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IN SEARCH FOR ’HIGHER EDUCATION’
IN BYZANTIUM*

This study aims to present and critically investigate the development of the so-called ‘higher education’ in the Byzantine Empire. Some institutions will be examined, such as the teaching with public funding (the case of Themistios), the well-known Pandidakterion of the fifth century, Magnaura in a much subsequent age, and, finally, the re-organization of education during the reign of Constantine IX Monomachos in the eleventh century, when, for the last time in its history, a case can be made for a higher education institution in Byzantium.

* An early form of this paper was presented at the symposium organised by the European Cultural Centre of Delphi (Delphi, 6–8 July 2012) under the title “The University in Europe. From the Academy of Plato to the Magna Charta Universitatum of Bologna”.

Keywords: antecessores, enkyklios paideia, exedra, higher education, law school, Magnaura, Pandidakterion, schools, scholastikoi, grammatikos, theatron

In an earlier paper about the ‘universal’ character of Byzantine education I argued that the term Byzantine education is not acceptable, as Byzantium did not pave new roads in this area; instead, relying on its Hellenistic and Roman heritage, it continued almost as a matter of course the educational system already in place, and retained it with few and not particularly important changes until the empire’s final dissolution in 1453. I also pointed out that education as a whole formed part of Byzantine civilisation, for which the term continuity applies with remarkable consistency at all levels. This concept of Byzantine continuity must be understood as a harmonious dialogue with the past, undergoing, however, some interventions of an ideological nature, which suppressed almost at birth certain emerging ruptures; I mean the views expressed in the fourth century by Basil the Great in his classic text To Youths on How
to Profit from Greek Literature, and (a little later and on a more theoretical level) by Gregory of Nazianzos.1

All these points apply almost entirely to the first two stages of education, i.e. the school of the grammatises, who was responsible for the προπαιδεία of his young charges, and most certainly for that of the grammatikos or maistor; in many ways an important school which provided the ἔγκυκλιος παιδεία and gave pupils a solid foundation in classical literature, grammar, rhetoric and certain complementary subjects.2 The same seems to be true of ‘higher education’, to use the current term, which does exist, although it has few similarities with the structure of present-day universities. It should be pointed out (although it is almost common knowledge) that in Antiquity or Byzantium there were no Institutions of higher education in the specific sense in which the term is used today. “L’État tout puissant”, as Paul Lemerle puts it, represented of course by the emperor himself, saw, already since Roman times, to the education of those who will staff the state machine, through a number of largely ‘public’ officials who provide knowledge and enjoy special privileges, such as tax exemption, purely for reasons of public interest.3 This was not achieved by means of a centripetal organisation of the various fields of study, but rather through the familiar diffusion of education, ensured by the unhindered operation, at least until the sixth or even the seventh century, of the famous schools of Late Antiquity. These were attended — or frequented — by the ‘middle class’ of the time under the traditional view that the cultural side of Antiquity constituted a source of inspiration, reflection, critical thought and research.4 The schools in question focused on specific areas of study: Platonic and mostly Neoplatonic philosophy for the school of Athens, rhetoric for that of Antioch, broader classical and philosophical studies for the schools of Alexandria and


4 See the bibliography — often excessive, as it includes papers not directly relevant to the subject — in D. DeForest, Between Mysteries and Factions: Initiation Rituals, Student Groups, and Violence in the Schools of Late Antique Athens, Journal of Late Antiquity 4 (2011) 315–342, esp. 315 n. 2. See also the careful observations of J. Beaucamp, Le philosophe et le joueur. La date de la “fermeture de l’école d’Athènes”, TM 14 (2002) 21–35, esp. 23–24 and n. 11.
Aphrodisias; archaeological excavations have brought to light the latter’s building, dating probably from the AD fifth century, decorated with the busts of Pindar, Socrates, Pythagoras, Aristotle and even Alcibiades and Alexander the Great.\(^5\) Philosophy was also the focus of the school of Apameia, the favourite city of Iamblichos according to Libanios,\(^6\) while Caesarea turned towards Christian and Jewish literature and thought, equipped with an outstanding library comparable to that of Alexandria, mostly thanks to the efforts of Pamphilos, as well as with famous scriptoria, as indicated by the highly probable creation there of the codex Sinaiticus.\(^7\) Finally, Berytus cultivated legal studies, from early on and at a very high level.\(^8\) Despite the axiomatic dictum of Alexander Kazhdan, who declares, with regard to legal education, that “the system of private education in law typical of the early Roman Empire was replaced, during the late Roman Empire, by a system of state universities”, these schools remained private, like the schools of the first two levels, although at times they elicited funds either from the state or from their host cities.\(^9\)

We now have some knowledge about the internal organisation and operation of many of these institutions beyond the most prominent ones of Athens and Alexandria, on which there was always sufficient information, recently augmented by excavation findings.\(^11\) I note some examples: prospective students at the school of Antioch, which

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\(^8\) On the school of Berytus see below, p. 32–33, 36.

\(^9\) Law Schools, ODB 2, 1196; my emphasis.


\(^11\) On the findings in Athens see A. Frantz, The Athenian Agora: results of excavations conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens XXIV: Late Antiquity A. D. 267–700, Princeton 1988, esp. 88 ff., where she discusses, among many other interesting things, House C, subsequently linked to Damaskios by *P. Athanassiadi*, Damascus. The Philosophical History, Athens 1999, 343 ff.; also *eadem*, La lutte pour l’orthodoxie, 199–200. There is more certainty concerning the attribution of a house in the broader region of the Acropolis to Proklos: A. Kariveri, The ‘House of Proklos’ on the Southern Slope of Acropolis: A Contribution, ed. P. Castrén, Post-Herulian Athens AD 267–529, Helsinki 1994, 115–139. The latest book of A. Kaldellis, The Christian Parthenon. Classicism and Pilgrimage in Byzantine Athens, Cambridge 2009, does not add to the analysis attempted here. In Alexandria, specifically at Kom el-Dikka in the old town centre, a kind of theatre, which might be more correctly called an auditorium, was excavated; a number of small auditoria, for thirty persons, were discovered nearby. These buildings, which are relatively safely dated in the AD sixth century, were built probably as teaching rooms but also used for public readings. See on this Alexandria, Auditoria of Kom el-Dikka and Late Antique Education, mentioned earlier (n. 5), passim, and esp. the paper of G. Majcherek, The Late Roman Auditoria of Alexandria: An Archeological Overview, 11–49; see also *idem*, The Auditoria of Kom el-Dikka: A Glimpse of Late Antique Education in Alexandria,
was dominated by the personality of Libanios after AD 354, submitted an application accompanied by the letter(s) of references required by the great rhetorician. As almost everywhere in Byzantium, this was a one-man school, although Libanios often employed grammatici to undertake the teaching of classical texts, which he deemed of major importance; some of Libanios’ associates either worked in Antioch or were former students of his. The highly organised operation of the school was assisted by the existence of an association of alumni, whose frequent meetings and close contact with the orator via personal correspondence promoted the image of the institution and of Libanios in particular. The law school of Berytus was included by Justinian (527–565), alongside that of Constantinople, in the constitutio Omnem of the year 533, after which it adopted a rigorous five-year curriculum with distinct subjects for each year, although, in all fairness, this was not much different from the previous programme. The legal text was read in Latin, interpreted by the antecessores, who were also called οἱ τῆς οἰκουμένης διδάσκαλοι, and then translated into Greek by the students; most of them had difficulties in understanding Latin, and the teachers intervened to resolve them. It is worth noting that there are surviving explanatory texts by antecessores — although the only complete one is the paraphrasis of the Institutes, known as Institutiones Theophili — as well as student notes. Finally, there is evidence of the existence of student unions which participated in School matters.

If all this is observed in the periphery, where the mobility of teachers and students and the wealth of relevant information fully confirms Lemerle’s view of the early Byzantine era as unique in many ways, great care is required when it comes


12 R. Cribiore, The School of Libanius in Late Antique Antioch, Princeton 2007, 84.
13 Ibid., 111 ff.
15 Cribiore, The School of Libanius, 30–37.
16 Ibid., 104 ff. A briefer survey of Libanios’ overall educational activity is provided again by R. Cribiore, The Value of a Good Education: Libanios and Public Authority, ed. Ph. Rousseau (with the assistance of J. Raithel), A Companion to Late Antiquity, Chichester 2009, 233–245.
17 It remains unknown whether the law school of Constantinople continued for any time after Justinian’s death; see Sp. Troianos, Οι πηγές του βυζαντινού δικαίου, Athens 2011, 101 and n. 21, 147.
21 Troianos, Πηγές, 104–108, with extensive bibliography.
22 Markopoulos, Βυζαντινή εκπαίδευση, 198–199 and n. 65. Troianos, Πηγές, 100 ff.
23 Lemerle, Premier humanisme, 51.
to examining the presence of Byzantium, as a state, in the educational practice, with a view to reinforcing the educational image of Constantinople. This latter city had no history of ‘higher’ schools, and things were likely to remain fluid for a period of time necessary for the city’s ideological determinants to take shape. Yet these state interventions did not always have the same starting point. When Libanios, after brilliant studies at the school of Athens, arrives in Constantinople in the AD 340s in search of work as well as of contacts with the teachers already established there, he finds ‘sophists’ teaching in the market, having obtained official positions remunerated by the state, according to the old practice;24 indeed, as he notes, one of these sophists, coming from Cappadocia, taught from the special throne in the exedra.25 Libanios’ involvement in the quarrels between the rival sophists will get the eminent rhetorician into judicial adventures and cost him his stay permit in Constantinople, forcing him to flee rather hastily to Nikomeddea.26 Libanios returns again to Constantinople, most probably between 348 and 355, but this second journey only adds to his unpleasant impressions, despite the honours lavished upon him by the Emperor Constantius (337–361).27

Constantinople evolves into the intellectual capital of the Empire in the time of Constantius, after 355.28 As is widely known, a key role in this process was played by Themistios. This Paphlagonian pagan, as Dagron describes him,29 was admitted to the Senate, following a letter of imperial recommendation sent to this supreme state institution, in which Themistios’ appointment is explained in detail.30 This decision enabled the emperor to introduce a new policy on many levels; in the area of education in particular, the invitation to Themistios to teach in Constantinople clearly reflects Constantius’ determination to furnish the new capital with the intellectual prestige it hitherto lacked, despite the — rather sparse — presence of sophists.31 The orator, who would teach from the city’s κοινὸν θέατρον, even renouncing his philosophical capacity in order to be able to attack the sophists by demolishing their arguments, while they often derided him,32 would soon repay his debt to Constantius. In his well-known speech of the year 357 — on the occasion of the celebrations for the emperor’s vicennalia in Rome, from which he was absent, oddly enough —,33 Themistios says that the new role assigned to Constantinople is mainly intellectual rather than commercial, as one might expect because of its advantageous location; the city’s mission was to preserve the classical past through the Greek language and spread it all over the then

24 Cribiore, The School of Libanius, 60–61.
25 For the exedra see W. L(oerke), ODB 2, 769; D. Chatzilazarou, Μια άγνωστη αγορά στην Κωνσταντινούπολη του 4ου αιώνα (unpubl. postgraduate thesis), Athens 2011, 90, and Majcherek, The Late Roman Auditoria of Alexandria, 25 and fig. 14.
27 Dagron, Naissance d’une capitale, 222.
28 Lemerle, Premier humanisme, 54 ff.
29 Dagron, Naissance d’une capitale, 380.
31 Lemerle, Premier humanisme, 55 ff.; Dagron, Naissance d’une capitale, 125–127 and passim.
32 Dagron, Le témoignage de Thémistios, 24, 42–43.
known world. In the same speech Themistios applauds the process of copying texts and setting up a library, which was under way in the new capital at the time, again with the emperor’s consent. It is obvious that the variously significant presence of Themistios in Constantinople and his influence on the new capital’s educational matters and intellectual life, always from within a safe net of imperial protection, largely paved the way for the founding of the Pandidakterion by emperor Theodosios II (408–450). Inaugurated in 425, this was beyond doubt an institutional novelty; it is the first time that Byzantium as a state goes into intellectual matters with the aim of instituting a new educational policy and a new system in parallel to the existing one which, on the other hand, had both a long history and an active presence (purely private education, education with discreet state support, etc.). It must be stressed that this unprecedented school had the exclusive purpose of educating officials for the administration of the state; this is what led Lemerle to speak of a state monopoly in the subject of universities. It is significant that what Themistios had proposed about promoting the Greek language in 357, is put into practice by this novel institution, which had an almost equal number of teachers for Greek and Latin. It is also worth noting at this point that in the fourth century the Empire experienced a rivalry between Greek and Latin, caused exclusively by the switch towards learning Latin on the part of those Greek speakers who were after a career in the state machine. Yet, after the death of Theodosios I (395) and the resultant split of the Empire, a new lingual boundary was created and became associated with the corresponding choices of the various social classes. Therefore, the original tendency towards having a single state with two ‘official’ languages in use, Greek and Latin, falls into decline, judging from the Pandidakterion, and is abandoned over time, as is broadly known and accepted.

It is almost certain that the Pandidakterion did not continue after the reign of Herakleios (610–641); more correctly, perhaps, we have no evidence that it did. After that, the state will undertake no further action in the field of ‘higher’ education and, apart from the constitutio Omnem, it will be more than two hundred years before the next state initiative: the establishment of the school of Magnaura (855),

discussed below.\textsuperscript{42} The reasons behind this change in state policy go back to the times of Justinian—and I believe that scholars are unanimous on this matter. It is during that time that the earlier state dogma (once again essentially formed by Themistios), whereby Hellenism and Christianity should be treated as two worldviews diametrically opposed yet capable of coexisting,\textsuperscript{43} gives way to Justinian’s dogma of a single state with a single language — harsh though the reality was for an emperor like Justinian, a fervent lover of Latin — and a single religion with no exceptions. Thus in September 529 Justinian issues the well-known edict by which he bans pagans, heretics and Jews from teaching; it is then that the closure of the school of Athens takes place, although it had been showing signs of advancing decline,\textsuperscript{44} despite the presence of Damaskios, who had been teaching philosophy there since the early sixth century.\textsuperscript{45} As a result, research, a key element of education in the earlier centuries, recedes; the antecessores of law schools are replaced by scholastikoi, who are closer to rhetoric than to law theory;\textsuperscript{46} everything is codified; teachers lose the tax immunity they had enjoyed for centuries; and literary production is almost placed under control, although Justinian’s efforts in this area were not successful.\textsuperscript{47} Nevertheless, I should like to point out that Michael Maas exaggerates when he talks about the enhanced role of the Church during the same period, especially with regard to education; I believe it would be more accurate to say that the state uses the church as well in order to avert any deviations from its own rules, particularly after the Nika revolt (532).\textsuperscript{48}

It would be a distortion of the reality of those times to claim that, after Justinian’s rigorously enforced institutional decisions on education, Byzantium severed the umbilical cord that linked it to education and knowledge more generally. I believe that such generalisations, which Alexander Kazhdan accepts at least in part when he speaks about a culturally silent Byzantium in direct contrast to an eloquent Antiquity,\textsuperscript{49} are extreme and out of tune with reality. On the other hand, there is no doubt that from the seventh century onward our sources almost dry up and it is hard to find information on higher education or, indeed, on any education at all. Nevertheless, the educational level of an admittedly limited élite, in the cities rather than in the countryside, remains high, since the educational process is not disrupted, as one concludes from

\textsuperscript{42} See below p. 38–39.
\textsuperscript{43} See Dagron, Le témoignage de Thémistios, 163–186, with an extensive analysis of the relevant speech of Themistios. Cf. also Vanderspool, Themistius and the Imperial Court, 138–139.
\textsuperscript{44} Cod. Just.1.5.18;1.11.10. See Beaucamp, Le philosophe et le joueur, passim, esp. 24–25 and n. 22–24, with an analysis of the causes behind this decision. Watts, however, adopts a different focus in the paper cited below. Cf. also Chr. Wildberg, Philosophy in the Age of Justinian, ed. M. Maas, The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Justinian, Cambridge 2005, 316–340.
\textsuperscript{46} Troianos, Πηγές, 147–148 ff.
\textsuperscript{49} A. Kazhdan, Der Mensch in der byzantinischen Literaturgeschichte, JÖB 28 (1979) 1–21, esp. 14 (= Authors and Texts in Byzantium, Aldershot 1993, no. II).
numerous testimonies, predominantly in hagiographical texts; after all, it is in the cities that Justinian seeks literate witnesses for judicial procedures concerning inheritance or other similar cases. In any case, the scattered information at our disposal, which has been analysed mainly by Lemerle, so that any further analysis is rendered superfluous, confirms that no new institutions emerge. Moreover, the major crisis that hit Byzantium for a long time after the years of HeraclEOS has a direct impact on education. The huge territorial losses of the time deprive the Empire of the higher schools it still had, such as Alexandria, which had survived Justinian’s ban, while natural disasters and epidemics come to accelerate this process: the earthquake of AD 551 destroys the law school of Berytus, a later earthquake razes Aphrodisias to the ground, and, finally, the plague epidemic of the year 551 may well be behind the closure of the law school of Constantinople.

The absence of higher schools was filled by the schools of enkyklIOS paideia, i.e. those run by grammaIKOI. This tacit reformation was imposed by the circumstances: namely, the abandonment of cities, the concomitant restructuring of the state, but also (slightly later) Iconoclasm, combined with decisions which had been taken earlier but were still enforced, would produce entirely new conditions in a state which had hitherto operated with different structures. It would be no exaggeration to say that this school, which almost invariably relies on one main teacher, although its structure varies, essentially “rises” in the educational hierarchy and attempts to compensate for the absence of higher education from the country’s intellectual life — and largely succeeds. It is worth noting that the internal structure of an organised school of enkyklIOS paideia is quite similar to that of the old higher schools; at least, this is what transpires from the correspondence of the so-called Anonymous teacher, who had established such a school in Constantinople around the mid-tenth century. There are two cycles of study: the first cycle is taught by students of the ‘higher’ grades, presumably appointed after a selection process, who are described as οἱ τῆς σχολῆς ἑκκριτοί, οἱ ὑπὸ διατριβὴν ἑκκριτοί or οἱ ἐπιστατοῦντες; the second cycle is taught exclusively by Anonymous himself, who uses dictation as his teaching method and tests his students orally at regular intervals. There seems to have been no limit as to how long

50 Lemerle, Premier humanisme, 98–99; see also very recently F. Ronconi, Quelle grammaire à Byzance? La circulation des textes grammaticaux et son reflet dans les manuscrits, edd. G. De Gregorio et alii, La produzione scritta tecnica e scientifica nel Medioevo:libro e documento tra scuole e professioni, Spoleto 2012, 63–110, esp. 72 ff., whose views in some cases I do not share.
51 Cod. Just. 6. 23. 31.
52 Lemerle, Premier humanisme, 74 ff.
53 Watts, Justinian, Malalas, and the End of Athenian Philosophical Teaching, 178.
54 Troianos, Πυγέζ, 147.
55 Cl. F(oss), Aphrodisias, ODB 1, 128. See also above p. 31.
56 A theory proposed by A. Schminck; see Troianos, Πυγέζ, 101 n. 21 and above p. 32 and n. 17.
57 Markopoulos, De la structure de l’école byzantine, 88.
58 Ibid., 86.
59 See above p. 30 ff.
61 “... διὰ τῆς ἐδομαδός ἢ τοῦ αὐτῷ ἐροτομημένου κατανόου ἤμων ἀνακρίνεται εἰδότης: ἀπὸ στόματος αὐτοῦ σχεδὸν ἀπαρεμπόδιστος τὸ κείμενον προφέρεται τῆς γραμματικῆς τῶν ἐπιμερισμῶν...”
one could stay in the school, given that former students who had been absorbed by
the state machine continued to attend classes regularly.\textsuperscript{62} The selected students had a
say in the life of this small hub of education,\textsuperscript{63} which, judging from the recipients of
Anonymous’ letters, had excellent connections to the palace (Anonymous exchanged
books with \textit{despina} Sophia, the widow of Christopher Lekapenos),\textsuperscript{64} to high-ranking
officials, as well as to the clergy;\textsuperscript{65} indeed, the patriarchate used to subsidise its opera-
tion from time to time, albeit to the great displeasure of Anonymous.\textsuperscript{66}

In justifying the presence of a school of this level in the capital at the time,
Lemerle speaks of a \textit{couche sociale urbaine} which uses education for social advance-
ment and entry into the higher echelons of the city’s society.\textsuperscript{67} This felicitous assess-
ment is corroborated by the presence of more schools of a probably similar structure
in the capital around the same time.\textsuperscript{68} On the other hand, it must be noted that only
shortly after the end of Iconoclasm (843), the Empire had already reintroduced the
institution of a higher ‘state’ establishment in the form of the school of Magnaura,
found by \textit{caesar} Bardas, to whom «πέρι πολλοῦ... ἡ σοφία πεφιλοτίμητο» (855).\textsuperscript{69}
Could it be again the same \textit{couche sociale} which, liberated from the long years of
dogmatic uncertainty under Iconoclasm, takes its first steps towards forming its own
élite with the graduates of this new establishment? This is more than likely, especially
if Magnaura’s establishment by a high-ranking official of the Empire is seen in con-
junction with the appointment as head of the school of Leo the Mathematician, who
enjoyed widespread acceptance\textsuperscript{70} and whose iconoclastic past did not seem enough
to prevent him from taking the reins of this very ambitious school.\textsuperscript{71} Both Genesios
and Theophanes Continuatus speak of the three teachers that joined Leo, who taught
philosophy; they would have specific teaching duties which, as we shall see forthwith,
deviated somewhat from the familiar mathematical \textit{quadrivium} of arithmetic, geom-
etry, music and astronomy.\textsuperscript{72} Of these three teachers, Theodore, a pupil of Leo, taught geometry; astronomy was assigned to Theodegis and grammar to the well-known Kometas.\textsuperscript{73} Both texts, evidently drawing on the same historical textual source, note that the generous funding of Magnaura had been secured by Bardas himself.\textsuperscript{74}

After Leo’s death (post 869) all traces of Magnaura are lost and there is no evidence to show that the school continued to operate for any length of time.\textsuperscript{75} Things seem to change again in the second half of the tenth century, around the time that the school of Anonymous was operating in Constantinople.\textsuperscript{76} This is when the sixth book of Theophanes Continuatus notes, in a passage impressively similar to Genesios’ account but also to the fourth book of Continuatus regarding Magnaura, that «αἱ λογικαὶ τέχναι καὶ αἱ ἐπιστῆμαι» had been abandoned during that time and the emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (945–959), who had just come to power, decided to reorganise the system of (higher) education by appointing four «παιδευτὰς ἀρίστους»: the protospatharios Constantine to teach philosophy, the metropolitan Alexander of Nicaea for rhetoric, the patrician Nikephoros for geometry and the asekretis Gregory for astronomy.\textsuperscript{78} With this action, the chronicle emphatically points out, the emperor, who subsidised both teachers and students, as Bardas had done with Magnaura, «τὴν πολιτείαν Ῥωμαίων τῇ σοφίᾳ κατεκόσμησεν καὶ κατεπλούτισεν».\textsuperscript{79}

The unknown author of the last section of Theophanes Continuatus seeks to exalt Porphyrogennetos for his contribution to education,\textsuperscript{80} while the inference from a literal interpretation of this excerpt would be that Magnaura had been abandoned for a long time before Constantine VII.

There is no mention in any source of the ‘school’ of Porphyrogennetos continuing after the emperor’s death in 959; it is my personal view that the old practice of abandoning the whole matter was followed in this case as well, since none of the subsequent emperors, as far as we know, showed any interest in its operation.

The last attempt at creating a higher education institution in Byzantium came, as is widely known, from Constantine IX Monomachos (1042–1055) with his very important novel of April 1047; with this text, drafted by John Mauropous, the pre-existing (private) school of Michael Psellos and John Xiphilinos, which had two

\textsuperscript{72} Lemerle, Premier humanisme, 132.
\textsuperscript{73} Iosephi Genesii regum libri quattuor, 69, 58–70, 61; Theophanes Continuatus, Ioannes Cameniata, Symeon magister, Georgius monachus, ed. I. Bekker, Bonn 1838, 192, 20–23.
\textsuperscript{74} Iosephi Genesii regum libri quattuor, 70, 67–72; Theophanes Continuatus 192, 16–20.
\textsuperscript{75} Lemerle’s attempt to prove the opposite (Premier humanisme, 263–266) was inconclusive; Speck is on the right track in Kaiserliche Universitätt, 22 ff.
\textsuperscript{76} See above p. 37.
\textsuperscript{77} Alexander of Nicaea corresponds with the Anonymous teacher; see Anonymi professoris epistulae, no. 69 (p. 62–63).
\textsuperscript{78} I note that the teaching of rhetoric in the school of Porphyrogennetos replaced that of grammar in Magnaura.
\textsuperscript{79} Theophanes Continuatus 446, 1–22. A similar text is transmitted by Vaticanus gr. 163, a manuscript coming from the so-called ‘cycle’ of Symeon Logothete: A. Markopoulos, Le témoignage du Vaticanus gr. 163 pour la période entre 945–963, Σύμμεικτα 3 (1979) 83–119, esp. § 5, 92, 1–12, 103–104 (= History and Literature of Byzantium in the 9th–10th Centuries, Aldershot 2004, no. III).
\textsuperscript{80} See A. Markopoulos, Το πορτραίτο του Κωνσταντίνου Ζ’ του Πορφυρογέννητου στο Βυζάντιο της Σελήνης του Θεοφάνη, Ευκαρπίας έπαυνος, Αφέρωμα στον καθηγητή Παναγιώτη Δ. Μαστροδημήτρη, Athens 2007, 511–520, esp. 518.
“orientations”, philosophy and law, was divided into separate schools—a school of philosophy under Psellos and a school of law under Xiphilinos. Yet, despite the ample information we have about the establishment and regulations of these institutions, as well as about their early years, it is almost certain that they did not continue for long; indeed, the law school does not seem to survive beyond the year 1054.

In later years and until the fall of Constantinople no higher school of the kind described above will appear. Schools of a scope similar to that of Anonymous teacher will dominate the scene and, again like the school of Anonymous, they will have close ties to the palace. Other schools to emerge or survive are those with a specific educational focus, such as the philosophy school of George Pachymeres, the...
medical school of John Argyropoulos, financed by the state treasury, or the school of George Scholarios, who taught philosophy from his family house in Constantinople between 1430 and 1448, to a large and multinational audience. As the Empire’s end approaches, a cycle seems to be drawing slowly but steadily to a close in educational affairs, which revert to earlier practices.

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У ПОТРАЗИ ЗА „ВИСОКОМ ОБРАЗОВАЊЕМ“ У ВИЗАНТИЈИ

Високошколске установе, у значењу који тај термин данас има, у Византији нису постојале. Ипак, још од римског доба држава се бринула о образовању будућих државних службеника, користећи за то одређени број превасходно „државних“ функционера, који су своје знање стављали на располагање, а за узврат уживали значајне привилегије. Истовремено, чувене школе позне антике, као што су биле оне у Атини, Антиохији, где је доминирао Либаније, Александррији, Афродисијади, Бејруту и другима, неометано су наставили да раде све до VI, а можда и VII века. Константинопољ се у време Констанција (337–361) развио у духовни центар, захваљујући деловању Темистија, које је имало одлучујући значај, а 425. године добио је и прву „високошколску установу“; реч је о добро познатом Пандидактириону, који је за византијске прилике представљао велику новину, будући да се ради о чисто државној иницијатivi. Међутим, Пандидактирион скоро сигурно није настанио да ради после Ираклија (610–641). Од тада, са изузетком Constitutio omnem из времена Јустинијана (527–565), која је наравно претходила, држава више од дvestа година није урадила по питању високог образовања, када је кесар Варда основао школу у Магнаври (855), а управу над њом превзео Лав Филозоф или Математичар, који је уживао изузетно велики угled. Недостатак високих школа попуњен је школама општег образовања (ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία). Ту реформу наметнуле су самe околности, будући да су напуштањем градова, реорганизацијом државе и иконоборством створене потпуно нове околности. У сваком случају, после смрти Лава Филозофа Магнаври се губи сваки trag, да би све кренуло у другом парцлу када је Константин VII Порфирогенит (945–959) одлучио да реорганизује „високо образовање“ у Цариграду. Ни Порфирогенија школа, међутим, није дуго опстала. Последњи покушај стварања високошколске установе у Византији припада Константину IX Мономаху (1042–1055). Он је 1047. године издао врло значајну новелу, којом је једну прватну школу, чију су управници до тада били Михаило Псел и Јован Кефилин, развојено на две: Псел је именован за управника Филозофске а Кефилин Правне школе. И овај покушај, међутим, имао је недостатак, крај, и то релативно брзо. У потоња времена, све до пада Константинопоља, „висока школа“ се више није појавила; доминирале су школе општег образовања и школе са одређеним образовним усмерењем, као на пример филозофском, медицином, и слично. Реч је о прaksi која у многиме подсећа на рановизантијско доба.