Óðinn ‘had many sons’, we are told in *Ynglinga saga* (*IF* 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, Hòðr, Meðli, Sig[glj], Skjöldr, Sæmingr, Týr, Þórr, Viðarr, Váli, and Yngvi; *KLMN* 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* (*Gyf*), *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 *Vpluspá*, which Snorri knew well’. As far as Hòðr goes, Lindow (1997, 36) notes that he was ‘probably a son of Ódin (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 Hòðr 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 Hòðr’s case, for example, Snorri discusses his role in Baldr’s death in detail in *Gyf* without once mentioning a fraternal relationship between Hòðr 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 *Gyf* and include it in *Skm*? Did Snorri indeed know that Óðinn had sired Hòðr (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 Hòðr, I shall show that Snorri must have been unaware of that relationship (a detailed survey of the secondary literature on Hòðr and Baldr is given in Liberman 2004). Rather, the tag *ok sonr Óðins* that is appended to Hòðr (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. Öðinn’s sons in Snorra Edda

The Prologue to Gylf chronicles the migration of the asir from Turkey to Scandinavia and describes how Öðinn placed his sons as kings over various territories: Vegdeggr in East Saxony; Beldeggr (or Baldr) in Westphalia; Siggi in France; Skjoldr in Denmark; Yngvi in Sweden; Sæmingr in Norway (SnE 1982, 5-6). It has long been recognized that the information about Öðinn’s legendary offspring was gleaned from a number of sources, including a version of an Anglo-Saxon regnal list (Vegdeggr, Beldeggr, Volsunga saga (Siggi), Skjoldunga saga (Skjoldr, Yngvi), and Hálaygjatal (Sæmingr) (see Heusler 1908; Faulkes 1977). In Gylf we are told that Öðinn is the most powerful of the gods, and that the other gods serve him as children serve their father (SnE 1982, 21). Furthermore, ‘Öðinn heitir Alfþórr, þvíat hann er fáðir alla goða’ (ibid.; for a discussion of Alfþórr, 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 Öðinn, 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 ‘Öðinn’s son’ (see MSS W, T, U; sveinn Öðins, R; SnE 1982, 46; SnE 1931, 65), and ‘Baldr’s brother’ (SnE 1982, 47). Furthermore, Snorri must also have known that Öðinn had sired Viðarr, because he cites a stanza from Volsunga (Vsp) in which Viðarr is referred to as ‘Öðinn’s son’ (SnE 1982, 52). Although Týr, Bragi, Heimdallr, and Höðr are discussed in Gylf, Snorri does not mention any filial relationship between them and Öðinn (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 Öðins ok Jarðar, faðir Magna ok Móða ok Prúðar, verr Sifjar, stjúmpfaðir Ullar’ (SnE 1998, I, 14). Baldr is ‘son Öðins ok Friggjar, ver Norðnu, faðir Forseta’ (SnE 1998, I, 17). Viðarr is also called son Öðins (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 Öðins ok Rindar, stjúp Friggjar’ (so R; ‘stjúpson Friggjar’ W, T, U, B; SnE 1998, I, 19; SnE 1931, 99).’ Hence Skm agrees with Gylf in designating Þórr, Baldr, Viðarr, and Váli as ‘the sons of Öðinn’.

Unlike Gylf, however, Skm extends that epithet to Heimdallr, Týr, Bragi, and Höðr. 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 ‘Heimdalargaldr’ 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 Öðins (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, Íðunn, ‘Ýðunna<er> 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 Ia 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, Gyf talks us that Bragi was married to Íðunn (SnE 1982, 25). The section on Höðr reads as follows:


We see, then, that SnE enumerates (directly or indirectly) a total of fourteen so-called ‘sons of Óðinn’. The Prologue to Gyf gives Vegðeggr, Beldeggr (or Baldr), Sigi, Skjöldr, Yngvi, and Sæmingr (SnE 1982, 5-6), and Gyf 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 Heimdalr, Týr, Bragi, and Höðr (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 púlur

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 púla appended to that work in R, T, C, A, B (for a discussion of the púlur in SnE, see Finnur Jónsson 1894-1901, II, 171-81; Gurevich 1992 [1993], 90-95). That púla, 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 Øðins | Baldr ok Meili |
| Viðarr ok Nepr | Váli Álí |
| þórr ok Hildólfr | Hermóðr Sigi |
| Skjöldr Yngvi-Freyr | ok Ítreksjóð |
| Heimdalr Sæmingr | Höðr ok Bragi |


Most of the names given in SnE are found in the púla: Baldr, Viðarr, Váli (or Álí; see SnE 1982, 26), þórr, Hermóðr, Sig(g)i, Skjöldr, Heimdalr, Sæmingr, Höðr, and Bragi. Vegðeggr 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 Óldnir or Ólnir in A, B, respectively). The pair ‘Álí, Váli’ is conspicuous, because the names also appear together in Gyif. ‘Álí eða Váli heiti einn, sonr Óðins ok Rindar’ (SnE 1982, 26). ‘Álí’ 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 púla also supplies Meili, Nepr, Hildólfr, and the son/progeny of Ítrekr. Meili is said to be þórr’s brother in st. 14/7 of Þjóðolf of Hvin’s Haustflöng, and that very stanza is quoted in Skm (SnE 1998, I, 22-
3. Hildófr 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 Heidreks saga (see SnE 1998, II, 484). Ñep(pr)ð is the name of the father of Nanna, the wife of Baldr, in Gylf (SnE 1982, 26, 45), 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 hula 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, 32). Consider the following stanzas:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Vsp} & \ 56/9-11 \quad \text{gengr f} \text{et n} \text{lo} \quad \text{Fi} \text{Þorgyniar b} \text{urr} \\
& \quad \text{nepr fr} \text{á na} \text{ðri} \ldots
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Gylf} & \quad \text{Gengr inn m} \text{æri} \quad \text{mogr Hlöðynjar} \\
& \quad \text{nepr at na} \text{ðri} \ldots
\end{align*}
\]

The meaning of Ñep(pr)ð 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 Fjorgyn or a son of Hlöðyn by someone who did not know the meaning of the adjective Ñep(pr)ð. However that may be, it is clear that, with the exception of Hildófr and Ítrekr (= Óðinn?), all the names of Óðinn’s sons that occur in the hula 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. Þóðr, 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 hula, there is no medieval evidence that Óðinn fathered Heimdalr, Týr, Bragi, and Þóðr. 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 in 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 Þóðr. After the account of ragnarök, Vsp goes on to describe the divine inhabitants of the new world that will emerge from the ocean. According to st. 62, Baldr and Þóðr will return (Neckel-Kuhn 1962, 14):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Vsp} & \ 62/3-6 \quad \text{bols mun aliz batna,} \\
& \quad \text{Bald} \text{r mun koma;}
\end{align*}
\]
búa þeir Hǫðr oc Baldr  Hroptz sigtóptir.

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

\[ Vsp \, 63/3-5 \quad oc \, byrir \, byggia \quad bræðra \, tveggia \quad vínðheim \, víðan... \]

Ll. 3-4 of this stanza have been much debated. Some scholars take tveggia ‘of two’ as a genitive of the Óðinn’s heiti Tveggli, and translate bræðra Tveggia as ‘of the brothers of Tveggli’ (so Sijmons and Gering 1927, 75; Hollander 1994, 12). According to that interpretation, the ‘two brothers of Tveggli’ 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 Baldur and Hœðr (Boer 1922, 17; Dronke 1997, 152; Lindow 1997, 168). Some scholars, like Sigurður Nordal, have thrown up their hands in despair (Sigurður Nordal 1980, 115): ‘tveggia: ‘the sons of two brothers’ (ie. Baldur and Hœðr) – or: ‘the sons of the brothers of Tveggli (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 Baldur and Hœðr do so because they assume, on the evidence provided by Skm and the hula, that the two are half-brothers, and secondly, because both Baldur and Hœðr are mentioned in the previous stanza.

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

‘Upp skýrj þorðumni þá ór sænum ok er þá grœn ok fyrgr’ (Gylf) v. ‘Sér hon upp koma, þóró sinni, þóð ró ægi, ædiagrœna’ (Vsp 59/1-4);

‘Vaxa þá akkrar ósánir’ (Gylf) v. ‘Muno ósánir’ [acrar vaxa (Vsp 62/1-2);

‘…Pvi næst koma þar Baldr ok Hœðr frá Heljar’ (Gylf) v. ‘bols mun allz batna, Baldr mun koma; þú þeir Hœðr oc Baldr! Hroptz sigtóptir’ (Vsp 62/3-6);

‘Setjask þá allir samt ok talask við ok minmask á rúnar sinar ok reða of tíðindi þau er fyrum hofðu verit, of Míðgarðsorm ok um Fenrisúlf’ (Gylf) v. ‘Finnaz æsir, á Íðavelli, oc um moldpinur, mátcan, dema, oc minnaz þar á meginómna, oc á Fimbultys, fornar rúnar’ (Vsp 60);

‘þá finna þeir í grasinn guflotflur þær er Æsirinn hofðu átt’ (Gylf) v. ‘Þar muno eptir, undsamljar, guflar týflor, í grasi finnaz, þær í áðarga, á átta hofðo’ (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 Vafþruðnismál, 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):

\[ \text{Vm 51/ 1-5} \]
\[ \text{Víðarr oc Váli} \quad \text{byggja vé goða,} \]
\[ \text{þá er sloðnar Surtar loði;} \]
\[ \text{Móði oc Magni} \quad \text{scolo Miðlun hafa...} \]

Víðarr and Váli lifa svá at eigi hefir særinn ok Surtalogi grandat þeim, ok byggja þeir á Iðavelli, þar sem fyr var Ásgarðr. Ok þar koma þá synir þórs, Móði ok Magni, ok hafa þar Miðlun.

Hence, rather than including the information from Vsp about the obscure brothers, Snorri presents us with two sets of brothers, namely, Óðinn’s sons Víðarr 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 Haukshók 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 Víðarr and Váli, and this is corroborated by the kennings he gives for these brothers in Skm, where Víðarr and Váli are referred to as byggvi-Áss fóðurtopta and byggvandi fóðurtopta 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 úsanna (SnE 1998, I, 19; also otherwise unattested). In contrast, no such kennings are given for Baldr or Höðr, and the only indication of their fraternal relationship is the tag ‘the son of Óðinn’ among the circumlocutions for Höðr in Skm (SnE 1998, I, 19). But if Snorri did not know that Höðr 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:

\[ ‘\text{ok ritat er áður dæmi til þess er Baldr er svá kendr;}’ \]

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

The pylur, the second source that attributes the paternity of Hóðr to Óðinn, are appended to Skm in MSS R, T, C, A, B (see above). Most of the pylur 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-xlxi; SnE 1998, I, xviii; Gurevich 1992 [1993], 91 n. 43). Although some have doubted that Snorri knew the pylur (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 pylur 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-xlxi). 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 pylur redactions, but the line that includes the names of Hóðr and Bragi is omitted in R, T, C. It is unclear whether Hóðr 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., ‘Jóma heiti II’ st. 2’; ‘Manna heiti’ st. 10’; ‘Hróðr heiti’ st. 1’; Skj A1, 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 Hildólf 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, Tyr 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 Tyr as Óðinn’s son, it is difficult to understand why he did not include Tyr in the list as well. He could easily have fitted this name into the metrical scheme without violating the meter (‘Vísarr ok Tyr ! 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 Tyr, who appears between Heimdalr (‘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 Gyf, and Hermóðr and the pair ‘Áli, Váli’ (and ‘Neprr’?) are found in Gyf itself. Furthermore, Pór’s brother Meili occurs in Skm, not in Gyf. 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 pular in x as well. Hóðr 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 pular reductions, which suggests that the stemma must have been more complex than Finnur envisioned. If l. 10 was included in the pular exemplar, this would account for the presence of Hóðr and Bragi in A and B, but one would be hard put to explain the exclusion of that line in all three y branches (y¹, y², y³) unless there was an additional stage between x and y¹-³.

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 Gyf, in Gyf, 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 Hóðr by a later reviser or copyist of Skm who had access to the pular. Whether or not this took place at the time when the pular 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 Hóðr 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 Gyf, from Gyf 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 Gyf to the effect that Óðinn was called ‘Alfoðr’ 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.
Bibliography


