had been a sperm whale [búrhvalur] and not edible.'

1728 "Rak snemma inn hafís, sem lá fyrir öllu norðurlandinu og Vestfjörðum fram um alþing. Hvalrekar þar víða. (*Hítardalsannáll*; cf Þorsteinsson 1930a: 618).

Sea ice came early inshore and lay at all North Iceland and the Westfjords until June. 'Whale comings widespread there.'

1728 "Í Julio veiddust í Hrísey þrjú smáhveli. Varð einn bóndi á eyjunni fyrir líftjóni, Hallgrímur [Brandsson] að nafni. Bar svo við, að þá er rakinn var niður kaðall í fjörunni, við hvern fast var skutulstogið, slóst lykkjan um fót mannum, en hann hélt að fætinum með hendinni, svo [663/664] ei gat raknað. Fiskurinn brá við, er hann fékk lagið, og kipptist þá maðurinn út í kaðlinum, út undir skipin. Náðist ei fyrr en morguninn eftir. Hafði hann þá enn haft höndina stirðnaða að kaðallykkjunni, sem um fótinn vafðist." (*Hrafnagilsannáll*; cf Jóhannesson 1948c: 663f).

'In July three small(er) whales were caught in Hrísey [Eyjafs]. A peasant on the island, named Hallgrímur [Brandsson], lost his life. It happened that when the rope, which the harpoon line was fastened to, uncoiled on the beach, a loop came around the man's foot and he held by the hand with the foot so the rope could not unwind. The fish rushed off when it was lanced [or: hit?] and the man was pulled out by the rope, under the ships. Was not recovered before the next morning. He had then still the stiffened hand at the rope loop which wound around the foot.'

1728 "Þetta ár var vorið mjög kalt, með snjóum oftast og hörkufrostum, sérdeilis frá páskum og til krossmessu. Stór grasbrestur víða. Bjargarbann af sjónum sökum hafíss, er lá fyrir öllu Norðurlandinu allt til sólstaða 21. Junii. Þar eftir dreif han í burt. [Ísinn burt 20. Julii.] ---. Stór peningafellir og hallæri allvíðast á Norðurlandinu og öllum Ströndum, eins meðal fólksins. Rak þó hvali allvíða á Vestfjörðum. ---. Rak 3 stórfiska á Skagaströnd í [348/349] Aprili fyrir Vindhælislandi og 2 um veturinn á Eyjafirði." (*Sjávarborgarannáll*; cf Jóhannesson 1942: 348f).

1728 "Um vorið rak 2 stórhvali á Möðruvallaklausturreka. Hans Scheving miðlaði þeim fátækum, sem til náði, hvalnum og öðrum með litlu verði, og fékk af orð gott. Hjá Spákonufellshöfða rak og 2 fiska, af hverjum (margir) höfðu gott, þó fyrir peninga. Fyrir Höskuldsstöðum og Blönduósi náðust um 100 smáhvalir: hnýsur og háskerðingar. Lágu þá fyrir Norðurlandi hafþök af ísi frá miðgóu til 16. viku sumars, og hvarf hann þá allur á tveim dægum." (Mælifellsannáll; cf Þorsteinsson 1924a: 638).

'In the spring 2 large whales came ashore on the driftage shore of Möðruvellir monastery [ie, in Eyjafis]. Hans Scheving distributed to those poor people who could fetch (it) the whale [meat] and other products at a low price and was praised for doing so. 2 fishes also came at Spákonufellshöfði which many benefited from, albeit for money. Off Höskuldsstaðir and Blönduós [V-Húns] ca 100 small(er) whales [smáhvalir] were secured: harbour porpoise [hnísur] and sharks [háskerðingar]. Off North Iceland the sea was (completely) covered with ice from early March to end of July ...'.

1728 "Kom mikil sigling enskra, franskra hvalfangara og hollenzkra fiskara." (Sauðlauksdalsannáll; cf Grímsdóttir 1987b: 407).

1728 "Dag 8. Julii ... varð atburður sá í Hrísey, er eptir fylgir: Þar komu að landinu vestanvert á eyggi andhvalir tveir ungir, og námu staðar í vík lítilli til vesturs frá Syðstabæ. Búandinn þar, Halldór Jónsson, fór strax til með menn á skipum og unnu hvalina, svo það gekk allt vel. Kaðlar voru við lagjárn þau, sem þeir höfðu haft og fest voru í hvölunum; lágu þeir í land, hringaðir í fjörunni. Hallgrímur hét maður Brandsson, kvongaður og kominn til ára, er bjó á litlum hluta landsins að Syðstabæ; hann gekk þar að sjónum, er hvalirnir voru fyrir og þar að, sem kaðlarnir lágu í hringunum; varð honum það af ógætni, að hann sté í annan hringinn öðrum fætinum, en í því brá við fiskurinn, er kapallinn lá frá í land, af því hann var enn ekki dauður, og kippti af fram allt í sjóinn kaðlinum og mannum, svo han druknaði þegar og missti lífið." (Vallaannáll; cf Þorsteinsson 1922b: 533).

'The 8th day of July ... occurred in Hrísey the incident as follows: Two young bottlenose whales came near to shore on the western side of the island and stayed in a small inlet to the west of Syðstabær. The tenant there, Halldór Jónsson, immediately went there with men on ships and killed the whales so that went all well. Ropes were attached to the lagjárn [ie, literally 'lances': presumably harpoons, rather than gaffs] which they had had and which were fast in the whales; they lay onto the shore, curled on the beach. A man, Hallgrímur Brandsson by name, married and of older age, lived on a small part of the Syðstabær estate; he went down to the sea where the whales

were and to the place where the ropes lay coiled; incautiously he stepped into one of the (two) coils with one foot but in that moment it happened that the fish, from which the rope extended to shore, because it was still not dead, jerked the rope and the man all the way into the sea so he drowned straightaway and lost his life.'

1729 "Í Steingrímsfirði drukknaði maður af flaka, á hverjum hann fleytti sér fram að ísjaka, þar hvalfiskur flaut í vök, ætlaði að færa í hann festar; flakinn reistist upp á rönd, en maðurinn steyptist inn under jakann." (*Hítardalsannáll*; cf Þorsteinsson 1930a: 629).

'In Steingrímsfjörður [Strs] a man drowned from a floe on which he was floating toward an iceberg where a whale fish floated in a polynia; (he) intended to make a rope fast to it; the floe rose on its edge and the man was thrown under the iceberg.'

1733 "Vorur í Augusto um sumarið reknir á land vel 80 nýðingar í Ólafsvík, beggja megin við lækinn hjá dönsku búðunum." (*Grímsstaðaannáll*; cf Þorsteinsson 1934: 565).

'In August during the summer a good 80 *nýðingar* were chased ashore in Ólafsvík [Snæfs], at both sides of the brook by the Danish sheds.'

In the course of editing Þorsteinsson changes *nýðingar* of the manuscript to *hnýðingar* (ie, pilot whales). This interpretation is purely guesswork; if one looks at the same annal, 1741, one might just as well consider the normalised spelling to be *níðingar* (ie, orcas); in fact, *Hítardalsann-11* (1733, cf next paragraph) indicates that they are orcas.

1733 "Um sumarið hvalrekar 3 eða 4 fyrir norðan og víðar. Í Ólafsvík reknir á land og drepnir 80 hundfiskar og nokkrir vestur í Skutulsfirði." (*Hítardalsannáll*; cf Þorsteinsson 1930a: 654).

'During the summer 3 or 4 whale comings in the north and other places. In Ólafsvík [Snæfs] 80 *hundfiskar* [ie, pilot whales?; orcas?] were chased ashore and killed, and some west in Skutulsfjörður [N-Ísafjs].'

1734 "31. Martii bar upp hval nokkurn á Sauðakoti út af Svarfaðardal." (*Höskuldsstaðaannáll*; cf Jóhannesson 1948a: 475).

'On 31 March came a certain whale onto Sauðakot [= Sauðákot, Svarfaðardalshr, Eyjafs] off Svarfarðardalur.'

1734 "Þá rak um haustið hval fyrir utan Gönguskarðsá á Skarðsreka, sem Jón prestur Sigfússon átti." (*Mælifellsannáll*; cf Þorsteinsson 1924a: 650).

'Then came in the autumn a whale ashore outside Gönguskarðsá at the driftage shore of Skarð [Skarðshr, Skags] which vicar Jón Sigfússon owned.'

1735 "Undir þessu ártali brotnaði skip franskt um vorið undan Lóni í hafís. 18 menn komust í bát, en 19. vildi ei skilja við skipið. Komst hann so með skipið af, og hjálpuðu hönum hollenzkir, so hann komst út og var tekinn til stórrar virðingar, en hinir fóru út um sumarið á öðrum skipum." (*Desjarmýrarannáll*; cf Vilmundarson 1958: 287).

'Under this year in the spring a French ship broke up off Lón [Kelduhverfi, N-Pings?] in sea ice. 18 men got into a boat but the 19th (one) would not depart with the ship. He survived in this way with the ship, and the Dutch helped him so he came abroad and was greatly honoured but the others went abroad during the summer with other ships.'

Ca 1738 In Skutulsfjörður [N-Ísafjs] 50 small(er) whales were chased ashore. (Stephensen 1, 1796-1798: 441; quoting a letter, dated 17 January 1798, from rural dean Guðlaugur Sveinsson).

1741 "Vöggufiskar hlupu á land í Ólafsvík, nokkrir yfir 90, öndverðlega í Augusto, rak og líka 7 á Brimilsvöllum." (*Grímsstaðaannáll*; cf Þorsteinsson 1934: 579).

'Orcas [vöggufiskar] ran ashore in Ólafsvík [Snæfs], somewhat more than 90, early in August; 7 came also ashore at Brimilsvellir [Fróðárhr, Snæfs].'

In a letter, dated 17 January 1798, to Magnús Stephensen, rural dean at Vatnsfjörður, Ísafjarðardjúp, Guðlaugur Sveinsson (b 1733, d 1807; cf Nielsson 1950: 199) writes:

"Þá eg var herum 7 til 8 vetra var mergd af þessum smáhvølum rekin á land í Ólafsvík vestan Jökuls, svo hundrudum skipti; tvisvar vissi eg þar eptir til þess reynt, medan eg var undir Jökli". [441/442] "... varast að hundar gellti á landi því, sem þeir skulu rekast á, því það vissa eg einusinni hneckja þessum rekstri við Hellna." (Cf Stephensen 1, 1796-1798: 441f).

'When I was approximately 7 to 8 winters old [ie, ca 1740-1741] a great number of these small(er) whales were chased ashore in Ólafsvík to the west of Snæfellsjökull, running into the hundreds; I knew that after that it had twice been attempted while I was at western Snæfellsnes'. During a whale drive people shall 'take care that dogs do not bark on the land to which they should be driven because I know that this once spoiled a drive at Hella [= Stóra Hella, Neshr, Snæfs].'

1741 "Síðla í Julio rak hval nokkurn undir Hálshöfða í Svarfaðardal." (*Höskuldsstaðaannáll*; cf Jóhannesson 1948a: 480).

'Late in July some whale came ashore under Hálshöfði in Svarfarðardalur [Eyjafs].'

1742 "Drepin hvalur á Eyjafirði." (*Úr Djáknaannálum*; cf Grímsdóttir 1987c: 54).

'A whale killed in Eyjafjörður'.

1742 "Blev i Skagefiords Syssele fanget af Indvaanerne tvende gode Chachelotter." (Pontoppidan 1, 1787: 122).

'In Skagafjörður sýsla [ie, county] the inhabitants caught two good sperm whales.'

1743 "Hval bar upp á Krossanesi við Eyjafjörð." (Úr *Djáknaannálum*; cf Grímsdóttir 1987c: 56).

'A whale came ashore onto Krossanes [Glæsibæjarhr, Eyjafs] at Eyjafjörður.'

1743 "Rak ís inn á einmánuði og allur Eyjafjörður af honum uppstappaður (var: kringum allt Norðurland). Hval bar upp á Krossanesi við Eyjafjörð. Vorið kalt. Ísinn rýmdist fyrst um fardaga, rak út um Jónsmessu." (*Höskuldsstaðaannáll*; cf Jóhannesson 1948a: 482).

End of March to end of April [einmánuður] ice drifted inshore all around North Iceland and Eyjafjörður was packed with ice. 'A whale came ashore onto Krossanes [Glæsibæjarhr, Eyjafs] at Eyjafjörður.' The spring was cold. The ice first moved off the shore about early June and drifted out about Midsummer Day.

1744 "Hlupu yfir 100 hundfiskar á land við Jökul, milli Rifs og Ólafsvíkur." (*Sauðlauksdalsannáll*; cf Grímsdóttir 1987b: 425).

'More than 100 *hundfiskar* [ie, pilot whales?] ran ashore on western Snæfellsnes, between Rif and Ólafsvíkur [Snæfs].'

1744 "Hundfiskur ---. 1744 løbe omtrent 100 Stykker levende paa Land, i Bugten imellem Olufsvig og Revet, hvor de bleve hugne og stukne til de døde. ---. Maaske den er Færøernes Grindehval ...". (Olafsen 1, 1772: 360; essentially repeated by Pontoppidan 1, 1787: 122).

'*Hundfiskur* ---. 1744, approximately 100 heads ran live ashore, in the bay between Ólafsvík and Rif [Snæfs] where they were hewn and stuck to death. ---. Perhaps it is the pilot whale of the Faeroe Islands.'

E. Ólafsson's descriptions and designations of pilot whales and orcas show that in this case, at least, *hundfiskur* signifies the pilot whale.¹

1746 "Hval einn rak við Skjaldavíkur í Eyjafirði." (Úr *Djáknaannálum*; cf Grímsdóttir 1987c: 63).

'A whale came ashore at Skjaldavíkur [Glæsibæjarhr, Eyjafs] in Eyjafjörður.'

1746 "Hval rak við Skjaldarvíkur á Eyjafirði." (*Höskuldsstaðaannáll*; cf Jóhannesson 1948a: 485).

'A whale came ashore at Skjaldavíkur [Glæsibæjarhr, Eyjafs] in Eyjafjörður.'

1 Cf Olafsen 1, 1772: 360, 544; Sæmundsson 1932: 318.

1746, cf 1747, below.

1747 "Mælt var, að 17 hvalaraskip hefðu hið fyrra árið í rekísi farízt." (*Höskuldsstaðaannáll*; cf Jóhannesson 1948a: 486).

'It was told that 17 whaling ships had perished in sea ice in the previous year [ie, 1746].'

1748 "Um sumarið grandaði fiskur skipi af Flateyjardal, dó þar 1 maður, annar sat eftir á skipbrotinu og náði syni sínum hálfvöxnum, var þeim til hjápar komið af öðrum skipverjum." (*Úr Djáknaannálum*; cf Grímsdóttir 1987c: 69).

'In the summer a [ie, whale] fish destroyed a ship from Flateyjardalur, one (man) sat on the wreck of the ship and got hold of his adolescent son; they were aided by other fishermen.'

1748 "Grandaði [var: um sumarið] illhveli fiskibáti fyrir norðan Flateyjardal, beit eður braut stefnið af bátinum og náði einum manni þar af. Annar maður var þar á með son sinn hálfvaxinn, hvörn hann greip í fang sér, hélzt svo eftir [19/20] á skipflakinu, þar til hönum varð bjargað af öðrum, sem lágu þar skammt frá." (*Íslands árbók*; cf Jóhannesson 1955: 19f).

'A wicked whale destroyed [variant addition: in the summer] a fishing boat north of Flateyjardalur [Flateyjarhr, S-Þings], bit or broke the prow from the boat and took one man from it. Another man was there on board with his adolescent son whom he quickly embraced, stayed then on the wreck of the ship until he was salvaged by others who lay there near by.'

1749 "Hvalur kom upp í Húnaós. --- [71/73]
Sáu karlar og konur, sem voru að heyverki við Kleifarvatn, mikinn orm, sem skreið upp út vatninu á eitt rif, som lá fram í vatnið, og var þar hér um 2 stundir til þess [73/74] hann fór fram í það aftur. Enginn þorði nærri honum að koma. Þessi órmur sást oft, stór sem meðal hvalur, 30 til 40 ál(na) langur." (*Úr Djáknaannálum*; cf Grímsdóttir 1987c: 71, 73f).

'Whale came into Húnaós. ---. Men and women who were making hay at Kleifarvatn [ie, a lake on Reykjanes peninsula] saw a big serpent which crept out of the water ---.

This serpent was often seen, (was) of the size as a middle-sized whale, 30 to 40 ells long.'

1749 "Fiskur víðast við sjóinn þessa góu, með loðnu og stórfiskigang. -

Stórfiskur grandaði skipi um miðgóuna í Staðarsveit við Traðir. Formaðurinn hét Þorleifur Árnason. Einn komst á flaka og náðist af öðrum mönnum á skipi þar nálægt, en 6 menn drukknuðu með formanninum. ---.

Á Hjallasandi laskaði stórfiskur kjöl á bát, svo að inn rann og fylltist; voru allir mennirnir af öðru skipi teknir og til lands fluttir, ásamt báturinn í land róinn með fullu, og þegar rannsakaður var, voru brotnar kjalsíður og kjölurinn fram í miðskipa." (*Grímsstaðaannáll*; cf Þorsteinsson 1934: 599).

'Fish widely at the seaside during this góa [ie, mid February-mid March], with occurrence of capelin and big [ie, whale] fishes [*stórfiskigangur*]. -

A big [ie, whale] fish [*stórfiskur*] destroyed a ship in mid-góa off Traðir in Staðarsveit [Snæfs]. The foreman was named Þorleifur Árnason. One (man) came onto a piece of wreck and was rescued by other men on a ship nearby but 6 men drowned (together) with the foreman. ---.

A big [ie, whale] fish [*stórfiskur*] damaged the keel of a boat at [or: from] Hjallasandur [Neshr, Snæfs] so that water flowed into and filled it; all the men were taken by another ship and moved ashore, and the boat rowed ashore in full speed, and when it was investigated (it turned out that) the bottom planks and the keel were broken [from the stern?] to amidships.'

1749 "Urðu skiptapar: ... 8. fyrir Ólafsfjarðarmúla, fórust sex menn, var sagt siglt hefði í stórfiskavað." (*Hrafnagilsannáll*; cf Jóhannesson 1948c: 676).

'Ship losses were: ... 8th, off Ólafsfjarðarmúli [Eyjafs] six men perished; it was said that they had sailed into a school of large whales.'

1749 "Rak hval við Húnavatnsós." (*Höskuldsstaðaannáll*; cf Jóhannesson 1948a: 488).

'A whale came ashore at Húnavatnsós [= Húnaós, A-Húns].'

1749 "Skiptapi um veturinn í Staðarsveit af stórfiski. Komst af einn maður á fleka." (*Íslands árbók*; cf Jóhannesson 1955: 21).

'Loss of a ship during the winter in Staðarsveit [Snæfs] (caused) by a big [ie, whale] fish [*stórfiskur*]. One man survived on a piece of wreck.'

1750 "Þann 5ta Oct. rak hvalbrot á Sviðningi á Skaga." (*Úr Djáknaannálum*; cf Grímsdóttir 1987c: 74).

'On 5 Oct, a whale part drifted ashore at Sviðningur [Vindhælishr, A-Húns] on Skagi.'

1750 "5. Octobris rak hvalbrot á Sviðningi á Skaga." (*Höskuldsstaðaannáll*; cf Jóhannesson 1948a: 489).

'On 5 Oct, a whale part drifted ashore at Sviðningur [Vindhælishr, A-Húns] on Skagi.'

1751 "Hval rak um haustið í Vopnafirði, 2an á Sléttu, 3ja á Laufássgrunni." (*Úr Djáknaannálum*; cf Grímsdóttir 1987c: 77).

'A whale came in the autumn ashore in Vopnafjörður

[N-Múls], another one at Slétta [= Melrakkaslétta, N-Þings], a third one at the shallows of Laufás [Grýtubakkahr, S-Þings].'

1751 "Hvali rak um haustið: einn á Vopnafirði, annan á Sléttu, þriðja á Laufásgrunni etc. [var: Vatnsnesi (og viðar)]." (*Höskuldsstaðaannáll*; cf Jóhannesson 1948a: 490).

'Whales came in the autumn ashore: one in Vopnafjörður [N-Múls], another one at Slétta [= Melrakkaslétta, N-Þings], a third one at the shallows of Laufás [Grýtubakkahr, S-Þings], etc [variant addition: at Vatnsnes (ie, V-Húns), and more widely].'

1752 "Komu 2 hukkurtur til Íslands, er Skúli hafði keypt til fiskveiða og hvala." (*Annáll Eggerts Ólafssonar*; cf Grímsdóttir 1987a: 509).

'2 hookers came to Iceland which Skúli [Magnússon] had bought for fishing and whaling.'

1752 "Þann 21ta Martii rak hval á Hólahólum í Snæfellssýslu, voru á honum nær 200 vættir; þar af fékk margur svangur saðningu sína, því áður var bjargræðisskortur stór í þeirri sveit um veturinn og harðari var þá allvíða." (*Úr Djáknaannálum*; cf Grímsdóttir 1987c: 80).

'On 21 March a whale came ashore at Hólahólar [Breiðuvíkurr, Snæfs], on it were nearly 200 vættir [ie, ca 7940 kg]; from this many hungry persons could eat their fill because earlier there was great shortage of supplies in their district that winter and dearth occurred then quite widely.'

1752 "Skiptapi varð og síðar um vorið heim á Mýrum með 3 eða 4 mönnum; veiðistaðan er nefnd Traðir; halda sumir, stórfiskur hafi grandað." (*Grímsstaðaannáll*; cf Þorsteinsson 1934: 617).

'Loss of a ship was also later in the spring home in Mýrasýsla with 3 or 4 men; the fishing ground is called Traðir [ie, off Hraunhr, Mýras]; some people think that a big [ie, whale] fish [stórfiskur] destroyed it.'

1752 "Komu þær 2 huckortur til Íslands, hlaðnar af mjöli, timbri og verktólum til þeirra nýju Innréttinga. Gáfan bar freklega 32 lestir, en Óskin 34 til 40. Skyldu þær síðan fara til fiskjar og ef færi gæfist, taka hvali." (*Sauðlauksdalsannáll*; cf Grímsdóttir 1987b: 434).

'The 2 hookers came to Iceland, loaded with meal, timber and tools for the new Factories. *Friderichs Gáfa* carried easily 32 lasts and *Friderichs Ósk* 34 to 40 (lasts). They should later serve in fishing and, if opportunity occurred, to take whales.'

1752 "Fangede et Franskt Skib 5 gode Hvalfiske paa en Dag

i Aabningen af Issefiordens Havn." (Pontoppidan 1, 1787: 122).

'A French ship caught 5 good whale fishes in one day in the mouth of Ísafjörður harbour.'

These are likely to have been black right whales.

1753 "1 hval rak í Ólafsfirði og 2 norðar." (Úr Djáknaannálum; cf Grímsdóttir 1987c: 86).

'1 whale came in Ólafsfjörður [Eyjafs] and 2 farther to the north.'

1753 "Hval rak í Ólafsfirði og tvo hvali norðar." (Höskuldsstaðaannáll; cf Jóhannesson 1948a: 493).

'A whale came in Ólafsfjörður [Eyjafs] and 2 farther to the north.'

1754 "Hvalrek frá [sic] Gufuskálum." (Úr Djáknaannálum; cf Grímsdóttir 1987c: 90).

'Whale coming from [sic; at?] Gufuskálar [Gerðahr, Gullbs, or Neshr, Snæfs].'

1757 "... um vorið voru kræktar upp um ísinn á Skagaströnd hér um 50 hnísur." (Úr Djáknaannálum; cf Grímsdóttir 1987c: 107).

'... in the spring about 50 porpoises were hooked up [ie, through holes] from the ice at Skagaströnd'.

1757 "Harðindin viðhéldust, jafnvel vaxandi af bjargarleysi hjá velflestum. ---. Einmánuður hinn strangasti með sterkum norðanhríðum og frostum, ei sízt á páskum. Rak isinn inn um sumarmál. Fáir gengu á hann, sem hákarl fengu, því hann var víðast laus við land. En hnísur (eður höfrunga) kræktu þeir upp á Skagaströnd nærri landi milli Syðri-Eyjar og Hafna, helzt frá Litla-bakka og Harastöðum, víst alls á greindri línu 50 eður fleiri. ---. Stórkostlegt hallari þótti þá í kringum Jökul til sjós og lands --. Hér fyrir norðan dó og fátækisfólk af hor og vesöld ei allfátt." (Höskuldsstaðaannáll; cf Jóhannesson 1948a: 501).

The winter was severe throughout, with 'increasing dearth with most people'. 'The ice drifted inshore in early April [sumarmál]. Few of those who got sharks walked on it because it was unstable near to shore. But at Skagaströnd, near to shore between Syðri Ey and Hafnir, mostly between Litlabakki og Harastaðir [all Vindhælishr, A-Húns], they hooked up harbour porpoises [hnísur], or dolphins [höfrungar], supposedly on a branched lined, 50 or more in all.' Great dearth at western Snæfellsnes. In the north many poor people also died from starvation.

1757 "Á fyrirfarandi vori, þegar menn ætluðu frá að ganga hungurs vegna nokkrir, sem við bú löfðu, þá gaf drottinn af náð sinni bjargræði, sem var það, að smáhvalir lágu dauðir í sjónum skammt frá landi mjög

víða og margir, svo þeir þar voru um Skaga og Skagaströnd hjálpuðu mörgum til sveita." (Húnavetnskúr annáll; cf Jóhannesson 1948b: 607).

'In the preceding spring when some people, who still hanged on to their farms, were close to dying from starvation, then the Lord of his mercy gave necessities which was that many small(er) whales [smáhvalir] lay dead widely in the sea near to shore so they were there around Skagi [A-Húns/Skags] and Skagaströnd [A-Húns] [and] helped many in the countryside.'

This will have been in the spring of 1757, not the 'preceding', ie, 1756, spring.¹

1757 "Gaf kóngurinn 10000 rd. til landsins Innréttinga, so að nú voru alls komnir 61000 rd., er hans örláta gæzka lét oss í té. Hann leyfði og að ganga skyldi collecta til Hólakirkju byggingar af múr og lími, áminnti interessenta að nýju að láta vel iðka fiskiveiðar og reyna til að járna hvali, sem Grænlandsfara gjöra." (Sauðlauksdalsannáll; cf Grímsdóttir 1987b: 447).

'The king gave 10,000 rigsdaler to the country's Factories [Innréttingar] so now a total of 61,000 rigsdaler had come which His generous grace has provided to us. He also permitted that a collection be made for the Hólar church building of stone and mortar, reminded anew the partners [ie, of the *Privilegeraða íslenzka interessentskap*] to pursue fisheries proficiently and to try to iron [járna, ie, harpoon] whales in the way the Greenland-voyagers do.'

1758 "1 hval eður fleiri bar upp í Þingeyjarþing, 1 á Laufási (kálf), 1 á Hvanndöllum, 1 á Höfðaströnd (hafurketti), 1 undir Tindastól, 1 í Laxarvík, 1 á Hjaltabakka, 1 á Bessastöðum í Hrútafirði." (Úr Djáknaannálum; Grímsdóttir 1987c: 111).

'1 whale or more came ashore in Þingeyarsýsla, 1 at Laufás [Grýtubakkahr, S-Þings] (calf), 1 at Hvanndalur [Siglufjörður, Eyjafs], 1 at Höfðaströnd [A-Húns] (hafurketti [ie, black right whale]), 1 below Tindastóll [Skarðshr, Skags], 1 in Laxarvík [A-Húns?], 1 at Hjaltabakki [Torfalækjarhr, A-Húns], 1 at Bessastaðir [Miðfjarðarhr, V-Húns] in Hrútafjörður.'

1758 "Hvali bar upp norðan lands, einn í Þingeyjarsýslu (eður fleiri) [var: á Tjörnesi], hvalkálf að Laufási, einn á Hvanndöllum, hafurketti á Höfðaströnd, einn hval undir Tindastól, einn í Laxarvík, einn í Hrútafirði, einn að Hjaltabakka." (Höskuldsstaðaannáll; cf Jóhannesson 1948a: 507).

'Whales came ashore in the Northland, one in Þingeyarsýsla, or more, [var: at Tjörnes], whale calf at Laufás [Grýtubakkahr, S-Þings], one at Hvanndalur [= Hvanndalir,

1 Cf Jóhannesson 1948b: 607.

Siglufjörður, Eyjafis], a black right whale [*hafurketti*] at Höfðaströnd [A-Húns], 1 at Hjaltabakki [Torfalækjarhr, A-Húns], 1 at Bessastaðir [Miðfjarðarhr, V-Húns] in Hrútafjörður.'

1760 "Um sumarið á túnslætti rak stóran hvalfisk á Geithóli í Hrútafirði, er sumir kölluðu hnúfubak, náðust af honum meir en 3 hundr. vættir." (*Úr Djáknaannálum*; cf Grímsdóttir 1987c: 119).

'In the summer at the time of hay-making a large whale fish came ashore at Geithóll (Staðahr, V-Húns) in Hrútafjörður, which some called *hnúfubakur* [ie, humpback whale]; more than 360 vættir [ie, < 14,285 kg] was obtained from it.'

1761 "Rekaviður í kringum Jökull, jafnvel víðast í kringum landið í meira lagi, það rak og lýsistunnur víða og voru fullar". (*Grímsstaðaannáll*; cf Þorsteinsson 1934: 642).

'Driftwood around western Snæfellsnes, indeed widely around the country more than usual; train oil barrels [*lýsistunnur*] came also ashore in many places and were full.'

1761 "Vogrek sögð mikil og mörg í kringum landið. ---. Skrifað var, að haustið fyrir hefðu 3 hundruð hafskipa frá Hollandi farizt í Norðursjónum og þar til nær 2 hundruð önnur skip. Hér af hafa þau mörgu vogrek komið.

Um vorið sela- og silungsveiði á Eyjafirði góð". (*Höskuldsstaðaannáll*; cf Jóhannesson 1948a: 512).

Wreck driftage/stranding widespread all around the country which will originate from the wreckage of '3 hundred high sea ships from Holland' and 'nearly 2 hundred other ships' in the previous autumn (ie, 1760).

1762 "Skiptapi syðra um sumarið seint, milli höfuðdags og krossmessu, ætluðu suður í Hólmskaupstað, fóru frá Akranesi, kom ei fram, meinast fiskur hafi grandað; voru á 7 karlmenn og 3 kvennmenn; ein af þeim og karlmennirnir 3 voru gift. 13 börn voru eptir munaðarlaus. Einn maðurinn af þessum 7 var þénari vice- [648/649] lögmannsins Ólafs Stefánssonar, sem sendur var með 5 [? reading uncertain: 2?] hundruð ríxdali og svo annað, sem út átti að sendast, svo og tólk, hvert eð nokkuð upp rak." (*Grímsstaðaannáll*; cf Þorsteinsson 1934: 648f).

Loss of a ship in the south late in the summer, between 29 August and 14 September; it intended south to Hólmskaupstaður [Seltjarnarneshr, Kjóss] from Akranes, 'did never arrive; it was assumed that a [ie, whale] fish had destroyed it'; on board were 7 men and 3 women; one of them and 3 men were married; 13 children were orphaned. One of the men were a servant to vice lawman Ólafur Stefánsson who was send with 5 (or, possibly: 2) hundred *rigsdaler* and other things which should be send abroad (ie, to

Copenhagen), and also tallow, some of which drifted ashore.

1763 "Á Fellsreka í Sléttahlíð bar upp vnanan hval um haustið og tvítugan reiðarkálf á Bessastöðum í Hrútafirði 18da Nóv.

Hval rak á Seltjarnarnesi um sumarið 56 fóta langa, 41 fótur og 8 þumlunga þykkvan, kjálkinn var 13 fóta, skíðin 368, hvar af 41 voru stærst, vélindið 8 fóta langt og 7 þumlunga vítt [,] þarmarnir frá maganum með endigörnninni 354 fet og víddin 12 þumlungar. Hryggjarliðirnir 63, þeir 3 fremstu og 14 öftustu ekki holir. Augnatóftin 10 þumlunga löng og 7½ þumlungur á vidd." (Úr *Djáknaannálum*; cf Grímsdóttir 1987c: 128).

'At Fellsreki in Sléttahlíð [Hofshr and Fellshr, Skags] came ashore an excellent whale in the autumn and a rorqual calf [sized] 20 [ells] at Bessastaðir in Hútafjörður, 18 Nov.

A whale drifted ashore at Seltjarnarnes [Gullbs] in the summer, 56 feet [fet] long, 41 feet [fet] and 8 inches [þumlungar] thick [ie, in circumference]; the jaw was 13 feet [fet]; the baleen 368, of which 41 were the largest; the gullet, 8 feet [fet] long and 7 inches [þumlungar] wide; the intestines from the stomach including the rectum, 354 feet [fet] and the wideness 12 inches [þumlungar]. The vertebrae (numbered) 63, the fore three and the final 14 ones were not hollow. The eye socket was 10 inches [þumlungar] long and 7½ inches [þumlungar] wide.' (Cf *Úr Djáknaannálum*, Grímsdóttir 1987c: 128). The overall length is presumably 17.58 m, the circumference 13.08 m and the jaw bone 4.08 m.

1763 "Hval nokkurn rak syðra um sumarið á Seltjarnarnesi. Á Fellsreka í Sléttuhlíð bar upp vnanan hval um haustið. Í Hrútafirði á Bessastöðum rak reyðarkálf tvítugan. Var á honum 200 vættir. Þar af átti prestur á Stað fjórða part." (*Höskuldsstaðaannáll*; cf Jóhannesson 1948a: 515).

'Some whale came ... ashore at Seltjarnarnes during the summer. At Fellsreki in Sléttuhlíð [Hofshr and Fellshr, Skags] came a good whale ashore in the autumn. In Hrútafjörður at Bessastaðir [Ytri-Torfustaðahr, V-Húns] came ashore a blue whale calf [reyðarkálf] [sized] 20 [ells]. On it were 200 vættir [ie, ca 7940 kg]. Of this the vicar at Staður [Staðarhr, V-Húns] owned the fourth part [ie, ca 1985 kg].'

1764 "Selaflí mikill um vorið, venju framar í Þingeyjarþingi í nótum, svo seint í Martio höfðu á 4 bæjum á Tjörnnesi fengist 700 selir. Síldarfengur mikill á Eyjafirði um vorið. Fugl aflaðist nokkur við Drangey eftir fardaga og síðan fiskur, en sérleg sjóbönn. Fiskirí bezta á Ísafirði þetta vor, þegar gaf, sem var mjög sjaldan, en þá í meðallagi á Barðaströnd og í betra lagi þar eggver og selveiði. --- [133/136]

Sást við Hofssker á Skaga sjóskrímsl kolsvart í fisklíki með hnútum og hrömmum, rann hér um 12 álnir með landi." (*Úr Djáknaannálum*; cf Grímsdóttir 1987c: 133, 136).

1766 "Fiskiafli á Skaga um vorið í minna lagi vegna íssins, norðurfrá betri eftir það hann rýmdist. Geirreiðarhval, 40 álna, rak á Bessastöðum í Hrútafirði undan hafísnum, voru á honum 3 hundr. vættir." (*Úr Djáknaannálum*; cf Grímsdóttir 1987c: 142).

'A geirreiðarhvalur, [sized] 40 ells, came ashore at Bessastaðir in Hrútafjörður in front of the sea ice; there were 360 vættir [ie, 14,285 kg] on it.'

1766 "... rak hafís að Norðurlandi undir og um sumarmál. Rýmdist um þingmaríumessu, en lá við fram að slætti. ---. Undan ísnum rak upp hval í Hrútafirði." (*Höskuldsstaðaannáll*; cf Jóhannesson 1948a: 523).

At the end of March and early April the sea ice came inshore in North Iceland and stayed until the hay making season. 'In front of the ice a whale came ashore in Hrútafjörður [V-Húns].'

1767 "Þann 1ta Maii var Kristján 7di krýndur með stæstu viðhöfn og hátíðlegheitum. [150/151] ---. Þá kónglegu dýrgrip: kórónurnar, riddaraböndin, spíruna, smaragðinn, sverðið, gulleplið, þau 3 stóru silfurljón, einhyrnings- og silfurstólana, þann kónglega trón og kirkjunnar tilbúning fengu þeir áður að skoða, sem girntust." (*Úr Djáknaannálum*; cf Grímsdóttir 1987c: 150f).

In relation to the coronation of Christian 7, 1 May, in Copenhagen, the public was allowed to view the royal jewels, among them 'the unicorn and silver chairs'.

1768 "Fiskiganga mikil norðan lands. Selaveiði um veturinn á Eyjafirði venju framar. 20 vætta hlutur mest í Grímsey.

Stórfiskavað, sérdeilis á Eyjafirði. ---

Hvalfiskur steypiti fiskiskipi þar norður á Flateyjarsundi, menn komust þó af. ---[529/531]---

Sextán hvali víst rak upp norðan lands um árið, meðal þeirra fjóra á Eyjafirði, einn við Kolbeinsdalsárós etc., einn á Vatnsnesi, þrjá í Miðfirði, einn í Hrútafirði, fjóra vestar [í Bitur og Steingrímsfirði] etc." (*Höskuldsstaðaannáll*; cf Jóhannesson 1948a: 529, 531).

Fish occurrence much off North Iceland. 'Sealing during the winter in Eyjafjörður more than usual. 20 vættir [ie, ca 794 kg] share most in Grímsey. School of big [ie, whale] fishes, mostly in Eyjafjörður. ---. A whale fish upset a fishing ship north there in Flateyjarsund; the men were rescued, however.'

The catch share of 20 vættir seems to pertain to the

blubber yield in sealing because fish catch shares were counted in numbers, tens or long hundreds, of fish.¹

1768 "Stórfiskar ráku víða miklir fyrir öllu Norðurlandi, mest á Ströndum og Eyjafirði, minnst um kringum Skaga og Skagaströnd, þar öngvir ráku." (*Húnvetnskur annáll*; cf Jóhannesson 1948b: 616).

'Large big [ie, whale] fishes [miklir stórfiskar] came widely ashore at all the Northland, mostly in Strandasýsla and Eyjafjörður, least around Skagi [A-Húns/Skags] and Skagaströnd [A-Húns] where none came ashore.'

Strandasýsla is usually not counted with North Iceland.

1768 "... mestu góð-[59/60]viðri allt sumarið. Hvalrekar miklar og góður fiskiafli norðan lands." (*Íslands árbók*; cf Jóhannesson 1955: 59f).

'... unusual fair weather all the summer. Many whale comings and good fish catches in the north.'

1768 "Árferði til lands svo sem í góðu meðalári. Bar upp 16 hvali í Norðurlandi; af þeim rak upp 4 í Eyjafirði, sem voru reyðarfiskar. Fiski- og selafli þá og rétt góður í þeim fjórðungi." (*Ketilsstaðaannáll*; cf Jóhannesson 1944b: 415).

'The weather on land like in a good average year. 16 whales came ashore in the Northland; of them 4, which were blue whales [reyðarfiskar], came ashore in Eyjafjörður. Fish and seal catches then also quite good in that quarter.'

1768 "Selaveiði á Eyjafirði um veturinn venju framar; ---. Um sumarið rak upp marga hvali norðanlands frá Eyjafirði og að Dröngum; 4 eða 5 á Eyjafirði, 1 við Kolbeinsdalsárós, 1 á Vatnsnesi, 3 í Miðfirði, 1 í Hrútafirði, 4 á Ströndum og jafnvel fleiri." (*Úr Djáknaannálum*; cf Grímsdóttir 1987c: 152).

'Sealing in Eyjafjörður beyond average during the winter; ---. During the summer many whales came ashore in the north from Eyjafjörður and to Drangir [Árneshr, Strs?]; 4 or 5 in Eyjafjörður, 1 at Kolbeinsdalsárós [= Kolkuós, Viðvíkurhr, Skags], 1 at Vatnsnes [V-Húns], 3 in Miðfjörður [V-Húns], 1 in Hrútafjörður [V-Húns], 4 at Strandir [Strs] and even more.'

1768 "Hvalkomur og rekar allmiklar, einkum norðan- og vestanlands, hér um 30 alls samantaldir, so árferðið var ágætt yfir allt." (*Vatnsfjarðarannáll yngsti*; cf Vilmundarson 1959: 354).

'Whale comings and (whale [?]) driftage considerable, especially in the Northland and Westland, ca 30 all together, so the year [árferði] was good on the whole [or:

1 Cf, eg, *Höskuldsstaðaannáll*, 1766, 1768, 1772, 1778-1780, 1782; cf Jóhannesson 1948a: 523, 531, 542, 566, 568, 575, 588.

everywhere].'

1770 "Hval mikinn rak á Staðarreka í Steingrímsfirði."
(*Höskuldsstaðaannáll*; cf Jóhannesson 1948a: 537).

'A large whale came onto the driftage shore of Staður [Hrófbergshr, Strs] in Steingrímsfjörður.'

1771 "Einn mikið vnan stórfisk rak um haustið í Vaðlasýslu." (*Húnvetnskur annáll*; cf Jóhannesson 1948b: 622).

'One very good big [ie, whale] fish [*stórfiskur*] in the autumn came ashore in Vaðlasýsla [= Eyjafs].'

1772 "Dróst hákall upp um hafísinn af Skagatrönd og Vatnsnesi. Af Upsalaströnd var þorskur dreginn up um ísinn, hér um 4 hndr. Hval rak undan honum á Fellsreka í Sléttahlíð og 2 tannhveli nyrðra, eitt hjá Krossanesi í Eyjafirði, annað í Náttfaravíkum. Um haustið rak stóran hval á Reykjafirði á Ströndum." (*Úr Djáknaannálum*; cf Grímsdóttir 1987c: 171).

Sharks were taken (by hook and line) through the sea ice (by people) from Skagatrönd [A-Húns] and Vatnsnes [V-Húns]. From Upsalaströnd [V-Húns], cod was taken (by hook and line) through the ice, about 480. 'A whale came in front of it onto the driftage shore of Fell [Fellhr, Skags] in Sléttuhlíð and two toothed whales [*tannhveli*] in the north, one at Krossanes [Glæsibæjarhr, Eyjafs] in Eyjafjörður, another one in Náttfaravíkur [Ljósavatnshr, S-Þings]. In the autumn a large whale came in Reykjafjörður [Árneshr, Strs] in Strandir.'

1772 "Mikill frostavetur. ---. Sást hafís fyrir á þorra, rak inn á góu. Fylltust firðir á einmánuði norðan lands. ---. Vermenn fóru vestur síðla vegna snjóa og jarðbanna. Fengu hákarl um ísinn á Skagatrönd og á Vatnsnesi. Á Ufsaströnd var fiskur dreginn upp um ísinn hér um 4 hndr. Hval rak undan ísnum á Fellsreka í Sléttuhlíð, og annar hvalur var lagður þar fram [utan fiskhelgi]." (*Höskuldsstaðaannáll*; cf Jóhannesson 1948a: 542).

A severe winter. Sea ice filled the fiords in North Iceland. 'Shark(s) taken through the ice at Skagatrönd and Vatnsnes. At Ufsaströnd fish were caught through the ice, approximately 4 [ie, long] hundred. A whale came in front of the ice onto Fellsreki in Sléttuhlíð [Hofshr and Fellshr, Skagas], and another whale was killed there outside the driftage limit [*fiskhelgi*].'

1772 "... hafís fór fyrst burt, þegar hálfur mánuður var af sumri, en í vikunni áður var farið með hesta á hann á Höfðaströnd. Fengust tveir vnanir stórfiskar, sem af drottni gáfust í ísnum fólki til bjargar." (*Húnvetnskur annáll*; cf Jóhannesson 1948b: 626).

The sea ice first disappeared in mid April. 'Two good whales [*stórfiskar*] were obtained which by the Lord was

given in the ice to the relief of the people.'

1773 "Harðindi og hungursneyð allvíða um sveitirnar af heys- og bjargarleysi og jarðbönn til afdala. Kúa- og sauðkindafellir sumstaðar. Sama sagt úr vestursveitum og að sunnan. ---.

Við Eyjafjörð höfðu menn tilbúið selanatur, sem ei hefur þar venja verið, og í þeim veitt vel vöðuselinn [um veturinn].

Hvalablástur á Húnafirði (og öðrum fjörðum)." (Höskuldsstaðaannáll; cf Jóhannesson 1948a: 547).

Widespread famine. 'Around Eyjafjörður people had made seal nets, which has not been customary there, and caught well harp seals with them during the winter. Whale blows in Húnaafjörður [ie, Húnaflói] (and in other fiords).'

1773 "Um haustið rak tvo stórfiska norður á Sléttu." (Húnavetnskur annáll; cf Jóhannesson 1948b: 628).

'In the autumn two big [ie, whale] fishes [stórfiskar] came ashore at Slétta [= Melrakkaslétta, N-Þings] in the north.'

1773 "Hvalrekar voru nokkrir þetta ár, þar í bland 2 í Barðastrandarsýslu." (Vatnsfjarðarannáll yngsti; cf Vilmundarson 1959: 375).

'Whale comings were some this year, among them 2 in Barðastrandarsýsla.'

1774 "2 hvali rak austur á Meðallandsfjöru og steypireyður á Langanesi. ---.

Í Skaftafellssýslu á Örafum skutlaði maður sel, batt um sig strenginn, dró svo selurinn hann í sjó út til bana." (Úr Djáknaannálum; cf Grímsdóttir 1987c: 184).

'In the east 2 whales came ashore at Meðallandsfjara [V-Skafts] and a blue whale [steypireyður] at Langanes [Sauðaneshr, N-Þings]. ---.

In Skaftafellssýslu in Örafi [A-Skafts] a man harpooned a seal, tied the line around his body; the seal then pulled him into the sea killing him.'

1774 "[Var hart á Langanesi. Rak þar hval.]" (Espihólsannáll; cf Jóhannesson 1957: 155).

'It was a hard time at Langanes [Sauðaneshr, N-Þings]. Came a whale ashore there.'

1774 "Vöðuselur hljóp inn í hópum á Húna- og Miðfjörð um jól; hafði enginn gagn af. --- [551/552] ---.

Maður einn í Skaftafellssýslu skutlaði sel og batt um sig skutulstrenginn. Dró svo selurinn hann út í sjó til bana. --- [552/554] ---.

Haustið ... til aðventu ---. Tvo hvali rak austur á Meðallandsströnd. ---. Á Langanesi norður rak hval, steypireyður." (Höskuldsstaðaannáll; cf Jóhannesson 1948a: 554).

'Harp seals ran in great numbers [laterally: in herds]

into Húna fjörður [ie, Húnaflói] and Miðfjörður at Christmas; no use of them. ---. A man in Skaftafellsýsla harpooned a seal and tied the harpoon line around his body. The seal then pulled him into the sea killing him. ---. Autumn ... to Advent ---. In the east two whales came onto Meðallandsströnd [V-Skafts]. ---. North on Langanes a whale came ashore, blue whale [steypireyður].'

1775 "1 hval rak í Aðalvík, 2 í Strandasýslu. Hvalbrot undir Digranesi, sagt var að 2 hefði rekið eystra og 19 dauða hákalla og 3 rak dauða á Gilársandi í Húnavatnssýslu. [189/193] ---.

Í Khöfn, Altona og Hamborg byggð skip smá og stór, sem eftir ásigkomulagi skyldu brúkast til hvala- og fiskiveiða undir Íslandi og Grænlandi." (Úr Djáknaannálum; cf Grímsdóttir 1987c: 189, 193).

'1 whale came in Aðalvík [Sléttuhr, N-Ísafjs], 2 in Strandasýsla. Part of a whale at Digranes [Skagahr, A-Húns]; it was told that 2 [ie, whales?] had come ashore in the east, and 19 dead sharks, and 3 came dead onto Gilársandur [= Giljár sandur, V-Húns] in Húnavatnssýsla. ---.

In Copenhagen, Altona and Hamburg small and big ships built which according to their kind should be used for whale and fish catching off Iceland and Greenland.'

1775 "Í Aðalvík hljóp einn lifandi hvalur á land. ---. [556/557] Viðarreki allri venju framur mikill með öllu Norðurlandi undan ísnum. Tvo hvali skal hafa rekið í Vopnafirði (eður þar nálægt) og hér um 14 dauða hákarla. Þrjá hákarla dauða rak á Giljár sandi. Hvalbrot rak undir Digramúla í Augusto og um sama leyti tvo hvali í Strandasýslu." (Höskuldsstaðaannáll; cf Jóhannesson 1948a: 556f).

'In Aðalvík [Sléttuhr, N-Ísafjs] a whale ran live ashore. ---. Wood coming unusually plentifully along the whole of the Northland from under [or: in front of] the ice. Two whales are said to have come ashore in, or near, Vopnafjörður [N-Múls] and about 14 dead sharks. Three dead sharks came onto Giljár sandur [Múls?]. A piece of whale came ashore in August at Digramúli [Skagahr, A-Húns] and about the same time two whales in Strandasýsla.'

1775 "Fyrir Svalbarði í Þistilfirði uppbar 3 hvali undan hafís, að hverju æti að sóttu 14 hákarlar, sem og náðust. Þá voru og víðar hvalrekar, einninn trjáreki í betra lagi. Svo gekk þá nærri fólki norðanlands sá atvinnubrestur, er orsakaðist af fjárpestinni og fiskileysinu, að nokkrir lögðu sér til munns soðna klippinga [430/431] og þess slags, en sumir hrossakjöt. Umferð af fátæku fólki tók þá og að vaxa." (Ketilsstaðaannáll; cf Jóhannesson 1944b: 430f).

'At Svalbarð [Svalbarðhr, N-Þings] in Þistilfjörður came 3 whales in front of [or: from under] the sea ice, the feed

of which 14 sharks pursued which were also taken. Whale comings were also widely, also wood driftage more than average.' The plague in the domestic animals and the absence of fish had so severe effects in North Iceland that some people ate boiled sheepskins and the like and others horse meat. The traffic of poor people then also increased.

1775 "... gott sumar- og haustfiskirí. Hér við battist og, að hvalfangarar, sagðir engelskir, lögðu marga hvali, helzt á Breiðafirði, slepptu skrokkunum, sem drifu á land upp, sumir meira, en sumir minna skornir, og þar af 1 óskorinn, mönnum til stórs bjargræðis og hagnaðar. Þar að auk gáfust ogso nokkrar hvalakomur í fleirum stöðum á landinu, so árferðið var yfir höfuð mikið gott." (Vatnsfjarðarannáll yngsti; cf Vilmundarson 1959: 379).

'... good summer and autumn fishery. To this comes also that whalers, said to be English, killed many whales, mainly in the Breiðafjörður; (they) released the carcasses which drifted ashore, some more, other ones less, flensed, including 1 unflensed, to the great aid and profit of people. Furthermore, some whales came also (ashore) in several places of the country, so the year [árferði] was as a whole very good.'

The English whalers presumably caught black right whales.

1776 "... í Júnjó, rak þá inn hafís, þó stóðu engin harðindi af honum, var hann og ekki mikill --- [193/194] ---.

Þann 30ta Júlíi rak hval í Rauðalækjarbás á Skaga; Þingeyraklausturreka, og um haustið andarnefju á Gilársandi. 6 hvalskrokkar af enskum skutlaðir ráku á Vestfjörðum til góðra nota. --- [194/200] ---.

Nú voru miklar sýslanir í Khöfn fyrir hvala- og fiskiveiðum undir Grænlandi og Íslandi; til Grænlands voru ætluð 20 hvalaveiðarskip. Foringi þeirra var Þorkell, er sig kallaði eftir það Bergmann, ættaður af Skagatrönd. Tilsjónarmenn þeirra grænlenzku höndlunar, sem nú var aðskilin frá þeirri íslenzku, færeysku og finnmerksku, voru greifarnir Schimmelmann og Molkte og etazráðin Guldberg og Eyrichsen." (Úr Djáknaannálum; cf Grímsdóttir 1987c: 193f, 200).

In June sea ice drifted inshore but it was not much and did not cause harm.

'On 30 July a whale came ashore at Rauðalækjarbás, on Skagi; Þingeyri monastery driftage shore; and in the autumn a bottlenose [andarnefja] onto Gilársandur. 6 whale carcasses harpooned by the English drifted ashore in the Westfjords to good use. ---. Now was great activity in Copenhagen (preparing) for whaling and fishing at Greenland and Iceland; 20 whaling ships are bound for Greenland. Their commander is Þorkell, who calls himself after that Bergmann, from Skagatrönd.'

'Greenland' is the traditional name by whalers of Spitsbergen (cf 1777, below); the Bergmann name seems to allude to this.

1776 [From a newsletter, written in Copenhagen, late March 1776:] "Nú ganga út til Grönland og Island þau nýbyggðu skip í strið á móti fiskum og hvalfiskum. Þau hvalfiskafangaraskip, sem ganga til Grönland, bera navn af þeim flestu í skattedirectionen, sem grev Thott, barón Juel Vind etc. eru þeirra nöfn. Í anledning af þessum kostböru foretagender koma út sterk forboð bæði í henseende til Íslands og Grönlands, sem fyrirbýður sterklega alla fiskafangst á vissum grader öllum öðrum en þessum héðan útsendu hvalföngurum og það undir straf af að uppbringast af þeim konunglegu dönsku krydsandi or- [236/237] lögsmönnum, sem í ár ganga 2 út undir Ísland, og síðan af þeim sömu að færast hér til Köbenhavn og dæmast sem gott prísgóðs þeim ísl.-grönlandska og finnmarska handel." (*Espihólsannáll*; cf Jóhannesson 1957: 236f).

Danish whaling vessels are bound for Greenland and Iceland. Because of this expensive enterprise all other whaling vessels then these are strongly prohibited, under the punishment of being seized by the 2 royal Danish naval vessels patrolling off Iceland, to be taken to Copenhagen and becoming the prize of the Icelandic-Greenlandic and Finmarkian Trade [Company].

1776 "Greifarnir Schimmelmann og Moltke og etazráð Guldberg og Erichsen verða directeurer fyrir þeirri íslenzku, finnmersku og færeyisku höndlun. Í Kaupinhafn eru nú byggð mörg stór skip til hvalfangstar undir Grænlandi og smá skip til fiskirís undir Íslandi, hverjum síðari til forsvars að útgjörðust tvö stríðsskip, hver ogso skyldu vera til eftirsjónar hollenzkum fiskiduggum hér undir landinu." (*Ketilsstaðaannáll*; cf Jóhannesson 1944b: 434).

Many large vessels build in Copenhagen for whaling at (East?) Greenland.

1776 "Kóngur sendi til Grænlands 10 skip til hvalveiða og hákallatekju, ítem 5 stórar og aðrar 5 litla fiskiduggur til Íslands. Þær stóru hafa 6-8 canonur." (*Sauðlauksdalsannáll*; cf Grímsdóttir 1987b: 480).

'The king sent 10 ships to [ie, East?] Greenland for whaling and shark catching, similarly, 5 big and other 5 small fishing vessels to Iceland. The big ones carry 6-8 cannons.'

1777 "Um haustið ... 1 hval rak í Steingrímsfirði. ---.
[201/205]

Sá grænlenzki hvalfangarafloti, [205/206] sem í

fyrri fór til Spitsbergen, kom þetta haust heim til Hafnar með allítinn afla og var sendur af stað aftur." (Úr Djáknaannálum; cf Grímsdóttir 1987c: 201, 205f).

'In the autumn ... 1 whale came ashore in Steingrímsfjörður [Strs]. ---.

The Greenlandic whaling fleet which last year went to Spitsbergen [ie, East Greenland?] returned this autumn to Copenhagen with an insignificant catch and was send off again.'

1777 "Hval bar upp um sumarið á Staðarreka í Steingrímsfirði." (Höskuldsstaðaannáll; cf Jóhannesson 1948a: 562).

'Whale came ashore during the summer at Staðarreki in Steingrímsfjörður [Strs].'

1777 "Þetta ár gáfust 3 hvalrekar í Strandasýslu, 1 í Barðastrandarsýslu og fáeiner annars staðar á landinu." (Vatnsfjarðarannáll yngsti; cf Vilmundarson 1959: 389).

'This year, 3 whale comings occurred in Strandasýsla, 1 in Barðastrandarsýsla and a few ones elsewhere in the country.'

1778 "Hafís var mikill fyrir Norðurlandi. Batnaði þá vika var af sumri ---. [206/207] Í Aug. rak reyðarfisk á Mýrum í Hrútafirði. Reyðarkálf rak á Bæ á Höfðaströnd; 3 eða fleiri hvali í Strandasýslu." (Úr Djáknaannálum; cf Grímsdóttir 1987c: 206f).

Much sea ice off North Iceland. Improved in early April. 'In August a blue whale [reyðarfiskur] came ashore at Mýrar [Ytri-Torfustaðahr, V-Húns] in Hrútafjörður. A blue whale calf [reyðarkálfur] came ashore at Bær at Höfðaströnd [A-Húns]; 3 or more whales in Strandasýsla.'

1778 "Í Augusto rak reyðarhval á Mýrum í Hrútafirði, viðkomandi Strandasýslumanni H. Jakobssyni. Hafði nær 1 hundr. og 20 vætta spik og rengi. Reyðarkálf rak á Bæjarklettum, stólsreka.

Flak eður botn af útlenzku hafskipi bar upp undan ísnum í Sævarlandsvík á Skaga (það var sýslumanni V. Scheving ágóði og þeim, að unnu), tilgetið upp á 100 rd. eður meir af tré og járn.

Þrjá hvali bar upp á Staðareka í Steingrímsfirði og fleri þar um pláss.

Veturinn frá uppbyrjun til enda var einhver harðasti ---. Hafís kom að Ströndum og Skaga." (Höskuldsstaðaannáll; cf Jóhannesson 1948a: 565).

'In August a blue whale [reyðarhvalur] came ashore at Mýrar in Hrútafjörður [Ytri Torfustaðahr, V-Húns], to the sheriff-steward [sýslumaður] of Strandasýsla, H. Jakobssón. Had nearly 1 [long] hundred and 20 vettir [ie, ca 5558 kg] blubber and rengi. A blue whale calf [reyðarkálfur] came onto Bæjarklettir [ie, at the farm Bær, Hofshr, Skags],

[being] driftage shore of the [Hólar] bishopric. Wreck or bottom from a foreign high sea vessel drifted ashore in front of the ice in Sævarlandsvík on Skagi (it fell to sheriff-steward [sýslumaður] V. Scheving and those who salvaged it), believed to be 100 rigsdaler or more in timber and iron. Three whales came ashore at Staðarreki in Steingrímsfjörður [Strs] and other ones thereabout. The winter was from the beginning to the end one of the hardest ones ---. Sea ice came at Strandir [Strs] and Skagi.'

1779 "Kongsbréf útgefast: ---. 3. Um harponeraða hvali, dat. 23 Junii 1779." (Ketilsstaðaannáll; cf Jóhannesson 1944b: 445).

'Royal letter issued: ---. 3rd. Concerning harpooned whales, dated 23 June 1779.' This is the Ordnance 1779 (cf item A.15.2.5).

1780 "3 hvali tvítuga rak á Svalbarðsströnd einn sunnudag, 1 á Oddeyri og 1 enn nú í Eyjafirði, 1 fyrir austan, 4 í Hrútafirði. Þar skutlaði og Gunnlaugur bóndi Magnússon á Valdasteinsstöðum 5 andarnefjur, náðust þar af 3, kom 1 þeirra upp í Hrúteyju, en 2 í Steingrímsfirði. --- [221/223] ---.

Um haustið kom illhveli að skipi fyrir austan og beit það í sundur. 2 stúlkur drukkuðu, er á voru, en á fleka var presturinn Jón Stefánsson, kapellan á Kolfreyjustað, á hvörjum hann bjargaði sér, því hann var skammt frá landi. --- [223/226] ---.

Nokkrir geistlegir og bændur fengu laun af Kóngi og því danska landbúskaparfélagi fyrir garðahleðslu, jarðeplafeng, samt sela- og refaveiðar. --- [226/227] ---.

Þetta sumar fönguðu hollenzkir við Ísland og Grænland á 46 skipum 384 stóra hvalfiska en danskir 16." (Úr Djáknaannálum; cf Grímsdóttir 1987c: 221, 223, 226f).

'3 whales, [sized] 20 [ells], came ashore at Svalbarðsströnd [S-Þings] on a Sunday; 1 at Oddeyri and another 1 in Eyjafjörður, 1 in East Iceland, 4 in Hrútafjörður. There [ie, in Hrútafjörður] Gunnlaugur Magnússon, farmer at Valdasteinsstaðir, shot [skutlaði, ie, presumably speared] 5 bottlenose whales, 3 of them were recovered; 1 of them came ashore in Hrútey [ie, in Hrútafjörður], but 2 in Steingrímsfjörður [Strs].'

'In the autumn a wicked whale came at a ship in the east and bit it asunder.' 2 girls who were on board drowned but vicar Jón Stefánsson, curate at Kolfreyjustaður, rescued himself onto a piece of wreck and came ashore on it as he was close to shore.

'This summer the Dutch on 46 ships caught 384 big whale fishes off Iceland and Greenland but the Danish 16.'

1780 "Þrjá hvali rak upp á Svalbarðsströnd fyrir norðan, einn á Oddeyri. Fjóra hvali rak upp í Þingeyjarþingi, fjóra á Vatnsnesi og í Hrútafirði, einn á Valþjófsstaðareka fyrir austan."

(*Espihólsannáll*; cf Jóhannesson 1957: 166).

'Three whales came ashore at Svalbarðsströnd [S-Þings] in the north, one at Oddeyri [Glæsibæjarhr, Eyjafs]. Four whales came ashore in Þingeyarsýsla, four at Vatnsnes [V-Húns] and in Hrútafjörður, one onto the driftage shore of Valþjófsstaður [Fljótsdalshr, N-Múls] in the east.'

Valþjófsstaður is a glebe far inland; where this driftage shore was cannot be said.

1780 "Hvalagangur mikill á Húna- [574/575] og Skagafjörðum fram í Junium. ---.

Um sumarið rak 10 eða fleiri hvali [var: 8 alls] (flesta smáa) á Hrútafirði og aftur tvo um aðventu á Bessa- og Þóroddsstöðum. Fjóra hvali bar upp um sumarið við Eyjafjörð og aðra fjóra fyrir Þingeyjarsýslu. (Kann vera fleiri)." (*Höskuldsstaðaannáll*; cf Jóhannesson 1948a: 574f).

'Whale occurrence much in Húna- [ie, Húnaflói] and Skagafjörður into June. ---. During the summer 10 or more whales (var: 8 in all) (most of them small) came ashore in Hrútafjörður and further two ones during Advent at Bessastaðir [Ytri-Torfustaðahr] and Þóroddsstaðir [Staðarhr, both V-Húns]. Four whales came ashore during the summer in Eyjafjörður and other four at Þingeyjarsýsla. (Could be more).'

1780 "Grandaði illhveli einum bát í Fáskrúðsfirði með 3 mönnum, af hverjum einn annar bátur þar skammt frá ei bjargað fékk nema formanninum, sem var síra Jón Stefánsson, þá kapellán á Kolfreyjustað." (*Ketilsstaðaannáll*; Jóhannesson 1944b: 448).

[Variant:] "Grandar hvalur skipi í Fáskrúðsfirði, sló í sundur skipið. Fórst stúlka og karlmaður (?), en sá 3. komst í skutinn og var bjargað af skipi skammt frá, sem var presturinn Jón Stefánsson, sem síðar varð prestur í Vallanesi, en þá kapellán á Kolfreyjustað." (*Ketilsstaðaannáll*; Jóhannesson 1944b: 448).

A wicked whale [*illhveli*] wrecked (var: smashed) a boat in Fáskrúðsfjörður (S-Múls) with 3 men on board, of whom another boat only managed to rescue the foreman, rev Jón Stefánsson, of Kolfreyjustaður.

1780 "Hrafn-Reyður eller Hrefna. Af denne Art drev trende Stykker ind paa Land i Rutefiorden, efter at jeg var reist der forbi 1780. Bardenne saae jeg siden ved Handelstedet, som af Kiøbmanden bleve vragede, da de største vare neppe en Alen lang." (Mohr 1786: 13).

'Minke whale [...]. Of this species three head came ashore in Hrútafjörður after I had travelled through there in 1780. The baleen I later saw at the trading hamlet which were rejected by the merchant because the biggest ones were hardly one ell long.'

1780 "2 prestar í Múlasýslu, sre Jón Brynjólfsson og sra

Jón Stefánsson, voru hver um sig að fiska við 3. mann á bát; grandaði stórfiskur bátunum; prestarnir náðust lifandi, en hinir, sem á voru, fórust." (*Vatnsfjarðarannáll yngsti*; cf Vilmundarson 1959: 398).

'2 ministers in Múlasýsla, rev Jón Brynjólfsson and rev Jón Stefánsson were separately out fishing on a boat with two other persons; a big [ie, whale] fish destroyed the boats; the ministers were rescued alive but the others who were on board perished.'

Vatnsfjarðarannáll yngsti here mentions whales as the cause of two different accidents. *Djáknaannáll* (1780)¹ only mentions that rev Jón Stefánsson at Kolfreyjustaður was involved in such an accident. It has been suggested that these two incidents could be one and the same which wrongly had also become associated with rev Jón Brynjólfsson (who in this year became minister in Mjóafjörður).²

1781 "2 hvali rak á Langanesi, af hvörjum 8 sveitir höfðu gagn. --- [228/230]

Í Aug. hvarf bátur austur í Múlasýslu með 4 mönnum í góðu veðri, héldu menn hvalur hefði grandað honum, því daginn eftir fundust brotin af honum og árarnar reknar að landi." (*Úr Djáknaannálum*; cf Grímsdóttir 1987c: 228, 230).

'2 whales came ashore at Langanes, from which 8 municipalities had use. ---. In August a boat disappeared ... in Múlasýsla with 4 men (on board) in fair weather; people believed that a whale had wrecked it because the next day parts of it and the oars were found drifted ashore.'

1781 "Vorvertíðar-, sumar- og haustfiskirí var yfir allt að heyra mikið gott, sem ásamt þeim góða heyfeng og hvalarekum í nokkrum stöðum gjörði þaðan af gott árferði." (*Vatnsfjarðarannáll yngsti*; cf Vilmundarson 1959: 400).

The spring, summer and autumn fisheries were very good 'which together with the good hay making and whale comings in some places made it a good year [árferði] as of then [ie, the spring?].'

1782 "Í þeim mikla hafís, sem kom á þessu vori, var fjöldi dauðra hvala af hvörjum 2 náðust í Skagafirði, var annar þeirra hjá Málmeysju, 10 í Húnavatnsþingi, var einn þeirra 90 álnir eður meir fram undan Tjörn á Vatnsnesi, hér um stutta bæjarleið frá landi. Smáhvalir náðust úr ísnum víða, hér um 20 á Ströndum, 6 af Tjörnnesi, hér um 10 fyrir Höfnum á Skaga og aðrir 10 inn á Skagaströnd eður fleiri. Þar sem

1 Cf Grímsdóttir 1987c: 223.

2 Cf Vilmundarson 1959: 398.

þessir smáhvalir fundust, drógu eftir það Vindhælis- og Eyjarmenn upp um ísinn 26 hákall. Af Siglunesi norður voru á ísi drepnir 20 selir.

Harðindi til sjós og lands í Þingeyjarþingi, einkum á Sléttu. Selatekjan brást þar." (Úr *Djáknaannálum*; cf Grímsdóttir 1987c: 237).

'In the great sea ice that came this spring were numerous dead whales of which 2 were secured in Skagafjörður, one of them at Málmei, 10 in Húnavatnssýsla, one of which [sized] 90 ells or more,¹ off Tjörn on Vatnsnes, a short distance from the shore. Small(er) whales were widely secured from the ice, about 20 at Strandir [Strs], 6 from Tjörnes [Þings], about 10 off Hafnir on Skagi and further 10, or more, inward at Skagaströnd. Where these small whales were found ---'.

1782 "Kaldur vetur norðan lands og hafísþök með góu. Losnaði ís fyrst um mitt sumar. [Var: Vetur kaldur og frostamikill. Vorið eins. Lá þá ís fyrir Norður- og Austurlandi fram á mitt sumar.] ---

10 hvalir fastir í ís í Húnavatnssýslu. Selafli á Siglunesi og nokkur hákarlatekja. Skagfirðingar fengu hvali í [sic] Höfða- og Reykjaströnd, Þingeyingar 6 háhyrninga og áttu þó kost á fleirum. Víðar urðu hvalrekar, meðal annars á Eyjafirði við Krossanes." (*Espihólsannáll*; cf Jóhannesson 1957: 170).

Cold winter and spring; ice lay at North and East Iceland until mid summer. '10 whales sticking in ice in Húnavatnssýsla. Seal catch at Siglunes and some take of sharks. Inhabitants of Skagafjörður got a whale at Höfðaströnd and Reykjaströnd, inhabitants of Þingeyri [got] 6 orcas [háhyrningar] and had the opportunity of taking more. Whale comings occurred widely, among other places in Eyjafjörður at Krossanes.'

1782 "Hvalir stærri og smærri gáfust í ísnum í ýmsum stöðum. Fyrst við Hafnaeyjar á Skaga reyðarkálfur í síðustu viku góu, og fengu gott af honum nálega allir Skagabændur, sem hann fyrst skáru, hinir harðla smátt, sem síðar aðsóttu, að Þingeyraklausturhaldara Birni tilkomnum, sem vildi tileigna sér hvalinn og hrifsaði til sín það eftir var og seldi engum hið minnsta þar af. Krafðist skriftlega af þeim, sem hvalinn skorið höfðu án hans leyfis, að betala sér hverja vött ... [lacuna] fiskum. Þeir rituðu upp á hans bréf flestir svoleiðis, nær þeir höfðu mælt frá eyjunum hér um 1 hundr. 60 faðma, sem virtist meir en fiskhelgi, að þeir vildu betala honum það þeir hefði af hvalnum skorið, nær hann búinn væri að helga sér

1 These '90 ells or more' make only sense as an appraisalment sum of 90 *hvalsalin, giving an overall body length of ca 18 m (cf ch 7.5.4 and fig 10). This is the youngest example of the use of the *hvalsalin in Iceland this author is so far aware of.

hann löglega. Féll svo það mál niður. Mátti heita ránshvalur.

Bóndinn á Vindhæli fékk undan ísnum 6 höfrunga (eður fleiri) í fyrstu viku Aprílis. Þar fram undan sáust í vök einni margir smáhvalir. Flykktist þangað múgur manns í þrjá daga. Lögðu nokkra þá, misstu járnin og þar með búið. Var mælt Vindhælisbóndi fengi hvassa vör af þessu. Þar sem þessi smáhvalir fundust, drógu þeir frá Vindhæli og Ytri-Ey (svo sem í samlagi) 20 hákarla og frá Syðri-Ey 6.

Fyrir Árbakka fengust og tveir smáhvalir og fyrir Spákonufelli tveir eður fleiri. Einninn fyrir Höfnum hér um 10. Í Húsavík norður 6 og á Ströndum hér um [587/588] 20 smærri hvali. Við Málmei í ísnum gafst stór hvalur, er tilkom Hólastól. Ítem hvalur stór undan Tjörn á Vatnsnesi; hafði prestur þar hann hálfan.

Síðar, í Júnio, bar upp undan ísnum tvö stórhveli, einn að Hjaltabakka, hinn annan að Þingeyrarsandi. Og enn þá í Julio stóran hval í Hrútafirði, Þingeyraklaustursreka. ---.

Harðindi til sjós og lands þar norður á Sléttu og annarstaðar norður. Selatekjan brást, og ísinn lá þar við og fyrir Langanesi fram yfir höfuðdag, svo skip komust engin þá leið á norðurhafnir." (Höskuldsstaðaannáll; cf Jóhannesson 1948a: 587f).

'Larger and smaller whales were taken in the ice at various places. First at Hafnareyjar at Skagi [V-Húns] a blue whale calf [reyðarkálfur] in the last week of góa [ie, early March], and nearly all peasants of Skagi, who first cut (it), received good portions from it, those others who came later, very little after the arrival of the grantee of Þingeyri monastery, Björn [Jónsson], who tried to appropriate the whale and arrogated the remainder and sold nobody anything at all of it. He demanded in writing from those who had cut the whale without his permission that they should pay him every (single) vætt [of] the fish. Most of them wrote on his letter like this, when they had measured about 1 [ie, long] hundred 60 fathoms [ie, ≥ 264-339 m] from the island which seemed more than the driftage zone [fiskhelgi], that they would pay him what they had cut from the whale when he had appropriated it legally. This brought an end to the case. Could be called stolen whale [ránshvalur].

The peasant [ie, Ólafur Guðmundsson] at Vindhæli [Vindhælishr, A-Húns] got from underneath [or: in front of] the ice 6 höfrungar [dolphins?], or more, in the first week of April. Off there in a polynia many small(er) cetaceans were seen. Numerous people gathered there for three days. Some killed them, lost the irons and then finished. It was said that the peasant at Vindhæli got sharp (iron) edges from this. Where these small(er) whales were found, those from Vindhæli and Ytri Ey (in a kind of company) drew 20 sharks and those from Syðri-Ey 6.

Off Árbakki [Vindhælishr] two small whales were also taken, and off Spákonufell [Vindhælishr], two or more.

Similarly, off Hafnir [Vindhælishr] approximately 10. North in Húsavík [N-Þings] 6, and in Strandir [Strs] about 20 smaller whales. At Málmei [ie, in Skagafjörður] the ice yielded a large whale which fell to Hólar bishopric. Similarly, a large whale off Tjörn [Þverárhr, V-Hún] on Vatnsnes; the vicar had half of it.

Later, in June, two large whales came from beneath the ice, one at Hjaltabakki [Torfalækjahr, A-Hún], the other at Þingeyrarsandur [Sveinstaðahr, A-Hún]. And still in July a large whale in Hrútafjörður, [ie, being] driftage shore of Þingeyri monastery. ---.'

1784 "Stærsta harðrétti var þá manna á milli, og svo algengt var hungrið að sá á fjölda presta og beztu bænda. Voru þá gjörðir grautar úr veggjakáli, súrum og hófblöðkum, voru [255/256] og etin skinn, húðir af nautum og hestum og skrokkar af hestum sóttir út í hagan og etnir. Kornnið keyptu og í kaupstöðum hvörjir sem gátu og líka var það lánað; útarmaðist fólkið mjög, bæði af því að kaupa lifandi peninginn sem og matvörurnar ..., og að þessu eyddu dó mikill fjöldi niður af fólkinu, því það þreifst ekki á þessu, þar feitmetið vantaði. --- [256/257] ---.

Ógæftasamt og fiskfátt um haustið syðra og vestra og lítill aflí fyrir öllu Norðurlandi, enginn hvalreki ... Um vorið veiddu Skagstrendingar upp um hafísinn hér um 100 hákalla." (*Úr Djáknaannálum*; cf Grímsdóttir 1987c: 257).

Icelanders did not thrive on grain and (lean) meat, 'because the fat was missing'. '... no whale coming' off North Iceland.

1785 "Þetta sumar rak 2 hvali í Steingrímsfirði, miklar reiður, voru á öðrum hér um 2 hndr. 80 vættir, en hinum 4 hndr. vættir." (*Úr Djáknaannálum*; cf Grímsdóttir 1987c: 270).

This summer 2 whales came ashore in Steingrímsfjörður, large blue whales [reyðar], on the one were about 320 vættir (ca 12,700 kg), but on the other 480 vættir (ca 19,050 kg, ie, of blubber, rengi and blubber).

1785 "Fáeinir hvalarekar urðu þetta ár, n(efni)l(ega) 2 í Arnarfirði, 1 í Aðalvík og 1 í Steingrímsfirði." (*Vatnsfjarðarannáll yngsti*; cf Vilmundarson 1959: 418).

'A few whale comings occurred this year, namely 2 in Arnarfjörður [V-Barðs/V-Ísafjs], 1 in Aðalvík [Sléttuhr, N-Ísafjs] and 1 in Steingrímsfjörður [Kaldrananeshr, Strs].'

1786 "3 hvali bar upp í Strandasýslu. ---. Tjörnesingar drápu hval, er festi sig á skeri. Temmileg selaskutulsveiði fyrir nokkrum á Eyjafirði." (*Espihólsannáll*; cf Jóhannesson 1957: 188).

'3 whales came ashore in Strandasýsla. ---. The

inhabitants of Tjörnes [Tjörneshr/Kelduneshr, Þings] killed a whale which had run onto a skerry. Reasonable seal catch with harpoon for some [ie, peasants] in Eyjafjörður.'

1786 "Um sumarið rak 2 hvali á Bæ í Hrútafirði, þann fyrri yfir tvítugt, rifin af hundfiskum, hinn síðari 12 álna allur." (Úr *Djáknaannálum*; cf Grímsdóttir 1987c: 282).

'During the summer 2 whales came ashore at Bær, in Hrútafjörður, the former being [sized] more than 20 [ells], ripped up by orcas, the latter 12 ells in all [allur].'

1787 "Hvalur kom þetta vor upp á Grímseyju í Steinsgrímsfirði." (Úr *Djáknaannálum*; cf Grímsdóttir 1987c: 291).

'This year a whale came ashore in Grímsey [Kaldrananeshr, Strs] in Steingrímsfjörður.'

1787 "Með Aprili kom inn hafís, þó ei áfergilegur. ---. Fyrir jól kom þá hafís um veturinn eftir. ---
Þá rak stóran hvalfisk í Ólafsfirðir, annan ditto í Reyðarfirði. Hákarlatekja og selveiði á skutul sæmileg." (Espiólansannáll; cf Jóhannesson 1957: 191).

'In April came the sea ice ---. Before Christmas came then the sea ice in the subsequent winter. ---. Then a large whale fish came in Ólafsfjörður, another similar one in Reyðarfjörður. Shark catch and sealing with harpoon (reasonably) good.'

1787 "Sumar- og haustfiskiríið einkar gott sunnan- og norðanlands, annars staðar sæmilegt, sumuleiðis hvalakomur í einstöku stöðum, so sem í Skálavík og Arnarfirði í Ísafjarðarsýslu og Grímsey á Steingrímsfirði etc." (Vatnsfjarðarannáll yngsti; cf Vilmundarson 1959: 424).

'... fishery ... reasonable, so also whale comings in a few places, like in Skálavík and Arnarfjörður in Ísafjarðarsýsla and Grímsey [Kaldrananeshr, Strs] in Steingrímsfjörður etc.'

1788 "4ða Júlíi forgekk bátur við Hellisvelli með 4 mönnum í logni, sá 5ti komst af, hét Guðmundur, en formaðurinn hét Jón Ólafsson frá Bárðarbúð, mikill aflamaður. Sagði sá er afkomst að fiskur hefði komið upp undir skipið og hvolft því; 2 mönnum náði hann uppí skipið og dóu þeir." (Úr *Djáknaannálum*; cf Grímsdóttir 1987c: 300).

On 4 July, a boat is wrecked in calm weather at Hellisvellur, 4 died, the 5th was rescued. 'The one who was rescued said that a fish [fiskur, ie, a wicked whale] had come under the ship and upset it; it fetched 2 men from inside the boat who died.'

1788 "Áttræðan hval bar upp á Skagaströnd. Áttu margir

þar í deildir." (*Espihólsannáll*; cf Jóhannesson 1957: 193).

'A whale, [sized] 80 [ells], came ashore at Skagatrönd [V-Hún]. Many people owned shares therein.'

1788 "Nokkrar hvalakomur skeðu þetta ár, nefnilega 1 í Ingólfsfirði á Ströndum, 2 í Arnarfirði og fáeinir annars staðar. (*Vatnsfjarðarannáll yngsti*; cf Vilmundarson 1959: 428).

'Some whale comings happened this year, namely 1 in Ingólfsfjörður [Árneshr, Strs] in Strandir, 2 in Arnarfjörður [V-Barðs/V-Ísafjs] and a few in other places.'

1789 "2 hvali tvítuga rak í Hrútafirði um sumarið." (*Úr Djáknaannálum*; cf Grímsdóttir 1987c: 304).

Two whales, [sized] 20 [ells], came ashore in Hrútafjörður during the summer.

1789 "Fyrir austan rak 2 hvali og 2 á Hrútafirði, sem festust ásamt öðrum 4, sem ekki náðust. Selafli mikill á Flateyjardal og seltekja á Eyjafirði. Hákarlsafli." (*Espihólsannáll*; cf Jóhannesson 1957: 195).

'In East Iceland 2 whales came ashore and 2 in Hrútafjörður which beached together with 4 others which were not obtained. Large seal catch in Flateyjardalur and seal take [ie, seining or clubbing?] in Eyjafjörður.'

1789 "Sumar- og haustfiskiríð var og allvíðast lítilfjörlegt, en hvalakomur mjög fáar; þó komu 2 í Hrútafirði." (*Vatnsfjarðarannáll yngsti*; cf Vilmundarson 1959: 431).

'... whale comings very few; however, 2 came in Hrútafjörður.'

1791 "Inkom um sumarið skæð sótt með framandi hvalfangaraskipi í Helgafellssveit undir Jökli og eyðilagði þar í sókn 80 manns, en í Ballarár 30, á stuttum tíma. Lágu þeir, sem úr sótt þessari deyðu, ei stórt yfir 2 dægur. Lá hún niðri um veturinn." (*Íslands árbók*; cf Jóhannesson 1955: 212).

During the summer a potent plague arrived in Helgafellssveit, Snæfellssýsla, with a foreign whaling vessel; it 'destroyed' in that parish 80 people and in Ballarár 30 in a short space of time. Those who were killed by this plague lived hardly longer than two days. It was inactive during the winter.

1791 "Sumar- og haustfiskirí allvíðast í minna lagi, hvalakomur fáeinir." (*Vatnsfjarðarannáll yngsti*; cf Vilmundarson 1959: 438).

'... a few whale comings.'

1794 "Hvali rak nokkra í Strandasýslu og 1 í Húnavatnssýslu." (*Úr Djáknaannálum*; cf Grímsdóttir

1987c: 327).

'Some whales came ashore in Strandasýsla and 1 in Húnavatnssýsla.'

1794 "6 hvala reki í Strandasýslu á einmánuði."
(*Espihólsannáll*; cf Jóhannesson 1957: 205).

'6 whales strand in Strandasýsla end of March/early April [einmánuður].'

Spring 1797- spring 1798: "... fátt sagt af Hvalrekum, nema 1 lítil-
fjørlegum á Skaga Nordanlands, en því
tíðinda-verdugri er manndómur Stapa-manna
undir Jökli, sem um haustid 1797 ráku af [440/441]
fáum bátum á Grímstada reka og þar nálægt hérum 60
lifandi Marsvín (Hnýðinga, Hnýsur eda Höfrunga) eda
og hóp af øllu þessu á land upp, særdu fleiri, svo 5
(adrir segja 7) náðust daudir sídarmeir; ødludust
hlutadegendur vid þenna mikla feng, mikinn og góðann
mat, og mikid og gott Lýsi, sem aptur hljóp í mikla
peninga. Frumqvødul og ráðgjafa vid þetta manndóms-
verk, telja margir þann reynda og greinda Kaupmann á
Stapa, Hans Hjaltalín." (Stephensen 1, 1796-1798:
440f).

Rural dean Guðlaugur Sveinsson responds (17 January 1798)
to the editor, lawman [lögmaður] Magnús Stephensen:

"... munu þessir (nl. vid Stapa) hafa verid, eptir
því sem Hra. Lögmaðurinn skrifar, mest Hnýðingar,
Hafhyrningar eda Hundfiskar, sem eru af líkri stærð
og skapnadi, mäske og íbland Hnýsur, sem eru minni,
nl. 3 álnir og lítid meir." (Stephensen 1, 1796-
1798: 442).

Spring 1797-spring 1798: '... little told about whale
comings, except a paltry one at Skagi [V-Húns/Skags] in the
north, but the more notable is the tenacity of the people
at Stapi [= Arnarstapi, Breiðuvíkúrh, Snæfs] at western
Snæfellsnes who in the autumn of 1797 with few boats chased
ca 60 living small(er) whales [marsvín], hnyðingar [ie,
pilot whales or orcas], hnísur [ie, harbour porpoises] or
höfrungar [ie, dolphins], or also a herd of all this, onto
the shore, [and] wounded more, so 5, some say 7, were
recovered dead later; the people concerned attained with
this a great catch which, in turn, meant much money. The
initiator of, and advisor in, this tenacious work is by
many considered to be the experienced and intelligent
merchant at Stapi, Hans Hjaltalín.'

Sveinsson comments (17 Jan 1798):

'... these [whales], near Stapi, have, according to what
the Hon Lawman [lögmaður, ie, Stephensen] writes, mostly
been hnyðingar, hafhyrningar [ie, orcas] or hundfiskar [ie,
orcas?] that are of similar size and shape; perhaps also
among them harbour porpoises [hnísur] which are smaller,
about 3 ells or a little longer.'

From Sveinsson's enumeration it becomes clear that
hnyðingur here means orca; perhaps this is also the meaning

in Stephensen's account.

1798, cf 1741.

Spring 1798- "Hvalrekar gáfust og happalega í Stranda-
spring 1779 sýslu, hvadan skrifad er, að auk 4 edur 5
stórhvala, sem þar rak, hafi í stór-
kafaldi, öndverðlega á vetri, komid á land í
Reykjarfirði á Ströndum 30 smá-hvalir, háhyrningar og
hnýðingar; jafnmargir edur fleiri í Þaralátursfirði,
4 í Furufirði og 4 í Bolúngarvík á Ströndum; 1 hval
rak og í Bolúngarvík í Ísafjardar-sýslu. Þessir smá-
hvalir, vóru frá 5 til 8 álna lángrir, með laungum
sund-færum, aftur mjóum; enginn þóktist þeckja þetta
tannfiska-kyn, þó kölluðu þeir í Standa-sýslu þá
Botnúnga." (Stephensen 2, 1799-1806: 118).

'Whale comings were ... favourable in Strandasýsla, ...; apart from 4 or 5 large whales that came ashore there, have, during a time of much snow, early in the winter, come ashore in Reykjarfjörður at Strandir [Strs] 30 small(er) whales, háhyrningar [ie, orcas] and hnýðingar [ie, longfinned pilot whales?]; a similar number or more in Þaralátursfjörður, 4 in Furufjörður and 4 in Bolungavík [all in Grunnavíkurr, N-Ísafjs] at [Horn-] Strandir; 1 whale came also ashore in Bolungavík [Bolungavíkurr] in Ísafjarðarsýsla. These small(er) whales [ie, longfinned pilot whales?] were from 5 to 8 ells [álnir] long, with long flippers, narrow toward the end; nobody recognised this kind of toothed whale, though they in Strandasýsla called them botnungar.' (Cf Stephensen 2, 1799-1806: 118).

1800 "A Einmánudi árid 1800, rak brot af stórum hvali á Mela-kirkju reka í Leirár-sveit í Borgarfirði; er mælt að hann verid hafi í stór-vaxnara lagi, og hér um 12 álna fyrir spord.

Hvalir og ýmsir stórfiskar höfdu um sumarid 1800 leikid sér lengst af um firði og fiskileitir við Standa-sýslu. Þó hákalla-tekja yrði þar um vorid góð, svo að 1 skip í Trékyllisvík féck yfir 60, þóðu fáir eptir Hvítasunnu að fara þverfyrdis, fyrir stórfiskum. Af þessum lendtu loksins 18 hvalfiskar um haustid í Strandasýslu, nálægt Engjanesi, 3 við Steingrímsfjörð, en 14 vestanverdt við Hrútafjörð; ráku hundfiskar eda smá-hvalir 10 af þessum óskértda á land á litlu plátsi innst í firði, nóttina milli þess 8da og 9da Septembr., en 7 eda 8 lendtu þá um leid hinum-megin fjardarins gegnt hinum, edur í Húnavatns-sýslu, hvar alls töldust á land komnir hér um 12, edur 30 báðum-megin Hrútafjardar. Vard þessi mikli happa-fengur mörgum Systlum nordan- og vestan-lands að góðu gagni, enn þótt þeim að mestum ávinníngi, sem með rekana áttu. [419/420]

Nálægt Allraheilagra-messu leitinu 1800, ... hlupu á land á Selárdals Prestakalls reka á vesturlandi 45 smá-hvalir edur Marsvín, hér um 5 til 9 álna að lengd, nálægum sveitum þá tit mikillar lífsbjargar,

eptir undanfarid fiskileysi um sumarid.

I Alptamýrar-sókn rak 1, Valþjófsdal 1 og á Ingjaldssandi fyrir vestan Önundarfjörð 1 hval-kálf starri.

Frá innsta bæ einhvörjum í Dýrafirdi fannst og að lídandi Jólum hval-kálfur í ís-vök, hér um 5 álna lángr; þekkti enginn hann þar. Hann var með hér um 1½ álnar lángrí tønn fram úr efra skokti, hvítleitur á skinn eda hvelju, eptir Prófasts Hra. Gudlaugs Sveinssonar meiningu líklega Náhvalur (Monadon Monoceres); var bæði spik og kjöt af honum þar sodid og etid, en engum meint við, þó Kónigs-Skuggsjá telji þann fisk banvænann." (Stephensen 2, 1799-1806: 419f).

About mid March/mid April [einmánuður] a part of a large whale drifted [rak] onto the driftage shore of Melar church [Leirár- og Melahr, Borgfs]; 'it is said that it has been rather big and ca 12 ells across the tail.'¹

'Whales and various big fishes had during most of the summer 1800 played around the fiords and searched for fish in Strandasýsla. Although the shark take was good there during the spring, so 1 ship in Trékyllisvík got more than 60, after Whitsuntide few dared cross the fiord because of big [ie, whale] fishes [stórfiskar]. Of those 18 whale fishes came finally ashore in the autumn in Strandasýsla, 1 near Engjanes, 3 at Steingrímsfjörður, but 14 on the western side of Hrútafjörður; orcas [hundfiskar/ smáhvalir] chased 10 of them unreduced [óskerðta] ashore at a cottage [litið pláss] at the bottom of the fiord, in the night between 8 and 9 September, but 7 or 8 came at the same time ashore on the other side of the fiord opposite the others, or in Húnavatnssýsla, where it was counted that ca 12 in all had come ashore, or 30 on both sides of Hrútafjörður. This prize was of good use to many districts [sýslur] in the north and west, although to the greatest benefit of those who owned (shares in?) the driftage shores.' [419/420]

About All Saints [ie, 1 November] '45 small(er) whales or marsvín' [ie, pilot whales?], ca 5-9 ells long' ran ashore at the driftage shore of Selárdalur vicarage [Ketildalahr, V-Barðs], 'then to the great support of the neighbouring area, following the previous dearth of fish during the summer.

In Alftamýra parish [Auðkúluhr, V-Ísafjs] came ashore 1 [ie, whale], in Valþjófsdalur [Mosvallahr, V-Ísafjs] 1 and at Ingjaldssandur [Þingeyrarhr, V-Ísafjs] west of Önundarfjörður 1 larger whale calf.

(People) from some inner farm in Dýrafjörður [V-Ísafjs], near to Christmas, also found a whale calf in a polynia, ca 5 ells long; nobody there recognised it. It had an approximately 1½ ell long tusk protruding from the upper jaw, with whitish skin, in the opinion of rural dean Mr

1 By the Sealandic ell à 62.8 cm = 7.5 m; by the old Icelandic ell à 49 cm = 5.9 m.

Guðlaugur Sveinsson probably a narwhal [*náhvalur*] (*Monodon Monoceros*); both blubber and flesh of it were boiled and eaten there, and nobody harmed thereby although *Konungsskuggsjá* considers that fish lethal.'

Mid summer 1801- "En - þarómót blessadi Gud Nordurland
mid summer 1802 ... með miklum og góðum Hval-rekum.

Einn rak í Málmei á Skagafirði í vikunni fyrir Páska, er menn nefndu Hafurkétti; var hann sagdur hér um 40 álna langur og nálega eins digur. Innan í honum var vænn kálfur. Af þessum hvali hafði almenníngur samt lítid gagn, því bóndinn í Málmei (sem liggur spotta-korn undan landi) Vigfús að nafni, dró á hann leynd fram að Hvítasunnu, og lagði vinnumönnum sínum, er hann sendi í land tvisvar eða þrisvar um nefnt tíma-bil, fyrir blátt bann að segja frá hvalnum, en sagt var hann þar hjá hefði á laun sendt orð þur eða 4um vinum sínum í Fljótuni, að sækja til sín hval. Þetta gvisadist síðan, en allt um seinna, svo bóndinn á Høfða á Høfdaströnd gat loksins veidt það upp úr vinnumanni Vigfúsar eitt sinn, er hann kom í land, að hval hefði rekið í eyuna, með því móti að gjöra hann odur ølvadann af brennivini. Þegar þetta var uppkomid, skrifadi Vigfús Umbods-manni yfir Sléttuhlídar umbodi um hvalrekann; vóru þá send- [115/116] ir menn frá Hóla-stól, - hvörjum nefnd ey og hvalur tilheyrdi - að veita því umsjá og selja það, sem eptir var af hvalnum; var þó Vigfús búinn að skéra og nýta sér það besta af honum, en urda og dysja, sem þjófur, það hann ecki yfirkomst, hínagad og þánagad um eyjuna. Annan vænann Sléttbøku-hval rak á Naustum við Hofsóss kaupstad, jörd Hra. Stiptamtmanns O. Stephánssonar; af þeim hvali höfðu margir gott. Í Eyjafirði rak þridja, kálf 20 álna lángann á Siglunesi, Hóla-stóls jörd. Fjórdi nádist upp um ís nockud frá landi í Hedinsfirði, sem einnig varð mörögum þar í nálægð til hlytar. Fimmta hval rak á Flateyjar-dal í Þingeyjar sýslu, og sjötta á Langaness ströndum. Á Vestfjörðum urdu líka hvalrekar fólki að notum: tveir stórir hvalir bárust á land í Arnass sókn innan Strandasýslu seint á sumri 1801. Um vorid 1802, fundu sjómenn úr Kollsvík í Bardastrandar-sýslu hvalskrock á sjó beinlausann, er þeir meintu hefði drepist í ís; var hann róinn á Bæjar-kirkju land, og voru í honum 200 vattir. Á sama árs sumri skutludu Arnfirðingar í Isafjardar-sýslu hvalkálf, sem þeir mistu aptur, en rak 2ur dögum síðar á land konstitúerads Sýslumanns Hra. Gudmundar Bjarnasonar Schévings." (Stephensen 3/1, 1808b: 115f).

God blessed the Northland with 'great and good whale comings'. A black right whale [*hafurketti*], 'said to be approximately 40 ells long and nearly as bulky' (ie, in circumference) came ashore at Málmei in Skagafjörður a week before Easter; in it was a good calf. The peasant in the island, Vigfús, concealed the find and forbid his servants,

who went to the mainland, to disclose it. It was said that he secretly had send messages to 3 or 4 friends in Fljót (Skags) to come and fetch some whale. The rumour about this was confirmed when the peasant at Höfði, Höfðaströnd, fished it from one of Vigfús's servants whom he had made drunk. Subsequently, Vigfús wrote to the steward of Sléttuhlíðar district and disclosed the whale coming. Then men [115/116] were sent from the bishopric of Hólar to which the island and whale belonged. However, Vigfús had then cut up and used the best from it but buried and cairned around the island, as a thief, that which he could not cope with. 'Another good *sléttbøku-hvalur*' (ie, black right whale) came ashore at Naust near Hofsó's marked place, at the estate of governor principal Ó. Stefánsson; 'many (people) benefited from this whale'. In Eyjafjörður a third one, calf, 20 ells long, came ashore at Siglunes, an estate of Hólar bishopric. A fourth one was taken from the ice some distance off Héðinsfjörður (Skags) and 'was also a support for many (people) in the vicinity'. A fifth whale came ashore at Flateyjardalur in Þingeyjarsýsla and a sixth one on the beaches of Langanes. 'In the Westfjords whale comings also benefited people: two big whales came ashore in Árness parish in Strandasýsla late in the summer 1801. In the spring 1802, seamen from Kollsvík in Barðastrandarsýsla found a boneless whale carcass at sea which they thought had died in the ice; it was rowed [ie, towed] onto the estate of Bæjir church and [ie, products] on it were 200 *vættir* [ie, ca 7936 kg]. In the summer of the same year [ie, 1802] the people in Arnarfjörður in Ísafjarðarsýsla harpooned [*skutluðu*] a whale calf which they lost again¹ but (which) 2 days later drifted onto the land of temporarily appointed sheriff-steward, Mr Guðmundur Bjarnarson Scheving.'

1 The context indicates harpooning proper.

(C) Extracts from, and draft translations of, Icelandic annals concerning pinnipeds:

- 1279 "Admodum austera et dura hyems glacie marina regionem undiqvaqve (qvam Grónlandicam appellamus) unde passim homines et pecora subdialia fame perierunt. Deus autem hoc tempore misit ursos albos et phoca marina ad hanc famem levendam."
'Afar bitur og harður vetur með hafís, sem kringdi landið hvaðanæva, (köllum vér hann Grænlandsís); af því féll fjöldi manna og útigöngupenings. En Drottinn sendi þá hvítabirni og seli til að létta því hungri.' (Annalium in Islandia farrago; cf Grímsdóttir 1988: 479).
- 1409 "Kom mikið fjúk um sumarið um Þorláksmessu fyri norðan. Kom þá mikill hafís úr norðursjónum og lá allt til vordaga árið eftir. Voru miklir selir veiddir á því hausti á ísnum. Drukkuðu þar 3 menn." (Setbergsannáll; cf Jóhannesson 1940: 40).
- 1479 "Veiddir um vorið átta selir í Elliðaám syðra ofarlega, er kafað höfðu móti straumnum." (Setbergsannáll; cf Jóhannesson 1940: 51).
- 1553 "Þetta vor umkringdi hafís mest allt Ísland, og náðust víða selir á ísnum. Sá ís hamlaði mörgum manni sjóferða." (Setbergsannáll; cf Jóhannesson 1940: 63).
- 1564 "micill haf is og tekner selar aa uore otal vm allan Nordlendinga fiordung." (Gottskalks annaler; cf Storm 1977: 376).
- Much sea ice and numerous seals were taken in the spring in the whole North quarter.
- 1564 "Mikill hafís við Ísland og teknir selir á, nærri ótal, um allan Norðlendingafjórðung. Fór almenningur [143/144] úr sveitum út á ísana og báru á hestum selana lestum saman, drógu og óku fram í byggðirnar. Og var þetta almennilega kallað Selavorið mikla." (Skarðsárannáll; cf Þorsteinsson 1922a: 144).
- 1564 "Mikill hafís við Ísland. Selavor mikið." (Vatnsfjarðarannáll hinn elzti; cf Þorsteinsson 1931b: 46).
- 1610 "Anno 1610 [515/516] propter insolitam maris inundationem ejecta est ad littora insignis copia vivorum piscium in provincia orientali Hornafirde. Ad unicum littus Sæfarholum 1400, alibi 1000. Præterea incredibilis copia et abundantia incomparabilis halecum seu pisciculorum minorum cumulatim tendens usque ad genua eqvorum et ultra, dum insessores littora peterent indiscrete colligentes, quantum voluerunt aut potuerunt. Item

talis ac tanta marinarum focarum abundantia et multitudo littora replevit, partim exanimatarum partim etiam vivarum, qvanta et qvalis nunqvam antea hactenus visa, adeo ut ad unum prædium Stafafell 400 focarum pertinerent."

'Vegna þess hve sjávarflóð voru óvenju mikil árið 1610, rak á fjörur í Hornafirði eystra mikla mergð lifandi fiska; á Sævarhólafjöru eina 1400, annarsstaðar 1000. Enn fremur rak ótrúlega mergð og óviðjafnanlega gnægð af loðnu (eða smásíli); lá hún í bingjum og tók hestunum í hné eða meira, þegar landsmenn komu á fjörurnar og tóku án greinarmunar allt, hvað þeir vildu eða gátu. Sömuleiðis lágu á fjörunum þvílík gnótt og fjöldi sela, sumpart dauðir, sumpart lifandi, að slíkt og þvílíkt hefur aldrei áður sézt, svo að í hlut Stafafells eins komu 400.' (Annalium in Islandia farrago; cf Grímsdóttir 1988: 515f).

- 1615 "Vetur harður með miklum jarðbönnum. Þá féllu nær allir útigangspeningar, sem ikke höfðu hey, um allt Ísland. Rak inn ís á þorra fyrir norðan land. Þá kringdi hafís um allt Ísland og lá til fardaga fyrir norðan. Kom ís suðaustan fyrir Ísland, og svo ofan í Grindavík; hann rak [202/203] ofan fyrir Reykjanesröst og inn á Vog og fyrir öll Suðurnes. Engir mundu þá ísrek sunnan fyrir röst skeð hafa. Seladráp á ísi um Suðurnes. ---. Brotnuðu hafskip víða í ísi. ---. Bjarndýr gengu þá víða um landið, gerðu ekki mein; þau voru unnin mörg austur og suður á landinu; eitt var unnið með skotum og slögum á Hólum í Hjaltadal." (Skarðsárannáll; cf Þorsteinsson 1922a: 202f).
- 1622 "Vetur góður frá jólum. Vor hart. Kom ís. Selatekja mikill á ísi." (Skarðsárannáll; cf Þorsteinsson 1922a: 216).
- 1626 "Hart vor. Selafengur á Skaga á ísi." (Skarðsárannáll; cf Þorsteinsson 1922a: 224).
- 1626 "Vetur góður víðdat um sveitir. Selavor mikið." (Vallholtsannáll; cf Þorsteinsson 1924b: 325).
- 1629 "Kom ís nokkur fyrir norðan, lá ekki; náðust selar." (Skarðsárannáll; cf Þorsteinsson 1922a: 231).
- 1636 "Drukknun fimm manna og einnar konu úr Dölum í Skagafirði í ísi; voru að seladrápi, ofhlóðu sig. Rafn hét formaður. Einn maður drukknaði á Eyjafirði, var að selskutlan, og steypti selurinn bátnum, annar maðurinn náðist." (Skarðsárannáll; cf Þorsteinsson 1922a: 245).

'Five men and a woman from Dalir [ie, Dalabær?] in Skagafjörður drowned in ice; were sealing, overloaded themselves. The foreman was called Rafn. A man drowned in

Eyjafjörður, was harpooning a seal, and the seal upset the boat; another man was recovered.'

1639 "Vetur harður frá jólum. Ís vofraði kringum landið allan vetur, kom austan fyrir land, og svo fyrir Suðurnes. Harðindin mikil stóðu af honum; hann gagnlaus í alla staði. Selatekja engin fyrir norðan land. Víða penningafellir af stormum og jarðbanni." (*Skarðsárannáll*; cf Þorsteinsson 1922a: 256).

Ice lying around the country during the whole winter. It was of 'no use at all' (ie, yielded no drift whales or wood). No seal catch in North Iceland.

1648 "Vetur harður um all Ísland með fjúkum af hruni snjóa og jarðbonnum frá nýársdegi. --- í páskavíku; gengu þá stórfjúk 13 dægur, rak inn hafís kringum all Norðurland, aflaðist lítið af sel. Hrun peninga [289/290] allvíða um landið, þó mest norður og norðaustur." (*Seiluannáll*; cf Þorsteinsson 1922c: 289f).

1657 "Þar á Ströndum [ie, in or near Reykjarfjörður] gaf einn maður sig djöflinum með því móti, að hann veð[j]aði við sambúanda sinn, að næsta morgun skyldu vera komnir í sína slæðu 20 selar, lagði svo um kveldið nótina, en um nóttina kom sá Vondi til hans og gerði [312/313] árásir miklar, svo hann fór brátt úr rúminu nær klæðlaus. Forvitnaðist þá hinn maðurinn um hann, og fann hann dauðan og illa verkaðan hjá festarsteini nótarinnar, en 20 selar festir í nótina." (*Seiluannáll*; cf Þorsteinsson 1922c: 312f).

1657 "Þar á Ströndum [in or near Reykjarfjörður] gaf maður sig djöfuflinum með þeim hætti, hann vedjaði við sambúa sinn, að þá sömu nótt skyldu komnir vera 20 selir í nót sína, og lagði hana um kveldið, en um nóttina fékk hann ónáðan svo mikla, að hann gekk af rúmi nær því nakinn. Sambúi hann gekk út eptir honum, og vildi vita, hað af honum yrði. Var hann þá kominn ofan að sjó [348/349] og lá þar dauður við festarsteininn, en 20 selir voru komnir í nótina; voru þeir hafðir heim til bæjarins." (*Vallholtsannáll*; cf Þorsteinsson 1924b: 348f).

1694 "Rostungur var þá drepinn á Miðnesi suður." (*Grímsstaðaannáll*; cf Þorsteinsson 1934: 495).

1702, cf 1703, below.

1703 "... fiskifátt, því um krossmessuleytið, er von var á fiski, kom selavaða og rak í burt af Ísafjarðardjúpi allan fisk, svo ei fiskvart ar, hvar fyrir að allt sjófólk úr veiðistöðum fór heim til sinna heimila. Sama skeði og á fyrirfarandi vori, að fiskur burt fór af þessari selavöðu Anno 1702."

(Eyrarannáll; cf Þorsteinsson 1933a: 419).

About 3 May, a herd of (harp?) seals chased fish out of Ísafjarðardjúp. The previous spring, 1702, fish also went away because of 'this herd of seals'.

1708 "Þá var hafís við land fram á sumar, svo ekki varð fyrir norðan á sjó róið til fiski, en vertíðar- og vorhlutir í meðallagi fyrir sunnan allvíða, þó fátt fólk réri vegna mannfallsins. --- [203/204]

Sáust víða á Austfjörðum rostungar, sem á sker og strandir upp lögðust, í Borgarfirði 28, í Seyðisfirði 1, í Mjóafirði 1 eður 2, einn Norðfirði, í Loðmundarfirði 1, í Reyðarfirði 1. Varð þó enginn þeirra unninn." (Setbergsannáll; cf Jóhannesson 1940: 203f).

1711 "Hafís fyrir norðan og á honum selatekja." (Fitjaannáll; cf Þorsteinsson 1926: 380).

1711 "Kom hafís fyrir norðan. Selatekja nokkur á honum." (Setbergsannáll; cf Jóhannesson 1940: 211).

1715 "Í Bervík drukknuðu 3 menn á skeri, er slógu útsel; sjór aðféll svo óðum, að þeim varð eigi bjargað þaðan aptur." (Fitjaannáll; cf Þorsteinsson 1926: 393).

In Ber(u)vík (Breiðuvíkurr, Snæfs), 3 men drowned on a skerry who clubbed grey seals.

1715 "Item dóu 3 menn í Bervík, ætluðu að drepa sel á skeri." (Hestsannáll; cf Þorsteinsson 1929: 567).

1761 "Sjaldgæft til sjós um vorið fyrir norðan. Þá sela- og silungsveiði góð á Eyjafirði ...". (Úr Djáknaannálum; cf Grímsdóttir 1987c: 122).

1763 "Sjógæði hér so nær engin fyrir utan nokkurn sel og hákarlsafla á Langanesi." (Espihólsannáll; cf Jóhannesson 1957: 223).

1764 "Var harður vetur. Afhrökklaðist peningur víða ---. Á sama ári var mikillegur aflfi af sel á Tjörnesi og þar um pláss, svo elztu menn mundu ei svo mikinn afla af sel." (Húnavetnskur annáll; cf Jóhannesson 1948b: 609).

'The winter was hard. The domestic animals died widely ---. In the same year the seal catch at Tjörnes [Þings] and vicinity was so much that the oldest people did not recall such a great catch of seal.'

1764 "... var fiskeríið í betra lagi um vetrarvertíð ... sömuleiðis sela- og síldarveiði mikil í tveimur norðustu sýslum." (Vatnsfjarðarannáll yngsti; cf Vilmundarson 1959: 344).

1765 "Bóndi á Langanesi, er hét Augustínus [Þorsteinsson],

nafnfrægur af mörgu, drukknaði þetta sama ár. Hann var að selaveiðum með fjórða mann. Ráku upp selirnir átta." (*Desjarmýrarannáll*; cf Vilmundarson 1958: 295).

1765 "Hákarls- og selafli sámilegur á Langanesi, en annar afli so lítill sem enginn í sýslunni." (*Espihólsannáll*; cf Jóhannesson 1957: 223).

1765 "Mikill selaafli bæði á þessu og hinu fyrirfarandi ári í Norðursýslu." (*Íslands árbók*; cf Jóhannesson 1955: 52).

1771 "Selafli sámilegur norðan lands." (*Espihólsannáll*; cf Jóhannesson 1957: 151).

1773 "Selanætur tilbúnar í Eyjafirði og í þeim veiddur vöðuselur, sem ei var fyrr venja." (*Úr Djáknaannálum*; cf Grímsdóttir 1987c: 178).

'Seal nets prepared in Eyjafjörður; they were used to catch harp seals which had not been custom (there).'

1773 "Selveiði nokkur, meðallagi norðan lands, en hafís ral að landi fyrir Vaðla, Skagafjarðar- og Húnavatnssýslum. Ekki lá hafísinn samt lengi við landið." (*Espihólsannáll*; cf Jóhannesson 1957: 154).

1777 "Þetta ár gáfust 3 hvalrekar í Strandasýslu, 1 í Barðastrandarsýslu og fáeiner annars staðar á landinu." (*Vatnsfjarðarannáll yngsti*; cf Vilmundarson 1959: 389).

'This year, 3 whale comings occurred in Strandasýsla, 1 in Barðastrandarsýsla and a few ones elsewhere in the country.'

1779 "Á einmánuði rak á Borgarsandi rostungshveli, mælt 6 ál(na) millum skurða. Á honum meir en 40 fjórðungar spiks." (*Höskuldsstaðaannáll*; cf Jóhannesson 1948a: 570).

'In March/April [einmánuður], a walrus came [rak] ashore at Borgarsandur [Seyluhr/Rípurhr, Skags], measured 6 ells¹ between the cuts. It yielded more than 40 fjórðungar [ie, ca 200 kg] of blubber.'

1787 "Kom hafís norðan lands og austan allt að Reyðarfirði. Fylgdi hönum sums staðar vöðuselur. --- [112/115]

2 hvalro[s]srekar í Voknafirði [sic] um sumarið og 1 í Breiðdal um haustið." (*Íslands árbók*; cf Jóhannesson 1955: 112, 115).

'Sea ice came to the northern coast and eastward all the way to Reyðarfjörður. In some places it was accompanied by

1 By the Sealindic ell à 62.8 cm = 3.77 m; by the old Icelandic ell à 49 cm = 2.94 m.

harp seals. ---. 2 walros comings in Vopnafjörður [N-Múls] during the summer and 1 in Breiðdalur [S-Múls].'

1797 "2 völdustu sjómenn drukknuðu í Fljótum af kænu, Jón Eyjólfsson á Yzta-Mói og Jón Arason á Miðmói. Þeir ætluðu að vitja um selanót." (*Espihólsannáll*; cf Jóhannesson 1957: 210).

A.17.3 Stated size (length) of Norse cetaceans and pinnipeds, 900-1900 AD (including identification keys to species in *Konungsskuggsjá*)

The following two tables contain 'standardised' data on Norse marine mammals species and specimens, 900-1900 AD. For details on the various items and aspects, cf chapters 5-7.

References to the modern taxonomy are, *inter alia*, offered as *M#*, *O#* and *P#* keys (cf item A.14) while the Norse and West Nordic names, genera and species are based on the most comprehensive source available, ie, *Konungsskuggsjá* (KGS; *Speculum Regale*; *Royal Mirror*, written in the period 1240-1263 AD). References to items in the KGS text (cf Holm-Olsen 1983: 15-17, 27-29, 148f) are indicated by a key (*K#*) according to the order they occur there, viz:

| | | | | | |
|-----|--------------------|-----|--------------------|-----|--------------------|
| K1 | <i>hnýðingr</i> | K12 | <i>búrhvalr</i> | K23 | <i>hafstrambr</i> |
| K2 | <i>hnísa</i> | K13 | <i>fiskreki</i> | K24 | <i>margýgr</i> |
| K3 | <i>leiftr</i> | K14 | <i>sléttibaka</i> | K25 | <i>hafgerðingr</i> |
| K4 | <i>vögnhvalr</i> | K15 | <i>hafurkitti</i> | K26 | <i>norðselr</i> |
| K5 | <i>andhvalr</i> | K16 | <i>hrosshvalr</i> | K27 | <i>náselr</i> |
| K6 | <i>svínhvalr</i> | K17 | <i>rauðkemingr</i> | K28 | <i>erknselr</i> |
| K7 | <i>hrafnhvalr</i> | K18 | <i>náhvalr</i> | K29 | <i>flettuselr</i> |
| K8 | <i>hvítningr</i> | K19 | <i>skeljungr</i> | K30 | <i>granselr</i> |
| K9 | <i>skjaldhvalr</i> | K20 | <i>norðhvalr</i> | K31 | <i>opnuselr</i> |
| K10 | <i>geirhvalr</i> | K21 | <i>reyðr</i> | K32 | <i>skemmingr</i> |
| K11 | <i>barðhvalr</i> | K22 | <i>hafgufa</i> | K33 | <i>rostungr</i> |

Table A lists the size (length) of species by source (author), in chronological order, primarily following the KGS nomenclature and taxonomy ('*K#*') and giving KGS variants species status, secondarily according to the modern nomenclature and taxonomy (*M#*; *O#*; *P#*). To each item is added its positive or tentative identification.

In Table B these same size (length) data are rearranged according to species (name categories), in alphabetical order, as they have been positively or tentatively identified by this author, or in their own right when unidentified.

Table A: Size (length) of cetaceans and pinnipeds, arranged according to source (author):

Old English Orosious (Ohthere from Hálogaland), ca 890 AD:

| | |
|-------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|
| M5/M6 | <i>hwalas</i> (fin/blue whales): 48-50 <i>elna</i> (Bately 1980: 15); |
| K33 | <i>horshwæl</i> (walrus): 7 <i>elna</i> (Bately 1980: 15). |

(Older) Gulathing Law, ca 1100 AD:

(K7) *hvalr* (GTL 149a) [= MLL vii 64; = ÆB 145 *rafnhvalr*; = FTL xiv 10 *rafnhvalr/raumhvalr*]: 18 álnir (NGL 1, 1846: 59, 252, 330; 2, 1848: 146, 148) (minke whale).

Konungsskuggsjá, 1240-1263 AD (ca 1250 AD):

- K1 *hnýðingr* (longfinned pilot whale): 10-20 álnir (Holm-Olsen 1983: 15);
K2 *hnísa* (harbour porpoise): ≤ 5 álnir (Holm-Olsen 1983: 15);
K3 *leiftr*: ≤ 7 álnir (Holm-Olsen 1983: 15);
K4 *vögnhvalr* (orca): ≤ 12 álnir (Holm-Olsen 1983: 15);
K5 *andhvalr* (northern bottlenose whale): ≤ 25 álnir (Holm-Olsen 1983: 15);
K6 *svínhvalr* (northern bottlenose whale): ≤ 25 álnir (Holm-Olsen 1983: 15);
K7 *hrafnhvalr*: --- (Holm-Olsen 1983: 15);
K8 *hvítíngur*: --- (Holm-Olsen 1983: 15);
K9 *skjaldhvalr*: --- (Holm-Olsen 1983: 15);
K10 *geirhvalr*: --- (Holm-Olsen 1983: 15);
K11 *barðhvalr*: --- (Holm-Olsen 1983: 15);
K12 *búrhvalr*: --- (Holm-Olsen 1983: 15);
K13 *fiskreki*: ≤ 30 álnir (Holm-Olsen 1983: 15);
K14 *sléttibaka*: --- (Holm-Olsen 1983: 15);
K15 *hafurkitti* (black right whale): ≤ 30 álnir (Holm-Olsen 1983: 16);
K16 *hrosshvalr*: ≤ 30-40 álnir (Holm-Olsen 1983: 16);
K17 *rauðkembíngur*: ≤ 30-40 álnir (Holm-Olsen 1983: 16);
K18 *náhhvalr* (narwhal): ≤ 20 álnir; tusk 7 álnir (Holm-Olsen 1983: 16);
K19 *skeljungur* (humpback whale): ≤ 70-80 álnir (Holm-Olsen 1983: 16);
K20 *norðhvalr* (bowhead whale): ≤ 80-90 álnir (Holm-Olsen 1983: 16);
K21 *reyður* (blue whale): ≤ 130 álnir (Holm-Olsen 1983: 17);
K22 *hafgufa*: --- (Holm-Olsen 1983: 17);
K23 *hafstrambr*: --- (Holm-Olsen 1983: 27);
K24 *margýgr*: --- (Holm-Olsen 1983: 27);
K25 *hafgerðingur*: --- (Holm-Olsen 1983: 27);
K26 *norðselr*: ≤ 4 álnir (Holm-Olsen 1983: 28);
K27 *náselr*: ≤ 4 álnir (Holm-Olsen 1983: 28);
K28 *erknselr*: ≤ 5-6 álnir (Holm-Olsen 1983: 28);
K29 *flettuselr*: ≤ 5-6 álnir (Holm-Olsen 1983: 28);
K30 *granselr* (bearded seal): ≤ 6-7 álnir (Holm-Olsen 1983: 28);
K31 *opnuselr*: ≤ 4 álnir (Holm-Olsen 1983: 28);
K32 *skemmingur* (ringed seal): ≤ 2 álnir (Holm-Olsen 1983: 28);
K33 *rostungur* (walrus): ≤ 14-15 álnir (Holm-Olsen 1983: 29).

Magnús lagabætir's National Code for Norway (NGL) 1274

AD:

(K7) *hvalr* (MLL vii 64) [= GTL 149; = ÆB 145 *rafnhvalr*; = FTL xiv 10 *rafnhvalr/raumhvalr*]: 18 *álnir* (NGL 1, 1846: 59, 252, 330; 2, 1848: 146, 148) (minke whale).

Oddur Einarsson, before 1588:

- K5 [*andhvalur*] (bottlenose whale): ≤ 6 ells (Resen [ca 1688] 1991: 155; cf Benediktsson 1991: 32, 34);
K6 [*svínhvalur*] (bottlenose whale): ≤ 6 ells (Resen [ca 1688] 1991: 155; cf Benediktsson 1991: 32, 34);
K15 [*hafurkitti*] (black right whale): ≤ 30 ells (Resen [ca 1688] 1991: 159; cf Benediktsson 1991: 32, 34).

Oddur Einarsson 1588/89:

- K1 *hnydingur* (pilot whale): 10-20 *ulnas* (Einarsson 1928: 55; cf 1971: 113);
K4 *vagnhualur* (orca): 12 *ulnas* (Einarsson 1928: 56; cf 1971: 113);
K5 *andhual* (bottlenose whale): ≤ 5 *ulnas* (Einarsson 1928: 56;; cf 1971: 114);
K6 *swynhualur* (bottlenose whale): ≤ 5 *ulnas* (Einarsson 1928: 56;; cf 1971: 114);
K12 *burhualur* (sperm whale): ≤ 30-40 *ulnas* (Einarsson 1928: 58; cf 1971: 115);
K13 *fiskreke*: ≤ 30-40 *ulnas* (Einarsson 1928: 58f; cf 1971: 116);
K15 *hafurkutte*: ≤ 30 *ulnas* (Einarsson 1928: 58; cf 1971: 115);
K16 *hrosshualur*: ≤ 30-40 *ulnas* (Einarsson 1928: 56; cf 1971: 114);
K18 *nahualur* (narwhal): ≤ 20 *ulnas* (whale proper); tusk ≤ 7 *ulnas* (Einarsson 1928: 59; cf 1971: 117);
K19 *skeliungur* (humpback): ca 78 *ulnas* (Einarsson 1928: 57; cf 1971: 114);
K20 *nordhualur* (bowhead): ≤ 80-90 *ulnas* (Einarsson 1928: 57; cf 1971: 114);
K21 *steypireyður* (blue whale): ≤ 130 *ulnas* (Einarsson 1928: 57; cf 1971: 115);
K33 *rostungur* (walrus): 14-15 *ulnas* (Einarsson 1928: 55; cf 1971: 111).

Erik Hansen Schönnéböl 1591:

[*skeljungr/lyngbakr?*]: ≥ 100 *favne* (Schönnéböl 1978: 211/322).

Peder Claussøn Friis 1592:

- K1 *smaa huale* (pilot whales): 18-20 *alen* (Friis 1881b: 431).

Peder Claussøn Friis 1599:

- K1 *nyding* (pilot whale): 10-20 *alen* (Friis 1881a: 61);
K2 *nise, marsuin* (harbour porpoise): ≤ 5 *alen* (Friis

- 1881a: 61);
K3 *leiptre*: ≤ 7 alen (Friis 1881a: 61);
K4 *vagn-huall* (orca): ≤ 12 alen (Friis 1881a: 61);
K5 *andhuall* (bottlenose whale): ≤ 25 alen (Friis
1881a: 62);
K6 *suinhuall* (bottlenose whale): ≤ 25 alen (Friis
1881a: 62);
K13 *fiskreke*: ≤ 30-40 alen (Friis 1881a: 63);
K15 *haffkiete, haffkat*: ≤ 30 alen (Friis 1881a: 64);
K17 *raudkiembing, troidhuall*: 30-40 alen (Friis 1881a:
64);
K18 *nahuall* (narwhal): ≤ 20 alen (Friis 1881a: 64);
K19 *skeliung* (humpback): 70-80 alen (var Bent Jenssøn:
90 alen) (Friis 1881a: 65);
K20 *nord-huall* (bowhead): 80-90 alen (Friis 1881a:
65);
K21 *reider* (blue whale): ≤ 130 alen (var Bent Jenssøn:
80 alen) (Friis 1881a: 65);
K26 *nord-sæl*: ≤ 3 alen (Friis 1881a: 80);
K28 *ørcken-sæl*: 5-6 alen (Friis 1881a: 80);
K29 *flete-sæl*: ≤ 4 alen (Friis 1881a: 80);
K30 *gran-sæl* (bearded seal): 6-7 alen (Friis 1881a:
80);
K31 *opnu-sæl*: 4 alen (Friis 1881a: 80);
K32 *skieming* (ringed seal): ≤ 2 alen (Friis 1881a:
80);
P5 *rosmar* (walrus): 16 alen (Friis 1881a: 85);
tusks ≥ 3 Danish fod (Friis 1881a: 86).

Norwegian Lawbook 1604:

- K7 18 alen (Hallager and Brandt 1981: 157) (*hual* NLB
vi 61 [= ÆB 145 *rafnhvalr*; = FTL xiv 10
rafnhvalr/raumhvalr]) (minke whale).

Arngrímur Jónsson 1622:

- K33 *rostungr* (walrus): 12, 14 or 15 ulnas (Torfæus
1706: 82, cf 83; see also 1927: 59).

Gísli Oddsson 1638:

- K4 *magnhvalur* (orca): ≤ 12 ulnas (Oddsson 1917: 46;
cf 1942: 77);
K17 *raudkiembyngur*: much smaller than the *skieljung*
(which is ≥ 70 ulnas) (Oddsson 1917: 45; cf 1942:
76);
K18 *náhvalur* (narwhal): ---; tusk ≤ 7 ulnas (Oddsson
1917: 45; cf 1942: 75);
K19 *skieljung* (humpback): ≥ 70 ulnas (Oddsson 1917:
45; cf 1942: 76);
K20 *nordhual* (bowhead): 90 ulnas (Oddsson 1917: 45; cf
1942: 75);
K21 [*reyör*] (blue whale): > 120 ulnas (with foetus, ca
20 ulnas) (Oddsson 1917: 45; cf 1942: 75);
K33 *rostungur* (walrus): ca 14 ulnas; tusks 1½ ulnas
(Oddsson 1917: 47; cf 1942: 78f).

Jón Guðmundsson lærði, ca 1639/44:

- höfrungur* (dolphin): 8-10 álnir (Guðmundsson 1924b: 28);
K1 *hnídingur* (pilot whale): 10-20 álnir (Guðmundsson 1924b: 27);
K2/O? *hnísa* ('porpoise', two spp): ≤ 3 and ≤ 7 árir, respectively (Guðmundsson 1924b: 27);
K5 *andarnefja*, *andhvalur* (bottlenose whale): 5 álnir (Guðmundsson 1924b: 28);
K6 *svínhvalur* (bottlenose whale): [ca 5 álnir] (Guðmundsson 1924b: 28);
K6 *svínhvalur* (bottlenose whale or sperm whale?): 28-30 álnir (Guðmundsson 1924b: 28);
O12/K7 *háhirningur*, *hafurhvalur* (male orca): 18 álnir (Guðmundsson 1924b: 28);
K12 *búrhvalur*, *nauthvalur* (sperm whale): ≥ 40 álnir (Guðmundsson 1924b: 28);
K16/K17 *hrosshvalur*, *raudkemingur*: 29 álnir (Guðmundsson 1924b: 28);
K16 *hrosshvalur*, *stökull*: 20 álnir (Guðmundsson 1924b: 28);
K17 *raudkemingur*: 30 álnir (Guðmundsson 1924b: 28);
K18 *náhvalur* (narwhal): 20 álnir; tusk 7 álnir (Guðmundsson 1924b: 28);
sandlægia (gray whale): 30 álnir (Guðmundsson 1924b: 28);
K14 *slettbakur/slettebaka* (black right whale): 20-28 álnir (Guðmundsson 1924b: 28);
K19 *skielungur* (humpback): 70-80 álnir (Guðmundsson 1924b: 28);
K20 *nordhvalur* (*vatnshvalur*) (bowhead): 80 or 90 álnir; baleen 8 álnir (Guðmundsson 1924b: 28);
(K7) *hrafhreidur* (minke whale): 24-28 álnir (Guðmundsson 1924b: 28);
(K10) *geirreidur*: 50 or 55 álnir (Guðmundsson 1924b: 28);
(K13) *sýldreki*, *sýlldreka*: 30 or 40 álnir (Guðmundsson 1924b: 28);
K15 *hafurkilli* [*hafurkitti*] (black right whale): 30 álnir (Guðmundsson 1924b: 28);
(K21) *hafreidur*, *steypireidur* (blue whale): 100 álnir (Guðmundsson 1924b: 28);
K33 *rostungur* (walrus): 14 álnir (Guðmundsson 1924b: 28).

Jón Guðmundsson lærði, ca 1640/44:

- háskerdijngur/hafskerdingur*, *hákall* (Greenland shark): 8-9 álnir (Guðmundsson 1924a: 5f);
stóri hafskerdingur, *rýnir*, *beinhákall/beinahákall* (basking shark): ≤ 13 álnir (Guðmundsson 1924a: 5);
K1 *hnijdingur* (pilot whale): 10-20 álnir (Guðmundsson 1924a: 7);
K2 *sú minsta hnijsa* (harbour porpoise): > 1 alin (Guðmundsson 1924a: 6);
(K2) *það annað hnijsukyn* (harbour porpoise?): ≤ 5 álnir (Guðmundsson 1924a: 6);
höfrungshnijsa (dolphin sp?): 8-9 álnir (Guðmundsson

- 1924a: 6);
O12/(K4) háhyrningur, hafurhvalur, barbera (male orca):
≤ 15 álnir (Guðmundsson 1924a: 6);
K9 skialdhvalur (orca): 18 álnir (Guðmundsson 1924a:
6);
K4 vagnhvalur, vognuhvalur (female orca): 13-14
álnir, ms var: 16-17 álnir (Guðmundsson 1924a: 6);
K5 andarnefia, andhvalur (bottlenose whale): 16 álnir
(Guðmundsson 1924a: 7);
(K7) hrafnreidur (minke whale): 18 álnir (Guðmundsson
1924a: 10);
(K10) geirreidur: 55 álnir (Guðmundsson 1924a: 11);
O14 suiñnhulalur (sperm whale): 35 álnir (Guðmundsson
1924a: 7);
K12 bwrhualr, nauthual(u)r, búri, durnir (sperm whale):
60 álnir (Guðmundsson 1924a: 8);
K13 sijldreki/sijldreke, fiskreki: 60 álnir
(Guðmundsson 1924a: 11);
K14 sliettbakur, höddunefur, vatshvalur (black right
whale): ≤ 35 álnir (Guðmundsson 1924a: 9);
K14 höddunefur, sliettbakur (langdkijdingur,
vatshualur) (black right whale): 35 or 50 álnir
(Guðmundsson 1924a: 10);
K15 hafurkytti: 60 álnir (Guðmundsson 1924a: 11);
K16 hrosshualur, stöckull, blökuhualur: < 20 álnir
(Guðmundsson 1924a: 8);
K17 raudkiembingur: 25 álnir (Guðmundsson 1924a: 8);
K18 náhualur (narwhal): 20 álnir; tusk 7 álnir
(Guðmundsson 1924a: 8);
K19 skieliungur, suarfhualur (humpback): ≥ 60 álnir
(Guðmundsson 1924a: 10);
K20 nordhualur (bowhead): 80 álnir; baleen 13 álnir
(Guðmundsson 1924a: 10);
hafreidur: 90 álnir (Guðmundsson 1924a: 11);
(K21) steypireidur (blue whale): 130 álnir (Guðmundsson
1924a: 11);
K26 láturselur (nordselur) (harbour seal): 3½ álnir
(Guðmundsson 1924a: 14);
K28 wigraselur, orcka, Orkneya selur (grey seal):
6 or 7 álnir (Guðmundsson 1924a: 14);
K30 granselur [granselur], mönuserur (bearded seal):
ca 8-9 (?) álnir (Guðmundsson 1924a: 14, cf 5f);
K32 selakongur, skemmingur (ringed seal): > 1 alin
(Guðmundsson 1924a: 6, 14);
K33 rostungur, rosmhualur (walrus): ≤ 14 álnir;
tusks 1½-2 álnir (Guðmundsson 1924a: 13).

Thomas Bartholin 1657:

- K1 hnydingur (pilot whale): 10-20 ulnas (Bartholin
1657: 273);
K2 hnisa (harbour porpoise): 2-4 ulnas (Bartholin
1657: 272);
O? hnisa, hòfrungsnisa, hòfrung (harbour porpoise?;
dolphins): 7-9 ulnas (Bartholin 1657: 272);
O12 haa hyrningur, hafuehual (male orca): 18 ulnas
(Bartholin 1657: 272);

- K4 *vognuhualur, vagna* (female orca): 15-17 ulnas (Bartholin 1657: 274);
- K5 *andhualur, andanefia* (bottlenose whale): ≤ 15 cubitus (Bartholin 1657: 275);
- O14 *suinhualur, durner* (sperm whale): 30-35 ulnas (Bartholin 1657: 275);
- (K7) *hrafn-reidur* (minke whale): 18 cubitus (Bartholin 1657: 281);
- K9 *skialldhualur*: 18 ulnas (Bartholin 1657: 274) (orca);
- K10 *geirreidur*: 50 ulnas (Bartholin 1657: 281);
- K12 *burhualur, nauthualur* (sperm whale): 60 ulnas (Bartholin 1657: 275);
- K13 *sildarreki*: 60 cubitus (Bartholin 1657: 281);
- K14 *hoddunefur, slettebackur* (black right whale): 35 ulnas (Bartholin 1657: 278f);
- K15 *haffur-kitte*: 50-60 cubitus (Bartholin 1657: 281);
- K16 *hroshualur*: 20 ulnas (Bartholin 1657: 276);
- K17 *raudkemlingur* [sic]: 20 cubitus (Bartholin 1657: 276);
- K18 *narhvalur* (narwhal): 20 ulnas; tusk 7 ulnas (Bartholin 1657: 277);
- K19 *skieljungur* (humpback): 60 ulnas (Bartholin 1657: 278);
- K20 *nordhualur* (bowhead): 80 ulnas; baleen 13 ulnas long (Bartholin 1657: 279);
- sandlæja* [sic] (gray whale): 20-30 cubitus (Bartholin 1657: 280);
- hafreidur*: 50 cubitus (Bartholin 1657: 282);
- K21 *stepireidur/steipireidur* (blue whale): > 130 ulnas (Bartholin 1657: 282-284).

Bent Jenssøn, 1648-1660 (variants of Claussøn Friis, 1599):

- K19 *skeliung* (humpback): 90 alen (Friis 1881a: 65);
- K21 *reider* (blue whale): 80 alen (Friis 1881a: 65).

Francesco Negri 1664/65:

- M1 [black right whale]: 40-50 Roman feet [à 0.296 cm] (Negri, in Daae 1887: 148).

Thomas Tarnovius 1669:

- O3 *smae huale* (pilot whales): 8 or 9 allen (Tarnovius 1950: 60);
- O5 *døgling* (bottlenose whale): 16 or 18 allen (Tarnovius 1950: 61).

Lucas Debes 1673:

- O3 *grindhval* (pilot whale): adult ≤ 10 alen; calf 3 alen (Debes [1673] 1963: 156);
- O5 *døgling* (bottlenose whale): 14-16 alen (Debes 1963: 162f).

Friderich Martens, 1671/75:

- M2 *Spitsbergischer Wallfisch* (medium sized bowhead):

50-60 Schuh [feet] (Martens 1923: 106; cf 1855: 113).

Diderik Brinch 1676:

[skeljungur/lyngbakr?]: length 240 pedes [feet], width 120 pedes [feet] (Storm 1895, p 211, in Lindbekk 1978: 322).

Helgi Ólafsson, before 1687:

[strokkhvalur] (sperm whale): ≤ 40-60 ells (Resen 1991: 159; addition in one ms, cf Benediktsson 1991: 18).

Desjarmýrarannáll 1687:

K15 hafurketti: 60-80 álnir (Vilmundarson 1958: 282).

Peder Hansen Resen, ca 1688 (Iceland):

- K1 [hnýðingur] (pilot whale): 10-20 ells (Resen 1991: 154);
- K4 [vagnhvalur] (orca): 15-17 ells (Resen 1991: 155);
- K5 [andhvalur] (bottlenose whale): ≤ 15 ells (Resen 1991: 155; referring to Bartholin 1657 and his Icelandic informant);
- O14 [svínhvalur] (sperm whale): ≤ 35 ells (Resen 1991: 155; referring to Bartholin 1657 and his Icelandic informant);
- (K7)/M3 [hrafnreyður] (minke whale): 18 ells (Resen 1991: 162);
- K10 [geirhvalur/geirreyður]: ca 50 ells (Resen 1991: 162);
- K12 [búrhvalur] (sperm whale): ≤ 40-60 ells (Resen 1991: 159);
- K13 [fiskreki]: 60 ells ? (Resen 1991: 160);
[síldreki]: 60 ells (Resen 1991: 160) (= fiskreki?);
- K14 [sléttbakur] (black right whale): 60 ells (Resen 1991: 159);
- K15 [hafurkitti] (black right whale): ≤ 30 ells (Resen 1991: 159; referring to Anonymous, ie, Oddur Einarsson, cf Benediktsson 1991: 32, 34);
[hafurkitti] (black right whale): ≤ 50-60 ells (Resen 1991: 159; referring to Bartholin 1657 and his anonymous Icelandic informant);
- K16 [hrosshvalur]: 20 ells (Resen 1991: 156; referring to Bartholin 1657 and his anonymous Icelandic informant);
[hrosshvalur]: 30-40 ells (Resen 1991: 156f; referring to Anonymous, ie, Oddur Einarsson, cf Benediktsson 1991: 32, 34);
- K17 [rauðkemingur]: 20 ells (Resen 1991: 157);
- K18 [náhvalur]: ---; tusk 4-7 ells (Resen 1991: 160);
- K19 [skeljungur] (humpback whale): 60-70 ells (Resen 1991: 157);
- K20 [norðhvalur] (bowhead whale): 80-90 ells (Resen 1991: 157);
- K21 [steypireyður] (blue whale): 100-130 ells (Resen 1991: 158);

[*steypireyður*] (blue whale): > 130 ells (Resen 1991: 158; referring to Bartholin 1657 and his anonymous Icelandic informant);

[*hafreyður*]: > 50 ells (Resen 1991: 162);

[*höddunefur*] (black right whale): 35 ells (Resen 1991: 162; referring to Bartholin 1657 and his anonymous Icelandic informant).

Peder Hansen Resen, ca 1688 (Faeroe Islands):

K2/O13 *nysse* (harbour porpoise): 6-7 *ulnas/alén* (Resen 1972: 72f);

O5 *dogling* (bottlenose whale): 14-16 *ulnas/alén* (Resen 1972: 68f, referring to Debes);

O5 *dogling* (bottlenose whale): 20-30 *ulnas/alén* (Resen 1972: 68f, referring to Anonymus, presumably Oddur Einarsson, cf Benediktsson 1991: 32, 34);

O3 *grindhuall, grindhval* (pilot whale): adult \leq 10 *ulnas/alén*; calf 3 *ulnas/alén* (Resen 1972: 66f);

O14 *hafferrytte* (sperm whale): \leq 160 *ulnas/alén* (Resen 1972: 72f);

brugda (basking shark; presumably considered an odontocete): 10-14 *ulnas/alén* (Resen 1972: 72f);

K33/P5 *rosnung, rostunge* (walrus): 14-15 *ulnas/alén* (Resen 1972: 66f);

uthdrynja (normalised *úldrynja*, F, 'female seal') (seal sp?): 7-8 *ulnas/alén* (Resen 1972: 66f);

P8 *steenkobbe* (harbour seal): 3-4 *ulnas/alén* (Resen 1972: 64f).

Hans Lilienskiold 1698:

O12 *staalhønning* (orca): 4-5 *favne* [ie, 12-15 ells] (Lilienskiold 1, 1942: 212);

siø-ormen (sea serpent): 40 fathoms (Lilienskiold 1, 1942: 211).

Thormod Torfæus 1706/1706-1719:

K1 *hnidingr/hniding* (pilot whale): 10-20 *ulnas/alén* (Torfæus 1706: 89; 1927: 64);

K2 *hnisa/hnysa* (harbour porpoise): 5-7 *ulnas/alén* (Torfæus 1706: 89; 1927: 64);

(K3) *hofrungr/høffrung*: 8-10 *cubitus/alén* (Torfæus 1706: 90; 1927: 65); although *hofrungr/høffrung* has interchanged KGS position with the *vögnhvalr*; it seems to be synonymous with *leiftr*;

K4 *vognuhvalr/wognu hvalur, hnidingr/hniding* (female orca): 12 *ulnas/alén* (Torfæus 1706: 90; 1927: 64);

K5 *andhvalr/and-hvalur* (bottlenose whale): 15 *cubitus/alén* (Torfæus 1706: 90; 1927: 65);

K6 *svinhvalr/svin-hvalur* (bottlenose whale): 25-30 *cubitus/alén* (Torfæus 1706: 90; 1927: 65);

K7 *hrafnhvalr/hrafns-hvalur, hrafnreidr/hrafn-reidur* (minke whale): 14-16 *ulnas/alén* (Torfæus 1706: 90f; 1927: 65);

K8 *hvitigr/hviting* (white whale): \geq 10 *ulnas/alén* (Torfæus 1706: 91; 1927: 65);

- (K9/K4) hahiringr/ha hyrningur, hafhirningr/hafhirningur, hafhvalr/hafhvalur (male orca): 16-18 cubitus/alén (Torfæus 1706: 91; 1927: 65); in the KGS order Torfæus's háhyrning(u)r is slightly displaced but in that order it can only be identified with K9: skjaldhvalr;
- K10 geirhvalr/geirhvalur, geirreidr/geirredur: 40-50 cubitus/alén (Torfæus 1706: 93, 96; 1927: 67, 69);
- K12 burhvalr/burhvalur (sperm whale): 40-50 ulnas/alén (Torfæus 1706: 92; 1927: 66);
- K13 sildreki, fiskreki: 30-40 ulnas (Torfæus 1706: 91), ≤ 40 alén (Torfæus; 1927: 66);
- sandlægja/sand-lægja (gray whale): ≤ 30 ulnas/alén (Torfæus 1706: 92; 1927: 66);
- K14 slettbakr/slettbakur (black right whale): 20-50 ulnas/alén (Torfæus 1706: 93; 1927: 67);
- K15 hafrkitti/hafurkiette (black right whale): ≤ 20 ulnas/alén (Torfæus 1706: 93f; 1927: 67);
- K16 hrosshvalr/hross-hvalur, stockull/støckull: ≤ 22 ulnas/alén (Torfæus 1706: 94; 1927: 67);
- K17 raudkemingur/raudkemingur: ≤ 40 ulnas/alén (Torfæus 1706: 94; 1927: 67);
- K18 nahvalr/na-hvalur (narwhal): (≤) 20 cubitus/alén; tusk 7 cubitus/alén (Torfæus 1706: 94f; 1927: 67f);
- K19 skeliungr/skieljungur (humpback): 70-80 ulnas/alén (Torfæus 1706: 95; 1927: 68);
- K20 nordhvalr, vatzhvalr/watzhvalr (bowhead): 80-90 cubitus/alén (Torfæus 1706: 95; 1927: 68);
- hafreidr/hafreide: ≥ 60 ulnas/alén (Torfæus 1706: 96; 1927: 69);
- K21 reidr/reide, steipireidr/steipereide (blue whale): ≤ 130 cubitus/alén (Torfæus 1706: 96; 1927: 69);
- K30 granselr/græn-selur, graselr/gráselur (bearded seal): 6-7 ulnas/alén (Torfæus 1706: 87; 1927: 63);
- hafselr/haf-selur: [ca 5-6 ulnas/alén] (Torfæus 1706: 87; 1927: 63);
- vodluselr/wødlu-selur, fleckuselr/flecku-selur, opnuselr/opnu-selur: 4-5 ulnas/alén (Torfæus 1706: 88; 1927: 63);
- blodruselr/blødru-selur: --- (Torfæus 1706: 88; 1927: 63);
- latrselr/latur-selur: 3½-4 ulnas/alén (Torfæus 1706: 88; 1927: 63f);
- K32 skemmingur/skemming (ringed seal): 2 cubitus/alén (Torfæus 1706: 88; 1927: 64);
- sela kong/sela-kong: 1 ulnas/alén (Torfæus 1706: 89; 1927: 64);
- K33 rostungr/rostungur/røstungur, rossmer (walrus): 12, 14 or 15 ulnas/alén (Torfæus 1706: 82; 1927: 59).

Mælifellsannáll 1727:

- O14 búrhvalur (?) (sperm whale): ≥ 30 álnir (Þorsteinsson 1924a: 635).

Thomas Gifford, of Busta, 1733:

K1 whales (pilot whales): max 18-20 English feet,
mostly \leq 9-10 English feet (cf Gifford 1879: 25).

Jón Ólafsson frá Grunnavík, 1737:

- (O12) *hnýðingur/hnyydijngar/hyydijnger* (orca?):
4 or 5 alen/álnir (KBK Rostgaard ms 111: 30r; LBS-
JS ms 247: 46);
- (K7) *rafn-reiður/hrafn-reyður/rafn-reider* (minke whale):
30 alen/álin (KBK Rostgaard ms 111: 31r; LBS-JS ms
247: 37);
- (K10) *geyr-reiður/geir-reyður/geirreider*:
ca 40 alen/álnir (KBK Rostgaard ms 111: 31r;
LBS-JS ms 247: 37);
- K21 *steipireiður/steypi reyður/stöbe-reider* (blue
whale): \leq 130 alen/álnir (KBK Rostgaard ms 111:
30r; LBS-JS ms 247: 36);
- haf-reiður/haf-reyður/haf-reider*: \leq 40 alen/álnir (KBK
Rostgaard ms 111: 31r; LBS-JS ms 247: 37);
- snefja/snevir, sand-æta/sand-ædere, sand-lægja/
sand-liggere* (gray whale): ca 14-16 alen (KBK
Rostgaard ms 111: 31r);
- snefia, sandæta, sandlægja* (gray whale): ca 16 álnir
(LBS-JS ms 247: 37);
- snefja/snefia/snevir, sandæta/sand-æta/sand-ædere,
sandlægja/sand-lægja/sand-liggere* (gray whale):
80 alen/álnir (KBK Rostgaard ms 111: 31r; LBS-JS ms
247: 37);
- sverð-fiskur/sverd-fiskr, einbæxlíngur/ein-bæxlyngr,
Gladius* (old male orca): ---; dorsal fin ca 10
or/to 12 álnir/alén (KBK ms Rostgaard 111: 34r)
(LBS-JS ms 247: 41);
- bein-haa-kall/been-haakarl, ryner, bardi, Balæna
cartilaginca* (basking shark): \leq 14 alen (KBK
Rostgaard ms 111: 35r);
- bein-hákall, rýnur, barði* (basking shark): \leq 14-16 álnir
(LBS-JS ms 247: 43);
- K33 *rostwngr/rostúngur/rostung* (walrus): 12, 14 or/to
15 alen/álnir; tusks to 1 alin/alén (KBK Rostgaard
ms 111: 26r; LBS-JS ms 247: 31; referring to
Arngrímur Jónsson's Gronlandia, 1688).

Johann Anderson 1747:

O13 *Meerschwein* (harbour porpoise): 5-8 Hamburg Fuß
(Anderson 1747: 111).

Niels Horrebow 1752:

K2/O13 *marsvin, nise* (harbour porpoise): 5-8 Danish
fod (Horrebow 1752: 227f);

spring-hval: 9 alen (Horrebow 1752: 228);

P6 *den grønlandske selhund* (harp seal): 2-5 alen
(Horrebow 1752: 235).

Erik Pontoppidan 1753:

M3 *mindre hvalfiske* (pl) (minke whales): 18-20 alen

(Pontoppidan 2, 1977: 193);
M6 *silde-qval* (fin whale): 50, 60 to 70 Danish *fod*
(Pontoppidan 2, 1977: 196).

Eggert Ólafsson and Bjarni Pálsson (1752/57) 1772:

- (K21) *steipe-reyður* (blue whale): ≤ 120 alen (Olafsen 1, 1772: 542);
M2 *slettbakr, slettbag, Balæna grönlandica* (bowhead):
≥ 100 alen (Olafsen 1, 1772: 541);
M8 *hnufubakr, nuvebag* (humpback): 70-80 alen (Olafsen 1, 1772: 541);
M3/(K7) *hrafn-reyður, hrefna* (minke whale): 16-18 alen
(Olafsen 1, 1772: 542);
K5/O5 *andarnefia, dögling, nebbe-hval* (bottlenose whale):
10-12 alen long in Iceland, reaching a max of 14-15
alen (Olafsen 1, 1772: 543);
O12 *hnydingr, spekhugger* (female orca): 2-3 alen
(Olafsen 1, 1772: 544);
O12 *haa-hyrningur/høfrungr* (adult male orca):
≤ 14 alen, with a dorsal fin reaching 3 alen
(Olafsen 1, 1772: 544);
O3 *hundfiskur* (pilot whale): 10 alen (Olafsen 1,
1772: 360; cf 544, and Sæmundsson 1932: 318);
P3 *utselr/udsel* (grey seal): 5 *hamborger* alen
(Olafsen 1, 1772: 529);
K30/P2 *gram-selur/granselur* (bearded seal): 12-15
islandske alen (Olafsen 1, 1772: 532f).

Djáknánnálar 1766:

K10 *geirreiðarhvalur*: 40 *álnir* (Grímsdóttir 1987b:
142).

Uno von Troil 1774:

- (K21) *steipereidur* (blue whale): ca 120 yards (von Troil
1808: 662);
M2 *slettbakr* (bowhead): 100 yards (von Troil 1808:
662);
M8 *hnúfubakr* (humpback): 70-80 yards (von Troil 1808:
662).

Davið Scheving Hansson 1778:

- K10/M5 *geiredder hval* (blue whale): 60 alen (Scheving
1787: 210);
M6 *langreider/hafreiderr* (fin whale): 40 alen
(Scheving 1787: 210);
M8 *horn-hval* (humpback): ca 30 alen (Scheving 1787:
210);
K7/M3 *hrafnreider* (minke whale): 14-15 alen (Scheving
1787: 210);
K5/O5 *andarnefia* (bottlenose whale): 10-12 alen
(Scheving 1787: 210);
O12 *hundhval* (orca): 10-12 alen and 5-6 alen (Scheving
1787: 210);
K2 *hnyse* (harbour porpoise): --- (Scheving 1787:
210).

Skúli Magnússon 1785:

- K14/M1 *slettbakur* (black right whale): 100 alen
(Magnússon [1785] 1944: 48);
- M2 *hval*, etc (bowhead): --- (cf Magnússon [1785]
1944: 48);
- M3 *hrafneidur*, *hrefna* (minke whale): 16-18 alen
(Magnússon [1785] 1944: 49);
- M5 *steipereidur* (blue whale): 120 alen (Magnússon
[1785] 1944: 49);
- M8 *hnufubakur* (humpback): 70-80 alen (Magnússon
[1785] 1944: 48f);
- O5 *andarnefia* (bottlenose whale): 8-10 alen
(Magnússon [1785] 1944: 49);
- K17 *raudkembir*: --- (Magnússon [1785] 1944: 49).

Andreas Christie 1785/86:

- M6 (K13) *rör* (*silderör*, den store rörhval) (rorqual:
fin whale): ≤ 34 alen (Christie 1785/86, UBB
ms 221: f2r);
- M3 den lille rörhval/vaage qval/sommer hval (minke
whale): ≤ 16 alen (Christie 1785/86, UBB ms 221:
f30r, cf f2r);
- M3 den lille rörhval/vaage qval/sommer hval (minke
whale): ≤ 18 alen (Christie 1785/86, UBB ms 56:
f36r, cf UBB ms 221: f2r);
- M3 den lille rörhval/vaage qval/sommer hval (minke
whale): < 18 alen (Christie 1785/86, UBB ms 221:
f2r, f3v).
- O12 *storhynning* (male orca): < 14 alen (Christie
1785/86, UBB ms 221: f4v).

Nicolai Pedersen Mohr 1786:

- M5/M8 *rörhval* [N], *røjur* [F], presumably incl *steype-
reydur*, although it is also mentioned separately;
hnufubakr (blue whale/humpback whale): 80-120
alen (Mohr 1786: 13) [the association with
'superb baleen' 6-7 alen long makes little sense
unless *hnúfubakur* is thought to be the bowhead
whale, usually stated to be ca 80 ells long];
- K19/M8 *skeiliung* (humpback): 40-50 alen (Mohr 1786:
15);
- P1 *blødru-selr* (hooded seal): 4 alen (Mohr 1786: 2);
- P3 *ut-selr/vetra-selr/latra-selr* (grey seal): 4-5
alen (Mohr 1786: 5).

Carl Pontoppidan 1787:

- O3 *grind-hval* (adolescent [?] pilot whale): ca 10
alen (Pontoppidan 1, 1787: 122).

Snorri Björnsson frá Húsafelli, 1792:

- [*sandlægja*] (gray whale): 40 ells (Valdimarsdóttir 1989:
317; referring to ms LBS-JS 246, 4to [orig not
seen]).

Stefán and Magnús Stephensen, 1796-1808:

- K2 *hnýsa* (harbour porpoise): ≥ 3 *álnir* (Stephensen 1, 1796-1798);
K15 *hafurkétti/sléttbøku-hvalur* (black right whale):
ca 40 *álnir* (Stephensen 3/1, 1808b: 115f);
O3 *botnungur*, etc (pilot whale): ($\geq?$) 8 *álnir*
(Stephensen 2, 1799-1806: 118).

Arthur De Capell Brooke, 1823-1827:

- M5 *fin-fish* (= *fin whale*, *finner*: blue whale):
 ≥ 100 feet (Brooke 1823: 255, cf 298 and 1827:
141);
M5 *finner* (= *fin whale/fin-fish*: blue whale):
 ≤ 120 feet (Brooke 1827: 141, cf 1823: 255, 298).

Jens Kraft 1830:

- M3 *hval* (minke whale): ≥ 20 *alen* (Kraft 1830: 611).

Greve 1840:

- M3 *vaageqval* (minke whale): ≤ 18 *alen* (Greve 1840:
1).

V.U. Hammershaimb 1891:

- O3 *grindehval* (pilot whale): ≤ 10 *alen* (Hammershaimb
1891: xxix);
O5 *döglingur* (bottlenose whale): 30-50 Danish *fod*
(Hammershaimb 1891: xxix).

A.W. 1901:

- P5 *hvalroshan* (walrus bull): 18-20 Norwegian *fod*
(A.W. 1901: 80).

Table B: Length of identified and unidentified cetacean and pinniped species, arranged alphabetically:

Andhvalr (andarnefja) (K5/O5) ([adult/male] bottlenose whale):

- ca 1250: ≤ 25 álnir (Holm-Olsen 1983: 15) (andhvalr);
before 1588: ≤ 6 ells (Resen [ca 1688] 1991: 155; cf
Benediktsson 1991: 32, 34) (andhvalur);
1588/89: ≤ 5 ulnas (Einarsson 1928: 56; cf 1971: 114)
(andhual);
1599: ≤ 25 alen (Friis 1881a: 62) (andhuall);
1639/44: 5 álnir (Guðmundsson 1924b: 28) (andarnefja,
andhvalur);
1640/44: 16 álnir (Guðmundsson 1924a: 7) (andarnefia,
andhvalur);
1657: ≤ 15 cubitus (Bartholin 1657: 275) (andhualur,
andanefia);
ca 1688: ≤ 15 ells (Resen 1991: 155; referring to
Bartholin 1657 and his Icelandic informant)
(andhvalur);
1706-1719: 15 cubitus/alen (Torfæus 1706: 90; 1927:
65) (andhvalr/and-hvalur);
1772: 10-12 alen in Iceland, elsewhere ≤ 14-15 alen
(Olafsen 1, 1772: 543) (andarnefia, døgling,
nebbe-hval);
1778: 10-12 alen (Scheving 1787: 210) (andarnefia);
1785: 8-10 alen (Magnússon 1944: 49) (andarnefia).

Basking shark:

- 1737: ≤ 14 alen (KBK Rostgaard ms 111: 35r) (bein-
haa-kall/been-haakar, ryner, bardi, Balæna
cartilaginca).

Bearded seal (K30/P2):

- ca 1250: ≤ 6-7 álnir (Holm-Olsen 1983: 28) (granselr);
1599: 6-7 alen (Friis 1881a: 80) (gran-sæl);
1640/44: ca 8-9 (?) álnir (Guðmundsson 1924a: 14, cf
5f) (granselur [granselur], mönuserur);
1706: 6-7 ulnas/alen (Torfæus 1706: 87; 1927: 63)
(granselr/græn-selur, graselr/gráselur);
1772: 12-15 islandske alen (Olafsen 1, 1772: 532f)
(gram-selur/granselur).

Black right whale (M1/K14/K15):

- ca 1250: --- (Holm-Olsen 1983: 15) (sléttibaka);
1639/44: 20-28 álnir (Guðmundsson 1924b: 28)
(slettbakur/slettebaka);
1640/44: ≤ 35 álnir (Guðmundsson 1924a: 9)
(sliettbakur, höddunefur, vatshvalur);
1640/44: 35 or 50 álnir (Guðmundsson 1924a: 10)
(höddunefur, sliettbakur (langdkijdingur,
vatshualur);
1657: 35 ulnas (Bartholin 1657: 278f) (hoddunefur,
slettebackur);

- 1664/65: 40-50 Roman feet [à 0.296 cm] (Negri, in Daae 1887: 148);
 ca 1688: 60 ells (Resen 1991: 159) ([sléttbakur]);
 1706-1719: 20-50 ulnas/alén (Torfæus 1706: 93; 1927: 67) (slettbakr/slettbakur);
 1785: 100 alén (Magnússon 1944: 48) (slettbakur);
 1808: ca 40 álnir (Stephensen 3/1, 1808b: 115f) (hafurkétti/sléttbøku-hvalur).

Blue whale (M5/K21/K10):

- ca 890: 48-50 elna (Bately 1980: 15) (hwalas);
 ca 1250: ≤ 130 álnir (Holm-Olsen 1983: 17) (reyðr);
 1588/89: ≤ 130 ulnas (Einarsson 1928: 57; cf 1971: 115) (steypireyður);
 1599: ≤ 130 alén (Friis 1881a: 65) (reider);
 1638: > 120 ulnas; with foetus, ca 20 ulnas (Oddsson 1917: 45; cf 1942: 75) ([reyðr]);
 1639/44: 100 álnir (Guðmundsson 1924b: 28) (hafreidur, steypireidur);
 1640/44: 130 álnir (Guðmundsson 1924a: 11) (steypireidur);
 1648-1660: 80 alén (Bent Jenssøn, cf Friis 1881a: 65) (reider);
 1657: > 130 ulnas (Bartholin 1657: 282-284) (stepireidur/steipireidur);
 ca 1688: 100-130 ells (Resen 1991: 158) ([steypireyður]);
 ca 1688: > 130 ells (Resen 1991: 158; referring to Bartholin 1657 and his anonymous Icelandic informant) ([steypireyður]);
 1706-1719: ≤ 130 cubitus/alén (Torfæus 1706: 96; 1927: 69) reidr/reide, steipireidr/steipereide);
 1737: ≤ 130 alén/álnir (KBK Rostgaard ms 111: 30r; LBS-JS ms 247: 36) steipireiður/steypi reyður/stöbe-reider (blue whale);
 1772: ≤ 120 alén (Olafsen 1, 1772: 542) (steipe-reyður);
 1774: ca 120 yards (von Troil 1808: 662) (steipereidur);
 1778: 60 alén (Scheving 1787: 210) (geiredder hval);
 1785: 120 alén (Magnússon 1944: 49) (steipereidur);
 1786: 80-120 alén, with baleen 6-7 alén long (Mohr 1786: 13) (rørhval [N], røjur [F], presumably incl the steype-reyður although it is also mentioned separately; Mohr includes hnufubakr as a synonym which is probably associated with the 80 ells, perhaps drawn from Olafsen [1, 1772: 541] whom Mohr [1786: viii] mentions as a source);
 1823: ≥ 100 feet (Brooke 1823: 255, cf 298 and 1827: 141) (fin-fish = fin whale, finner);
 1827: ≤ 120 feet (Brooke 1827: 141, cf 1983: 255, 298) (finner = fin whale/fin-fish).

Bottlenose whale, cf Northern bottlenose whale.

Bowhead whale (M2/K20):

- ca 1250: ≤ 80-90 álnir (Holm-Olsen 1983: 16) (norðhvalr);
1588/89: ≤ 80-90 ulnas (Einarsson 1928: 57; cf 1971: 114) (nordhualur);
1599: 80-90 alen (Friis 1881a: 65) (nord-huall);
1638: 90 ulnas (Oddsson 1917: 45; cf 1942: 75) (nordhual);
1639/44: 80 or 90 álnir, baleen 8 álnir (Guðmundsson 1924b: 28) (nordhvalur [vatnshvalur]);
1640/44: 80 álnir; baleen 13 álnir (Guðmundsson 1924a: 10) (nordhualur);
1657: 80 ulnas; baleen 13 ulnas long (Bartholin 1657: 279) (nordhualur);
1671/75: 50-60 Schuh [feet] (Martens 1923: 106; cf 1855: 113) (medium sized Spitsbergischer Wallfisch);
ca 1688: 80-90 ells (Resen 1991: 157);
1706-1719: 80-90 cubitus/alen (Torfæus 1706: 95; 1927: 68) (nordhvalr, vatzhvalr/watzhvalr);
1772: ≥ 100 alen (Olafsen 1, 1772: 541) (slettbakr, slettbag, Balæna grönlandica);
1774: 100 yards (von Troil 1808: 662) (slettbakr).

Fin whale (M6):

- ca 890: 48-50 elna (Bately 1980: 15) (hwalas);
1785/86: ≤ 34 alen (Christie 1785/86 UBB ms 221: f2r) (rör: silderör, den store rörhval);
1753: 50, 60 to 70 Danish fod (Pontoppidan 2, 1977: 196) (silde-qval).

Fiskreki (síldreki) (K13):

- ca 1250: ≤ 30 álnir (Holm-Olsen 1983: 15) (fiskreki);
1588/89: ≤ 30-40 ulnas (Einarsson 1928: 58f; cf 1971: 116) (fiskreke);
1599: ≤ 30-40 alen (Friis 1881a: 63) (fiskreke);
1639/44: 30 or 40 álnir (Guðmundsson 1924b: 28) (sýldreki, sýlldreka);
1640/44: 60 álnir (Guðmundsson [1640/44] 1924a: 11) (sijldreki/sijldreke, fiskreki);
1657: 60 cubitus (Bartholin 1657: 281) (sildarreki);
ca 1688: [60 ells ?] (Resen 1991: 160) (fiskreki);
ca 1688: 60 ells (Resen 1991: 160) (síldreki);
1706: 30-40 ulnas (Torfæus 1706: 91) (síldreki, fiskreki);
1706-1719: ≤ 40 alen (Torfæus 1927: 66) (síldreki, fiskreki);
1753: 50, 60 to 70 Danish fod (Pontoppidan 2, 1977: 196) (silde-qval);
1785/86: ≤ 34 alen (Christie 1785/86 UBB ms 221: f2r) (rör: silderör, den store rörhval).

Geirhvalr (geirreyör) (K10):

- ca 1250: --- (Holm-Olsen 1983: 15) (geirhvalr);
1639/44: 50 or 55 álnir (Guðmundsson 1924b: 28)

- (geirreidur);
1640/44: 55 álnir (Guðmundsson 1924a: 11) (geirreidur);
1657: 50 ulnas (Bartholin 1657: 281) (geirreidur);
ca 1688: ca 50 ells (Resen 1991: 162);
([geirhvalur/geirreyður]);
1706: 40-50 cubitus/alén (Torfæus 1706: 93, 96;
1927: 67, 69) (geirhvalr/geirhvalur,
geirreidr/geirredur);
1737: ca 40 alén/álnir (KBK Rostgaard ms 111: 31r;
LBS-JS ms 247: 37) (geyr-reiður/geir-reyður/
geirreider);
1766: 40 álnir (Djáknaannálar 1766; cf Grímsdóttir
1987b: 142) (geirreiðarhvalur);
1778: 60 alén (Scheving 1787: 210) (geiredder hval:
blue whale).

Gray whale (M7):

- 1639/44: 30 álnir (Guðmundsson 1924b: 28) (sandlægja);
1657: 20-30 cubitus (Bartholin 1657: 280) (sandlæja
[sic]);
1706-1719: ≤ 30 ulnas/alén (Torfæus 1706: 92; 1927:
66) (sandlægja/sand-lægja);
1737: ca 14-16 alén (KBK Rostgaard ms 111: 31r)
(snefja/snevir, sand-æta/sand-ædere, sand-
lægja/sand-liggere);
1737: ca 16 álnir (LBS-JS ms 247: 37) (snefia,
sandæta, sandlægja);
1737: 80 alén/álnir (KBK Rostgaard ms 111: 31r; LBS-
JS ms 247: 37) (snefja/snefia/snevir,
sandæta/sand-æta/sand-ædere, sandlægja/sand-
lægja/sand-liggere);
1792: 40 ells (Valdimarsdóttir 1989: 317; referring
to ms LBS-JS 246, 4° [orig not seen])
([sandlægja]).

Grey seal (P3):

- 1640/44: 6 or 7 álnir (Guðmundsson 1924a: 14)
(wigraselur, orcka, Orkneya selur);
1772: 5 hamborger alén (Olafsen 1, 1772: 529)
(utselr/udsel).
1786: 4-5 alén (Mohr 1786: 5) (ut-selr/vetra-
selr/latra-selr).

Hafreiður (steypireyður, langreyður):

- 1639/44: 100 álnir (Guðmundsson 1924b: 28) (hafreidur,
steypireidur);
1640/44: 90 álnir (Guðmundsson 1924a: 11) (hafreidur);
1657: 50 cubitus (Bartholin 1657: 282) (hafreidur);
ca 1688: > 50 ells (Resen 1991: 162) ([hafreyður]);
1706-1719: ≥ 60 ulnas/alén (Torfæus 1706: 96; 1927:
69) (hafreidr/hafreide);
1737: ≤ 40 alén/álnir (KBK Rostgaard ms 111: 31r;
LBS-JS ms 247: 37) (haf-reiður/haf-reyður/
haf-reider);
1778: 40 alén (Scheving 1787: 210) (hafreider/

langreider).

Hafurkitti (K15):

- ca 1250: ≤ 30 álnir (Holm-Olsen 1983: 16) (*hafurkitti*);
before 1588: ≤ 30 ells (Resen [ca 1688] 1991: 159; cf
Benediktsson 1991: 32, 34) (*hafurkitti*);
1588/89: ≤ 30 ulnas (Einarsson 1928: 58; cf 1971: 115)
(*hafurkitte*);
1639/44: 30 álnir (Guðmundsson 1924b: 28) (*hafurkilli*
[*hafurkitti*]);
1640/44: 60 álnir (Guðmundsson 1924a: 11) (*hafurkytti*);
1657: 50-60 cubitus (Bartholin 1657: 281) (*haffur-*
kitte);
1687: 60-80 álnir (*Desjarmýrarannáll*; cf
Vilmundarson 1958: 282) (*hafurketti*);
ca 1688: ≤ 30 ells (Resen 1991: 159; referring to
Anonymous, ie, Oddur Einarsson, cf
Benediktsson 1991: 32, 34) ([*hafurkitti*]);
ca 1688: ≤ 50-60 ells (Resen 1991: 159; referring to
Bartholin 1657 and his anonymous Icelandic
informant) ([*hafurkitti*]);
1706-1719: ≤ 20 ulnas/alén (Torfæus 1706: 93f; 1927:
67) (*hafurkitti/hafurkiette*);
1808: ca 40 álnir (Stephensen 3/1, 1808b: 115f)
(*hafurkétti/sléttbøku-hvalur*).

Harbour porpoise (O13/K2):

- ca 1250: ≤ 5 álnir (Holm-Olsen 1983: 15) (*hnísa*);
1599: ≤ 5 alén (Friis 1881a: 61) (*nise, marsuin*);
1639/44: ≤ 3 and ≤ 7 álnir, respectively (Guðmundsson
1924b: 27) (*hnísa*, two different spp);
1640/44: > 1 alén (Guðmundsson 1924a: 6) (*sú minsta*
hnijsa);
1640/44: ≤ 5 álnir (Guðmundsson 1924a: 6) (*það annad*
hnijsukyn);
1657: 2-4 ulnas (Bartholin 1657: 272) (*hnísa*);
ca 1688: 6-7 ulnas/alén (Resen 1972: 72f) (*nysse*);
1706-1719: 5-7 ulnas/alén (Torfæus 1706: 89; 1927: 64)
(*hnísa/hnysa*);
1747: 5-8 Hamburg Fuß (cf Anderson 1747: 111)
(*Meerschwein*);
1752: 5-8 Danish fod (cf Horrebow 1752: 227f)
(*marsvin, nise*);
1796/98: ≥ 3 álnir (Stephensen 1, 1796-1798) (*hnýsa*).

Harbour seal (P8):

- 1640/44: 3½ álnir (Guðmundsson 1924a: 14) (*láturselur*
[*nordselur*]);
ca 1688: 3-4 ulnas/alén (Resen 1972: 64f) (*steenkobbe*).

Harp seal (P6):

- 1752: 2-5 alén (Horrebow 1752: 235) (*den grønlandske*
selhund).

Hnísa (K2/O13), höfrungshnísa, etc (dolphin spp?):

- 1639/44: ≤ 3 and ≤ 7 állir (Guðmundsson 1924b: 27)
(hnísa, two different spp);
1640/44: 8-9 állir (Guðmundsson 1924a: 6)
(höfrungshnísa;
1657: 7-9 ulnas (Bartholin 1657: 272) (hnísa,
höfrungsnísa, höfrung).

Höddunefur:

- 1657: 35 ulnas (Bartholin 1657: 278f) (hoddunefur,
slettebackur (black right whale);
ca 1688: 35 ells (Resen 1991: 162; referring to
Bartholin 1657 and his anonymous Icelandic
informant) ([höddunefur]).

Höfrungur, etc:

- 1639/44: 8-10 állir (Guðmundsson 1924b: 28)
(höfrungur);
1657: 7-9 ulnas (Bartholin 1657: 272) (hnísa,
höfrungsnísa, höfrung);
1706-1719: 8-10 cubitus/alén (Torfæus 1706: 90; 1927:
65) (hofrungr/höfprung has interchanged KGS
position with the vögnhvalr; it seems to be
synonymous with leiftr).

Hooded seal (P1):

- 1786: 4 alén (Mohr 1786: 2) (blødru-selr).

Hrosshvalr (K16):

- ca 1250: ≤ 30-40 állir (Holm-Olsen 1983: 16)
(hrosshvalr);
1588/89: ≤ 30-40 ulnas (Einarsson 1928: 56; cf 1971:
114) (hrosshvalur);
1639/44: 29 állir (Guðmundsson 1924b: 28) (hrosshvalur,
raudkemingur);
1639/44: 20 állir (Guðmundsson 1924b: 28) (hrosshvalur,
stökull);
1640/44: < 20 állir (Guðmundsson 1924a: 8)
(hrosshvalur, stökull, blökuhvalur);
1657: 20 ulnas (Bartholin 1657: 276) (hrosshvalur);
ca 1688: 20 ells (Resen 1991: 156; referring to
Bartholin 1657 and his anonymous Icelandic
informant) (hrosshvalur);
ca 1688: 30-40 ells (Resen 1991: 156f; referring to
Anonymous, ie, Oddur Einarsson, cf
Benediktsson 1991: 32, 34) (hrosshvalur);
1706-1719: ≤ 22 ulnas/alén (Torfæus 1706: 94; 1927:
67) (hrosshvalr/hross-hvalur,
stökull/stöckull).

Humpback whale (M8/K19):

- ca 1250: ≤ 70-80 állir (Holm-Olsen 1983: 16)
(skeljungur);
1588/89: ca 78 ulnas (Einarsson 1928: 57; cf 1971: 114)
(skeliungur);

- 1599: 70-80 alen (Friis 1881a: 65) (*skeliung*);
 1638: ≥ 70 ulnas (Oddsson 1917: 45; cf 1942: 76) (*skieljung*);
 1639/44: 70-80 álnir (Guðmundsson 1924b: 28) (*skielungur*);
 1640/44: ≥ 60 álnir (Guðmundsson [1640/44] 1924a: 10); (*skieliungur, suarfhualur*);
 1648-1660: 90 alen) (Friis 1881a: 65) (*skeliung*);
 1657: 60 ulnas (Bartholin 1657: 278) (*skieljungur*);
 ca 1688: 60-70 ells (Resen 1991: 157) (*skeljungur*);
 1706-1719: 70-80 ulnas/alen (Torfæus 1706: 95; 1927: 68) (*skeliungr/skieljungur*);
 1772: 70-80 alen (Olafsen 1, 1772: 541) (*hnufubakr, nuvebag*);
 1774: 70-80 yards (von Troil 1808: 662) (*hnúfubakr*);
 1778: ca 30 alen (Scheving 1787: 210) (*horn-hval*);
 1785: 70-80 alen (Magnússon 1944: 48f) (*hnufubakur*);
 1786: 80-120 alen, with baleen 6-7 alen long (Mohr 1786: 13) (*rørhval [N], røjur [F]*, presumably incl the *steype-reyður* although it is also mentioned separately; Mohr includes *hnufubakr* as a synonym which is probably associated with the 80 ells, perhaps drawn from Olafsen [1, 1772: 541] who Mohr [1786: viii] mentions as a source);
 1786: 40-50 alen (Mohr 1786: 15) (*skeiliung*).

Langreyður (hafreyður) (M6):

- 1778: 40 alen (Scheving 1787: 210) (*langreider/hafreider*).

Leiftr (K3):

- ca 1250: ≤ 7 álnir (Holm-Olsen 1983: 15) (*leiftr*);
 1599: ≤ 7 alen (Friis 1881a: 61) (*leiptre*);
 1706-1719: 8-10 cubitus/alen (Torfæus 1706: 90; 1927: 65) (*höfrungur*).

Longfinned pilot whale (O3/K1):

- ca 1250: 10-20 álnir (Holm-Olsen 1983: 15) (*hnýðingr*);
 1588/89: 10-20 ulnas (Einarsson 1928: 55; cf 1971: 113) (*hnydingur*);
 1592: 18-20 alen (Friis 1881b: 431) (*smaa huale*);
 1599: 10-20 alen (Friis 1881a: 61) (*nyding*);
 1639/44: 10-20 álnir (Guðmundsson 1924b: 27) (*hnídingur*);
 1640/44: 10-20 álnir (Guðmundsson 1924a: 7) (*hnijdingur*);
 1657: 10-20 ulnas (Bartholin 1657: 273) (*hnydingur*);
 1669: 8 or 9 allen (Tarnovius 1950: 60) (*smae huale*);
 1673: adult ≤ 10 alen; calf 3 alen (Debes 1963: 156) (*grindhval*);
 ca 1688: 10-20 ells (Resen 1991: 154) (*[hnýðingur]*);
 ca 1688: adult ≤ 10 ulnas/alen; calf 3 ulnas/alen (Resen 1972: 66f) (*grindhual, grindhval*);

- 1706-1719: 10-20 ulnas/alén (Torfæus 1706: 89; 1927: 64) (*hnidingr/hniding*);
 1733: max 18-20 English feet, mostly \leq 9-10 English feet (cf Gifford 1879: 25) (*whales*);
 1772: 10 alén (Olafsen 1, 1772: 360; cf 544, and Sæmundsson 1932: 318) (*hundfiskur*);
 1787: adolescents ca 10 alén (Pontoppidan 1, 1787: 122) (*grind-hval*);
 1798/99: (\geq ?) 8 álnir (Stephensen 2, 1799-1806: 118) (*botnungur*);
 1891: \leq 10 alén (Hammershaimb 1991: xxix) (*grindehval*).

Minke whale (M3/K7):

- ca 1100: 18 álnir (?) (NGL 1, 1846: 59, 252, 330; 2, 1848: 146, 148) (*hvalr*, GTL 149) [= MLL vii 64; = ÆB 145 *rafnhvalr*; = FTL xiv 10 *rafnhvalr/raumhvalr*]);
 ca 1250: --- (Holm-Olsen 1983: 15) (*hrafnhvalr*);
 1274: 18 álnir (?) (NGL 1, 1846: 59, 252, 330; 2, 1848: 146, 148) (*hvalr*, MLL vii 64) [= GTL 149; = ÆB 145 *rafnhvalr*; = FTL xiv 10 *rafnhvalr/raumhvalr*]);
 1604: 18 alén (?) (Hallager and Brandt 1981: 157) (*hual*, NLB vi 61 [= ÆB 145 *rafnhvalr*; = FTL xiv 10 *rafnhvalr/raumhvalr*]);
 1639/44: 24-28 álnir (Guðmundsson 1924b: 28) (*hrafnreidur*);
 1640/44: 18 álnir (Guðmundsson 1924a: 10) (*hrafnreidur*);
 1657: 18 cubitus (Bartholin 1657: 281) (*hrafnreidur*);
 ca 1688: 18 ellis (Resen 1991: 162) ([*hrafnreyður*]);
 1706: 14-16 ulnas/alén (Torfæus 1706: 90f; 1927: 65) (*hrafnhvalr/hrafns-hvalur*, *hrafnreidr/hrafnreidur*);
 1737: 30 alén/álnir (KBK Rostgaard ms 111: 31r; LBS-JS ms 247: 37) (*rafn-reiður/hrafnreydur/rafn-reider*);
 1753: 18-20 alén (Pontoppidan 2, 1977: 193) (*mindre hvalfiske*, pl);
 1772: 16-18 alén (Olafsen 1, 1772: 542) (*hrafnreydur*, *hrefna*);
 1778: 14-15 alén (Scheving 1787: 210) (*hrafnreider*);
 1785: 16-18 alén (Magnússon 1944: 49) (*hrafnreidur*, *hrefna*);
 1785/86: \leq 16 alén (Christie 1785/86, UBB ms 221: f30r, cf f2r) (*den lille rörhval*, *vaage qval*, *sommer hval*);
 1785/86: \leq 18 alén (Christie 1785/86, UBB ms 56: f36r, cf UBB ms 221: f2r) (*den lille rörhval*, *vaage qval*, *sommer hval*);
 1785/86: $<$ 18 alén (Christie 1785/86, UBB ms 221: f2r, f3v) (*den lille rörhval*, *vaage qval*, *sommer hval*);
 1830: \geq 20 alén (Kraft 1830: 611f).

1840: ≤ 18 alen (Greve 1840: 1) (vaageqval).

Narwhal (O11/K18):

- ca 1250: ≤ 20 álnir; tusk 7 álnir (Holm-Olsen 1983: 16) (náhvalr);
1588/89: ≤ 20 ulnas (whale proper); tusk ≤ 7 ulnas (Einarsson 1928: 59; cf 1971: 117) (nahualur);
1599: ≤ 20 alen (Friis 1881a: 64) (nahuall);
1638: ---; tusk ≤ 7 ulnas (Oddsson 1917: 45; cf 1942: 75) (náhvalur);
1639/44: 20 álnir; tusk 7 álnir (Guðmundsson 1924b: 28) (náhvalur);
1640/44: 20 álnir; tusk 7 álnir (Guðmundsson 1924a: 8) (náhualur);
1657: 20 ulnas; tusk 7 ulnas (Bartholin 1657: 277) (narhvalur);
ca 1688: ---; tusk 4-7 ells (Resen 1991: 160) ([náhvalur]);
1706-1719: (≤) 20 cubitus/alén; tusk 7 cubitus/alén (Torfæus 1706: 94f; 1927: 67f) (nahvalr/na-hvalur).

Northern bottlenose whale (O5/K5-K6):

- ca 1250: ≤ 25 álnir (Holm-Olsen 1983: 15) (andhvalr);
ca 1250: ≤ 25 álnir (Holm-Olsen 1983: 15) (svínhvalr);
before 1588: ≤ 6 ells (Resen [ca 1688] 1991: 155; cf Benediktsson 1991: 32, 34) (andhvalur);
before 1588: ≤ 6 ells (Resen [ca 1688] 1991: 155; cf Benediktsson 1991: 32, 34) (svínhvalur);
1588/89: ≤ 5 ulnas (Einarsson 1928: 56; cf 1971: 114) (andhual);
1588/89: ≤ 5 ulnas (Einarsson 1928: 56; cf 1971: 114) (swynhualur);
1599: ≤ 25 alen (Friis 1881a: 62) (andhuall);
1599: ≤ 25 alen (Friis 1881a: 62) (suinhual);
1639/44: 5 álnir (Guðmundsson 1924b: 28) (andarnefja, andhvalur);
1639/44: [ca 5 álnir] (Guðmundsson 1924b: 28) (svínhvalur);
1639/40: 28-30 álnir (Guðmundsson 1924b: 28) (svínhvalur: sperm whale?);
1640/44: 16 álnir (Guðmundsson 1924a: 7) (andarnefia, andhvalur);
1657: ≤ 15 cubitus (Bartholin 1657: 275) (andhualur, andanefia);
1669: 16 or 18 alen (Tarnovius 1950: 61) (døgling);
1673: 14-16 alen (Debes 1963: 162f) (døgling);
ca 1688: ≤ 15 ells (Resen 1991: 155; referring to Bartholin 1657 and his Icelandic informant) (andhvalur);
ca 1688: 14-16 ulnas/alén (Resen 1972: 68f, referring to Debes) (døgling);
ca 1688: 20-30 ulnas/alén (Resen 1972: 68f, referring to Anonymus, presumably Oddur Einarsson, cf Benediktsson 1991: 32, 34) (døgling);
1706-1719: 15 cubitus/alén (Torfæus 1706: 90; 1927:

- 65) (andhvalr/and-hvalur);
 1706-1719: 25-30 cubitus/alén (Torfæus 1706: 90; 1927: 65) (svinhvalr/svin-hvalur);
 1772: 10-12 alén in Iceland, elsewhere
 ≤ 14-15 alén (Olafsen 1, 1772: 543)
 (andarnefia, dögling, nebbe-hval);
 1778: 10-12 alén (Scheving 1787: 210) (andarnefia);
 1785: 8-10 alén (Magnússon 1944: 49) (andarnefia);
 1891: 30-50 Danish fod (Hammershaimb 1991: xxix)
 (döglingur).

Orca (O12/K4):

- ca 1250: ≤ 12 álnir (Holm-Olsen 1983: 15) (vögnhvalr);
 1588/89: 12 ulnas (Einarsson 1928: 56; cf 1971: 113)
 (vagnhvalur);
 1599: ≤ 12 alén (Friis 1881a: 61) (vagn-huall);
 1638: ≤ 12 ulnas (Oddsson 1917: 46; cf 1942: 77)
 (magnhvalur);
 1639/44: 18 álnir (Guðmundsson 1924b: 28) (háhirningur,
 hafurhvalur);
 1640/44: ≤ 15 álnir (Guðmundsson 1924a: 6)
 (háhyrningur, hafurhvalur, barbera);
 1640/44: 13-14 álnir [ms variant] (Guðmundsson 1924a:
 6) (vagnhvalur, vognuhvalur; female orca);
 1640/44: 16-17 álnir [ms variant] (Guðmundsson
 [1640/44] 1924a: 6) (vagnhvalur, vognuhvalur);
 1640/44: 18 álnir (Guðmundsson 1924a: 6)
 (skialdhvalur);
 1657: 15-17 ulnas (Bartholin 1657: 274)
 (vognuhvalur, vagna; female orca);
 1657: 18 ulnas (Bartholin 1657: 272) (haa hyrningur,
 hafuehual; male orca);
 1657: 18 ulnas (Bartholin 1657: 274) (skialldhvalur)
 (orca);
 ca 1688: 15-17 ells (Resen 1991: 155);
 1698: 4-5 favne [ie, 12-15 ells] (Lilienskiold 1,
 1942: 212) (staalhønning);
 1706-1719: 12 ulnas/alén (Torfæus 1706: 90; 1927: 64)
 (vögnuhvalr, níðingr; female orca);
 1706-1719: 16-18 cubitus/alén (Torfæus 1706: 91; 1927:
 65) (háhyrningr, hafhyrningr, hafhvalr;
 male orca);
 1737: 4 or 5 alén/álnir (KBK Rostgaard ms 111: 30r;
 LBS-JS ms 247: 46) (hnyðingur/hnyydijngar/
 hyydijnger);
 1737: ---; dorsal fin ca 10 or/to 12 álnir/alén (KBK
 ms Rostgaard 111: 34r) (LBS-JS ms 247: 41)
 (sverð-fiskur/sverd-fiskr, einbæxlingur/
 einbæxlyngr, Gladius (old male orca);
 1772: 2-3 alén (Olafsen 1, 1772: 544) (hnydingr,
 spekhugger; female orca);
 1772: ≤ 14 alén, with a dorsal fin reaching 3 alén
 (Olafsen 1, 1772: 544) (haa-hyrningur,
 høfrungr; adult male orca);
 1778: 10-12 alén and 5-6 alén (Scheving 1787: 210)
 (hundhval);

1785/86: < 14 alen (Christie 1785/86, UBB ms 221: f4v)
(storhynning; male orca).

Pilot whale, cf Longfinned pilot whale.

Rauðkemingr (K17):

ca 1250: ≤ 30-40 álnir (Holm-Olsen 1983: 16)
(rauðkemingr);
1599: 30-40 alen (Friis 1881a: 64) (raudkiembing,
troidhuall);
1638: much smaller than the skieljung which is ≥ 70
ulnas (Oddsson 1917: 45; cf 1942: 76);
1639/44: 29 álnir (Guðmundsson 1924b: 28) (hrosshvalur,
raudkemingur);
1639/44: 30 álnir (Guðmundsson 1924b: 28)
(raudkemingur);
1640/44: 25 álnir (Guðmundsson 1924a: 8)
(raudkiembingur);
1657: 20 cubitus (Bartholin 1657: 276)
(raudkemlingur [sic]);
ca 1688: 20 ells (Resen 1991: 157) ([rauðkemingur]);
1706-1719: ≤ 40 ulnas/alen (Torfæus 1706: 94; 1927:
67) (raudkemingus/raudkemingur).

Reyðr, cf Blue whale.

Ringed seal (skemmingr; selakongur) (P7/K32):

ca 1250: ≤ 2 álnir (Holm-Olsen 1983: 28) (skemmingr);
1599: ≤ 2 alen (Friis 1881a: 80) (skieming);
1640/44: > 1 alin (Guðmundsson 1924a: 6, 14)
(selakongur, skemmingur).
1706: 2 cubitus/alen (Torfæus 1706: 88; 1927: 64)
(skemmingus/skemming);
1706: 1 ulnas/alen (Torfæus 1706: 89; 1927: 64)
(sela kong/sela-kong).

Sandlægja, cf gray whale.

Sea serpent:

1638: > 100 ulnas (Oddsson 1917: 41; cf 1942: 70);
1698: 40 favne (Lilienskiold 1, 1942: 211) (sið-
orm).

Síldreki, cf Fiskreki.

Skjaldhvalur (K9/K4):

ca 1250: --- (Holm-Olsen 1983: 15) (skjaldhvalr);
1640/44: 18 álnir (Guðmundsson 1924a: 6) (skjaldhvalur:
orca);
1657: 18 ulnas (Bartholin 1657: 274) (skjaldhvalur)
(orca);
1706: 16-18 cubitus/alen (Torfæus 1706: 91; 1927:
65) (hahirningr/ha hyrningur, hafhirningr/haf-
hirningur, hafhvalr/hafhvalur; male orca); in
the KGS order Torfæus's háhyrning(u)r is

slightly displaced but in that order it can only be identified with K9: *skjaldhvalr*.

Sperm whale (O14/K12):

- ca 1250: --- (Holm-Olsen 1983: 15) (*búrhvalr*);
1588/89: ≤ 30-40 ulnas (Einarsson 1928: 58; cf 1971: 115) (*burhualur*);
1639/44: ≥ 40 álnir (Guðmundsson 1924b: 28) (*búrhvalur*, *nauthvalur*);
1639/40: 28-30 álnir (Guðmundsson 1924b: 28) (*svínhvalur*: bottlenose whale?);
1640/44: 35 álnir (Guðmundsson 1924a: 7) (*suijnhulalur*);
1640/44: 60 álnir (Guðmundsson 1924a: 8) (*bwrhualr*, *nauthual(u)r*, *búri*, *durnir*);
1657: 30-35 ulnas (Bartholin 1657: 275) (*suinhualur*, *durner*);
1657: 60 ulnas (Bartholin 1657: 275) (*burhualur*, *nauthualur*);
before 1687: ≤ 40-60 ells (Resen 1991: 159; addition in one ms, cf Benediktsson 1991: 18) (*[strokkhvalur]*);
ca 1688: ≤ 35 ells (Resen 1991: 155; referring to Bartholin 1657 and his Icelandic informant) (*svínhvalur*);
ca 1688: ≤ 40-60 ells (Resen 1991: 159) (*[búrhvalur]*);
1706-1719: 40-50 ulnas/alén (Torfæus 1706: 92; 1927: 66) (*burhvalr/burhvalur*);
1727: ≥ 30 álnir (*Mælifellsannáll*; cf Þorsteinsson 1924a: 635) (*búrhvalur?*).

Spring-hval:

- 1752: 9 alén (Horrebow 1752: 228) (*spring-hval*).

Stökkull:

- 1639/44: 20 -lnir (Guðmundsson 1924b: 28) (*hrosshvalur*, *stökkull*).

Svínhvalr (K6/O5) ([juvenile/adult female] bottlenose whale; partly sperm whale):

- ca 1250: ≤ 25 álnir (Holm-Olsen 1983: 15) (*svínhvalr*);
before 1588: ≤ 6 ells (Resen [ca 1688] 1991: 155; cf Benediktsson 1991: 32, 34) (*svínhvalur*);
1588/89: ≤ 5 ulnas (Einarsson 1928: 56; cf 1971: 114) (*swynhualur*);
1599: ≤ 25 alén (Friis 1881a: 62) (*suinhual*);
1639/44: [ca 5 álnir] (Guðmundsson 1924b: 28) (*svínhvalur*);
1639/40: 28-30 álnir (Guðmundsson 1924b: 28) (*svínhvalur*);
1657: 30-35 ulnas (Bartholin 1657: 275) (*suinhualur*, *durner*: sperm whale);
ca 1688: ≤ 35 ells (Resen 1991: 155; referring to Bartholin 1657 and his Icelandic informant) (*svínhvalur*);

1706-1719: 25-30 cubitus/alén (Torfæus 1706: 90; 1927: 65) (svinhvalr/svin-hvalur).

Walrus (P5/K33):

ca 890: 7 elna (Bately 1980: 15) (horshwæl);
ca 1250: ≤ 14-15 álnir (Holm-Olsen 1983: 29)
(rostungr);
1588/89: 14-15 ulnas (Einarsson 1928: 55; cf 1971: 111)
(rostungur);
1599: 16 alén (Friis 1881a: 85) (rosmar); tusks ≥ 3
Danish fod (Friis 1881a: 86);
1622: 12, 14 or 15 ulnas (Torfæus 1706: 82, cf 83;
see also 1927: 59) (rostungr);
1638: ca 14 ulnas; tusks 1½ ulnas (Oddsson 1917: 47;
cf 1942: 78f) (rostungur);
1639/44: 14 álnir (Guðmundsson 1924b: 28) (rostungur);
1640/44: ≤ 14 álnir; tusks 1½-2 álnir (Guðmundsson
1924a: 13) (rostungur, rosmhualur);
ca 1688: 14-15 ulnas/alén (Resen 1972: 66f) (rosnung,
rostunge);
1706-1719: 12, 14 or 15 ulnas/alén (Torfæus 1706: 82;
1927: 59)
(rostungr/rostungur/røstungur, rossmer);
1737: 12, 14 or/to 15 alén/álnir; tusks to 1
alin/alén (KBK Rostgaard ms 111: 26r; LBS-JS
ms 247: 31; referring to Arngrímur Jónsson's
Gronlandia, 1688)
(rostwngr/rostúngur/rostung);
1901: 18-20 Norwegian fod (A.W. 1901: 80)
(hvalroshan: walrus bull).

White whale (O1/K8):

ca 1250: --- (Holm-Olsen 1983: 15) (hvítungr);
1706-1719: ≥ 10 ulnas/alén (Torfæus 1706: 91; 1927:
65) (hvítungr/hvítungr).

A.17.4 Norwegian Hvalvágr and Hvalvík farm names, 14th-18th century AD, according to Norske gaardnavne

The following two lists enumerates Norwegian late mediaeval to modern farm names of the *hvalvágr* (ON) and the *hvalvík* (ON) types, respectively, however in numerous ways of spelling. The lists are compiled from *Norske gaardnavne'* (qv, NG) which was first published 1898-1936. The administrative division of the late 19th and early 20th century is here maintained while the modern county name is added. For convenience a code is put in the heading concerning each farm, viz: VF# = Voe (farm) 1-12; CF# = Creek (farm) 1-12. The farms are tentatively correlated with the VM, CM, and PQ localities of related compilations (cf items A.17.5 and A.17.6).

References offered in square brackets behind specific names are those mentioned in NG; not all of them have been checked by the present author.

Hvalvágr, etc:

VF1 Kvalvåg (Kvalvaag), Strand parish and herred, Stavanger amt (Rogaland) (= VM1a):

- 1383 AD *i Hwalwagha* [DN 4, p 393];
- 1428 AD *Hualuaagh* [DN 2, p 521]; contemporary or later note on the diploma: *firir Hualwaghom* [DN 2, p 521];
- 1567 AD *Hualuogh*;
- 1602, 1610 AD *Qualuoigh*;
- ca 1626 AD *Kuolwaag*;
- 1661 AD *Qualvog*;
- 1723 AD *Qvalwog*. (NG 10, 1969: 241).

VF2 Kvalevåg (Kvalevaag), Avaldsnes parish and herred, Stavanger amt (Rogaland) (= VM2):

- 1322 AD *i Hualauage* [DN 2, p 127];
- 1567 AD *Qualuogh*; abandoned;
- 1602 AD *Qualuog*;
- 1610 AD *Qualuoig*;
- 1661 AD *Qualuog*;
- 1723 AD *Qvalwog*. (NG 10, 1969: 395).

VF3 Kvalvåg (Kvalvaag), Sveen parish and herred, Søndre Bergenhus amt (Hordaland) (= VM3):

- 1519 AD *Hualuog* [*Regnskabsbog for Bergens kongsgaard og len*, Huitfeldt-Kaas 2, 1896: 525; NG 11, 1969: 112 corrects Huitfeldt-Kaas's spelling from -uag];
- 1563 AD *Kualuogh*;
- 1610, 1612 AD *Qualeuog*;
- 1668 AD *Qualvaag*;
- 1723 AD *Qualvog*. (NG 11, 1969: 112).

- VF4 Kvalvåg (Kvalvaag), Møgster parish, Austevold herred, Søndre Bergenhus amt (Hordaland) (= VM5a):
1668 AD Qualvaag;
1723 AD Qvalvog. (NG 11, 1969: 249).
- VF5 Kvalvågsneset (Kvalvaagsneset), Lygre parish, Lindås herred, Søndre Bergenhus amt (Hordaland) (cf FMGT, map M711, 1116-2/KN8837):
ca 1360 AD or earlier in the century i Hualvagsnæse [Björgynjar kálfskinn, Munch 1843: 57];
1519 AD Qualuasnes [Regnskabsbog for Bergens kongsgaard og len, Huitfeldt-Kaas 2, 1896: 503];
1522 AD Hwalssnes [Regnskabsbog over tiendepenge-skatten for Bergenhus len 1522, Huitfeldt-Kaas 3, 1905: 460];
1563, 1611 AD Kualvogsnes;
1667 AD Qvalwognes;
1723 AD Qvalvaagsnæs. (NG 11, 1969: 413).
- VF6 Kvalvåg (Kvalvaag), Lygre parish, Lindås herred, Søndre Bergenhus amt (Hordaland) (= VM7):
1519 AD Qualue [Regnskabsbog for Bergens kongsgaard og len, Huitfeldt-Kaas 2, 1896: 503];
1522 AD Hualuig [Regnskabsbog over tiendepenge-skatten for Bergenhus len 1522, Huitfeldt-Kaas 3, 1905: 460]
1563 AD Qualuogenn;
1611, 1667 AD Qualuogh;
1723 AD Qvalvaag. (NG 11, 1969: 413).
- VF7 Kvalvåg (Kvalvaag), Austreim parish, Lindås herred, Søndre Bergenhus amt (Hordaland) (= VM8):
ca 1360 AD or earlier in that century i Hualuaghenom [Björgynjar kálfskinn, Munch 1843: 56];
1522 AD Hwalwog [Regnskabsbog over tiendepenge-skatten for Bergenhus len 1522, Huitfeldt-Kaas 3, 1905: 463];
1519 AD Qualuo [Regnskabsbog for Bergens kongsgaard og len, Huitfeldt-Kaas 2, 1896: 504];
1528 AD i Hualuagh [DN 8, p 597];
1530 AD i Hualswogh [DN 10, p 632];
1567, 1611 AD Qualuog;
1667 AD Qualwog;
1723 AD Qvalvaag. (NG 11, 1969: 413, 422).
- VF8 Hvalvåg (Kvalvaag), Kinn parish and herred, Nordre Bergenhus amt (Soqn and Fjordane) (= VM9):
ca 1360 AD or earlier in that century i Hualuaaghe, annex farm under Kinn church [Björgynjar kálfskinn, Munch 1843: 19]; the locality can no longer be identified. (NG 12, 1969: 372).
- VF9 Kvalvåg (Kvalvaag), Frei parish and herred, Romsdal amt (Møre and Romsdal) (= VM12a):
1520/21 AD Qwalwogh [Skattemandtal for Throndhjems

erkebispedømme og Bergens bispedømme,
Huitfeldt-Kaas 2, 1896: 76];

1559 AD Qualuog;
1590, 1643 AD Qualluog;
1667 AD Ytter Qualwog;
1723 AD Qvaalvaag. (NG 13, 1969: 350).

VF10 Kvalvåg (Kvalvaag), Tingvold parish and herred,
Romsdal amt (Møre and Romsdal):

1432/49 AD af Hwalwogha [Aslak Bolts jordebog, Munch
1852: 70, supplement];
1520/21 AD Qwelwogh [Skattemandtal for Throndhjems
erkebispedømme og Bergens bispedømme,
Huitfeldt-Kaas 2, 1896: 60;
ca 1530 AD Hualuogh [Erkebiskop Olaf Engelbretsens
jordebog, p 37];
1590 AD Qualluogh;
1667 AD Qvalwog;
1723 AD Qvalvaag. (NG 13, 1969: 373).

VF11 Kvalvåg (Kvalvaag), Bodin parish, Bodin herred,
Nordlands amt (Nordland) (= VM16; = PQ3):

1432/49 Hualuagar [Aslak Bolts jordebog, Munch, 1852:
92]; af Hwalwagha [Aslak Bolts jordebog, Munch
1852: 92, supplement];
1567 AD Qualuogh;
1610, 1614, 1661 AD Qualuog;
1723 AD Qvalvog. (NG 16, 1970: 207).

VF12 Kvalvåg (Kvalvaag), Helgø herred, Tromsø amt
(Troms) (= VM17a?; = PQ4?). (GN 17, 1970: 170).

Hvalvík, etc:

CF1 Hvalvik(a)r, Bamle parish and herred, Bratsberg
amt (Telemark) (= CM2):

1333 AD i Hualuikum [DN 1, p 183]; the locality can no
longer be identified. (NG 7, 1967: 73).

CF2 Hvalvik, Utsire parish, Torvestad herred,
Stavanger amt (Rogaland) (= CM4):

1521 AD Quauick [sic] [Regnskabsbog over tiendepenge-
skatten for Bergenhus len 1521-22, Huitfeldt-
Kaas 3, 1905: 326];
1610 AD Qualuoig;
1614, 1661 AD Qualuig;
1723 AD Qvalwig. (NG 10, 1969: 413).

CF3 Indre Kvalvik/Ytre Kvalvik, Kinservik parish,
Ullensvang herred, Hordaland:

1563 AD Kualuigh;
1567 AD Hualuigh;
1603 AD Qualluig;
1614 AD Qualuig;

- 1667 AD *Indre og Yttre Qualuigh;*
1723 AD *Indre og Yttre Qualvig.* (NG 11, 1969: 460).
- CF4** Kvalvik, Kinn parish and herred, Nordre Bergenhus amt (Sogn and Fjordane):
1608 AD *Qualleuigenn;*
1667 AD *Qualuig med Ødejorden Synderuig;*
1723 AD *Qvalvig med Syndervog.* (NG 12, 1969: 354).
- CF5** Kvalvik, Eikefjord parish, Kinn herred, Nordre Bergenhus amt (Sogn and Fjordane) (= CM9a):
ca 1360 AD or earlier in the century *i Hwalwik*
[*Björgynjar kálfskinn*, Munch 1843: 20; Kjær (1969: 354) associates the reference with this farm rather than the one in Kinn parish];
1603 AD *Qualuigen;*
1608 AD *Qualleuigenn;*
1667 AD *Qualuig;*
1723 AD *Qvalvig.* (NG 12, 1969: 354, 361).
- CF6** Kvalvik, Frei parish and herred, Romsdal amt (Møre and Romsdal) (= CM17):
1432/49 AD *Hualswiik [sic] [Aslak Bolts jordebog, Munch 1852: 70];*
1520/21 AD *Qwalwigh [Skattemandtal for Thronhjems erkebispedømme og Bergens bispedømme, Huitfeldt-Kaas 2, 1896: 75];*
ca 1530 AD *Hualwick [Erkebiskop Olaf Engelbretsens jordebog, p 37];*
1559 AD *Qualuig;*
1590, 1643 AD *Qualluigh;*
1667 AD *Qualwig;*
1723 AD *Qvalvig.* (NG 13, 1969: 350).
- CF7** Kvalvik, Stoksund parish and herred, Søndre Trondhjems amt (South Trøndelag) (= CM20). (NG 14, 1965: 12).
- CF8** Kvalvik, Rødø herred, Nordlands amt (Nordland) (= CM28):
1610, 1614, 1661 AD *Qualuig;*
1723 AD *Qvalvig.* (NG 16, 1970: 165).
- CF9** Kvalvik, Rødø herred, Nordlands amt (Nordland) (= CM30):
1723 AD *Qvalviig.* (NG 16, 1970: 168).
- CF10** Kvalvik, Flakstad parish and herred, Nordlands amt (Nordland) (= CM45):
1567 AD *Qualuig; Qualuigenn;*
1614 AD *Qualvigen;*
1667 AD *Hualuigen;*
1723 AD *Qvalwiig.* (NG 16, 1970: 349).

CF11 Kvalvik, Malnes parish, Bø herred, Nordlands amt (Nordland) (= CM47):

1567 AD Qualinngh [sic];

1610 AD Qualuog [sic];

1614 AD Qualuig, Qualuigen;

1723 AD Qvalviig. (NG 16, 1970: 378).

CF12 Kvalvik, Lyngen herred, Tromsø amt (Troms) (= CM61). (NG 17, 1970: 156).

A.17.5 Hvalvágr and Hvalvík place names in Nordland, Troms and Finnmark counties, Norway, according to J. Qvigstad (1922)

J. Qvigstad lists *Kvalvåg* names in Nordland, Troms and Finnmark at the following four localities. For convenience these localities are given the code *PQ* ('Place name, Qvigstad') and are tentatively correlated with the *VF*, *CF*, *VM* and *CM* localities of related compilations (cf items A.17.4 and A.17.6).

- PQ1** Kvalvåg, Tjøtta (island), Alstahaug municipality, southern Nordland; (= VM14);
 - PQ2** Kvalvåg, Stamnes (farm, and peninsula?), Sortland municipality; Lofoten, northern Nordland;
 - PQ3** Kvalvåg, Bodin, Bodø municipality, northern Nordland; (= VF11; = VM16);
 - PQ4** Kvalvåg, Helgøy (island), Karlsøy municipality, northern Troms (= VF12?; = VM17?).
- (Cf Qvigstad 1922: 47).

Qvigstad also enumerates *Kvalvik* place names as follows:

| County | Localities | <u>Parishes / herreder</u> Numbers | <u>Names</u> |
|----------|------------|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Nordland | 19 | 14 | Bindal; Vik; Rødøy (twice); Hemnes; Bodin; Nordfold (twice); Hamarøy (twice); Flakstad (thrice); Buksnes; Borge; Vågan; Øksnes; Bø, Hadsel; Dverberg. |
| Troms | 6 | 6 | Kvæ, Torsken; Hillesøy; Lyngen; Karlsøy (ved Lyngstua); Sørøysund. |
| Finnmark | | | |
| West | 1 | 1 | Måsøy (island). |
| East | 2 | 2 | Måsøy, Gamvik; Berlevåg. (Cf Qvigstad 1922: 47). |

Qvigstad (1922: 48) also registers *Kvalvikgrunden* and *Kvalvikskjæret* but as they are secondary derivants we may disregard them.

A.17.6 Norwegian Hvalvágr and Hvalvík place names according to the current topographic main map series M711 (scale 1:50,000)

The following two lists (and derived maps) contain current Kvalvåg names, including variants, and Kvalvik place names proper, with different inflexions of the suffix, that are entered on the topographical main map series M711, scaled 1:50,000, of Norway and, thus, have been indexed. The lists rest on materials of names/coordinates and maps which the geographical service of the Norwegian defence forces (*Forsvarets militargeografiske tjeneste*; cf FMGT 1993, pers comms) has helpfully provided.

Norwegian 'whale place names' seem now all to fall under the Kval- spelling, both in Book Language as well as New Norwegian usage. The variant *Kvalsvik* ('Whale's Creek') is not included because it is so far considered to be another name category and as such irrelevant for this study.

For convenience a code is put with each locality, viz: VM# = Voe (M711); CM# = Creek (M711). The place names are arranged so as to start in the southeast at the Swedish-Norwegian border and follow (sunwise) the Norwegian coast to the Norwegian-Russian border in the northeast. In fiords and bays (including Vesterålen) the order follows, as far as possible, the actual and imagined coast line, ie, 'in' on the southern (western) and 'out' on the northern (eastern) side. Sounds are treated as deep fiords and approached from either side, the direction here also being sunwise around islands.

The coordinates follow a so-called UTM/ED50 standard of which the first two figures show the value on the X axis and the last two ones that on the Y axis of the M711 grid and mainly refer to the first quadrant in relation to their intersection. Various coordinates provided by FMGT have been slightly revised following the study of the maps.

The character of the localities is based on a tentative interpretation of the maps. The localities are provisionally correlated with the VF, CF and PQ localities in the related compilations (cf items A.17.4 and A.17.5).

The approximate distribution of these M711 names is also illustrated in the two maps, figures 11-12. The maps are based on a grid reference map kindly provided by FMGT. The symbols are placed as accurately as possibly within each quarter.

Hvalvágr type names:

| Code | Locality name, (island), municipality, county | M711 map no | Coordi- nates | Map interpre- tation; NG ref |
|-------|------------------------------------------------------|----------------|-------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|
| VM1a | Kvalvåg, Strand mun, Rogaland | 1212-1 | LL2841 | Village; farm = VF1. |
| VM1b | Kvalvågen, Strand mun, Rogaland | 1212-1 | LL2741 | Inlet. |
| VM2 | Kvalavåg, (Karmøy), Karmøy mun, Rogaland | 1113-1 | KM8482 | Village; farm = VF2. |
| VM3 | Kvalvåg, Sveio municipality, Hordaland | 1114-2 | KM9804 | (Village), farm = VF3; (at Nordre Vågen and Vågen). Farm. |
| VM4 | Kvalvågen, (Tysnesøya), Tysnes mun, Hordaland | 1214-4 | LM1556 | |
| VM5a | Kvalvåg, (Stolmen), Austevoll mun, Hordaland | 1115-3 | KM8159 | Village; farm = VF4. |
| VM5b | Kvalvågen, (Stolmen), Austevoll mun, Hordaland | 1115-3 | KM8159 | Inlet. |
| VM6 | Kvalvågen, (Sotra), Sund mun, Hordaland | 1115-1 | KM8487 | Inlet. |
| VM7 | Kvalvågen, Lindås mun, Hordaland | 1116-2 | KN9035 | Village; farm = VF6; (at Vågan). |
| VM8 | Kvalvågen, (Fosnøyeni), Austrheim mun, Hordaland | 1116-4 | KN7748 | Village; farm = VF7. |
| VM9 | Kvalvågen, (Reksta), Flora mun, Sogn and Fjordana | 1118-3 | KP7832 | Inlet = VF8. |
| VM10 | Kvalvåg, (Gossa), Aukra mun, Møre and Romsdal | 1220-1 | LQ8865 | Inlet. |
| VM11 | Kvalvåg, Gjemnes mun, Møre and Romsdal | 1320-1 | MQ4882 | Farm. |
| VM12a | Kvalvåg, (Frei), Frei mun, Møre and Romsdal | 1321-2 | MQ4393 | Farm = VF9. |
| VM12b | Kvalvågen, (Frei), Frei mun, Møre and Romsdal | 1321-2 | MQ4393/ MQ4494 | Inlet. |
| VM13 | Kvalvågen, Vevelstad mun, Nordland | 1826-3 | UN9185 | Farm. |
| VM14 | Kvalvågen, (Tjøtta) Alstahaug mun, Nordland | 1826-4 | UP8504/ UP8505 | Inlet = PQ1. |
| VM15 | Kvalvågan, Leirfjord mun, Nordland | 1827-2 | VP0024 | Inlet. |
| VM16 | Kvalvåg, Bodø mun, Nordland | 2029-4 | VQ8564 | Farm = VF11; = PQ3. |
| VM17a | Kvalvåg, (Vanna), Karlsøy mun, Troms | 1535-2 | DC5178 | Farm = VF12?; = PQ4?. |
| VM17b | Kvalvågen, (Vanna), Karlsøy mun, Troms | 1535-2 | DC5077. | Inlet. |

The approximate geographical distribution of these (assumed) Hvalvágr names is shown in figure 11.

Hvalvík type names:

| Code | Locality name, (island), municipality, county | M711 map no | Coordi- nates | Map interpre- tation; NG ref |
|------|--------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------|-------------------|------------------------------------|
| CM1 | Kvalvika, (Karmøy), Karmøy mun, Rogaland | 1113-2 | KL8264 | Creek. |
| CM2 | Kvalvik (& Kvalvikvågen), (Utsira), Utsira mun, Rogaland | 1113-4 | KL6581 | Creek = CF2. |
| CM3 | Kvalvika, (Sotra), Sund mun, Hordaland | 1115-2 | KM8781 | Creek. |
| CM4a | Indre Kvalvikane, Ullensvang mun, Hordal | 1315-4 | LM5996 | Creek; (former?) farm = CF3. |
| CM4b | Ytre Kvalvikane, Ullensvang mun, Hordal | 1315-4 | LM5995 | Creek; (former?) farm = CF3. |
| CM5 | Kvalviki, (Radøy), Radøy mun, Hordaland | 1116-2 | KN8825 | Farm. |
| CM6 | Kvalvik, (Alvøy), Øygarden mun, Hordaland | 1116-3 | KN7026 | (Lighthouse) |
| CM7 | Kvalviki, (Alvøy), Øygarden mun, Hordaland | 1116-3 | KN6926 | Creek. |
| CM8 | Kvalviki, (Radøy), Radøy mun, Hordaland | 1116-3 | KN8131 | Creek. |
| CM9a | Kvalvik, Flora num, Sogn and Fjordane | 1118-2 | LP1034 | Farm = CF5. |
| CM9b | Kvalvika, Flora mun, Sogn and Fjordane | 1118-2 | LP1034 | Creek. |
| CM10 | Kvalvik, Flora mun, Sogn and Fjordane | 1118-3 | KP8842 | Farm. |
| CM11 | Kvalvika, (Hovden), Flora mun, Sogn and Fjordane | 1118-3 | KP7945 | Creek. |
| CM12 | Kvalvika, (Haramsøya), Haram mun, Møre and Romsdal | 1120-2 | LQ5550 | Creek. |
| CM13 | Kvalvika-Sandvika, (Skuløy), Haram mun, Møre and Romsdal | 1220-3 | LQ6053 | Creek. |
| CM14 | Kvalvika, (Otrøy), Midsund mun, Møre and Romsdal | 1220-3 | LQ8256 | Creek. |
| CM15 | Kvalvika, (Harøy), Sandøy mun, Møre and Romsdal | 1220-3 | LQ6858 | Creek. |
| CM16 | Kvalvik, Vestnes mun, Møre and Romsdal | 1220-2 | MQ0145 | Farm. |
| CM17 | Kvalvik, (Frei), Frei mun, Møre and Romsdal | 1321-2 | MQ4396 | Farm = CF6. |
| CM18 | Kvalvik, Aure mun, Møre and Romsdal | 1421-3 | MR7511 | Creek. |
| CM19 | Kvalvik, (Hitra), Hitra mun, South Trøndelag | 1422-2 | NR0452 | Farm. |
| CM20 | Kvalvik, Åfjord mun, South Trøndelag | 1523-2 | NS5606 | Farm = CF8. |
| CM21 | Kvalvika, (Bjørøya), Flatanger municipality, North Trøndelag | 1624-2 | NS8761 | Creek. |
| CM22 | Kvalvika, Nærøy mun, North Trøndelag | 1724-1 | PS3487 | Creek. |
| CM23 | Kvalvika, Nærøy mun, North Trøndelag | 1724-4 | PS2790/ PS2890 | Creek. |
| CM24 | Kvalvika, (Lauvøya), Vikna mun, North Trøndelag | 1724-4 | PT0802 | Creek. |
| CM25 | Kvalvika, (Stavøya), Bindal mun, Nordland | 1825-3 | UN7434 | Creek. |

| Code | Locality name, (island), municipality, county | M711 map no | Coordi- nates | Map interpre- tation; NG ref |
|------|-----------------------------------------------------|----------------|-------------------|---------------------------------|
| CM26 | Kvalvika, Sømna mun, Nordland | 1725-1 | UN6646 | Farm. |
| CM27 | Kvalvika, Hemnes mun, Nordland | 1927-3 | VP3640 | Creek. |
| CM28 | Kvalvika, Rødøy mun, Nordland | 1927-4 | VP2773 | Farm = CF9. |
| CM29 | Kvalvika, Rødøy mun, Nordland | 1928-3 | VP2196 | Creek. |
| CM30 | Kvalvika, Rødøy mun, Nordland | 1928-3 | VP2795 | Farm = CF10. |
| CM31 | Kvalvika, (Sandhornøya), Gildeskål mun, Nordland | 2029-3 | VQ6638 | Creek. |
| CM32 | Kvalvika, (Straumøya), Bodø mun, Nordland | 2029-3 | VQ7355 | Creek. |
| CM33 | Kvalvika, Body mun (city), Nordland | 2029-4 | VQ7365 | Creek. |
| CM34 | Kvalvika, (Helligvær), Bodø mun, Nordland | 1929-1 | VQ5680 | Farm. |
| CM35 | Kvalvika, Bodø mun, Nordland | 2029-1 | VQ9786 | Creek. |
| CM36 | Kvalvika, Steigen mun, Nordland | 2030-2 | WR0703 | Creek. |
| CM37 | Kvalvika, (Hjærrøya), Steigen mun, Nordland | 2030-2 | WR0203 | Creek. |
| CM38 | Kvalvika, (Engeløya), Steigen mun, Nordland | 2030-1 | WR0233 | Farm. |
| CM39 | Kvalvika, (Finnøya), Hamarøy mun, Nordland | 1231-2 | WR3044 | Creek. |
| CM40 | Kvalvika, Hamarøy mun, Nordland | 1231-2 | WR3564 | Creek. |
| CM41 | Kvalvika, Hamarøy mun, Nordland | 1231-2 | WR3659 | Creek. |
| CM42 | Kvalvika, Narvik mun, Nordland | 1431-4 | XR1392 | Creek. |
| CM43 | Kvalvika, Narvik mun, Nordland | 1432-3 | XS0404 | Creek. |
| CM44 | Kvalvika, (Moskenesøya), Moskenes mun, Nordland | 1830-1 | VR2037 | Creek (sound?). |
| CM45 | Kvalvika, (Moskenesøya), Flakstad mun, Nordland | 1031-3 | VR2052/ VR2053 | Creek = CF10. |
| CM46 | Kvalvika, (Holdøya), Hadsel mun, Nordland | 1131-1 | VR9593 | Creek. |
| CM47 | Kvalvika, (Skogsøya), Øksnes mun, Nordland | 1132-1 | VS9846 | Creek = CF12. |
| CM48 | Kvalvika, (Hinnøya), Kvæfjord mun, Nordland | 1232-1 | WS3931 | Creek. |
| CM49 | Kvalvika, (Hinnøya), Kvæfjord mun, Nordland | 1232-2 | WS3616 | Creek. |
| CM50 | Kvalvika, (Sandøya), Bjarkøy mun, Troms | 1332-4 | WS7050 | Creek. |
| CM51 | Kvalvika, (Andørja), Ibestad mun, Troms | 1432-4 | WS9843 | Creek. |
| CM52 | Kvalvika, (Senja), Berg mun, Troms | 1333-1 | WT8609 | Creek. |
| CM53 | Kvalvika, (Senja), Berg mun, Troms | 1433-4 | WT9909 | Creek. |
| CM54 | Kvalvika, (Senja), Lenvik mun, Troms | 1434-3 | XT0919 | Creek. |
| CM55 | Kvalvik, Balsfjord mun, Troms | 1533-1 | DB3393 | Farm. |
| CM56 | Kvalvika, (Kvaløya), Tromsø mun, Troms | 1434-2 | CC8424 | Creek. |
| CM57 | Kvalvika, (Kvaløya), Tromsø mun, Troms | 1434-1 | DC0143 | Creek. |

| Code | Locality name, (island), municipality, county | M711 map no | Coordi- nates | Map interpre- tation; NG ref |
|-------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|---------------------------------|
| CM58 | Kvalvika, (Kvaløya), Tromsø mun, Troms | 1534-4 | DC1154 | Creek. |
| CM59 | Kvalvikan, (Sandøya), Tromsø mun, Troms | 1435-2 | DC0673 | Creek. |
| CM60 | Kvalvika, Lyngen mun, Troms | 1634-4 | DC7461 | Creek. |
| CM61 | Kvalvik, Lyngen mun, Troms | 1634-3/ 1634-4 | DC6910 | Village; farm (?) = CF12. |
| CM62 | Kvalvika, (Kågen), Skjervøy mun, Troms | 1635-2 | DC8968 | Creek. |
| CM63 | Kvalvika, (Stjernøya), Alta mun, (West) Finnmark | 1835-4 | ED6709 | Creek. |
| CM64 | Kvalvika, (Sørøya), Sørøysund municipality, (West) Finnmark | 1836-2 | ED7146 | Creek. |
| CM65a | Indre Kvalvika, (Kvaløya), Sørøysund municipality, (West) Finnmark | 1936-3 | ED9749 | Creek. |
| CM65b | Ytre Kvalvika, (Kvaløya), Sørøysund municipality, (West) Finnmark | 1936-3 | ED9748 | Creek. |
| CM66 | Kvalvika (Falesluokta), Kvalsund municipality, Finnmark (West) | 1936-2 | LU9735 | Creek. |
| CM67 | Kvalvika, (Hjelmsøya), Møsøy municipality, (West) Finnmark | 2037-3 | MU1887/ MU1888 | Creek. |
| CM68 | Kvalvika, (Magerøya), Nordkapp municipality, (East) Finnmark | 2137-3 | MU5984 | Creek. |
| CM69 | Kvalvika, Lebesby mun, (East) Finnmark | 2136-1 | MU8760 | Creek. |
| CM70 | Kvalvika, (Nordkinn Halvøya), Lebesby mun, (East) Finnmark | 2236-4 | NU1054 | Creek. |
| CM71 | Kvalvika, (Nordkinn Halvøya), Gamvik mun, (East) Finnmark | 2237-2 | NU4583 | Creek. |
| CM72 | Kvalvika, Berlevåg mun, (East) Finnmark | 2336-1 | NU8754. | Creek. |

The approximate geographical distribution of these (assumed) *Hvalvík* names is shown in figure 12.

A.17.7 Slate spear heads recovered off the Norwegian coast

Four large, ca 17-22 cm long, up to ca 7.5 cm broad, double-barbed slate points have been recovered in relatively deep waters (ca 46-56 m) in fiords and archipelagos at the mid and northern Norwegian coast. The find localities and artifact details are as follows:¹

(1) Årvågsfjorden, Aure, Møre and Romsdal (in 1924): 17.4 cm long; double-barbed; fished from a depth of ca 25 fathoms (ca 46.5 m);

(2) Tjeldsundet, Lødingen, Nordland (in 1936 or earlier): 19 cm long; double-barbed; fished from a depth of ca 25 fathoms (ca 46.5 m);

(3) Meløysundet, Meløy, Nordland (in 1937 or earlier): of similar size as the three previous points; double-barbed; fished from a depth of ca 30 fathoms (ca 55.8 m);

(4) Fillfjorden, Hitra, South Trøndelag (in 1937): 22.2 cm long, maximum width 7.5 cm; double-barbed; fished from a depth of ca 25 fathoms (ca 46.5 m).

Gjessing (1942: 136) also mentions two such points found in the littoral, one of which below the low water mark.

(5) According to Bratrein 'a half meter long tool of a grey sort of stone' was found at a depth of 16-17 fathoms (30-32 m) on the fishing ground Grø, in the open ocean directly north of Flatvær, being skerries at the northern part of Nord-Kvaløy, Karlsøy municipality, Troms, which he thinks has been a whaling 'harpoon' head ("... etter beskrivelsen trulig en skottal eller harpun til småkvalfangst").² Regrettably, this artifact has been lost.³

1 Cf Gjessing 1942: 135f; Petersen 1925: 15; 1938.

2 Cf Bratrein 1, 1989: 119. The context hardly allows for a harpoon head proper but indeed for a spear head.

3 Cf Bratrein 1993, pers comm.

A.17.8 Whaling and sealing weapons and related terms in Icelandic diplomas and Althing records, 1250-1800 AD

The *Diplomatarium Islandicum* (DI; cf Anon 1857-1972) and the *Alþingisbækur Íslands* (Althing records) (ALPB; cf Anon 1912-1990), which cover the period ca 1200 to 1800 AD (when the Althing was abolished), were surveyed with regard to sealing and whaling weapons and related terms. Only one reference (in 1470) seems to involve a sealing harpoon. The enumerations below therefore essentially list terms (occasionally deduced) relating to whaling such as *skotmannshlutur*, *skot*, *skutill*, *járn*, etc. The key words are offered in Old Norse and Icelandic except for the few designated as Danish. The figure in the first column indicates the word frequency which is tentative and pertains to separate words and compounds.

skotmannshlut(u)r (skothlut[u]r, skothval[u]r, hlut[u]r):

- 1 ca 1250 AD (DI 1, 1857-1876: 580 [dipl 143]);
- 1 1270 AD or earlier (DI 2, 1893: 91 [dipl 35]);
- 5 ca 1270 AD (DI 2, 1893: 69 [dipl 24], 79f [dipl 26]);
- 3 ca 1285 AD (DI 2, 1893: 249f [dipl 120]); DI 3, 1896: 4 [dipl 4]); DI 4, 1897: 6 [dipl 3]);
- 2 ca 1285 AD [*skothlutur*] (DI 3, 1896: 4 [dipl 4]); DI 4, 1897: 6 [dipl 3]);
- 1 ca 1290 AD (DI 2, 1893: 269 [dipl 144]);
- 5 1296 AD [*skotmannshlutur*] (DI 2, 1893: 307, 311 [dipl 161]); (DI 2, 1893: 314 [dipl 161]); (DI 2, 1893: 315f [dipl 162]); (DI 2, 1893: 321f [dipl 165]);
- 4 1296 AD [*skothlutur*] (DI 2, 1893: 308f [dipl 161]); (DI 2, 1893: 311f [dipl 161]); (DI 2, 1893: 316f [dipl 162]); (DI 2, 1893: 317 [dipl 163A]);
- 1 1296 AD [*skothvalr*] (DI 2, 1893: 320 [dipl 164]);
- 1 1318 AD (DI 2, 1893: 427 [dipl 240-336/section v]);
- 1 1391 AD (DI 4, 1897: 19 [dipl 14]);
- 3 1394 AD and later (DI 3, 1896: 553 [dipl 419-498, section xlvi]), (DI 3, 1896: 579f [dipl 419-498, section lxxii]); (DI 3, 1896: 586 [dipl 419-498, section lxxvii]).
- 3 1461 AD and later (DI 5, 1899-1902: 278 [dipl 233-314, section xxiv]); (DI 5, 1899-1902: 281 [dipl 233-314, section xxvi]); (DI 5, 1899-1902: 304, 306 [dipl 233-314, section xlii B]);
- 1 1476 AD (DI 8, 1906-1913: 64 [dipl 61]);
- 1 ca 1500 AD (DI 7, 1903-1907: 466 [dipl 481]);
- 4 1525 AD (DI 9, 1909-1913: 310 [dipl 266-278]); (DI 9, 1909-1913: 311 [dipl 266-278]); (DI 9, 1909-1913: 315); (DI 9, 1909-1913: 324);
- 1 1591 AD (ALPB 2, 1915-1916: 209);
- 3 1657 AD (ALPB 6, 1933-1940: 397);
- 1 1658 AD (ALPB 6, 1933-1940: 431);
- 2 1659 AD (ALPB 6, 1933-1940: 459);

- 1 1660 AD (ALPB 6, 1933-1940: 658);
1 1663 AD (ALPB 7, 1944-1948: 23);
1 1665 AD (ALPB 7, 1944-1948: 60);
2 1666 AD (ALPB 7, 1944-1948: 78);
1 1668 AD (ALPB 7, 1944-1948: 127);
1 1670 AD (ALPB 7, 1944-1948: 196);
1 1671 AD (ALPB 7, 1944-1948: 219);
1 1672 AD (ALPB 7, 1944-1948: 240);
1 1675 AD (ALPB 7, 1944-1948: 325);
1 1687 AD (ALPB 8, 1949-1955: 182);
2 1688 AD (ALPB 8, 1949-1955: 201);
4 1689 AD (ALPB 8, 1949-1955: 237); (ALPB 8, 1949-1955:
255); (ALPB 8, 1949-1955: 263);
1 1691 AD (ALPB 8, 1949-1955: 346);
1 1692 AD (ALPB 8, 1949-1955: 389);
2 1693 AD (ALPB 8, 1949-1955: 405);
2 1696 AD (ALPB 8, 1949-1955: 532); (ALPB 8, 1949-1955:
550);
1 1700 AD (ALPB 9, 1957-1964: 135);
1 1716 AD (ALPB 10, 1967: 236);
1 1719 AD (ALPB 10, 1967: 447, cf 464);
1 1725 AD (ALPB 11, 1969: 268f);
1 1775 AD [hlutur] (ALPB 15, 1982: 431);
1 1778 AD [according to JB "udskiftes en part for
harpuneren, eller saakaldet skudmands-lod"]
(ALPB 15, 1982: 615; LFI 4, 1854: 448).

skotmaður (whaler):

- 1 1669 AD ["skipti a milli skotmanns og landeiganda"]
(ALPB 7, 1944-1948: 159).

skutulmaður (whaler):

- 1 1672 AD ["20 vattir hvals, sem landsdrottnei og
skutulmanni tilheyra"] (ALPB 7, 1944-1948:
240).

harpuner (D; whaler):

- 1 1778 AD [according to JB "udskiftes en part for
harpuneren, eller saakaldet skudmands-lod"]
(ALPB 15, 1982: 615; LFI 4, 1854: 448).

járnhvalr:

- 4 1374 AD (DI 3, 1896: 280 [dipl 232A]); (DI 3, 1896:
284 [dipl 232B]).

skot (whaling weapon):

- 1 ca 1270 AD (Icelandic) (DI 2, 1893: 79 [dipl 26]);
1 ca 1290 AD (Icelandic) (DI 2, 1893: 269 [dipl 144]);
2 1582/Althing 1583 (Icelandic) [recapitulation of JB]
(ALPB 2, 1915-1916: 26);
1 1687 AD (foreign) ["útlenzkur hvalskutul hverju
skoti ... fylgi"] (ALPB 8, 1949-1955: 170);
1 1688 AD (?) (ALPB 8, 1949-1955: 201);
1 1689 AD (foreign) (ALPB 8, 1949-1955: 255);

- 1 1692 AD (foreign) ["útlenzkt skot"] (ALPB 8, 1949-1955: 389);
- 1 1693 AD (foreign) ["útlenzkt skot"] (ALPB 8, 1949-1955: 405);
- 1 1693 AD (Icelandic) [also called *skeyti* and *hvalskeyti*] (ALPB 8, 1949-1955: 421).

(hval-)skeyti (Icelandic whaling weapon):

- 1 1663 AD (ALPB 7, 1944-1948: 23);
- 2 1669 AD (ALPB 7, 1944-1948: 161); (ALPB 7, 1944-1948: 163f);
- 1 (?) 1671 AD (ALPB 7, 1944-1948: 219);
- 1 1673 AD (ALPB 7, 1944-1948: 270);
- 1 1674 AD (ALPB 7, 1944-1948: 287);
- 1 1675 AD (ALPB 7, 1944-1948: 325);
- 2 1693 AD [also called *skot*] (ALPB 8, 1949-1955: 421);
- 2 1704 AD (ALPB 9, 1957-1964: 267, 275);
- 1 1712 AD [also called *hvalskutull*] (ALPB 10, 1967: 66, 100);
- 1 1716 AD (ALPB 10, 1967: 236);
- 1 1720 AD (ALPB 10, 1967: 542);
- 1 1725 AD (ALPB 11, 1969: 268f);
- 1 1726 AD (ALPB 11, 1969: 327);
- 1 1737 AD (ALPB 12, 1971: 341);
- 1 1738 AD (ALPB 12, 1971: 402, cf 456);
- 2 1740 AD (ALPB 12, 1971: 528);
- 1 1751 AD (ALPB 14, 1977: 32);
- 1 1761 AD (ALPB 14, 1977: 453);
- 2 1782 AD (ALPB 16, 1986: 97f);
- 1 1792 AD (ALPB 17, 1990: 90).

(hval-)skeyti (foreign whaling harpoon):

- 1 1670 AD (ALPB 7, 1944-1948: 196).
- 1 1689 AD (ALPB 8, 1949-1955: 263).
- 1 1737 AD [also called *járn*; likely lance] (ALPB 12, 1971: 398);
- 1 1775 AD ["útlenzkt hvalskeyti"] (ALPB 15, 1982: 431).

járn (Icelandic whaling weapon):

- 4 1663 AD (ALPB 7, 1944-1948: 23);
- 1 1668 AD (ALPB 7, 1944-1948: 127).

(hval-)járn, lagnaðarjárn (foreign whaling harpoon):

- 1 1666 AD [*járn/lagnaðarjárn* with "25 faðmar af lúnum hvalastreng"] (ALPB 7, 1944-1948: 78);
- 1 1712 AD (ALPB 10, 1967: 89);
- 1 1777 AD [harpoons rather than lances] (ALPB 15, 1982: 536).

járn (foreign whaling lance):

- 1 1737 AD [also called *skeyti*; likely lance] (ALPB 12, 1971: 398).

skutill, skutull (sealing harpoon):

1 1470 AD (DI 5, 1899-1902: 558 [dipl 497]).¹

(hval-)skutill, (hval-)skutull (Icelandic whaling weapon):

- 2 1634 AD (ALPB 5, 1922, 1925-1932: 344);
1 1653 AD (ALPB 6, 1933-1940: 328);
5 1657 AD (ALPB 6, 1933-1940: 397, 407);
3 1658 AD (ALPB 6, 1933-1940: 435);
2 1659 AD (ALPB 6, 1933-1940: 447);
2 1660 AD (ALPB 6, 1933-1940: 468);
1 1663 AD (ALPB 7, 1944-1948: 23);
1 1669 AD (ALPB 7, 1944-1948: 154);
2 1670 AD (ALPB 7, 1944-1948: 192);
2 1672 AD (ALPB 7, 1944-1948: 240);
2 1674 AD (ALPB 7, 1944-1948: 287);
2 1675 AD (ALPB 7, 1944-1948: 325); (ALPB 7, 1944-1948: 331);
2 1676 AD (ALPB 7, 1944-1948: 339); (ALPB 7, 1944-1948: 347);
1 1677 AD (ALPB 7, 1944-1948: 375);
1 1679 AD (ALPB 7, 1944-1948: 464);
1 1680 AD (ALPB 7, 1944-1948: 519f);
2 1685 AD (ALPB 8, 1949-1955: 91); (ALPB 8, 1949-1955: 95).
1 1699 AD (ALPB 9, 1957-1964: 118);
1 1712 AD [also called *hvalskeyti*] (ALPB 10, 1967: 66, 100);
1 1719 AD (ALPB 10, 1967: 447, cf 464);
1 1735 AD (ALPB 12, 1971: 235).

(hval-)skutill, (hval-)skutull (foreign whaling harpoon):

- 1 1659 AD (ALPB 6, 1933-1940: 459);
2 1660 AD (ALPB 6, 1933-1940: 658);
1 1665 AD (ALPB 7, 1944-1948: 60);
1 1669 AD (ALPB 7, 1944-1948: 151);
1 1673 AD (ALPB 7, 1944-1948: 270);
2 1682 AD (ALPB 7, 1944-1948: 579);
1 1685 AD ["útlenzkur hvalskutull hverju skoti ... fylgi ..."] (ALPB 8, 1949-1955: 170);
4 1687 AD (ALPB 8, 1949-1955: 181f);
1 (?) 1688 AD (ALPB 8, 1949-1955: 201);
2 1691 AD ["skutull ... og þremur föðum rúmum af mjóum kaðli"] (ALPB 8, 1949-1955: 346);
1 1693 AD (ALPB 8, 1949-1955: 398);
1 1698 AD (ALPB 9, 1957-1964: 74);
1 (?) 1719 AD (ALPB 10, 1967: 447, cf 464);

1 This *skutull* is mentioned in the context of fishing gear, a boat with outfit, and tools which points to it being a sealing harpoon. However, the reference in the testament of Einar Ormsson ríki, also under 1470, to a *skutull* clearly involves a battle weapon ("Gef eg Jone Bonda tyge min þaug sem eg hefe bored sialfur. Öll. hatt og hringa pantzara. skutel og bryste. Ellende Bonda armbryste mitt með öllum Reidskap." (Cf DI 5, 1899-1902: 570 [dipl 509])).

1 1776 AD (ALPB 15, 1982: 487).

(hval-)skutulsjárn (Icelandic whaling weapon):

1 1658 AD (ALPB 6, 1933-1940: 431);
1 1667 AD (ALPB 7, 1944-1948: 109);
4 1668 AD (ALPB 7, 1944-1948: 127); (ALPB 7, 1944-1948:
134);
1 1669 AD (ALPB 7, 1944-1948: 155);
1 1673 AD (ALPB 7, 1944-1948: 270);
1 1677 AD (ALPB 7, 1944-1948: 386);
1 1682 AD (ALPB 7, 1944-1948: 584);
1 1692 AD (ALPB 8, 1949-1955: 389);
1 1693 AD (ALPB 8, 1949-1955: 421);
1 1696 AD (ALPB 8, 1949-1955: 532);
1 1698 AD (ALPB 9, 1957-1964: 73);
1 1699 AD (ALPB 9, 1957-1964: 96);
2 1702 AD (ALPB 9, 1957-1964: 203);
1 1723 AD (ALPB 12, 1971: 110);
1 1735 AD (ALPB 12, 1971: 110).

(hval-)skutulsjárn (foreign whaling harpoon):

3 1659 AD (ALPB 6, 1933-1940: 459);
1 1670 AD (ALPB 7, 1944-1948: 196);
1 1673 AD (ALPB 7, 1944-1948: 270);
1 1681 AD (ALPB 7, 1944-1948: 533);
1 1698 AD (ALPB 9, 1957-1964: 58);
1 1700 AD (ALPB 9, 1957-1964: 135).

hvalskeytisjárn (Icelandic whaling weapon):

1 1728 AD (ALPB 11, 1969: 486);
1 1741 AD (ALPB 13, 1973: 56).

hvalskeytisjárn (foreign whaling harpoon):

1 1689 AD (ALPB 8, 1949-1955: 263).

harpun (D; Icelandic whaling weapon):

3 1778 AD (ALPB 15, 1982: 615; LFI 4, 1854: 448).

lagjárn (marked, Icelandic):

1 1700 AD (ALPB 9, 1957-1964: 144).

skutulstöng:

1 1722 AD [3 ells long] (ALPB 11, 1969: 100).

skot: shot from firearms:

1 1550 AD (DI 11, 1915-1925: 808 [dipl 675]);
1 1551 AD (DI 12, 1923-1932: 189 [dipl 89]).

A.17.9 Whaling ('ironing'), whales and related driftage in (Northwest) Iceland according to the land register by Árni Magnússon and Páll Vídalín (JÁMPV), 1710

- (A) Introduction.
- (B) Summary (in English) of the JÁMPV references to whale 'ironing'.
- (C) Driftage of 'ironed' (ie, speared) 'whales' and 'rorqual calves'.
- (D) Driftage of 'rorqual calves', partly speared ('ironed').
- (E) Live-strandings and driftage of northern bottlenose whales.
- (F) Whale strandings and whale carcass driftage (unspecified).
- (G) Whale parts (*hvalbrot*) drifting ashore.

(A) Introduction:

The Icelandic land register compiled 1702-1714 by Árni Magnússon and Páll Vídalín (JÁMPV) covers all counties except Múlasýsla and Skaftafellssýsla (ie, east and southeast Iceland); the manuscripts of these counties were lost in the fire in Copenhagen 1728. This gap in the register must be considered when making regional comparisons. JÁMPV lists, *inter alia*, shore rights, pertinences and servitudes, including the rights in drift and stranded whales, and sometimes their kind and cause of death. The evidence is based on the memory of local people reaching one to two generations, ie, at least 30-60 years, back. JÁMPV contains numerous general references to rights in whales but they must be left aside here. On the other hand, it has been attempted to present all references that in a tangible way deal with cetaceans.

The sections (C) to (G) are calendars which are tentatively arranged and contain overlappings for the sake of clarity. The old Dano-Icelandic spelling of farm names is maintained. Farms are generally identified by municipality (*hreppur*) and county, occasionally with reference to the fiord, too.

(B) Summary (in English) of the JÁMPV references to whale 'ironing':

Information which explicitly involves piercing whaling weapons is found in the part of JÁMPV for the northwest Icelandic county of Ísafjarðarsýsla, from 1710. This and related information may be summed up in the following way:

JÁMPV (1710) enumerates 9 farms (Hokinsdalur; Laugaból; Horn; Skógar; Hrafnseyri; Tjaldanes; Baulhús/Bauluhús; Stapadalur; Lokinhamrar) in Auðkúluhreppur (former Arnarfjarðarströnd), West Ísafjarðarsýsla, where 'driftage prospects', in general (*rekavon*), are slim, 'except a

little from those whales [hvalir] that are [var: were] ironed [járnaðir] in Arnarfjörður', as it is expressed.¹

Regarding two of these (Horn; Hrafnseyri) it is explicitly stated that (within living memory) each got a 'rorqual calf' (reyðarkálfur) that had been 'ironed' in Arnarfjörður.² It is also recorded that Álftamýri got a rorqual calf³ and that Dynjandi in living memory got a drift whale.⁴ Noting the locations of these farms both 'rorqual calf' and 'whale' are likely to have been speared although it is not explicitly said so.

JÁMPV (1710) also gives the following information which all relate to North Ísafjarðarsýsla:

In Eyrardalur, in Súðavíkurhreppur (former Eyrarsókn), 'driftage' has only succeeded with 'one whale' in living memory.⁵ Seen in the context of the evidence from Ögursveit and Snæfjallaströnd it is likely that this whale has been speared.

In Ögurhreppur (Ögurssveit) 6 farms (Skarð; Ögur; Strandseil; Hrafnabjörg; Þernuvík; Vigur) are mentioned where the 'driftage prospects', in general, are slim or none, 'except a little from the whales [var: fishes] that are ironed [járnaðir] in Ísafjarðardjúp'. At some farms such whales had drifted ashore in living memory, viz: Skarð, 3; Hrafnabjörg, 1; Þernuvík, 1.⁶ Calves are not specifically mentioned here.

In Reykjafjarðarhreppur (Vatnsfjarðarsveit) 3 farms (Látur; Skálavík; Borgarey) have 'slim' or 'very slim' 'driftage prospects' 'from the whales that are ironed [járnaðir] in Ísafjarðardjúp'.⁷ Calves are not specifically referred to here.

In Nauteyrarhreppur (Langadalsströnd) 3 farms (Laugaból; Hafnardalur; Melgraseyri) are recorded as having 'slim' 'driftage prospects from those whales that are shot (skutlaðir)/ironed (járnaðir) in Ísafjarðardjúp'.⁸ In addition it is mentioned that at the farm Ármúli 'people have heard that a whale sometime came ashore here'.⁹ It is not unreasonable to assume that the Ármúli whale was also speared. Whale calves are not referred to.

1 Cf JÁMPV 7, 1984: 4-7, 15, 21, 24, 26.

2 Cf JÁMPV 7, 1984: 6, 15.

3 Cf JÁMPV 7, 1984: 22.

4 Cf JÁMPV 7, 1984: 10.

5 Cf JÁMPV 7, 1984: 173.

6 Cf JÁMPV 7, 1984: 194f, 197, 202, 204.

7 Cf JÁMPV 7, 1984: 207, 214, 216.

8 Cf JÁMPV 7, 1984: 227, 239, 243.

9 Cf JÁMPV 7, 1984: 247.

In Snæfjallahreppur (Snæfjallaströnd) 5 farms (Lónseyri; Æðey; Skarð; Sandeyri; Snæfjöll) are enumerated concerning 'driftage prospects', viz:

Lónseyri: 'Driftage prospects only from those whales that have been ironed [járnaðir] in Ísafjarðardjúp which, however, has not come true in living memory.'¹ The same is said about Skarð and Sandeyri.²

Æðey: Some 'driftage prospects', 'though only from those whales that are ironed [járnaðir] in Ísafjarðardjúp.'³

Skarð: 'Driftage prospects slim' of whales 'ironed' in Ísafjarðardjúp.⁴

Sandeyri: 'Driftage prospects slim' of whales 'ironed' in Ísafjarðardjúp.⁵

Snæfjöll: 'Driftage prospects none, has not come true in living memory except for a few times that a whale has drifted here ashore which has been shot [skutlaður] in Ísafjarðardjúp.'⁶

Concerning the municipality Snæfjallaströnd as a whole JÁMPV (1710) writes: 'It is information and common opinion in this municipality ... that whales here so seldom or never drift ashore ..., except for the small driftage prospects which previously have been counted with each farm of those whales that are ironed [járnaðir] in Ísafjörður.'⁷ Whether Ísafjörður is merely short for Ísafjarðardjúp or refers to the innermost fiord off Ísafjarðardjúp by that name, is difficult to say. Calves are not specifically mentioned.

In Sléttuhreppur (Aðalvíkursveit), at the farm Slétta by Jökulfirðir (off the mouth of Ísafjarðardjúp) the 'driftage prospects are hardly worth mentioning, ... in living memory, except for a few occasions of rorqual calves [reyðarkálfar] that have been ironed [járnaðir] in Ísafjarðardjúp.'⁸ Two drift whales are recorded at the neighbouring farm Hesteyri⁹ which presumably could also have been speared ones.

In the commons of Grænahlíð and Ritur, Sléttuhreppur (Aðalvíkursveit; at the northwestern side of the entrance to Ísafjarðardjúp) driftage is very little because it can

1 Cf JÁMPV 7, 1984: 250.

2 Cf JÁMPV 7, 1984: 258f.

3 Cf JÁMPV 7, 1984: 256.

4 Cf JÁMPV 7, 1984: 258, see also 256.

5 Cf JÁMPV 7, 1984: 259, see also 256, 258.

6 Cf JÁMPV 7, 1984: 260.

7 Cf JÁMPV 7, 1984: 262.

8 Cf JÁMPV 7, 1984: 286.

9 Cf JÁMPV 7, 1984: 284.

often not beach firmly on the shore; everybody takes what he can get hold of as quickly as possibly, 'the same regarding whales that may drift (ashore) there but that has not happened apart from once in 60 years according to what is said.'¹ There is no reason to associate this drift whale with the spearing in Ísafjarðardjúp.

(C) Driftage of 'ironed' (ie, speared) 'whales' and 'rorqual calves':

Arnarfjarðarströnd, (West) Ísafjarðarsýsla, 1710:

Hokensdalur: "Rekavon er hjer ekki teljandi nema lítið af hvölum þeim, sem járnaðir eru á Arnarfirði." (JÁMPV 7, 1984: 4).

Laugabool: "Rekavon valla teljandi, nema lítil af hvölum þeim, sem járnaðir eru á Arnarfirði." (JÁMPV 7, 1984: 5).

Horn: "Reki hefur ei heppnast í manna minni, nema einn reyðarkálfur, sem járnaður var á Arnarfirði." (JÁMPV 7, 1984: 6).

Skógar: "Rekavon engin, þó landið liggi til sjáfar, nema lítil af hvölum þeim, sem járnaðir verða á Arnarfirði." (JÁMPV 7, 1984: 7).

Hrafseyri: "Reki hefur hjer ekki happnast í manna minni, utan einn reyðarkálfur, sem járnaður var hjer á Arnarfirði." (JÁMPV 7, 1984: 15).

Tialldanes: "Rekavon engin, nema lítil af hvölum þeim, sem járnaðir verða á Arnarfirði." (JÁMPV 7, 1984: 20).

Baulhus: "Rekavon engin, nema lítil af hvölum þeim, sem járnaðir eru á Arnarfirði." (JÁMPV 7, 1984: 21).

Stapadalur: "Rekavon engin teljandi, nema lítil af hvölum þeim, sem járnaðir eru á Arnarfirði." (JÁMPV 7, 1984: 24).

Lokinhamrar: "Rekavon engin teljandi, nema lítil af hvölum þeim, sem járnaðir verða á Arnarfirði ...". (JÁMPV 7, 1984: 26).

Eyrarsókn, (North) Ísafjarðarsýsla, 1710:

Eyrardalur: "Reki hefur ei heppnast í manna minni nema einn hvalur." (JÁMPV 7, 1984: 173). [Seen in the context of Ögursveit and Snæfjallaströnd it is likely that this whale has been speared].

1 Cf JÁMPV 7, 1984: 286.

Ögurssveit, (North) Ísafjarðarsýsla, 1710:

Skard: "Rekavon er hjer einasta af hvölum þeim, sem járnaðir eru á Ísafjarðardjúpi, og hefur hjer uppborið 3 stórfiska í manna minni." (JÁMPV 7, 1984: 194).

Augur: "Rekavon lítil af hvölum þeim, sem járnaðir eru á Ísafjarðardjúpi." (JÁMPV 7, 1984: 195).

Strandsel: "Rekavon lítil af hvölum þeim sem járnaðir eru á Ísafjarðardjúpi." (JÁMPV 7, 1984: 197).

Hrafnabiörg: "Rekavon lítil af hvölum þeim, sem járnaðir eru á Ísafjarðardjúpi, hefur heppnast einu sinni í manna minni." (JÁMPV 7, 1984: 210).

Þernevíjk: "Rekavon einasta af fiskum þeim, sem járnaðir eru á Ísafjarðardjúpi, hefur heppnast tvisvar í manna minni." (JÁMPV 7, 1984: 202).

Vigur: "Rekavon engin önnur en af hvölum þeim, sem járnaðir verða á Ísafjarðardjúpi." (JÁMPV 7, 1984: 204).

Vatnsfjarðarsveit, (North) Ísafjarðarsýsla, 1710:

Laatur (í Mjófafirði): "Rekavon mjög lítil, heppnast sjaldan, af hvölum þeim, sem járnaðir eru á Ísafjarðardjúpi, en við öngvan í manna minni." (JÁMPV 7, 1984: 207).

Skálavíjk (í Mjófafirði): "Rekavon lítil af hvölum sem járnaðir eru á Ísafjarðardjúpi, engin af viði, því hann hefur ei rekið í manna minnum." (JÁMPV 7, 1984: 214).

Borgarey: "Rekavon lítil af hvölum þeim, sem járnaðir eru á Ísafjarðardjúpi, annars engin." (JÁMPV 7, 1984: 216).

Lángadalsströnd, (North) Ísafjarðarsýsla, 1710:

Laugabool: "Rekavon lítil af hvölum þeim, sem skutlaðir er(u) á Ísafjarðardjúpi, heppnast sjaldan." (JÁMPV 7, 1984: 227).

Hafnardalur: "Rekavon engin önnur en lítil af hvölum þeim, sem skutlaðir verða á Ísafjarðardjúpi." (JÁMPV 7, 1984: 239).

Melgraseyri: "Rekavon lítil einasta af hvölum þeim, sem járnaðir eru á Ísafjarðardjúpi." (JÁMPV 7, 1984: 243).

Snæfjallaströnd, (North) Ísafjarðarsýsla, 1710:

Lónseyre: "Rekavon einasta af hvölum þeim, sem járnaðir hafa verið á Ísafjarðardjúpi, sem þó hefur ei heppnast í manna minni." (JÁMPV 7, 1984: 250).

Edey: "Rekavon nokkuð skárri en áður segir um hinar jarðirnar, þó einasta af hvölum þeim, sem járnaðir verða á Ísafjarðardjúpi." (JÁMPV 7, 1984: 256).

Skard: "Rekavon lítil af hvölum ut supra." (JÁMPV 7, 1984: 258). (ut supra here refers to "af hvölum þeim, sem járnaðir verða á Ísafjarðardjúpi"; cf JÁMPV 7, 1984: 256).

Sandeyre: "Rekavon lítil af hvölum sem áður segir." (JÁMPV 7, 1984: 259). ('sem áður segir' here refers to 'af hvölum þeim, sem járnaðir verða á Ísafjarðardjúpi'; cf JÁMPV 7, 1984: 256, 258).

Snæfiöll: "Rekavon engin so heppnast hafi í manna minni, nema þá einstöku sinnum að hval hefur drifið hjer á

reka, sem skutlaður hefur verið á Ísafjarðardjúpi." (JÁMPV 7, 1984: 260).

[Snæfjallaströnd municipality, in general:] "Það er undirrettning og almenn meining þessarar sveitar, ... að hjer rekur so sjaldna eður aldrei hval ... nema sú lítill rekavon, sem áður er talin með hvörri jörðu, hvala þeirra sem járnaðir eru á Ísafirði." (JÁMPV 7, 1984: 262).

Grænahlíð og Ritur almenningar, Aðalvíkursveit, (North) Ísafjarðarsýsla, 1710:

"Grænahlíð, og Ritur þar áfast við, heitir eitt fjall við sjóinn milli Sljettu og Skáladals, það er almenningar og heyrir öngr(i) jörðu sjerlega ---. Reki mjög lítill, því að óvíða er festifjara, og nýtir sjer hvör viðinn af rekanum þegar nokkuð uppber, sem fyrst getur til náð, sama er um hvali, sem þar kann að reka, en það hefur ekki heppnast nema einu sinni í 60 árum eftir því sem rómast hefur." (Cf JÁMPV 7, 1984: 286).

(D) Driftage of 'rorqual calves', partly 'ironed' (ie, speared):

Arnarfjarðarströnd, (West) Ísafjarðarsýsla, 1710:

Horn: "Reki hefur ei heppnast í manna minni, nema einn reyðarkálfur, sem járnaður var á Arnarfirði." (JÁMPV 7, 1984: 6).

Hrafnseyri: "Reki hefur hjer ekki happnast í manna minni, utan einn reyðarkálfur, sem járnaður var hjer á Arnarfirði." (JÁMPV 7, 1984: 15).

Alftamyre: "Reki hefur hjer eigi heppnast, þó landið liggi til sjófar, nema eit hvalbrot og einn reyðarkálfur." (JÁMPV 7, 1984: 22). [This rorqual calf is likely to have been speared similar to the ones drifting ashore at Horn and Hrafnseyri in the same district].

Aðalvíkursveit, (North) Ísafjarðarsýsla, 1710:

Slietta (við Jökulfjörður): "Rekavon valla teljandi, hefur ekki heppnast af viðum svo teljandi sje í manna minni, nema einstöku sinnum reyðarkálfar, sem járnaðir hafa verið á Ísafjarðardjúpi." (JÁMPV 7, 1984: 286).

Trjekyllisvíkurhreppur, Strandasýsla, 1706:

Krossnes: "... hvalreka milli Gils og Melslækjar ... hefur af hennar hálfu þar tekinn verið í manna minnum partur úr dálitlum hvalkálf." (JÁMPV 7, 1984: 333). [Found at the outer and northwestern side of the peninsula this 'part from a small calf' can hardly be associated with any attempt to spear whaling. It probably has other causes].

(E) Live-strandings and driftage of northern bottlenose whales:

Arnarfjarðardalir, Barðastrandasýsla, 1710:

Botn: "Reki hefur aldrei hepnast so menn viti, nema tvar andarnefjur, sem hjer hlupu lifandi á land." (JÁMPV 6, 1983: 387).

Dýrafjarðarhreppur, (West) Ísafjarðarsýsla, 1710:

Medaldalur: "Reki hefur ei hepnast í manna minni, nema 3 andarnefjur hlupu hjer lifandi á land." (JÁMPV 7, 1984: 40).

Lángadalsströnd, (North) Ísafjarðarsýsla, 1710:

Hamar: "Rekavon engin að kalla, þó hefur á þetta komið í manna minni ein andarnefja." (JÁMPV 7, 1984: 241).

Svalbarðsströnd, Þíngeyjarsýsla (Þíngeyjarþíng), 1712:

Gielldingsaa: "Reki hefur ei hepnast til stórra gagnsmuna fyrir utan eina andarnefju." (JÁMPV 11, 1988: 8).

(F) Whale strandings and whale carcass driftage (unspecified):

Arnarfjarðarströnd, (West) Ísafjarðarsýsla, 1710:

Dyniande: "Reki hefur ei hepnast í manna minni, nema einn hvalur." (JÁMPV 7, 1984: 10).

Hrafnseyri: "Reki hefur hjer ekki hepnast í manna minni, utan einn reyðarkálfur, sem járnaður var hjer á Arnarfirði. Hvalreka á kirkjan fyrir Selvoga landi á Sljettanesi milli Svaðhóls og Tóargils, þar hefur ei hval rekið so menn muni [15/16] til, nema einn skrokk fra frönskum, og naut staðurinn hans." (JÁMPV 7, 1984: 15f). [The expression 'one carcass from the French' points to it being a partly flensed whale or a krengr].

Alftamyre: "Reki hefur hjer eigi hepnast, þó landið liggi til sjófar, nema eit hvalbrot og einn reyðarkálfur." (JÁMPV 7, 1984: 22). [This rorqual calf is likely to have been speared similar to the ones drifting ashore at Horn and Hrafnseyri in the same district, cf JÁMPV 7, 1984: 6, 15].

Eyrarsókn, (North) Ísafjarðarsýsla, 1710:

Eyrardalur: "Reki hefur ei hepnast í manna minni nema einn hvalur." (JÁMPV 7, 1984: 173). [Seen in the context of Ögursveit and Snæfjallaströnd it is likely that this whale has been speared].

Lángadalsströnd, (North) Ísafjarðarsýsla, 1710:

Amule: "Rekavon engin teljandi, þó segjast menn heyrt hafa að hjer hafi hval einu sinni upp borið." (JÁMPV 7, 1984: 247). [Seen in the context of neighbouring farms in the municipality, and Ögursveit and Snæfjallaströnd this whale may well have been speared].

Aðalvíkursveit, (North) Ísafjarðarsýsla, 1710:

Hesteire (við Jökulfjörður): "Rekavon lítil, hefur ei heppnast í manna minni fyrir utan 2 hvali, sem þar hefur upp borið." (JÁMPV 7, 1984: 284). [As speared rorqual calves drifted ashore at Slietta these two whales may also have been speared].

Skáladalur (í Aðalvík): "Rekavon alllítill þó landið liggi við sjó, og hefur hjer ekki við uppborið til gagnsmuna so menn viti eður hvali í manna minni nema einn." (JÁMPV 7, 1984: 287).

Vindhælishreppur, Húnavatnssýsla, 1708:

Litle backe (Lusabacke): "... um hvalreka [461/462] vita menn ógjörla að undirretta, en þykjast heyrt hafa áður hafi hjer hval rekið, og þann hafi eigandi að sjer tekið og síðan hafi dómur á gengið og dæmt þennan hval frá jörðinni til Höskuldsstaðakirkju og annara kirkna, sem eigi ítak í Spákonuarf, og kunna nálægir hjer um ei fram að undirretta." (JÁMPV 8, 1984: 461f).

(G) Whale parts (hvalbrot) drifting ashore:

Arnarfjarðarströnd, (West) Ísafjarðarsýsla, 1710:

Alftamyre: "Reki hefur hjer eigi heppnast, þó landið liggi til sjófar, nema eit hvalbrot og einn reyðarkálfur." (JÁMPV 7, 1984: 22).

Dýrafjarðarhreppur, (West) Ísafjarðarsýsla, 1710:

Höfn: "Rekavon er valla teljandi, því festifjara er mjög lítil, þó hafa hjer áður upp borið 2 hvalbrot, sem landsdrottinn hefur notið." (JÁMPV 7, 1984: 30).

Trjekyllisvíkurhreppur, Strandasýsla, 1706:

Ófeigsfiörður: "Sker eru þar fyrir landi, kölluð Ófeigsfjarðarsker. ... einu sinni hefur á þeim fest óþekktanlegt hvalbrots tetur." (JÁMPV 7, 1984: 325).

Þistilfjörður, Þingeyjarsýsla, 1712:

Áland: "Rekavon í meðalagi, hepnast sjaldan framar en til húsabyggingar. Eitt hvalbrot hefur hjer rekið í manna minni." (JÁMPV 11, 1982: 363).

**A.17.10 Owner marks on Icelandic whaling shots,
17th-18th century**

- (A) Registrations and announcements at the Althing of owner marks on whaling shots: Extracts and summaries, with readily available geographical information.
- (B) Table of registered Icelandic whaling shot marks, home farm and district of their owners/users, and the place of shot mark recoveries (Althing announcements).
- (C) Recovered shot marks (Althing announcements), tentatively matched with mark registrations.
- (D) Information about whaling shot marks, their owners/users, etc, in miscellaneous Icelandic sources.
- (E) Identified registered whaling shot marks by county.
- (F) Announced (recovered) Icelandic whaling shots and matching registration data.

(A) Registrations and announcements at the Althing of owner marks on whaling shots: Extracts and summaries, with readily available geographical information:

This is an assumed complete list of the raw data concerning the registration and announcement at the Althing of whaling shot marks, with as many clues as possible added. When the entries are particularly illuminating extracts of them are offered.

There is a potential for complementing the geographical information place names, municipalities and counties beyond what has been done here. The old names are maintained; they are generally easily identifiable. Brief explanatory remarks are incorporated in the extracts (often in brackets) and occasionally added at the end of them.

The owner marks are presented as closely to the printed renderings as possible. Abbreviations occur in the marks, eg: 'A M' for 'á mig' (ie, 'owns me'); 'A' for 'á' (ie, 'owns');¹ and 'S' for 'son' in a patronymic.

1634, Althing registration: A whale shot mark 'ARME 10' (could be a misrepresentation of 'ARNE 10') of Árni Jónsson, Hattardalur, Álftafjörður, Eyrarsókn, Norður-Ísafjarðarsýsla. (Cf ALÞB 5, 1922, 1925-1932: 344). As 'j' is the tenth letter of the alphabet the mark reads 'Árni J' (cf ALÞB 5, 1922, 1925-1932: 344).

It is tempting to link this shot registration with the entry in *Eyrarannáll*, under 1595: 'Árni Jónsson hvalamaður [ie, 'whaler'] born in the Westfjords ...' (cf Þorsteinsson 1933a: 257). Árni married Sigríður Pálsdóttir, a relative (*systursonardóttir*) of Bjarni Oddsson, at Skarði (presumably Skarðshreppur, Dalasýsla) (cf Þorsteinsson 1933a: 257). He will presumably have whaled well before reaching the age of 39, then perhaps using another shot

1 Cf Kristjánsson 5, 1986: 54.

mark. His mark is also recovered and announced in 1657 (cf below).

1653, registration: 'Magnús Gizurarson registered in *lögréttur* the shot mark of Jón Bergsson like this: Jónberg and on the other side: SON. This Jón Bergson lives in Arnarfjörður.' (Cf ALPB 6, 1933-1940: 328). In terms of municipality it is uncertain what Arnarfjörður refers to: it could be either Arnarfjarðarströnd, Vestur-Ísafjarðarsýsla, or Arnarfjarðardalir, Vestur-Barðastrandarsýsla.

1657, announcement: 'Concerning shooter's share. At the same place Halldór Guðmundsson, proxy of the *sýslumaður* 'in Þórnessþing, announced a whale shot of iron with the mark of Árne Jónsson in the Westfjords', like that which Árne has earlier had registered. This shot was found in a whale drifted ashore at Keflavík in Þórnessþing, and Halldór offered the shooter's share in the *lögréttur*, and *sýslumaður* Magnús Magnússon offered to take charge of it. The share was appraised to 80 *álnir* [wadmal].' (Cf ALPB 6, 1933-1940: 397).

Keflavík is in Neshreppur, Snæfellsnessýsla.

This is probably the mark of Árne Jónsson, *hvalamaður* (cf registration 1634, above). Perhaps he was still active at the age of 62?

1657, registration: Snæbjörn Torfason registers the 'whale shot, which Páll Guðmundsson will henceforth use. His name is drawn up on the shot. The mark is like this: PALL guðmuNDSON.' (Cf ALPB 6, 1933-1940: 407).

1658, announcement: 'Similarly, *sýslumaður* Eggert Björnsson announced a whale shot iron with this mark: PALL guðmuNDSON, which was found in a whale drifted onto the shore of Eggert Björnsson, and offered 3 *ríkisdalir* in shooter's share.' (Cf ALPB 6, 1933-1940: 431).

As from 1645 to his death in 1681, *sýslumaður* Eggert Björnsson *ríki* lived mainly at Skarð, Skarðshreppur, Dalasýsla (cf Júlíusson, Ísberg and Kjartansson 1, 1990: 175 [map]; Ólason 1, 1948: 314).

1658, registration: *Sýslumaður* Þorleifur Kortsson registered two whale shots with these marks:

'guðmundur brandsson';

'biORN biARNAR. s.'. (Cf ALPB 6, 1933-1940: 435).

1659, registration: Magnús Gizurarson registered 'a whale shot mark, marked in wood': 'GUÐMUNDUR THUMASSON'. (Cf ALPB 6, 1933-1940: 447).

1659, announcement: 'Whale shot announcement. At the same place and day *sýslumaður* Eggert Björnsson announced a whale shot iron with a stamped mark on both sides, and which is indistinctly to be seen. It was considered a foreign iron. It was found in a whale calf drifted ashore at Fifustaðir in Arnarfjörður in Barðastrandarsýsla. The shooter's share is appraised to half a *mörk* [*hálfmörk*], and the shooter's share with the iron is offered if any rightful person exists. The estate Fifustaðir is an estate of the church at Bær at Rauðasandur.' (ALþB 6, 1933-1940: 459).

Fifustaðir is in Arnarfjarðardalur, and Bær is Saurbær, Rauðasandshreppur, both Vestur-Barðastrandarsýsla.

1660, registration: On 30 June, 1660, '*sýslumaður* Þorleifur Kotsson announced the oak-shot mark ["eikarskutuls mark"] which the man Andrés Magnússon, peasant in Ísafjarðarsýsla, will have on his shots for whaling. The mark is drawn up like this: Andrés Magnússon. ANDries MAGNÚSSON.' (Cf ALþB 6, 1933-1940: 468).

1660, announcement: 'On the second day, 30 June [1660], these subjects were considered: A whale shot was announced at the Althing in *lögréttur* by *sýslumaður* Einar Þorsteinsson on behalf of rev Sigurður Bjarnason of Kálfafellsstaður in Hornarfjörður with the mark, which the lawman and the lawrightmen present considered to be foreign, a mark with 7 points in a stamped ring, and the shooter's share was offered, according to appraisal one and a half *dalir*. This also affected Jón Ólafsson in Borgarhöfn [Borgarhafnarhreppur, A-Skaftafellssýsla] and other peasants there because the same whale was cut onto ships off the shore of Borgarhöfn but then later drifted onto the shore of Kálfafellsstaður [Borgarhafnarhreppur, A-Skaftafellssýsla]. But as nobody claimed ["leiddi sig til"] the shot, then the proprietors again take charge of the one and a half *dalir* until the shooter comes forward.' (Cf ALþB 6, 1933-1940: 658).

1663, announcement: The vicar of Stað, Grunnavík, announced that in the summer of 1662 an iron, with 'JON GuðmunS SON' stamped on both sides, was found in a 'cut and reduced whale' at the farm Hlöðuvík, Aðalvíkursveit (Sléttuhreppur), Norður-Ísafjarðarsýsla. The shooter's share was by six men appraised to 6 *álnir* wadmál which the vicar held in trust because Hlöðuvík was owned by that church. The minister requested the iron be returned after announcement. (Cf ALþB 7, 1944-1948: 23).

1667, registration: A 'whale shooting iron' which Sigurður Jónsson, of the farm Þernuvík, Ögurssveit, Norður-Ísafjarðarsýsla, 'will use in the future for whaling', with his mark 'Sigurður Jónsson'. (Cf ALþB 7, 1944-1948: 109).

1668, registration: Árni Magnússon registered a 'whale shooting iron' which Þorsteinn Jónsson would use with the

mark: 'ÞORSTEINN JONSSON' (cf ALPB 7, 1944-1948: 134).

1669, registrations: Four 'whale shot marks', simply stated as being 'from Ísafjarðarsýsla': 'HALLDOR ÞORKELSSON', 'ÞORKELL ARNASON', 'GUÐMUNDUR MAGNUSSON', 'ÞORKELL EIREKSSON' (cf ALPB 7, 1944-1948: 154).

Shot which Halldór Sigmundsson, of the farm Seljaland, Skutilsfjörður, Norður-Ísafjarðarsýsla, 'intends to use', marked 'HALLDÓR SIGMUNDSSON' (cf ALPB 7, 1944-1948: 161).

'Whale shot' which Jón Þorsteinsson 'would use', marked 'Jón Þorsteinsson A' (ie, 'Jón Þorsteinsson owns') (cf ALPB 7, 1944-1948: 163; cf below under 1672).

'Whale shot' which Árni Guðmundsson, 'of the Westfjords', 'would use', marked 'Árni Guðmundsson' (cf ALPB 7, 1944-1948: 164).

'Shooting iron' registered for Steinn Magnússon, from Strandasýsla, with the 'whale mark' 'S.t.M.' (cf ALPB 7, 1944-1948: 154).

1670, registration: Þorleifur Magnússon, of the farm Hagi, Barðarstrandarhreppur, Vestur-Barðastrandarsýsla, had the 'whale shot mark' 'ÞORLEIFUR MAGNUSSON' registered which he 'will use' (cf ALPB 7, 1944-1948: 192).

1672, announcement: A 'broken shot', carrying the mark 'Jón Þorsteinsson Á' (ie, 'Jón Þorsteinsson owns'), had been found in a stranded whale on the ground of Páll Pálsson, Vindhali, Vindhælishreppur, Vestur-Húnavatnssýsla (at the eastern shore of Húnaflói). The proprietor's and the shooter's shares were 20 vættir [fish value] each. (Cf ALPB 7, 1944-1948: 240).

1673, registrations: 'Whale shot' which rev Sigurður Gíslason 'will use, with this mark: Sugurður GiislAson' [sic, sic] (cf ALPB 7, 1944-1948: 270); and

'Shot iron which Ólafur Arnason will use, with this mark: OLAFUR ARNASON' (cf ALPB 7, 1944-1948: 270).

1674, registration: 'Whale shot which Ari Jónsson in Húnavatnsping [-sýsla] will use, with this mark: ARE JONSSON. On the other side of the shot is A.M.' (Cf ALPB 7, 1944-1948: 287). 'A.M.' could mean 'á mig', ie, 'owns me'.

1675, registrations: Shot mark which Grímur Jónsson, of Árvík, Trékyllisvíkurhreppur, Strandasýsla, 'will use': 'GRIMUR JONSSON A I 1675' (cf ALPB 7, 1944-1948: 325).

Árni Einarsson, of Ós, 'in Strandasýsla' registered a 'whale shot mark' which he will use: 'ARNE EINARS SON A I' (cf ALPB 7, 1944-1948: 331).

JÁMPV (7, 1984: 470) mentions Ós farm names in three different municipalities in Strandasýsla, but none of them are in Trékyllisvíkurhreppur. Whether the 'I' in both marks form a linkage is so far not clear.

1675, announcement: Sýslumaður Magnús Jónsson presented a

whale shot which had been found in a whale that came ashore at Reykjanessreki (Reykjanes driftage) in 1674, with the mark 'JON BERGSON' and the shooter's share being 80 álnir wadmál (cf ALPB 7, 1944-1948: 325).

This will undoubtedly refer to Reykjanes, Trékyllisvíkurhreppur, in Strandasýsla which sýslumaður Magnús Jónsson was then in charge of (cf JÁMPV 7, 1984: 470; Ólason 3, 1950: 434).

1676, registrations: Gísli Árnason, 'in Ísafjarðarsýsla, will use this shot mark: Gísle A:rna son' (cf ALPB 7, 1944-1948: 339); and

Úlfur Pálsson, 'in Ísafjarðarsýsla' 'will use' the shot mark 'ULFUR PALSSON'. (cf ALPB 7, 1944-1948: 347).

1677, registrations: Þorsteinn Bjarnason, 'in Barðastrandarsýsla', 'will use the shot mark 'THORSTEIRN BJARNASON' (cf ALPB 7, 1944-1948: 375).

From Ísafjarðarsýsla the following 'shooting iron':

1. Magnús Jónsson, with the mark 'MAGNUS JONSSON';
 2. Jón Sigurðsson, with the mark 'JON SIGURÐSSON';
 3. Jón Jónsson, with the mark 'JON JONSSON'; and
 4. Ólafur Jónsson, with the mark 'OLAFUR JONSSON'.
- (cf ALPB 7, 1944-1948: 386).

1679, registration: 'This shot mark, written on paper, was registered with the thing at Öxará: EINAR EIELSSON [sic] A MIG VIÐ PATRIXFIORD. SATT ER ÞAÐ' (cf ALPB 7, 1944-1948: 464).

The (normalised) mark reads in translation: 'Einar Egilsson, at Patreksfjörður, owns me; that is true [or: certain]'.

1680, registrations: A shot mark from Tálknafjörður, Vestur-Barðastrandarsýsla: 'THORDUR IONSSON' (cf ALPB 7, 1944-1948: 519).

Two shot marks from Arnarfjörður:

'JON ÞORBJÖRNSSON' and

'EIOLFVR IONSSON Á' (cf ALPB 7, 1944-1948: 520).

It is uncertain which municipality (and thus county) 'Arnarfjörður' refers to; it could be either Arnarfjarðarströnd, Vestur-Ísafjarðarsýsla, or Arnarfjarðardalur, V-Barðastrandarsýsla.

1682, registration: Shot iron 'from Ísafjarðarsýsla with this name: ION ISLEIF SON A. M.' (cf ALPB 7, 1944-1948: 584).

1685, registrations: 'Shot mark presented on paper with these letters: THORÐUR JONS SON Í GEYRA DAL Á JÁRNID' (cf ALPB 8, 1949-1955: 91). The (normalised) mark reads in translation: 'Þorður Jónsson in Geyradal [ie, in Austur-Barðastrandarsýsla] owns the iron'.

Shot mark 'from Seyðisfjörður', Norður-Múlasýsla: 'Jon Arnason' (cf ALPB 8, 1949-1955: 95) and

shot mark 'from Álftafjörður', Suður-Múlasýsla:

'Suartur Guðmundsson' [sic] (cf ALPB 8, 1949-1955: 95).

1692, registrations: Shot irons from Ísafjarðarsýsla, 'with letters like this':

'HALLUR ÞORFINNSSON' and

'GUNNLAUGUR JONSSON'. (Cf ALPB 8, 1949-1955: 389).

1693, registration: Shot iron from Vöðluping (ie Eyjafjarðarsýsla) which Erlendur Guðmundsson 'had registered here': 'F.I.'. (Cf ALPB 8, 1949-1955: 421).

1693, announcement: '... the official [valdsmaður] Jón Eyjólfsson announced in the lögréttur a whale shot [hvalskeyti], considered to be Icelandic,¹ with the stamped name ION ÞORBIÖRNSSON on it, and said that [shooter's] money accompany it. A shot [skeyti; ms var: skot] like this will have been registered in lögréttur at Öxará in the year 1680, and in that Althing book can both the name and the letters be found, [item] number 54.' (Cf ALPB 8, 1949-1955: 421).

Jón Eyjólfsson yngri held Kjósarsýsla as from 1684 (cf Ólason 3, 1950: 108).

1696, announcement: Lawrightman Brynjólfur Ásmundsson, from Þórnessping (ie, northern Snæfellsnessýsla), announced a 'shooting iron' marked 'JON SIGURDSSON', to which was attached a shooter's share of 6 vættir [fish value]. (Cf ALPB 8, 1949-1955: 532).

1698, announcement: Lawrightman Brynjólfur Ásmundsson [from Þórnessping, ie, northern Snæfellsnessýsla; cf ALPB 8, 1949-1955: 532] announced the 'whale shooting iron which was found in a whale near Ytri-Garðar, in Staðarsveit', Snæfellsnessýsla, marked 'ION JSLEIFSON A M'. (Cf ALPB 9, 1957-1964: 73f).

The mark probably reads 'Jón Ísleifsson á mig' (ie, '... owns me').

1699, registrations: 'Shooting iron' with the mark 'BIARNE VILHIALMSSON AI' (cf ALPB 9, 1957-1964: 96).

The official [valdsmaðurinn] Páll Torfason presented for registration the shot marks

'GRETTIR HOSKULDSSON' and

'GUDMUNDUR ÞORBJÖRNSSON' (cf ALPB 9, 1957-1964: 118).

Páll Torfason was sýslumaður of the whole of Ísafjarðarsýsla, 1695-1700 (cf Ólason 4, 1951: 144); he most likely registered shot marks from that district.

Guðmundur Þorbjörnsson could be the brother of Jón Þorbjörnsson who lived in Arnarfjörður, V-Barðs/V-Ísafjs, when he in 1680 registered his mark.

1700, registration of lance (lagjárn) which Gísli Magnússon, in Vöðlusýsla (ie, Eyjafjarðarsýsla) 'will use',

1 Numerous announcements around this time clearly involve foreign harpoons and lances.

marked: 'GJISLI MAGNÚSSON' (cf ALPB 9, 1957-1964: 144).

1702, registrations: '... two shooting irons were presented in lögréttur which the owners will use, marked like this:

ÞORSTEIRN HALLDORSSON A M [;]
SIGMVNDVR MAGNVS SON A.' (CF ALPB 9, 1957-1964: 203).

1704, registration: From Ísafjarðarsýsla: Þorsteinn Jónsson 'will use' the 'whale shot mark': 'ÞORSTEIRN IONSON A' (cf ALPB 9, 1957-1964: 267, 275).

1712, registration: From Ísafjarðarsýsla: Markús Bergsson, sýslumaður in Ísafjarðarsýsla, 'registered ... a whale shot with this mark: OLAFUZ IONSSON, which he will use.' (Cf ALPB 10, 1967: 66).

The text is ambivalent as to who, Bergsson or Jónsson, will actually use the shot. It seems most likely that Bergsson presented the shots on behalf of the men mentioned in the mark. (See a similar registration in 1728).

1716, announcement of a whale shot, marked 'EIOLFUS IONSON A', found in a whale which in the winter 1715/16 drifted onto the shore (Mávahlíðar-reka) of the farm Mávahlíð, Neshreppur, Snæfellsnessýsla, for which the rural dean Þórður Jónsson, Staðarstaður, held 25 dalir exactly in trust, 'according to account, to be handed over to the right owner, upon receipt'. (Cf ALPB 10, 1967: 236).

1719, announcement of the skutill (shot, harpoon?) found in a whale fish that drifted onto the shore (Mávahlíðar-fjara) of the farm Mávahlíð, Neshreppur, Snæfellsnessýsla, marked 'E'; the rural dean Þórður Jónsson, Staðarstaður, 'offers ... to pay the shooter's share to the one who owns the skutull, if he can be found in this country'. (Cf ALPB 10, 1967: 447, cf 464).

1719, registration of a shot mark which Rafn Þorkelsson 'will use': 'RAFN ÞORKIELSSON A' (ms var: 'RAFN ÞOZKIELSSON A'). (Cf ALPB 10, 1967: 447, 464).

1720, registration of a shot mark which 'Einar Jónsson, in Ísafjarðarsýsla, will use': 'EINAR IONSSON'. (Cf ALPB 10, 1967: 542).

1725, announcement of a shot, marked 'GVDMVNDVZ ÞOZBIOZNSSON', found in a whale drifted ashore in April 1725 at an outlying skerry in Hvalseyjar, Hraunhreppur, Mýrasýsla; [268/269] the shooter's share amounted to 10 'rixdalir í cronum'. (Cf ALPB 11, 1969: 268f).

1726, registrations: 'The lawrightman from Barðastrandarsýsla, Finnur Nikolasson, presented in lögréttur a whale shot, marked 'NORRE MAGNVALIÖN A' (cf ALPB 11, 1969: 327).

'Ími Arnórsson in Gullbringusýsla will use a whale shot marked like this: 'IME ARNORSSON A' (cf ALPB 11, 1969:

327).

1728, registration: The *sýslumaður* in Ísafjarðarsýsla, Markús Bergsson, presented in *lögréttur* 'a whale shot iron so marked: ÞOZVAZDUZ IONSON A, which he henceforth will use.' (Cf ALPB 11, 1969: 486).

It seems most likely that Bergsson presented the shots on behalf of the men mentioned in the mark. (See a similar registration in 1712).

1733, registration of a 'shot iron, marked these letters: ION EIOLFSSON, which Jón Eyjólfsson at Laugaból in Arnarfjörður will use.' (Cf ALPB 12, 1971: 110).

Laugaból is in the municipality of Arnarfjarðarströnd, Vestur-Ísafjarðarsýsla.

1735, registrations: '... one marked with these letters: ÞORDUR ORNOLFS SON, which the same man, now servant [*til vistar*] at Hamar, on Langadalsströnd [Norður-Ísafjarðarsýsla], will use.' (Cf ALPB 12, 1971: 235).

'The other marked: BIARNE HALLDORS SON A. This Bjarni is said to be servant [*að vistum*] in Ögur in [Norður-]Ísafjarðarsýsla.' (Cf ALPB 12, 1971: 235).

1737, registrations of two whale shots:

'one with these letters: ION BIARNASON, which the same man, staying at Ögur in Ísafjarðarsýsla, will use.' (Cf ALPB 12, 1971: 341).

The second, 'which is marked with these letters: MAGNVS IONSSON, which the same man, staying in Barðarstrandarsýsla, will use.' (Cf ALPB 12, 1971: 341).

1738, registration: Whale shot which Sveinn Sveinsson, 'in Strandarsýsla will use', marked 'SVEIZN SVEINSSON A' (cf ALPB 12, 1971: 402, cf 456).

1740, registrations of '4 whale shots with the names engraved':

On the first: SVMAZLIDE IONSSON A.

On the second: BARDUZ ILLUGASON A.

On the third: EIOLFVR BIARNASON.

The 4th carries these letters: ÞOZDUZ IOSEPSSON A. *Sýslumaður*, Rev Markús Bergsson, described that all these 4 shots were to be used in Ísafjarðarsýsla.' (Cf ALPB 12, 1971: 528).

1741, registrations of two 'whale shot irons' marked:

'EINAR IONSSON';

'STEINGRIMVR SIGMVNDSSON A SOLHEIMVM I LAXARDAL A IARNED ANNI 1741'. (Cf ALPB 13, 1973: 56).

The (normalised) text of the latter mark reads: 'Steingrimur Sigmundsson á Sólheimum í Laxárdal á járníð anno 1741'; the farm is Sólheimar, Laxárdalshreppur, Dalasýsla.

1751, registrations of whale shots:

'From Jón Teitsson, at Vindhæli, on Skagaströnd, in Húnavatnssýsla, with this mark: ION TEITS SON.' (Cf ALPB 14, 1977: 32).

'Two from Strandasýsla with these marks:

GISLE IONSON A.

THOMAS BRANDSON A.' (Cf ALPB 14, 1977: 32).

1761, registration: Whale shot, 'with this mark: Sigurður Helgason á, whose owner, now staying at Vogur ["nú verandi á Vogu"] in Hraunhreppur inside Mýrasýsla, will use.' (Cf ALPB 14, 1977: 453).

1776, announcement: Gísli Jónsson, at Gerði, in Garðar ("Gísli Jónsson á Gerðum í Garði") [Þingeyjarsýsla?] announced two shots or harpoons (?) ("2ur skutlum") which were found in a poor whale carcass in June 1776, both carrying the letters 'T.B.R.' on one side and 'C' on the other. (Cf ALPB 15, 1982: 487).

1782, registrations entered in the Althing book:

'1.) I the undersigned register 2 whale shots, which I have used and henceforth intend to use, the former with this mark: GL. MS. and the latter GUNL. MS.

Valdastaðir in Strandasýsla, 9 July 1782.

Gunnlaugur Magnússon." (Cf ALPB 16, 1986: 97).

The farm is probably Valdasteinstaðir, Bæjarhreppur, Strandasýsla.

'2.) Undersigned registers 1 whale shot, which I have used and henceforth intend to use, on one side with this mark: O.M.S., and on the other (side): MAGNUS O.S.A.B.

Brandagil in Húnavatnssýsla, 10 July 1782.

Magnús Ólafsson.' (Cf ALPB 16, 1986: 98).

Brandagil is in Hrútafjarðarhreppur (= Staðarhreppur), Vestur-Húnavatnssýsla.

1792, registration read out: 'Registering whale shot of the bóndi [ie, peasant or proprietor] of Dynjandi in Arnarfjörður within Ísafjarðarsýsla with the letters: PALL JONSSON. Requests entry into the lawthing book of this year, by proxy. J. Arnórsson.' (Cf ALPB 17, 1990: 90).

This is Dynjandi, Arnarfjarðarströnd, Vestur-Ísafjarðarsýsla.

(B) Table of registered Icelandic whaling shot marks, home farm and district of their owners/users, and the place of shot mark recoveries (Althing announcements):

The information in this table is drawn from the basic calendar A.17.10 (A), with brief identifications added. Below 'owned/used by' is omitted; -sýsla is abbreviated as *s* and hreppur as *hr*; question marks indicate when one or both of these reference are missing.

The identification and updating of place names, municipalities and counties is in a preliminary state of research. Time has only permitted limited consultation of JÁMPV (1702-1714). There is a considerable potential for complementing the geographical information regarding many shots and their owners, either directly or through the *sýslumenn* and other persons involved in their registration and announcement, so also some farms, from various sources: It suffices to mention the national census from 1703 (published 1924-1947) which yields personal data on Icelanders around the middle of the recording period.

Registered shot marks (Althing):

- 1634, 'ARME 10' ['ARNE 10']; owned/used by Árne Jónsson, Hattardalur, Álftafjörður, Eyrarsókn, N-Ísafjs.
- 1653, 'Jónberg' on one side, 'SON' on the other side; Jón Berg(s)son, Arnarfjörður, V-Barðs or V-Ísafjs ?.
- 1657, 'PALL guðmundSON'; Páll Guðmundsson, ?, ?.
- 1658, 'guðmundur brandsson'; Guðmundur Brandsson, ?, ?.
- 1658, 'biORN biARNAR. s'; Björn Bjarnarson, ?, ?.
- 1659, 'GUÐMUNDUR THUMASSON'; Guðmundur Thómasson, ?, ?.
- 1660, 'Andrés Magnússon. ANDries MAGNÚSSON'; Andrés Magnússon, ?, Ísafjs.
- 1667, 'Sigurður Jónsson'; Sigurður Jónsson, Þernuvík, Ögursveit, N-Ísafjs.
- 1668, 'ÞORSTEINN JONSSON'; Þorsteinn Jónsson, ?, ?.
- 1669, 'HALLDOR ÞORKELSSON'; Halldór Þorkelsson, ?, Ísafjs.
- 1669, 'ÞORKELL ARNASON'; Þorkell Árnason, ?, Ísafjs.
- 1669, 'GUÐMUNDUR MAGNUSSON'; Guðmundur Magnússon, ?, Ísafjs.
- 1669, 'ÞORKELL EIREKSSON'; Þorkell Eiríksson, ?, Ísafjs.
- 1669, 'HALLDÓR SIGMUNDSSON'; Halldór Sigmundsson, Seljaland, Skutilsfjörður, N-Ísafjs.
- 1669, 'Jón Þorsteinsson A'; Jón Þorsteinsson, ?, ?.
- 1669, 'Árne Guðmundsson'; Árne Guðmundsson, ?, Westfjords, ie, V-Barðs, Ísafjs or Strs ?.
- 1669, 'S.t.M.'; Steinn Magnússon, ?, Strs.
- 1670, 'ÞORLEIFUR MAGNUSSON'; Þorleifur Magnússon, Hagi, Barðastrandarhr, V-Barðs.
- 1673, 'Sugurður Gíslason'; Sigurður Gíslason, ?, ?.
- 1673, 'OLAFUR ARNASON'; Ólafur Árnason, ?, ?.
- 1674, 'ARE JONSSON'; Ari Jónsson, ?, Húnavatnss.
- 1675, 'GRIMUR JONSSON A I 1675'; Grímur Jónsson, Árvík, Trékyllisvíkurhr, Strs.

- 1675, 'ARNE EINARS SON A I'; Árni Einarsson, Ós, ?,
Strs.
- 1676, 'Gísle A:rna son'; Gísli Árnason, ?, Ísafjs.
- 1676, 'ULFUR PALSSON', Úlfur Pálsson, ?, Ísafjs.
- 1677, 'THORSTEIRN BJARNASON'; Þorsteinn Bjarnason, ?,
Barðs.
- 1677, 'MAGNUS JONSSON'; Magnús Jónsson, ?, Ísafjs.
- 1677, 'JON SIGURÐSSON'; Jón Sigurðsson, ?, Ísafjs.
- 1677, 'JON JONSSON'; Jón Jónsson, ?, Ísafjs.
- 1677, 'OLAFUR JONSSON'; Ólafur Jónsson, ?, Ísafjs.
- 1679, 'EINAR EIELSSON A MIG VIÐ PATRIXFIORD. SATT ER
ÞAÐ'; Einar Egilsson, ?, Patreksfjörður,
V-Barðs.
- 1680, 'THORDUR IONSSON'; Þórður Jónsson, Tálknafjörður,
V-Barðs.
- 1680, 'JON ÞORBJÖRNSSON'; Jón Þorbjörnsson,
Arnarfjörður, V-Barðs or V-Ísafjs ?.
- 1680, 'EIOLFVR IONSSON Á'; Eyjólfur Jónsson,
Arnarfjörður, V-Barðs or V-Ísafjs ?.
- 1682, 'ION ISLEIF SON A. M.'; Jón Ísleifsson, ?, Ísafjs.
- 1685, 'THORÐUR JONS SON Í GEYRA DAL Á JÁRNID'; Þorður
Jónsson, Geyradal, A-Barðs.
- 1685, 'Jon Arnason'; Jón Árnason, Seyðisfjörður, N-Múls.
- 1685, 'Suartur Guðmundsson'; Svartur Guðmundsson,
Álftafjörður, S-Múls.
- 1692, 'HALLUR ÞORFINNSSON'; ?, Ísafjs.
- 1692, 'GUNNLAUGUR JONSSON'; ?, Ísafjs.
- 1693, 'F.I.'; Erlendur Guðmundsson, ?, Eyjafs.
- 1699, 'BIARNE VILHIALMSSON AI'; Bjarni Vilhjálmsson,
?, ?.
- 1699, 'GRETTIR HOSKULDSSON'; Gréttir Höskuldsson, ?,
[Ísafjs].
- 1699, 'GUDMUNDUR ÞORBJORNSSON'; Guðmundur Þorbjörnsson,
[Arnarfjarðarströnd, V-Ísafjs].
- 1700, 'GJISLI MAGNÚSSON' [lance]; Gísli Magnússon, ?,
Eyjafs.
- 1702, 'ÞORSTEIRN HALLDORSSON A M'; Þorsteinn
Halldórsson, ?, ?.
- 1702, 'SIGMVNDVR MAGNVS SON A'; Sigmundur Magnusson,
?, ?.
- 1704, 'ÞORSTEIRN IONSON A'; Þorsteinn Jónsson, ?,
Ísafjs.
- 1712, 'OLAFUZ IONSSON'; Ólafur Jónsson; ?, Ísafjs.
- 1719, 'RAFN ÞORKIELSSON A' / 'RAFN ÞOKIELS SON A'; Rafn
Þorkelsson; ?, ?.
- 1720, 'EINAR IONSSON'; Einar Jónsson, ?, Ísafjs.
- 1726, '†NORRE MAGŪV††OŪ A'; Snorri Magnússon, ?,
Barðs.
- 1726, 'IME ARNORSSON A'; Ími Arnórsson, ?, Gullbs.
- 1728, 'ÞOZVAZDUZ IONSON'; Þorvaldur Jónsson; ?, Ísafjs.
- 1733, 'ION EIOLFSSON'; Jón Eyjólfsson, Laugaból,
Arnarfjarðarströnd, V-Ísafjs.
- 1735, 'ÞORDUR ORNOLFS SON'; Þórður Örnólfsson, ?,
Laugadalsströnd, N-Ísafjs.
- 1735, 'BIARNE HALLDORS SON A'; Bjarni Halldórsson, Ögur,
Ögurhr, N-Ísafjs.

- 1737, 'ION BIARNASON'; Jón Bjarnason, Ögur, Ögurhr,
N-Ísafjs.
1737, 'MAGNVS IONSSON'; Magnús Jónsson, ?, Barðs.
1738, 'SVINZN SVEINSSON A'; Sveinn Sveinsson, ?,
Strs.
1740, 'SVMASLIDE IONSSON A'; Sumarliði Jónsson, ?,
Ísafjs.
1740, 'BARDUZ ILLUGASON A'; Bárður Illugason, ?, Ísafjs.
1740, 'EIOLFVR BIARNASON'; Eyjólfur Bjarnason, ?,
Ísafjs.
1740, 'ÞOZDUZ IOSEPSSON A'; Þórður Jósefsson, ?, Ísafjs.
1741, 'EINAR IONSSON'; ?, ?.
1741, 'STEINGRIMVR SIGMVNDSSON A SOLHEIMVM I LAXARDAL A
IARNED ANNI 1741'; Steingrimur Sigmundsson,
Sólheimar, Laxárdalshr, Dalas.
1751, 'ION TEITS SON'; Jón Teitsson, Vindhæli,
Vindhælishr, Skagatrönd, A-Húns.
1751, 'GISLE IONSON A'; Gísli Jónsson, ?, Strs.
1751, 'THOMAS BRANDSON A'; Thómas Brandsson, ?, Strs.
1761, 'Sigurður Helgason á'; Sigurður Helganson, Vogur,
Hraunhr, Mýras.
1782, 'GL. MS'; Gunnlaugur Magnússon,
Valda(stein)staðir, Bæjarhr, Strs.
1782, 'GUNL. MS.'; Gunnlaugur Magnússon,
Valda(stein)staðir, Bæjarhr, Strs.
1782, 'O.M.S.' on one side, 'MAGNUS O.S.A.B.' on the
other side; Magnús Ólafsson, Brandagil,
Hrútafjarðarhr, V-Húns.
1792, 'PALL JONSSON'; Páll Jónsson, Dynjandi,
Arnarfjarðarströnd, V-Ísafjs.

(C) Recovered shot marks (Althing announcements), tentatively matched with mark registrations:

The information in this table is drawn from the basic calendar A.17.10 (A), with brief identifications added. In the absence of other evidence the (initial) mark owner is considered the owner and user at the time of the recovery. The differences which sometimes occur between the recovered and matched marks will originate in the rendering and are hardly of any significance.

- 1657: 'ARME 10' ('ARNE 10'), registered 1634;
owner: Árni Jónsson, Hattardalur,
Álftafjörður, Eyrarsókn, N-
Ísafjs;
recovered at: Keflavík, Neshr, (northwestern)
Snæfs.
- 1658: 'PALL guðmuNdsON', registered 1657;
owner: Páll Guðmundsson, ?, ?;
recovered at: sýslumaður Eggert Björnsson's
ground, [Skarö, Skaröshr ?,
Dalas ?].
- 1659: Probably a foreign whaling weapon: indistinct
stamped marks on both sides; recovered at
Fifustaðir, 'Arnarfjörður', ie, Arnarfjarðardalir,
V-Barðs.
- 1660: Probably a foreign whaling weapon: marked with 7
points in a stamped ring ("7 bóllum í stimpluðum
hring"); recovered at Bergarhöfn, Borgarhafnarhr,
A-Skafts.
- 1663 (1662): 'JON GuðmunS SON' (on both sides), ?;
owner: Jón Guðmundsson, ?, ?;
recovered at: Hlöðuvík, Aðalvíkursveit
(Sléttuhr), N-Ísafjs.
- 1672: 'Jón Þorsteinsson Á', registered 1669;
owner: Jón Þorsteinsson, ?, ?;
recovered at: Vindhæli, Vindhælishr, A-Húns.
- 1675 (1674): 'JON BERGSON', registered 1653;
owner: Jón Berg(s)son,
Arnarfjörður,
V-Barðs/V-Ísafjs;
recovered at: Reykjanes,
Trékyllisvíkurhr, Strs.
- 1693: 'ION ÞORBIÖRNSSON', registered 1680;
owner: Jón Þorbjörnsson, Arnarfjörður,
V-Barðs/V-Ísafjs;
recovered at: [Kjóss ?, ie, the district of
valdsmaður Jón Eyjólfsson].

- 1696: 'JON SIGURDSSON', registered 1677;
owner: Jón Sigurðsson, ?, Ísafjs;
recovered at: ?, Þórnessþing, (northern)
Snæfs.
- 1698: 'ION JSLEIFSON A M', registered 1682;
owner: Jón Ísleifsson, ?, Ísafjs;
recovered at: Ytri-Garðar, Staðarsveit,
(southern) Snæfs.
- 1716 (1715/16): 'EIOLFUS IONSON A', registered 1680;
owner: Eyjólfur Jónsson,
Arnarfjörður,
V-Ísafjs/V-Barðs;
recovered at: Mávahlíð, Neshr,
(northwestern) Snæfs.
- 1719: Probably a foreign whaling weapon: 'E'; recovered
at Mávahlíð, Neshr, (northwestern) Snæfs.
- 1725: 'GVDMVNDVZ ÞOZBIOZNSSON', registered 1699;
owner: Guðmundur Þorbjörnsson,
presumably of
Arnarfjarðarströnd, V-Ísafjs;
recovered at: Hvalseyjar, Hraunhr, Mýras.
- 1776: Probably 2 foreign whaling weapons: marked
'T.B.R.' on one side, 'C' on the other side;
recovered at Gerði, Garðar, (Þings ?).

(D) Information about whaling shot marks, their owners/users, etc, in miscellaneous Icelandic sources:

1385 AD: A 'marked shot' (... *merktu skoti*) belonging to Ólafur ísfirðingur, peasant in Æðey in Ísafjörður (ie, Ísafjarðardjúp), Northwestern Iceland, was recovered in the Norse Eastern Settlement (Narssaq municipality), southwest Greenland. (Cf DI 3, 1896: 436; Hermannsson 1924: 38).

Until 1760: A 'peasant family at Ísafjarðardjúp', Northwestern Iceland, conducted (spear) whaling 'until the year 1760 under the mark of O.J.' when 'the oldest son of the peasant, Th. O.', discontinued it in frustration (cf Olavius 1780: 88f). S. Steindórsson interprets the initials as 'Ó.J.' and 'Þ.Ó.', respectively (cf Olavius 1, 1964: 197).

Before 1894/96: 'Á.J.', registered (*þinglesið*) whaling-spear mark of Ásgeir Jónsson, of Álftamýri, and peasant at Hrafnseyri, Arnarfjarðartrönd/Auðkúluhreppur, Vestur-Ísafjarðarsýsla. Ásgeir Jónsson is the father of Matthías Ásgeirsson, cf below. (Cf Ásgeirsson 1929: 89; 1946: 297f).

Until 1894/96: 'M.Á.', registered (*þinglesið*) whaling-spear mark of Matthías Ásgeirsson, of Baulhús, Arnarfjarðarströnd/Auðkúluhreppur, Vestur-Ísafjarðasýsla. Matthías Ásgeirsson is the son of Ásgeir Jónsson, cf above. (Cf Ásgeirsson 1946: 297).

(E) Identified registered whaling shot marks by county:

| District | Shot marks | Years (registrations) |
|---------------------|------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Gullbringusýsla | 1 | 1726. |
| Mýrasýsla | 1 | 1761. |
| Dalásýsla | 1 | 1741. |
| Barðarstrandarsýsla | [7] | |
| Barðs, in general | 3 | 1677; 1726; 1737. |
| Austur-Barðs | 1 | 1685. |
| Vestur-Barðs | 3 | 1670; 1679; 1680. |
| V-Barðs/V-Ísafjs | 3 | 1653; 1668 (2). |
| Vestfirðir | 1 | 1669. |
| Ísafjarðarsýsla | [33] | |
| Ísafjs, in gen | 23 | 1660; 1669 (4); 1676 (2); 1677 (4); 1682; 1692 (2); 1699; 1704; 1712; 1720; 1728; 1740 (4). |
| Vestur-Ísafjs | 4 | 1680; 1699; 1733; 1792. |
| Norður-Ísafjs | 6 | 1634; 1667; 1669; 1735 (2); 1737. |
| Strandasýsla | 8 | 1669; 1675 (2); 1738; 1751 (2); 1782 (2). |
| Húnavatnssýsla | [3] | |
| Húns, in general | 1 | 1674. |
| Vestur-Húns | 1 | 1782. |
| Austur-Húns | 1 | 1751. |
| Eyjafjarðarsýsla | 1 | 1693; (+1 lance, 1700). |
| Múlasýsla | [2] | |
| Norður-Múls | 1 | 1685. |
| Suður-Múls | 1 | 1685. |

(F) Announced (recovered) Icelandic whaling shots and matching registration data:

Four whaling weapons announced at the Althing and listed in calendar A.17.10 (C), above, are considered to be non-Icelandic (1659, 1660, 1719, 1776); the remainder are as follows, with their tentative matching:

| Mark (modified) | Registered | Recovered |
|----------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|
| (a) ARME 10 | 1634, Eyrarsókn, Ísfjs | 1657, Neshr, (northwestern) N-Snæfs |
| (b) PALL guðmuNdsON | 1657, ? | 1658, possibly Skarðshkr, Dalas |
| (c) JON GuðmundS SON | ? | 1662, Aðalvíkur- sveit, N-Ísafjs |
| (d) Jón Þorsteinsson Á | 1669, ? | 1672, Vindhælishr, A-Húns (eastern coast of Húnaflói) |
| (e) JON BERGSON | 1653, Arnarfjörður, V-Ísafjs/ V-Barðs | 1675, Trékyllis- víkurhr, Strs |
| (f) JON ÞORBIÖRNSSON | 1680, Arnarfjörður, V-Ísafjs/ V-Barðs | 1693, possibly Kjósars |
| (g) JON SIGURÐSSON | 1677, ?, Ísafjs | 1696, Þórness- þing, (northern) Snæfs |
| (h) ION ISLEIFSON A M | 1682, ?, Ísafjs | 1698, Staðarsveit, (southern) Snæfs |
| (i) EIOLFVR IONSSON Á | 1680, Arnarfjörður, V-Ísafjs/ V-Barðs | 1715/1716, Neshr, (northwestern) Snæfs |
| (j) GUDMUNDUR ÞORBJORNSSON | 1699, Possibly Arnarfjörður, V-Ísafjs/ V-Barðs. | 1725, Hraunhr, Mýras |

Figure 13 shows the theoretical routes of whales taken under the registered marks (a), (e), (f), (g), (h), (i) and

(j), on the assumption that the recovered whales were speared in the place of the initial registration of the shot marks.

Time from mark registration to mark recovery:

| | | | | |
|------|--------------|---|----------|------------------------|
| (a): | 1634-1657 | = | 23 years | (Eyrarsókn, N-Ísafjs); |
| (b): | 1657-1658 | = | 1 year; | |
| (d): | 1669-1672 | = | 3 years; | |
| (e): | 1653-1675 | = | 22 years | (Arnarfjörður); |
| (f): | 1680-1693 | = | 13 years | (Arnarfjörður); |
| (g): | 1677-1696 | = | 19 years | (Ísafjs); |
| (h): | 1682-1698 | = | 16 years | (Ísafjs); |
| (i): | 1680-1715/16 | = | 35 years | (Arnarfjörður); |
| (j): | 1699-1725 | = | 26 years | [Arnarfjörður]. |