

IN the introduction to my recent edition of the Latin versions of the laws of Wales,² I called attention to the infusion of non-Welsh and, to some extent, non-legal material into Redaction B, a text of composite structure put together at some date in the mid-thirteenth century. Its antecedent and principal source, Redaction A, composed about 1175, very clearly does not contain these extraneous materials. We must therefore conclude that the mingling of new elements with old in Redaction B resulted from the compiler's familiarity with contemporary legal literature and, more broadly, from his acquaintance with the literary scene of his day.

Of particular interest in this group of infused material is a short paragraph which introduces and defines the 'Seven Keys of Wisdom':

Septem sunt claves sapientie

*Interrogare humiliter; audire diligenter; tenere memoriter; credere fideliter; diligere ardentiter; narrare humiliter; iudicare misericorditer.*³

There are seven Keys of wisdom; to inquire humbly; to listen diligently; to remember faithfully; to believe firmly; to cherish ardently; to expound humbly; to judge mercifully.

It will be noted that this definition of the 'Keys of Wisdom' draws upon the symbolism of the number 'seven' as a supporting motif. But variations exist in certain Welsh texts of the Welsh laws which place broadly comparable, though not identical, Keys under the aegis of the indivisible 'five'; for example:

*Pump allwed ymeitaeth yssyd. Un yw ofyn dy athro ae garu; ail yw mynych ouyn dy dysc; trydyd yw cadw genlyt y dysc a geffych; petwoeryd yw tremygu golut; pymhet yw cassau felwyd a charu guiryomed, rac ofyn dauo.*⁴

There are five keys to the office of a judge. One is the fear of thy teacher and the love of him. The second is frequent asking for thy instruction. The third is retaining the instruction which thou dost receive. The fourth is despising riches. The fifth is hating falsehood and loving truth for the fear of God. (Wade-Evans's translation)

Further investigation quickly confirmed my feeling that the actions and attitudes here recommended within a context of legal studies in the

¹ Dr. Emanuel, Librarian of the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth, died suddenly 28 April, 1970. As readers of his *Latin Texts of the Welsh Laws*, described as 'a model of its kind', will know, his death is a great loss to the world of scholarship and learning. (Ed.)

² H. D. Emanuel, *The Latin Texts of the Welsh Laws* (Univ. of Wales Press, 1967).

³ Op. cit., p. 247.

⁴ A. W. Wade-Evans, *Welsh Medieval Law* (Oxford, 1909), p. 112.

medieval law-school were basically exhortatory principles which were widely known and used during the medieval centuries, and which, in fact, crystallized trends of thought and experience connected with the Scriptures and with patristic literature on the one hand, and with elements of the thought of classical Rome on the other. I am fully aware that there must exist in the extensive literature of the Middle Ages instances of the 'Keys of Wisdom' motif which are as yet unknown to me. I would express the hope that readers of this essay may be in a position to fill some of the gaps. However, the progression outlined in this essay will at least serve as a framework for further studies.

Scriptural source-material

Since it will be necessary to make frequent comparative references to possible Scriptural sources of inspiration, it will be convenient to tabulate the most significant groups of texts at this point:

- (i) *Initium sapientiae timor Domini* (Ps. 11:1010)
Timor Domini principium sapientiae (Prov. 1:7)
Principium sapientiae timor Domini (Prov. 9:10)
Fons sapientiae verbum Dei (Ecclus. 1:5)
Initium sapientiae timor Domini (Ecclus. 1:22)
Corona sapientiae timor Domini (Ecclus. 1:25)
Radix sapientiae est timere Dominum (Ecclus. 1:25)
- (ii) *Et requiescet super eum spiritus Domini, spiritus sapientiae et intellectus, spiritus consilii et fortitudinis, spiritus scientiae et pietatis.*
Et replebit eum spiritus timoris Domini; non secundum visionem oculorum iudicabit, neque secundum auditum aurium arguet.
Sed indicabit in iustitia pauperes, et arguet in aequitate pro mansuetis terrae . . . (Isa. 11:2-4)
- (iii) *Sapientia aedificavit sibi domum, excidit columnas septem.* (Prov. 9:1)
Et vidi in dextera sedentis supra thronum librum scriptum intus et foris, signatum sigillis septem. (Rev. 5:1)
- (iv) *Et dabo clavem domus David super humerum eius.* (Isa. 22:22)
Vae vobis legisperitis, quia tulistis clavem scientiae. (Luke 11:52)
Haec dicit Sanctus et Verus, qui habet clavem David. (Rev. 3:7)

Tyconius

The earliest writer to have used a figure at all resembling the Seven Keys motif, as far as I have been able to ascertain, was Tyconius Afer, a Donatist writer of the latter half of the fourth century, who composed his *Liberal Regularum* before 383 A.D. This 'Book of Rules',¹ which is claimed to have been a compilation of substantial originality in conception and intention, set out general rules for biblical interpretation and was widely accepted as a textbook of exegesis.

The following extract is taken from Burkitt's edition:

Necessarium duxi ante omnia quae mihi videntur Libellum Regularum scribere,

¹ F. C. Burkitt, *The Rules of Tyconius* (Cambridge, 1894).

et secretorum legis veluti claves et luminaria fabricare. Sunt enim quaedam regulae mysticae quae unversae legis recessus obnuntiant, et veritatis thesauros aliquibus invisibilibus [visibilibus] faciunt. Quarum si ratio regularum sine invidia ut communitatis accepta fuerit, clausa quaeque patefient et obscura dilucidabuntur, ut quis prophetiae immensam silviam perambulans, his regulis quodam modo lucis tramitibus deductus ab errore defendatur. Sunt autem regulae istae: (1) de Domino et corpore eius; (2) de Domini corpore bipertito; (3) de promissis et lege; (4) de specie et genere; (5) de temporibus; (6) de recapitulatione; (7) de diabolo et eius corpore.

Tyconius here names seven keys which will open the mysteries of the Scriptures to the inquiring reader, and combines with the keys metaphor that of lamps which will lighten the darkness of obscure meanings. It is obvious, however, that the character or material of the mystic rules as defined by Tyconius is quite different from the contents of the Keys described in the Welsh Laws.

Augustine of Hippo, who was a slightly younger contemporary of Tyconius, reviews the latter's seven rules in the third book (ch. 30) of his *De Doctrina Christiana*. Though showing restrained approval of the work as a whole, Augustine was keenly aware of Tyconius' Donatist sympathies, and, through his more thorough acceptance of the mystic element in the Christian religion, insisted on modifying the claim that Tyconius' keys could unlock all the secrets (*clausa quaeque*) of the faith.

Tyconius' sevenfold prescription achieved some degree of renown in later centuries too. Cassiodorus, for example, refers by name to him in the tenth book (*De modis intelligentiae*) of his *Divine Institutes*. The encyclopedic Isidore, in his *Liber Sententiarum*,¹ refrains from naming Tyconius, but discusses his seven rules in a chapter which begins: *Septem esse, inter ceteras, regulas locutionum Sanctarum Scripturarum quidam sapientes dixerunt*. Two and a half centuries later, Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims, in a treatise which discusses various sets of rules,² could still refer very briefly to Tyconius and his seven keys.

St. Augustine

Of more immediate and detailed concern to the theme of this essay are certain statements and attitudes, propounded by Augustine in various parts of his works, which seem directly to foreshadow the Seven Keys of the Welsh Laws.

Firstly, let us consider a system of seven steps (*gradus*), described in the second book (ch. 7) of the *De Doctrina Christiana*, by which the dedicated Christian may attain to true *sapientia*. The relevant extracts read as follows:

(i) *Ante omnia igitur opus est Dei timore converti ad cognoscendam eius voluntatem.*

(ii) *Deinde mitescere opus est pietate.*

¹ Bk. I, ch. xix.

² *De Praedestinatione Dissertatio Posterior*, ch. xxxi.

(iii) *Post istos duos gradus timoris atque pietatis ad tertium venit scientiae gradum.*

(iv) . . . esse incipit in quarto gradu, hoc est fortitudinis.

(v) . . . in quinto gradu, hoc est in consilio misericordiae, purgat animam tumultuam.

(vi) . . . ascendit in sextum gradum, ubi iam ipsum oculum [cordis] purgat.

(vii) *Talis filius ascendit ad sapientiam, quae ultima et septima est.*

This system, which, to be precise, describes six preliminary steps to wisdom and presents *sapientia* itself as the seventh, is modelled beyond reasonable doubt on verses 2-4 (quoted above) of the eleventh chapter of the Prophecy of Isaiah—that great, visionary chapter of a world in which the wolf and the lamb, the lion and the sheep shall dwell peacefully together. Augustine's seven steps may, therefore, be stated to be primarily, if not exclusively, Christian in inspiration. Yet, bearing in mind Augustine's own education in the non-Christian schools of rhetoric, we may recall that the conception of stressing that moral excellence should accompany learning certainly dates back also to the authors of classical pagan Rome. Cicero, for example, insists on this principle more than once in his philosophical works. Seneca, too, commends this combination, especially in his famous 88th Moral Epistle. In particular, Quintilian's *vir bonus dicendi peritus*¹ would appear to embody this ideal, and we may recall that the same author has this to say to students in praise of *pietas*:

*Plura de officio docentium locutus, discipulos id unum interim moneo, ut praecipuos suos non minus quam ipsa studia ament, et parentes esse non quidem corporum sed mentium credant. Multum haec pietas conferet studio.*²

It would appear to me that the first, second, and fifth of Augustine's *gradus sapientiae* may be of significance in the development of the Seven Keys.

Secondly, we should take note that Augustine advocates the necessity to adopt an attitude of inquiry towards matters connected with the Christian faith. We have noted above that Augustine took Tyconius to task for maintaining that the method of *disputatio* was a method capable of universal application to all aspects of religion. Yet he admits, and even stresses, the need for respectful inquiry into Holy Scriptures. Two passages must suffice here to illustrate Augustine's viewpoint:

(i) *Restant ea quae non ad corporis sensus, sed ad rationem animi pertinent, ubi disciplina regnat disputationis et numeri. Sed disputationis disciplina ad omnia genera quaestionum, quae in litteris sanctis sunt penetranda et dissolvenda, plurimum valet. (De Doctrina Christiana, ii. 31, 48)*

(ii) *Cum scripturas sanctas . . . legendo percurreremus, placuit eas quaestiones quae in mentem venirent . . . stilo allegare ne de memoria fugerent. Non ut eas satis explicarem; sed ut, cum opus esset, possemus inspicere; sive ut admoneremur*

¹ *Inst. Orat.* xii. 1.

² *Ibid.* ii. 9.

quid adhuc esset requirendum, sive ut . . . essemus et ad cogitandum instructi et ad respondendum parati. (*Quaestiones in Heptateuchum* in Migne, P.L. xxxiv, col. 547)

Augustine's commendation of the spirit of inquiry seems of particular significance in the context of the first of the Seven Keys propounded in the Welsh Laws. And once again we may remind ourselves that the process of *inventio*, which was one of the five divisions into which both Cicero and Quintilian had analysed the art of oratory, was concerned with making inquiries and asking questions.¹

The early Middle Ages

The contribution of Boethius and Cassiodorus to the inheritance of later ages consists mainly in their gift of assimilating and transmitting the philosophy and learning of the classical world in both their pagan and their Christian aspects. Thus far I have found in their works no more than echoes or suggestions of certain general features of the motif with which this essay is concerned.

Boethius, for example, uses the following forms of expression at the beginning of his *De Consolatione Philosophiae*:²

Harum in extremo margine II Graecum, in supremo vero Θ legebatur intextum atque in utrasque litteras in scalarum modum gradus quādam insigniti videbantur, quibus ab inferiore ad superius elementum esset ascensus.

Augustine had already used the figure of 'steps of progress', but this comparison with the rungs of a ladder may well be indebted also to Jacob's scriptural vision of the ladder linking heaven and earth.

Cassiodorus, as we have seen above, knew of Tyconius' Seven Keys. On at least one other occasion he himself uses the metaphor of opening secrets which are closed to us:

Quapropter oremus ut nobis aperiantur illa quae clausa sunt, et ab studio legendi nullatenus abscedamus.³

And in close proximity to this expression he also employs a form of wording which may seem to anticipate phrases contained in the later Seven Keys:

Mater est enim intellegentiae frequens et intenta meditatio.⁴

Of far more immediate and direct significance is a group of Four Keys attributed in the Migne texts to the Venerable Bede. The text reads:

Quatuor claves sunt: sapientia vel industria legendi, assiduitas interrogandi, honor doctoris, contemptio facultatum.

¹ See Professor Beryl Smalley's essay in D. J. Gordon (ed.), *Fritz Saxl: a Volume of Memorial Essays*, esp. p. 98.
² Ed. Bieler, I. I. 4.
³ *Inst. Dio.* I, preface.
⁴ *Ibid.*
⁵ *Pat. Lat.* 94, col. 547.

I have little doubt that the reading *sapientia vel* is erroneous, and would confidently suggest the following emended text:

Quatuor claves sunt sapientie: videlicet, industria legendi, assiduitas interrogandi, honor doctoris, contemptio facultatum.

Here, evidently, we have the 'Keys of Wisdom' at last assuming recognizable shape. The number, four, is perhaps less fashionable than would be three, five, or seven; and the order in which the keys are placed will later undergo change. But, undoubtedly, the Four Keys of Pseudo-Bede bring to us propositions based on the ideas of thinkers of past ages, and, in particular, of Augustine, expressed in categorized form. The first key implies an attitude not far removed from Augustine's *pietas*. As for the second, the point has already been made that Augustine on more than one occasion urges the need to develop an inquiring mind towards the doctrines and tenets of the Christian faith. The third is closely cognate with Augustine's *timor Domini*, which would easily pass into *timor doctoris* or *honor doctoris*; cf. also Quintilian's *de officio docentium*. The fourth represents a not infrequent scriptural precept which Augustine had in fact touched upon under his third *gradus, scientia*:

Necesse est ergo ut primo se quisque in scripturis inveniat amore huius saeculi, hoc est, temporalium rerum, implicatum, longe seunctum esse a tanto amore Dei et tanto amore proximi quantum scriptura ipsa praescribit.

It would be intriguing to discover the precise reason for the evolution of the Keys of Wisdom into categorical and mnemonic form at this stage in time. A part of the answer may well lie in the need to adapt these precepts for school use as part of the re-education needs of the early Middle Ages. However that may be, it is precisely those needs which account for the twist given to the 'wisdom-approach' method by Alcuin of York, who played so crucial a role in directing the course of the Carolingian revival of learning.

The first part of Alcuin's *Grammatica* takes the form of a dialogue between master and pupils and is intended as a preliminary instruction on the methods of acquiring true wisdom. For example:

Incitasti nos . . . scire cupientes . . . quibus gradibus ascendi potuisset ad eam [philosophiam].¹

Alcuin first stipulates the orthodox Christian approach:

Est equidem facile vnam vobis demonstrare sapientiae, si eam tantummodo propter Deum, propter puritatem animae, propter veritatem cognoscendam, etiam et propter seipsam diligatis, et non propter humanam laudem.²

At a slightly later stage of the argument, however, Alcuin takes the decisive step, yet a step which was almost inevitable in view of the humanist leanings of many of the early Church Fathers, of recruiting the seven

¹ *Ibid.* 101, col. 849.
² *Ibid.*, col. 850.

liberal arts of the pagan Roman world into the service of Christian educational methods, and of identifying them with the 'seven columns of wisdom' of the Book of Proverbs':

*Sapientia liberalium litterarum septem columnis confirmatur; nec aliter ad perfectam quemlibet deducit scientiam nisi his septem columnis vel etiam gradibus exaltetur.*¹

The High Middle Ages

The stamp of school learning and educational circumstances lies heavily on the Keys of Wisdom in their later forms. We may suspect that in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries these once general precepts were now almost universally applied as models of procedure and behaviour in the world of the student, the school, and the university.

The necessary relationship between *doctrina*, *doceri* on the one hand and *sapientia* on the other emerges with increasing frequency in such compilations as the late eleventh-century Cambro-British compilation, the *Vita Cadoci*.² For example:

Fili, a iuventute tua excipe doctrinam, et usque ad canos invenies sapientiam.

A more precise identification appears in two contexts in the *Vita Iltuti*, one of the more significant compositions of Cambro-Latin hagiography, written in the early twelfth century:

(i) *Vir tante erat memorie, audiens magistralem sententiam una vice, retinebat corde tenus omni tempore. Date sunt claves quinque illi plenarie, quibus sapienter potuit ignota notificare.*³

(ii) *Non hec arma tibi data fuerant ab armario, immo quinque claves tibi collate sunt sub magisterio.*⁴

How regrettable that the narrator did not define or give details of his Five Keys! We note the escalation to the mystic 'five', and we may be fairly confident that the detailed precepts would have corresponded to the definitions quoted in a metrical passage cited by Curtius:

*Quinque sacre claves dicuntur stare sophie;
Prima frequens studium, finem nescitque legendi.
Altera: que relegis memori committere menti.
Tertia: que nescis percrebra rogatio rerum.
Quarta est verus honor sincero corde magistri.
Quinta iubet vanas mundi contempnere gasas.*⁵

Undoubtedly we have here the four precepts enunciated by Pseudo-Bede (nos. 1, 3, 4, 5), with the addition of a fifth (no. 2) stressing the need to

¹ *Pat. Lat.* 101, col. 853.
² A. W. Wade-Evans (ed.), *Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae et Genealogiae* (Univ. of Wales Press, 1944), p. 46.
³ *Ibid.*, p. 196.
⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 198.
⁵ E. R. Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, p. 512. Curtius does not appear to indicate date or source; see, however, later.

commit the contents of the student's reading to memory. Whence may this precept have been derived? We can at least point to the five divisions which the influential Quintilian had established for the art of oratory, and remind ourselves that 'memory' ranked fourth in that enumeration:

*Omnis autem orandi oratio . . . quinque partibus constat: inventione, dispositione, elocutione, memoria, pronuntiatione sive actione . . .*¹

Or again we may refer to the slightly differing definition known in the early fourteenth century to Bonvesin da Riva, who speaks in his *Vita Scholastica* of 'the five keys of wisdom, namely, the fear of the Lord, respect for the master, assiduous reading, frequent questioning, and discipline of the memory'.²

We shall also encounter the Five Keys later in this essay when discussing an elaborated verse rendering which seems to have become popular in the eleventh and subsequent centuries.

To judge from a citation which Abelard employs in his *Sic et Non*, the Keys of Wisdom were so well known during the first half of the twelfth century that it was then feasible to refer to individual Keys with the assurance that the reader would be likely to be familiar with the topos as a whole. Abelard defines the first Key thus:

*Haec quippe prima sapientiae clavis definitur, assidua scilicet seu frequens interrogatio.*³

We note too that in Abelard's experience of them, the function of *interrogare*, *interrogatio* has now assumed pride of place. That Abelard should concentrate on the Key of 'inquiry' in particular is, of course, not in the least surprising in view of the extreme rationalistic character of the dialectic method commended by him and so effectively practised in the *Sic et Non*. For he proceeds to justify his attitude of logical criticism in this way:

*Dubitando enim ad inquisitionem venimus; inquirendo veritatem percipimus.*⁴

The version first quoted anonymously in Hugh of St. Victor's *Didascalicon*,⁵ composed in the 1120s, but assigned by John of Salisbury to Bernard, master of the humanist-dominated school of Chartres in the first half of the twelfth century, reverts, however, to the earlier practice of function-order, and places 'inquiry' second. In his *Policraticus*, written in 1159 A.D., John quotes three verse lines (identical with those cited by Hugh) which he attributes to the *senex Carnotensis*, and which he approves

¹ *Inst. Orat.* iii. 3.
² Quoted in C. H. Haskins, *Studies in Medieval Culture* (Oxford, 1929), p. 80.
³ Migne, *Pat. Lat.* 178, col. 1349.
⁴ Reference has been made above to Professor Smalley's essay 'Prima clavis sapientie', in which she demonstrates that, in basis at least, Abelard is continuing Augustinian thought in this respect.
⁵ Bk. III, c. 12. See Jerome Taylor's translation, *The Didascalicon of Hugh of St. Victor*, p. 94.

in substance, though not in form of expression (*Et, licet metri eius suavitate non capiar, sensum approbo*). The lines read:

*Mens humilis, studium quaerendi, vita quieta,
scrutinium tacitum, paupertas, terra aliena,
haec reserare solent multis obscura legendo.*¹

This is a list of six 'Keys of Wisdom', or *discendi claves*, as John of Salisbury terms them. The first of these Keys is not a new one. It certainly embodies one of the basic qualities of the true Christian; but more specifically it embodies a function enumerated in earlier versions of the Keys, and variously expressed as *Dei timor*, *timor domini*, *honor doctoris*. It implies, for example, reverence for the person of the teacher:

*Humilitas est ut nec personam docentis contempnat . . .*²

as well as due respect for his teachings (Augustine's *pietas*):

*Humilitas enim his quae scribuntur a doctioribus adquiescit . . .*³

The second-placed function, that of 'inquiry', must therefore presumably be restricted to a certain extent by the first. John himself stipulates sensible inquiry:

*Nam in eis quaerere quod non habent, proprium sensum obstruere est, non addiscere alienum.*⁴

And again:

*Sic enim prodest quaerendi studium, si aviditas ipsa sciendi referatur ad Christum.*⁵

The third Key—*vita quieta*—together with the sixth—*terra aliena*—introduce considerations which may appear novel in the Keys tradition. 'A life of quiet' is a reasonable enough stipulation, since, as John explains, pursuing a line of argument used earlier by Hugh of St. Victor,

*. . . qui studentis inane exercitium reputat si ad hostium eius prementium se tumultuum turba pulsat.*⁵

Similarly, the serious student treading the road of philosophy to wisdom must not be unduly bothered by domestic worries or by responsibilities arising from the circumstances of his temporal existence. It appears to me likely, however, that exhortations of this kind should be linked with the first Key of Pseudo-Bede, *industria legendi*, and with the first of the five Keys quoted by Curtius, *frequens studium, finem nescitque legendi*. There must be as few extraneous influences as possible to divert the true student from his studies.

Bernard's fourth Key—the silent scrutiny—we will recognize readily as the function of *meditatio*, recommended by Cassiodorus amongst others. His fifth—*paupertas*—is, of course, Pseudo-Bede's *contemptio facultatum* or the *Quinta iubet vanas mundi contempnere gazas* of Curtius's citation.

¹ Bk. VII, c. xiii, ed. Webb, vol. ii, p. 145.

² Ibid., p. 146.

³ Ibid., p. 149.

That the six 'Keys of Wisdom' of Bernard of Chartres achieved wide-spread popularity during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries is amply demonstrated by the number of later writers who quoted and discussed them, usually, however, without naming Bernard as the originator. Petrus Comestor, for example, a contemporary of John of Salisbury, introduces them thus:

Audis et philosophum; cum quaesitum esset ab eo quae necessaria sint ad studentem, ait . . .

He then cites the first two lines of John's quotation.¹ In the thirteenth century both Vincent of Beauvais² and Guibert of Tournai³ make similar references. A striking aspect of John of Salisbury's contribution to the theme was to reintroduce the element of the mystic number seven into the 'Keys of Wisdom' motif. Enthusiastic humanist that he was, John instinctively turned to classical literature in search of his seventh Key, and found that Quintilian's exhaustive survey of the oratorical art yielded the required material. Under the chapter-heading *De septima clave discentium* John adds his seventh Key to the six he had inherited from Bernard of Chartres:

*In libro Quintiliani de Institutione Oratoris septima discentium clavis ponitur amor docentium, quo praeceptores ut parentes amandi sunt et colendi,*⁴

acknowledging, however, the change of context:

*Haec quidem Quintilianus in praeceptis eloquentiae, sed nichilominus sunt ad institutionem sapientiae applicanda.*⁵

John's desire to establish a sevenfold form for the Keys was probably inspired by his awareness of the sevenfold system propounded in the fourth century by Tyconius. He makes an explicit reference in the same chapter to

septem alias claves quas ad intelligentiam Scripturarum Ticonius posuit.

His added seventh Key does not, however, represent a new attitude or activity, since Quintilian's *amor docentium* is readily recognized as being the pagan classical form cognate with the Christian principle of the *timor Domini* of Augustine and the *honor doctoris* of later versions.

Metrical versions of the Keys of Wisdom

The version of the Keys of Wisdom assigned by John of Salisbury to Bernard of Chartres was, as we have seen, couched in the form of a rhyming verse couplet. Curtius' citation quoted above of the Five Keys was also in verse form. It seems very likely, in fact, that it was through a variety of

¹ *Sermo 3, Pat. Lat.* 198, col. 1730.

² *Speculum Doctrinale*, I, xxviii (Douai, 1624).

³ *De Modo Addiscendi*, IV, xxvi (Bonifacio (ed.) [Turin, 1653], p. 243).

⁴ *Policraticus*, VII, c. 14, ed. Webb, p. 152. ⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 153.

versified forms, rather than in prose, that the Keys motif achieved its widest popularity in the later Middle Ages, and this probably as a result of its adaptation for use by scholars and students.

On the basis of catalogue evidence alone (which I have not as yet been able to pursue fully), there would appear to be still in existence some three dozen manuscripts, perhaps, preserved in various European libraries, which include a versified form of the 'Keys of Wisdom' among their contents. The tract appears to have been known under several varying titles, such as *Liber rudium*, *Liber scholastice discipline*, or *Auree claves*; particularly popular was the title *Liber quinque clavium sapientie*. I append some specimen extracts found under this latter rubric:

1. *Qui prima velit hostia pandere clave
Hic legat assidue . . .*
2. *Ipsorum que legis esto memor;
Lectio crebra valet quam non oblitio tollet . . .*
3. *Si preceptor referas studiosus honorem
Tunc revoluta tibi tertia clavus erit . . .*
4. *Clavis quarta monet contemptus diviciarum . . .*
5. *Clavis quinta . . . ut queras que sunt ignota frequenter.*

That these tracts also diverged in details of internal form and expression is evident from an examination of the references specified by Walther in his *Initia*.¹ At No. 19926, for example, under the *initium*

Utilis est [sic] rudibus [multis] presentis cura libelli . . .

Walther lists some two dozen manuscripts ranging in date from the twelfth to the sixteenth century and spread widely in present location through the libraries of Europe (e.g. Basle, Berlin, Prague, Florence, Madrid). Among these is listed a twelfth-century manuscript of the Bavarian house of Melk, in regard to which the claim is made in the Melk Catalogue that the *Liber quinque clavium sapientie* stands under John of Garland's name.² This ascription is, however, to be rejected.

The *initium* quoted at No. 17530 is

Septem divine sunt claves nempe sophie . . .

which Walther quotes from a twelfth-century manuscript of Wolfenbüttel. A further variation occurs under No. 16036:

Quinque sacre claves dicuntur stare sophie . . .

A fourth *initium* is indicated under No. 6002 from a manuscript of the twelfth or thirteenth century:

Expediunt quinque claves genus sophie . . .

¹ *Initia Carminum ac Versuum Medii Aevi Posterioris Latinorum* (1959).

² See L. J. Paetow, *Morale Sclarrum of John of Garland* (Berkeley, 1927), p. 144.

Finally, reference may be made to a monograph by Professor Paul Lehmann, in which he edits extracts from the *Auree Claves* of Johannes of Wetzlar (died c. 1430).¹ These keys, seven in number, viz. *patientia*, *obediencia*, *moralitas*, *diligencia*, *amor*, *constantia*, and *oratio*, are said to open the doors of learning. With these keys John couples the seven liberal arts which are also channels by which the student can strive for learning.

To return now to the Welsh and Latin definitions of the 'Keys of Wisdom' motif which I quoted from the laws of Wales at the beginning of this essay.

The first point, and one of some considerable interest, is that neither definition can be dismissed as a translation of the other. They differ mutually both in numerical scheme and in content, and the claim can therefore justly be made that these definitions are evidence that two distinct traditions of the Keys motifs were known to Welsh learning of the thirteenth century. We have seen further that a Five-Key version was already known to the compiler of the twelfth-century *Vita Iltuti*.

Of the Five Keys defined in Welsh, the first four will readily be identified with the exhortations to respect one's teacher, to foster an inquiring mind, to develop one's memory, and to despise worldly riches, all of which we have met in definitions of earlier date than the thirteenth century. The fifth, however, is novel, but easily recognized, especially in the light of the phrase *rac ofyn dwev*, as a basic Christian principle.

The Latin definition of the Seven Keys is admirably terse and concise in its statement, and employs a verb and adverb in combination to produce an effective parallelism of structure. The first six procedures commended are parallel with the contents of earlier definitions. The seventh is a new addition which can, however, be readily appreciated if we imagine the Keys motif adapted specifically for use in a legal school. We note that *humiliter* is employed twice, and we may be permitted to wonder whether the first instance of this adverb with *interrogare*, after comparison with earlier definitions, ought not to be emended to *assidue* or *frequenter*.

One last speculative comment. It seems to me that, as a result of the type of verb-adverb structure used, the exhortatory force of the adverbs looms especially large in this Latin definition. I would suggest further that the moral qualities alluded to successively by the adverbs come very close to those virtues which are so frequently praised in lists of the seven cardinal Christian virtues, e.g. humility, diligence, faithfulness, fortitude, temperance, prudence, mercy.²

Is it possible that this Latin definition seeks to unite within itself the Seven Keys on the one hand and the Seven Virtues on the other?

¹ *Erforschung des Mittelalters*, Band V, pp. 436-43. I owe this reference to Professor M. T. d'Alverny of Paris.

² See, e.g., M. W. Bloomfield, *The Seven Deadly Sins*, passim.