

'Hǫðr ... sonr Óðins' — but did Snorri know that?

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0. Introduction

Óðinn 'had many sons', we are told in *Ynglinga saga* (ÍF 26, 14), and a glance at the standard handbooks of mythology corroborates that statement. However, one is immediately struck by the fact that the number of sons attributed to Óðinn varies greatly — in fact, from as few as three (Þórr, Baldr, and Hermóðr; Ellis Davidson 1979, 29, 36) to as many as fourteen (Baldr, Bragi, Heimdallr, Hermóðr, Hǫðr, Meili, Sig[ǫ]lfi, Skjöldr, Sæmingr, Týr, Þórr, Víðarr, Váli, and Yngvi; *KLNM* 12, col. 503). The latter number is based on information gleaned from Snorri's *Edda* (*SnE*), that is, from the Prologue to *Gylfaginning*, from *Gylfaginning* (*Gylf*), *Skáldskaparmál* (*Skm*), and from the *þulur* appended to MSS R, T, C and A, B of *SnE* (for an overview of the MSS of *SnE*, see n. 1 below). In some cases conflicting evidence has prompted scholars to take the alleged paternal relationships between Óðinn and some of these gods with a grain of salt. Turville-Petre (1975, 155), for example, doubts that Heimdallr could have been sired by Óðinn, because, according to Dumézil, Heimdallr himself was the ancestor of all the gods. However, he cautions that it is dangerous 'to under-estimate Snorri's knowledge of Norse myths, and it is perhaps arbitrary to reject this plain statement [i.e., that Heimdallr was Óðinn's son] on the basis of a questionable interpretation of the *Vǫluspá*, which Snorri knew well'. As far as Hǫðr goes, Lindow (1997, 36) notes that he was 'probably a son of Óðin (who isn't?)'. Liberman (2004, 21) is initially a little more cautious. In his discussion of the events surrounding the death of Baldr, he writes: 'In Snorri's, but not in Saxo's, version Baldr and Hǫðr are brothers, but their kinship rests on a flimsy foundation, for in the *Younger Edda* almost every male god turns out to be Óðinn's son'. This raises an interesting question, which is reflected in the title of this paper: Why would Snorri, our prime informant on Norse mythology, attribute to Óðinn the paternity of 'almost every male god' when there is no evidence (or conflicting evidence) for many of these genealogies in other sources? In Hǫðr's case, for example, Snorri discusses his role in Baldr's death in detail in *Gylf* without once mentioning a fraternal relationship between Hǫðr and Baldr, which prompted Vésteinn Ólason's (2003, 155) statement that Snorri 'tries to look away from the brother-murder'. But why would Snorri suppress that information in *Gylf* and include it in *Skm*? Did Snorri indeed know that Óðinn had sired Hǫðr (and Heimdallr, Týr, and Bragi for that matter)? If not, how did this information come to be incorporated in *Skm*? It is the purpose of the present paper to explore these questions in more detail. Focussing on Óðinn's alleged paternal relationship to Hǫðr, I shall show that Snorri must have been unaware of that relationship (a detailed survey of the secondary literature on Hǫðr and Baldr is given in Liberman 2004). Rather, the tag *ok sonr Óðins* that is appended to Hǫðr (and to Heimdallr, Týr, and Bragi) in *Skm* must have been added by a later redactor, possibly at the same time as the *þulur* were appended to *SnE*.

1. Óðinn's sons in *Snorra Edda*

The Prologue to *Gylf* chronicles the migration of the *æsir* from Turkey to Scandinavia and describes how Óðinn placed his sons as kings over various territories: Veggdeggr in East Saxony; Beldeggr (or Baldr) in Westphalia; Siggi in France; Skjöldr in Denmark; Yngvi in Sweden; Sæmingr in Norway (*SnE* 1982, 5-6). It has long been recognized that the information about Óðinn's legendary offspring was gleaned from a number of sources, including a version of an Anglo-Saxon regnal list (Veggdeggr, Beldeggr), *Volsunga saga* (Siggi), *Skjöldunga saga* (Skjöldr, Yngvi), and *Háleygjatal* (Sæmingr) (see Heusler 1908; Faulkes 1977). In *Gylf* we are told that Óðinn is the most powerful of the gods, and that the other gods serve him as children serve their father (*SnE* 1982, 21). Furthermore, 'Óðinn heitir Alföðr, þvíat hann er faðir allra goða' (*ibid.*; for a discussion of Alföðr, see Falk 1924, 3, Kuhn 1937 and Beck 1994). Snorri then proceeds to enumerate and describe the gods and goddesses of the Nordic pantheon, including the mythological sons of Óðinn, who, according to him, are Þórr, Baldr, and Váli or Áli (*SnE* 1982, 22-3, 26). Another son can be added to this list by inference, namely Hermóðr, who, in Snorri's recounting of Baldr's death and the ensuing events, is referred to as 'Óðinn's son' (so MSS W, T, U; *sveinn Óðins*, R; *SnE* 1982, 46; *SnE* 1931, 65), and 'Baldr's brother' (*SnE* 1982, 47). Furthermore, Snorri must also have known that Óðinn had sired Víðarr, because he cites a stanza from *Völuspá* (*Vsp*) in which Víðarr is referred to as 'Óðinn's son' (*SnE* 1982, 52). Although Týr, Bragi, Heimdallr, and Høðr are discussed in *Gylf*, Snorri does not mention any filial relationship between them and Óðinn (*SnE* 1982, 25-6).

Skm enumerates the same gods as *Gylf* and includes lists of kennings for the individual gods, also outlining their familial relationships. Þórr is called 'son Óðins ok Jarðar, faðir Magna ok Móða ok Þrúðar, verr Sifjar, stjúpfaðir Ullar' (*SnE* 1998, I, 14). Baldr is 'son Óðins ok Friggjar, ver Nønnu, faðir Forseta' (*SnE* 1998, I, 17). Víðarr is also called *son Óðins* (*SnE* 1998, I, 19), but his mother, the giantess Gríðr (see *SnE* 1998, I, 24), is not mentioned. As to Váli, he is correctly identified as 'son Óðins ok Rindar, stjúp Friggjar' (so R; 'stjúpson Friggjar' W, T, U, B; *SnE* 1998, I, 19; *SnE* 1931, 99).¹ Hence *Skm* agrees with *Gylf* in designating Þórr, Baldr, Víðarr, and Váli as 'the sons of Óðinn'.

Unlike *Gylf*, however, *Skm* extends that epithet to Heimdallr, Týr, Bragi, and Høðr. Heimdallr is said to be the son of nine mothers (*SnE* 1998, I, 19), and that information is also found in *Gylf*, where a couplet from 'Heimdallargaldr' is cited as verification of that filial relationship (*SnE* 1982, 25-6; see also *Hyndluljóð*, stt. 35-8, in Neckel-Kuhn 1962, 294). But at the very end of the section on kennings for Heimdallr in *Skm*, we find the phrase *ok sonr Óðins* (so R, T, U, omitted in W, B; *SnE* 1998, I, 19; *SnE* 1931, 99) added as an afterthought. That is also the case with Týr (*SnE* 1998, I, 19) and Bragi (so R, T, U, B; omitted in W; *SnE* 1998, I, 19; *SnE* 1931, 99). The list of kennings for the latter begins with a reference to his wife, Iðunna, 'Iðunna <r> ver'

¹ *SnE* is transmitted in the following MSS: R (GKS 2367 4to, c. 1300-25); T (Utrecht nr. 1374 4to, copy of a late, no longer extant late-thirteenth-century MS.); U (DG 11 4to, c. 1300-25); W (AM 242 fol., c. 1350); A (AM 748 Ib 4to, c. 1300-25); B (AM 757a 4to, c. 1400); C (AM 748 II 4to, c. 1400). For a discussion of the MSS, see *SnE* 1931, iii-xl.

(*SnE* 1998, I, 19), and, likewise, *Gylf* tells us that Bragi was married to Iðunn (*SnE* 1982, 25). The section on Høðr reads as follows:

‘Hvernig skal kenna Høðr? Svá at kalla hann blinda Ás, Baldrs bana, skjótanda mistilteins, *son Óðins, Heljar sinna, Vála dólg’ (so W, T, U, B, ‘sons’ R; *SnE* 1998, I, 19; *SnE* 1931, 99).

We see, then, that *SnE* enumerates (directly or indirectly) a total of fourteen so-called ‘sons of Óðinn’. The Prologue to *Gylf* gives Veggdeggr, Beldeggr (or Baldr), Siggi, Skjöldr, Yngvi, and Sæmingr (*SnE* 1982, 5-6), and *Gylf* adds Þórr, Viðarr, Váli, and Hermóðr (*SnE* 1982, 22, 25-6, 46-7, 52). In *Skm* that number is augmented by another four sons, namely, by Heimdallr, Týr, Bragi, and Høðr (*SnE* 1998, I, 19; for Meili, see below). In most of these cases, the phrase ‘and the son of Óðinn’ is tagged on to the end of the list of kennings given for the individual gods, and the phrase is omitted in some manuscripts.

2. Óðinn’s sons in the *pulur*

The only other medieval source that gives a list of the names of Óðinn’s sons that corresponds more or less to the list that can be gleaned from the extant manuscripts of *SnE* is found in a *pula* appended to that work in R, T, C, A, B (for a discussion of the *pulur* in *SnE*, see Finnur Jónsson 1894-1901, II, 171-81; Gurevich 1992 [1993], 90-95). That *pula*, which has the captions ‘ása heiti’ (C; ‘asa hetia’ R), ‘synir Óðins’ (T), or ‘heiti sona Óðins’ (A, B) can be rendered as follows (*Skj* AI, 657; the most significant variants are given below):

Burir eru Óðins	Baldr ok Meili
Viðarr ok Nepr	Váli Áli
Þórr ok Hildólfr	Hermóðr Sigi
Skjöldr Yngvi-Freyr	ok Ítreksjóð
Heimdallr Sæmingr	Høðr ok Bragi.

MSS: R, T, C, A, B; *Variant readings*: [3] Nepr: ‘nefirr’ B, ‘nefr’ C [6] Sigi: Siggi B [7] Yngvi-Freyr: ok Qldnir A, ok Qlnir B [10] Høðr ok Bragi: so A, ‘hau[...] ok br[...]’ B, *om.* R, T, C.

Most of the names given in *SnE* are found in the *pula*: Baldr, Viðarr, Váli (or Áli; see *SnE* 1982, 26), Þórr, Hermóðr, Sig(g)i, Skjöldr, Heimdallr, Sæmingr, Høðr, and Bragi. Veggdeggr from the Prologue is not included, Týr is not listed, and Yngvi is most likely hiding behind Yngvi-Freyr in R, T, C (rendered as Qldnir or Qlnir in A, B, respectively). The pair ‘Áli, Váli’ is conspicuous, because the names also appear together in *Gylf*: ‘Áli eða Váli heitir einn, sonr Óðins ok Rindar’ (*SnE* 1982, 26). ‘Áli’ for ‘Váli’ is not attested elsewhere, but the same identification appears to be made in *Skm* (*SnE* 1998, I, 6).

In addition to the names familiar from *SnE*, the *pula* also supplies Meili, Nepr, Hildólfr, and the son/progeny of Ítrekr. Meili is said to be Þórr’s brother in st. 14/7 of Þjóðólfr of Hvin’s *Haustlǫng*, and that very stanza is quoted in *Skm* (*SnE* 1998, I, 22-

3). Hildólfr is otherwise mentioned only in *Hárbarðsljóð* (st. 8; Neckel-Kuhn 1962, 79), and Ítrekr, which seems to be a *heiti* for 'Óðinn' (see Falk 1924, 20), is the name of a character in *Heiðreks saga* (see *SnE* 1998, II, 484). *Nep(p)r* is the name of the father of Nanna, the wife of Baldr, in *Gylf* (*SnE* 1982, 26, 46), but it is unlikely that we are dealing with the same person, because Baldr would hardly have married the daughter of his own brother. A more plausible explanation is that the name found its way into the *pula* from a misinterpretation of an obscure place in *Vsp* (st. 56/11; Neckel-Kuhn 1962, 13), also cited in a slightly different version in *Gylf* (*SnE* 1982, 52). Consider the following stanzas:

<i>Vsp</i> 56/9-11	gengr fet nío neppr frá naðri...	Fjörgyniar burr
<i>Gylf</i>	Gengr inn mæri nepr at naðri...	mogr Hlōðynjar

The meaning of *nep(p)r* that modifies Þórr is obscure ('with difficulty? dying?', *SnE* 1982, 127; see also *LP*: *neppr* and Dronke 1997, 150). The adjective occurs right after the circumlocutions for 'Þórr' in both *Vsp* and *Gylf*, and it could easily have been understood as the name of a son of Fjörgyn or a son of Hlōðyn by someone who did not know the meaning of the adjective *nep(p)r*. However that may be, it is clear that, with the exception of Hildólfr and Ítrekr (= Óðinn?), all the names of Óðinn's sons that occur in the *pula* are also accounted for, in one form or another, in *SnE*. The question is, then, whether Snorri indeed knew that Óðinn had sired this brood.

3. Høðr, the son of Óðinn?

There can be no doubt that Snorri was familiar with the lineage of the eponymous heroes mentioned in the Prologue to *Gylf* (*SnE* 1982, 5-6). Likewise, the fact that Óðinn was the father of Þórr, Baldr, Viðarr, and Váli is well documented in other sources, which must have been known to Snorri (Hermóðr is more problematic and will not concern us here; see Lindow 1997, 106-22). However, aside from the brief references to '(and) the son of Óðinn' in *Skm* and the list of names in the *pula*, there is no medieval evidence that Óðinn fathered Heimdalr, Týr, Bragi, and Høðr. Snorri knew Heimdalr as 'the son of nine mothers' in both *Gylf* and *Skm* (*SnE* 1982, 25; *SnE* 1998, I, 19), but he does not say that he was 'the son of Óðinn and nine mothers'; a formula he uses in *Skm* to characterize all the other gods who had been sired by Óðinn and a named mother. As far as Týr is concerned, we are told in *Hymiskviða* that he was the offspring of the giant Hymir and an unnamed woman (sts 5, 8; Neckel-Kuhn 1962, 89). Snorri may, of course, not have known *Hymiskviða*, but no medieval source gives Óðinn as Týr's father, and that also holds for Bragi and Óðinn.

There is, however, a stanza in *Vsp* that has been taken to mean that there indeed was a fraternal relationship between Baldr and Høðr. After the account of *ragnarøk*, *Vsp* goes on to describe the divine inhabitants of the new world that will emerge from the ocean. According to st. 62, Baldr and Høðr will return (Neckel-Kuhn 1962, 14):

Vsp 62/3-6 bōls mun allz batna, Baldr mun koma;

búa þeir Hǫðr oc Baldr Hroptz sigtǫptir.

Hœnir will also be present (st. 63/1-2), and furthermore, we are told that

Vsp 63/3-5 oc byrir byggia bræðra tveggia
vindheim víðan...

Ll. 3-4 of this stanza have been much debated. Some scholars take *tveggia* 'of two' as a genitive of the Óðinn's *heiti* Tveggi, and translate *bræðra Tveggia* as 'of the brothers of Tveggi' (so Sijmons and Gering 1927, 75; Hollander 1994, 12). According to that interpretation, the 'two brothers of Tveggi' are Vili and Vé (so Sijmons and Gering 1927, 75; Hollander 1994, 12 n. 91). If *tveggia* is taken as the genitive of the numeral 'two', as in the above interpretation (so Boer 1922, 17; Dronke 1997, 24; Lindow 1997, 167), the two brothers are usually assumed to be Baldr and Hǫðr (Boer 1922, 17; Dronke 1997, 152; Lindow 1997, 158). Some scholars, like Sigurður Nordal, have thrown up their hands in despair (Sigurður Nordal 1980, 115): '*tveggia*: "the sons of two brothers" (ie. Baldr and Hǫðr) – or: "the sons of the brothers of Tveggi (Óðinn)", ie. the sons of Vili and Vé or of Hœnir and Lóðurr. The matter is completely obscure'. The crux of this place in *Vsp* can probably never be solved. It should be pointed out, however, that those who interpret the 'two brothers' as Baldr and Hǫðr do so because they assume, on the evidence provided by *Skm* and the *pula*, that the two are half-brothers, and secondly, because both Baldr and Hǫðr are mentioned in the previous stanza.

In *Gylf* Snorri gives a description of the new world that follows *ragnarǫk* (*SnE* 1982, 52-3). He does not cite any stanzas from *Vsp*, as he does to illustrate the events that take place during *ragnarǫk* itself. Instead he paraphrases the pertinent stanzas (*SnE* 1982, 53-4; Neckel-Kuhn 1962, 14; see also Lindow 1997, 164-70):

'Upp skýr jörðunni þá ór sænum ok er þá græn ok fǫgr' (*Gylf*) v. 'Sér hon upp koma | ǫðro sinni | iþrð ór ægi | iðiaðgræna' (*Vsp* 59/1-4);

'Vaxa þá akrar ósánir' (*Gylf*) v. 'Muno ósánir | acrar vaxa' (*Vsp* 62/1-2);

'...Því næst koma þar Baldr ok Hǫðr frá Heljar' (*Gylf*) v. 'þöls mun allz batna, | Baldr mun koma; | búá þeir Hǫðr oc Baldr | Hroptz sigtǫptir' (*Vsp* 62/3-6);

'Setjask þá allir samr ok talask við ok minnask á rúnar sínar ok ræða of tíðindi þau er fyrrum hǫfðu verit, of Miðgarðsorm ok um Fenrisúlfr' (*Gylf*) v. 'Finnaz æsir | á Iðavelli | oc um moldþinur, | mátcan, dæma, | oc minnaz þar | á megindóma | oc á Fimbultýs | fornar rúnar' (*Vsp* 60);

'Þá finna þeir í grasinu gulltǫflur þær er Æsirnir hǫfðu átt' (*Gylf*) v. 'Þar muno eptir | undrsamligar | gullnar tǫflor | í grasi finnaz, | þærs í árdaga | áttar hǫfðu' (*Vsp* 61).

As the comparison between the two texts shows, Snorri follows *Vsp* very closely, and there are many word by word correspondences between the two versions. However, Snorri does not mention Hœnir, nor does he paraphrase the stanza that contains the

reference to 'the sons of two brothers'. At this point in his narrative, Snorri resorts to information from a stanza of *Vafþrúðnismál*, which he paraphrases in the prose and also cites to corroborate the prose (*Vm* 51/1-5; Neckel-Kuhn 1962, 54-5; *SnE* 1982, 53-4):

Vm 51/ 1-5 Viðarr oc Váli byggja vé goða,
 þá er sloenar Surtar logi;
 Móði oc Magni scola Miðlni hafa...

Viðarr and Váli lifa svá at eigi hefir særinn ok Surtalogi grandat þeim, ok byggja þeir á lðavelli, þar sem fyrr var Ásgarðr. Ok þar koma þá synir Þórs, Móði ok Magni, ok hafa þar Mjöllni.

Hence, rather than including the information from *Vsp* about the obscure brothers, Snorri presents us with two sets of brothers, namely, Óðinn's sons Viðarr and Váli and Þórr's sons Móði and Magni. One could, of course, argue that Snorri did not know the *Vsp* stanza, but that is unlikely, because it is recorded in both the Codex Regius and the Hauksbók versions of the poem. It seems more likely that Snorri, like Sigurðr Nordal more than 800 years later, failed to recognize the identity of *Vsp*'s two brothers, and that he found the information he thought he needed to elucidate this obscure reference readily available in *Vm*.

Thus Snorri seems to have identified *Vsp*'s 'two brothers' with Viðarr and Váli, and this is corroborated by the kennings he gives for these brothers in *Skm*, where Viðarr and Váli are referred to as *byggvi-Áss fǫðurtopti* and *byggvandi fǫðurtopti* respectively (*SnE* 1998, I, 19). These kennings are not attested elsewhere, but they echo the texts of both *Vsp* (st. 63/3-4) and *Vm* (st. 51/1-3). Furthermore, both of these gods are also referred to in *Skm* as *bróðir ásanna* (*SnE* 1998, I, 19; also otherwise unattested). In contrast, no such kennings are given for Baldr or Hqðr, and the only indication of their fraternal relationship is the tag 'the son of Óðinn' among the circumlocutions for Hqðr in *Skm* (*SnE* 1998, I, 19). But if Snorri did not know that Hqðr was the son of Óðinn — and the evidence from *Gylf* strongly suggests that he did not — why is the phrase 'the son of Óðinn' used to refer to him in *Skm* (and appended to Heimdallr, Týr, and Bragi, as well)? This information occurs only in *Skm* and in the *pula* that enumerates the sons of Óðinn, and it is reasonable to believe that the names either found their way into the *pula* from *Skm* or that they were interpolated at a later stage into *Skm* from the *pula*.

4. Later interpolations in *Skm*

Most scholars agree that, of the three main parts of *SnE*, Snorri first wrote *Háttatal*, then *Skm*, and finally *Gylf* and the Prologue (see *SnE* 1982, xv, xx; 1998, I, xi-xii, xx). Furthermore, *Skm* seems to have been in a constant state of revision, and interpolations could have been added by a later redactor or redactors (*SnE* 1998, I, xi). The section of *Skm* that concerns us contains references to the content of *Gylf*:

'ok ritat er áðr döemi til þess er Baldr er svá kendr';

‘[s]vá at kalla hann [Heimdallr] son níu mæðra, vörð guða, svá sem fyrr er ritat’; *SnE* 1998, I, 18-19).

Hence this particular section, at least, must have been written or revised by someone who also had access to *Gylf*.

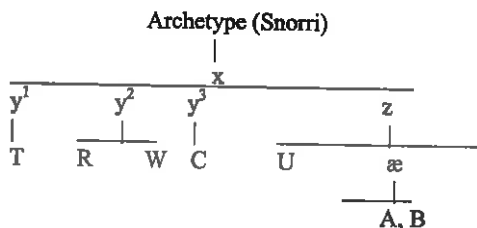
The *pulur*, the second source that attributes the paternity of Høðr to Óðinn, are appended to *Skm* in MSS R, T, C, A, B (see above). Most of the *pulur* are generally considered to be older than *SnE* (Finnur Jónsson 1894-1901, II, 172-5; Gurevich 1992 [1993], 66), and they were certainly not compiled by Snorri and probably added by another hand (*SnE* 1931, xlviii-xlix; *SnE* 1998, I, xviii; Gurevich 1992 [1993], 91 n. 43). Although some have doubted that Snorri knew the *pulur* (Finnur Jónsson, 1894-1901, II, 175-6; *SnE* 1931, xlix), evidence can be adduced from *Skm* to the effect that he must have been familiar with at least some of them (Gurevich 1992 [1993], 91. n.43; *SnE* 1998, I, xv-xvi). The *pulur* are transmitted in two redactions, the R, T, C redaction and the A, B redaction (see Finnur Jónsson 1894-1901, II, 172-5; *SnE* 1931, xlviii-xlix). The R, T, C redaction appears to be the older, and the A, B redaction is believed to be later, and it incorporates additional materials (Finnur Jónsson 1894-1901, II, 173-5).

As shown above, the *pula* that contains the names of Óðinn’s sons appears in both *pulur* redactions, but the line that includes the names of Høðr and Bragi is omitted in R, T, C. It is unclear whether Høðr and Bragi were added later in the A, B redaction to furnish the missing line, or whether they were left out in the exemplar of R, T, C. However, when other stanzas are incomplete in R, T, C, the correct readings can usually be supplied from the A, B redaction (see, e.g., ‘Jöma heiti II’ st. 2’; ‘Manna heiti’ st. 10’; ‘Hrúts heiti’ st. 1’; *Skj* AI, 657, 661, 676). Hence this line was most likely included in the common exemplar of R, T, C and A, B. As to the obscure Hildólfr and ‘the progeny/son of Ítrekr’, both names carry alliteration and could have been added by the composer of the *pula* to fulfill metrical requirements.

The most conspicuous difference between *Skm* and the *pula* is the fact that, in *Skm*, Týr is also said to be a son of Óðinn, but he is not mentioned in the *pula*. If the composer of the *pula* had access to a version of *Skm* that designated Týr as Óðinn’s son, it is difficult to understand why he did not include Týr in the list as well. He could easily have fitted this name into the metrical scheme without violating the meter (‘Vidarr ok Týr | Váli, Áli’). It is more likely therefore that a later reviser of *Skm* had access to the *pula* and that, while in the process of adding the tag ‘the son of Óðinn’ to the lists of kennings denoting the other fatherless gods, he included that phrase at the end of the kennings for Týr, who appears between Heimdallr (‘and the son of Óðinn’) and Bragi (‘and the son of Óðinn’) in *Skm* (*SnE* 1998, I, 19).

As we have seen, the legendary names in the *pula* were most likely gleaned from the Prologue to *Gylf*, and Hermóðr and the pair ‘Áli, Váli’ (and ‘Nepr?’) are found in *Gylf* itself. Furthermore, Þórr’s brother Meili occurs in *Skm*, not in *Gylf*. Hence it looks like the composer of the *pula* had access to all three parts of *SnE*, but the version of *Skm* did not contain the tag-phrases ‘and the son of Óðinn’ currently found in the extant MSS. The question is, then, at what point in the transmission of *SnE* these phrases could have been added to *Skm*.

The relationship between the extant MSS of *SnE* is notoriously difficult, and, as Faulkes puts it, '...there is no single stemma that can reflect all the evidence' (*SnE* 1998, I, xxxv). For the sake of convenience, the traditional stemma of Finnur Jónsson (*SnE* 1931, xxxviii) will be reproduced here:



The tag-phrases are found in all MSS of *Skm*, and they must have been present in *x*. The *pula* is transmitted in R, T, C and A, B, and the names of Óðinn's sons must have been included in the *pulur* in *x* as well. Hqðr and Bragi are listed in l. 10 of the *pula*, and that line is omitted in R, T, C. But as the discussion above has shown, the stanza was most likely complete in the common exemplar of the two *pulur* redactions, which suggests that the stemma must have been more complex than Finnur envisioned. If l. 10 was included in the *pulur* exemplar, this would account for the presence of Hqðr and Bragi in A and B, but one would be hard put to explain the exclusion of that line in all three *y* branches (*y*¹, *y*², *y*³) unless there was an additional stage between *x* and *y*¹⁻³.

The names of Óðinn's sons in the *pula* as well as the phrase 'and the son of Óðinn' in *Skm* must have been included in a version of *SnE* that predates the extant MSS (*x*?). Furthermore, it looks like the composer of the *pula* found most of the names of Óðinn's sons in the Prologue to *Gylf*, in *Gylf*, and in *Skm*. I would like to suggest, then, that this particular *pula* is a thirteenth-century composition, committed to paper by someone who had access to all parts of *SnE*, and, moreover, that the tags in *Skm* were added to the descriptions of the gods Heimdallr, Týr, Bragi, and Hqðr by a later reviser or copyist of *Skm* who had access to the *pulur*. Whether or not this took place at the time when the *pulur* were appended to *SnE* is impossible to ascertain, but it must have happened at an early stage in the transmission of that work.

4. Conclusion

In this paper I hope to have provided the answer to the question posed in the title, and the answer is 'no': Snorri did not know that Hqðr was the son of Óðinn, and, by extension, the half-brother of Baldr. Nor is there any other medieval evidence that explicitly indicates such a connection. If my reconstruction is correct, the phrase 'the son of Óðinn' found its way into *Skm* from the *pula* enumerating Óðinn's sons, and the *pula* was again based on information gleaned from the Prologue to *Gylf*, from *Gylf* and from *Skm*. It could well be that the inclusion of the mythological names of the otherwise 'fatherless' gods in that *pula* was prompted by the wording of *Gylf* to the effect that Óðinn was called 'Alfðr' and that he was 'the father of all gods' (*SnE* 1982, 21). Thus, even though Óðinn did have many sons, he was certainly not as virile as some mythologists make him out to be.

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