

**THE REPRESENTATION OF CONSTANTINOPLE ON
THE FOLIO 145r/b OF THE MANUSCRIPT OF MADRID
SKYLITZES “SYNOPSIS OF HISTORIES” ²**

Introduction and historiography. “Madrid Skylitzes” or the manuscript of the “Synopsis of Histories” (Σύνοψις ἱστοριῶν, MS Graecus. Vitr. 26-2,) of the Byzantine historian of the second half of the 11th century, John Skylitzes, richly illuminated with numerous miniatures, represents one of the greatest treasures of the National library in Madrid, dating, as it is well known, from the 12th century. ³ Our paper is devoted to the analysis of the appearance of the Byzantine capital, Constantinople, found in the lower part of the folio 145r.

The miniature in question shows the ceremonial entry of the future Byzantine emperor Nikephoros II Phokas into Constantinople in 963 (fig. 1).

This miniature is very significant, due to several reasons: firstly, because it represents a rare instance of Byzantine miniature illustrating the topic of important historical content; secondly, because it depicts the event from the everyday life of the Byzantine emperor, which only historical sources inform us about; finally, and most importantly in the context of our paper, the miniature offers a precious, unique visual source for possible reconstruction of the original appearance of the architectural structures of the Byzantine capital. Beside

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³ On this manuscript and its miniatures see V. Tsamakda, *The Illustrated Chronicle of Ioannes Skylitzes in Madrid*, Leiden 2002; H. C. Evans, W.D. Wixom (eds.), *The Glory of Byzantium. Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era A.D. 843-1261*, New York 1997, 501 (No 338; with previous bibliography). For the facsimile edition of the manuscript see *Synopsis Historiarum: Incipiens a Nichephori imperatoris a genicis obitu ad Isacii Commeni imperium conscripta a Ioanne Skylitze*, Athena 2000. On John Skylitzes see A. Kazhdan. A. Cutler, *John Skylitzes*, Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium, Vol. 3, Oxford – New York, 1991, 1914 (with previous literature).



Fig. 1 Nikephoros Phokas' entry into Constantinople, Madrid Skylitzes, Fol. 145r/b, XII c.

Сл. 1 Улазак византијског цара Нићифора Фоке у Цариград, Мадридски Скилица, Fol. 145r/b, XII в.

the fact that the miniature literally illustrates the corresponding passage of the history of Johannes Skylitzes, it also testifies to the specific manner in which the artist depicted the Byzantine capital city.

Finally, we will dedicate the following lines to this miniature, having in mind that in previous bibliography the detail of the architectural structure on this miniature has not been the object of any individual study. Although the manuscript itself was the object of numerous analyses and investigations, the miniature representing Constantinople on the said folio still leaves space for analysis and raises questions. In other words, concerning the representation of Constantinople on this miniature only few lines have been written and only brief, although mostly correct, conclusions have been made.

In previous scholarly literature Andre Grabar and Manoussis Manoussacas indicated "the originality of the architecture" of the mentioned building in the right-hand part of the miniature without specific arguments. In one general conclusion they state that the emperor finds himself in front of "the gates" and that the architecture on the miniature depicts "the city or the palace."⁴

Vasiliki Tsamakda, whose doctoral thesis is devoted to the miniatures of the illustrated chronicle of John Skylitzes, expresses the opinion that the architectural structure on the folio 145r/b (fig. 1, 2) "is supposed to depict the Golden Gate of Constantinople", "but it cannot correspond to the historical reality,"⁵ due to the fact that the miniature is "composed according to contemporary iconographic schemata."⁶ She rightfully corroborates her opinion that „The build-

⁴ A. Grabar, M. Manoussacas, *L'illustration du Manuscrit de Skylitzès de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Madrid*, Venise 1979, 85 (368), fig. 22, 184, Pl. XXX.

⁵ Tsamakda, *The Illustrated Chronicle*, 185, 345, 368.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 368.



Fig. 2 Nikephoros Phokas' entry into Constantinople, detail: Golden Gate, Madrid Skylitzes, Fol. 145r/b,

Сл. 2 Улазак византијског цара Нићифора Фоке у Цариград, детаљ: Златна врата, Мадридски Скилица, Fol. 145r/b

ing cannot represent the Golden Gate” by the main argument that the Golden Gate “was adorned with an elephant quadriga on the top.”⁷ Namely, by “the Golden Gate”, she correctly means the “new” Golden Gate, built by Byzantine emperor Theodosius II (401-450) at the beginning of the 5th century, through which Byzantine emperors entered the city in ceremonial occasions. It is clear here from the context of *the History* that after passing Hebdomon, the emperor must have passed through Theodosian Golden Gate in the beginning of his “triumphal way” of Constantinople.⁸ Regarding the said edifice Tsamakda states as well: “It is a building seen from the outside [...] (sc. of the Golden Gate).”⁹ She also offers the observation that the capitals on the columns in the form of the lion heads represent a common ornament feature in Romanesque art.¹⁰

In other words, she concludes that the depicted architecture does not represent the “new” Golden gate, but that it in fact illustrates the building which was located right in front of the Theodosian Golden Gate and which was decorated with marble reliefs, the so-called Propylaic Gate.¹¹

⁷ *Ibid.*, 185. On the elephant quadriga which decorated the top of the gate see W. Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls. Byzantion-Konstantinopolis-Istanbul bis zum begin des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Tübingen 1977, 297; A. Berger, *Untersuchungen zu den Patria Konstantinupoleos*, Bonn 1988, 367-368.

⁸ On this triumphal way see C. Mango, *The Triumphal way of Constantinople and the Golden Gate*, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 54 (2000) 173-188.

⁹ Tsamakda, *The Illustrated Chronicle*, 345.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 345.

¹¹ On these reliefs see T. Macridy, S. Casson, *Excavations at the Golden Gate, Constantinople*, *Arcaeologia* 81 (1931) 77-84.

Although the building to the right (fig. 1, 2) is to a certain extent depicted in a “generalized,” schematic manner, we are of the opinion that the edifice in question might not exclusively represent a “fanciful structure” or “imaginative creation,” as Tsamakda proposes.¹²

Namely, by analyzing its architectural elements, we will argue in this paper that there exist solid arguments to think that the depicted structure, in spite of its general schematic character, might represent the old Golden Gate, built by Constantine the Great or his successors.

Description of the miniature. As stated above, the miniature depicts the moment of the entry of the future Byzantine emperor Nikephoros Phokas through the ceremonial Constantinopolitan gate (fol. 145r/b). That the depicted architecture should unquestionably represent the Golden gate is attested by the text passage above the miniature in which there is a mention of “the Golden Gate” („διὰ τῆς Χρυσῆς πύργης“).¹³ In the lines which describe the events illustrated on the miniature of the folio 145r it is stated that „The partisans of Basil the parakoimomenos prepared some ships, took the imperial galley and passed over to Chrysopolis with the entire fleet. There they brought Nikephoros on board and conveyed him to Hebdomon, from where they and all the city population bore him in procession through the Golden Gate, [259] into the capital, with cheering and applause, with trumpets and cymbals.“¹⁴ Thus, the very fact that the illuminator has reduced the whole Constantinople to the illustration of the Golden Gate was caused by his direct reliance on the text of the history of Skylitzes and its translation into an image.

In the lower, left-hand part of the composition the future Byzantine emperor Nikephoros Phokas (963-969) is depicted, entering the Byzantine capital on horseback, followed by two riders. In front of the Golden Gate one sees the musicians forming the orchestra of a solemn character. In front of the future emperor and the orchestra the artist illustrated the entrance into Constantinople in the form of the famous and important segment of fortifications, which puts a special stamp on to the whole event and the meaning of the composition.

The appearance of the Golden Gate on the miniature. As stated above, the architecture in the right-hand section of the miniature is supposed to represent the “New” Golden Gate of Constantinople, the one built by emperor Theodosius at the beginning of the 5th century.¹⁵ What is seen on the miniature is a schematically depicted two-storey construction (fig. 2). The illustrated edifice has a stone façade on the ground floor with two biphoria, a yellow roof and

¹² Tsamakda, *The Illustrated Chronicle*, 185, 345.

¹³ See our next footnote.

¹⁴ Ioannis Scylitzae, *Synopsis Historiarum*, ed. I. Thurn, CFHB 5, Berlin-New York 1973, 258.57-59; 259.60. For English translation that we used in this occasion see: J. Skylitzes, *A Synopsis of Byzantine History 811-1057*, Trans. J. Wortley, Cambridge University Press 2010, 249.

¹⁵ On the Theodosian Golden Gate see Macridy, Casson, *Excavations*, 63-84; B. Meyer-Plath, A. M. Schneider, *Die Landmauer v. Konstantinopel*, Vol. 2, Berlin 1943, 39-62; Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon*, 297-300 (with further bibliography); C. Mango, *Golden Gate*, Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium, Vol. 2, New York – Oxford 1991, 858-859.

a yellow portico on the first floor. The front façade is adorned with a gate – the passage, whose height, according to the illustration, surpasses the first storey of the building.

The portico on the first floor consists of six columns. These columns especially draw attention, because of their number and the fact that each one of them is in the area of the capital adorned with one lion head. Unusual lion masks are found on the colonettes of the ground-floor biforia and on a single column of the lower level of the building. It is indubitable that the large number of columns with lion heads contributes to the impressiveness of the structure as a whole.

Having in mind the unusually large number of the capitals in the form of the lion heads, and their repetition, one might at first glance assume that these animal heads represent only “picturesque ornaments,” which the artist put into the picture to make it more vivid. Nonetheless, we are inclined to think that in the depiction of the specific two-storey construction of the Constantinopolitan Golden gate, as well as in the illustration of the said lion masks, one might perceive the consistent reliance of the artist on the realistic, historical appearance of the stately gate that bore the same name as the one built by Byzantine emperor Theodosius II.

Sources. Regarding the historical sources that provide the description of the appearance of the old Golden Gate, the first letter of the Manuel Chrysoloras addressed to the prince John Paleologos, later Byzantine emperor John VIII (1425-1448), is the sole source. In this letter Manuel Chrysoloras compares Rome, where he then resided, and Constantinople. Mentioning monumental and beautiful statues of the Byzantine capital, the statues which rested upon columns, Chrysoloras states the following:

“Thinking about that, a thought occurred to me about the former city gate, which is located in straight line with the same street...; and [about] the portico which shines on the top from afar ...”.¹⁶

In the cited passage, there is a mention of the former city gate, above which the portico shines from afar. If we compare the mentioned textual statement of the distinguished Byzantine intellectual and the Golden Gate depicted on the miniature of the Madrid Skylitzes, we notice that they quite correspond to each other – both the author and the painter had especially emphasized obviously utterly characteristic architectonic “detail,” distinctive when the appearance of the old Constantinopolitan Golden gate is concerned. What Manuel Chrysoloras has described, the artist has realistically illustrated – the architectural structure with the characteristic portico on the top.

When examining the reality of the image – the historical appearance of the edifice – on the Skylitzes’ miniature, apart from the portico placed on the top of the building, one detail should especially be kept in mind – the number of the depicted columns of the portico.

¹⁶ Patrologia Graeca, Vol. 156, 45 C-D: “Ταῦτα δὲ ἐνθυμηταὶ ἐμνήσθην μεταξὺ καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ὁδοῦ τὴ καὶ γραμμῆς πρὸς δυσμάς γενομένης ποτὲ πύλης τῆς πόλεως πύργους ὄλους ἢ φρούρια εἰσιόντα, εἴπερ οἶόν τε ἦν κινεῖσθαι, καὶ ὀλκάδας αὐτοῖς λέφεσι καὶ ἰστοῖς δυναμένης δέξασθαι, καὶ τῆς ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς λαμπρόσης στοᾶς πόρρωθεν καὶ τοῦ μεγέθους τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ μαρμάρων • ἔτι δὲ τοῦ πρὸς αὐτῆς κίονος, ὃς καὶ αὐτὸς στήλην ἀνείχε.”



Fig. 3 “Golden” Gate, Diocletian’s Palace, Split, today’s Croatia, 295-303.

Сл. 3 „Златна“ врата, Диоклецијанова палата у Сплиту, Хрватска, 295-303.

It is important to observe that the artist of the Skylitzes’ miniature depicted the said portico as the one that has six columns (fig. 2). This detail deserves our full attention, as it can be brought into connection with the medieval Greek term the Exakionion » Ἐξακίονιον « , the Constantinopolitan architectural structure with six columns, whose name meant “six columns.”¹⁷ It was the particular point of the Constantinian Land walls, where the gate which was the forerunner of the “new” Golden Gate built by Theodosius was situated. It was also the only part of the Constantinian Land walls which survived for a long time as it was destroyed in 1509, due to an earthquake.¹⁸

Analogies. Apart from the words of Manuel Chrysoloras, we do not possess any data concerning the appearance of the old Constantinopolitan Golden Gate. However, it seems that the appearance of the Northern Gate of the Palace of Diocletian in Split (Spalato), preserved until today (fig. 3), could convincingly show that the illuminator of the Madrid Skylitzes could have illustrated the representation of the old Golden Gate based on historical reality. This gate served as the emperor’s entrance and as a main gate coming in from Salona. It also bears the name “Golden Gate,” although the name dates back to later time (XVI century).¹⁹ Regardless of the fact that the palace of Diocletian rep-

¹⁷ On the Exakionion see R. Janin, *Constantinople Byzantine: Développement urbain et repertoire topographique*, Paris 1950, 34-35; Berger, *Patria*, 352-356. The Exakionion is mentioned also in the Book of Ceremonies of Constantine Porphyrogenetos (*Patrologia Graeca*, Vol. 112, 592A) and in the Synaxarion of the Great Church (H. Delehay, *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae e codice Sirmondiano nunc Berolinensi/ adiectis synaxariis selectis*, Louvain 1954, 424/55, 804/5 857/34).

¹⁸ Mango, *Triumphal Way*, 176.

¹⁹ On the Golden Gate of the Diocletian’s palace see J. Marasović, T. Marasović, *Dioklecijanova palača*, Zagreb 1968, 12-13, sl. 5, 6, 8. It is very interesting to mention that inside the stoa, in the corridor of the Golden Gate of the Diocletian’s Palace there is a church of St. Martin, possibly built during the early Middle Ages, and rebuilt in the Romanesque



Fig. 4 Fantastic heads-consols, "Golden" Gate, Diocletian's Palace, Split, 295-303

Сл. 4 Фантистичне главе-конзоле, „Златна“ врата, Диоклецијанова палата, Сплит, 295-303

resents the only preserved analogy for the reconstruction of the appearance of the old Constantinopolitan Golden Gate, it could serve as a reliable guidepost for the potential reconstruction of the appearance of the old Constantinopolitan Golden Gate, convincingly supporting the assumption that the painter of the Madrid Skylitzes faithfully depicted the appearance of the Constantinopolitan old Golden Gate of his own time.

One more detail of the Golden Gate of the Palace of Diocletian deserves special attention – the ornaments in the form of fantastic heads (fig. 4). The fact that two masks, i.e. consols, in the form of fantastic half-human, half-animal heads have been preserved on the columns of the Golden Gate of the Palace of Diocletian in Split, would also positively support the assumption that the painter with his architectural structure truly depicted the appearance of this segment of the Constantinopolitan fortifications in a realistic manner.²⁰ Although the placement of the masks in Split differs from the position of the masks illustrated in the Madrid Manuscript, the general similarity would indicate that there is a certain semantic connection between them.

On the basis of the above-mentioned statements, we may assume with high probability that the illustration of Constantinople on the miniature of Madrid Skylitzes (fol. 145r/b) could represent a realistic image of the old, "Constantinian" Golden Gate.

Dealing with this interesting miniature we would also like to underline the fact that the degree of historical reality in representing architecture in medieval art varied. In order to illustrate the fact that the depiction of architecture in medieval art can also exhibit realistic traits, we will mention the instance

period, in X-XI century (*Ibid.*, Appendix, No 48; A. Mohorović, *Architecture in Croatia: Architecture and Town Planning*, Zagreb 1994, 53, 57). Thus, the colonnaded arches with fantastic heads later also formed the façade of this small church.

²⁰ Marasović, Marasović, *Dioklecijanова palača*, 9, 10, 11.



Fig. 5 Monastery of Dečani, marble façade, 1327-1335, Serbia

Сл. 5 Манастир Дечани, мермерна фасада, 1327-1335, Србија

of the image of the church of Ascension of Christ in Dečani, the endowment of Serbian king Stefan Uroš III of Dečani (1322-1331). When depicting the church of Dečani in the hands of its ktetor, the artist who painted the figure of St. Stephan of Dečani next to the iconostasis in Dečani around 1343 emphasized the alternating rows of the marble revetment done in blocks of onyx and red breccia, as its most striking feature (fig. 5, fig. 6).²¹ Thus, we believe that the unknown illuminator of the Madrid Skylitzes emphasized the architectonic feature that was most impressive – the portico of the first floor with pillars which carried “ornaments” in the form of lion heads (fig. 1, 2; fig. 3).

However, when dealing with the topic of the historical authenticity and the realistic manner of the execution of the said edifice, we must bear in mind the fact that the manuscript was made in southern Italy under Normans and that the so-called “B4” painter of this miniature has been referred to as “Westerner” in previous literature.²² It is thus improbable that he himself resided in Constantinople and that he had seen the old Constantinopolitan Gate in person. We can be almost completely sure that he had never seen the edifice he had painted and that he, thus, did not know what the structure he was depicting looked like. But if so, we might ask ourselves how it is possible that his depiction, no matter how schematically executed, corresponds to the rare words we know from sources today that refer to the old Golden Gate? The previously noted fact that his colleague, the so-called painter “B5,” also referred to as Westerner, relies on certain Byzantine models when illustrating buildings, gives us the right to assume that the painter “B4” may have had certain Byzantine visual models at his disposal as well.²³ When examining the previously offered conclusion that “The ornamentation of painter B4 differs enormously from that of all the other painters,” we must be very careful. We must bear in mind that

²¹ И. М. Ђорђевић, *Представа Стефана Дечанског уз олтарску преграду у Дечанима*, Студије српске средњовековне уметности, Београд 2008, 396, сл. 50.

²² Tsamakda, *The Illustrated Chronicle*, 15-21, 345.

²³ *Ibid.*, 345.

although this kind of ornamentation is executed in the most impressive and notably different manner, which is what we think the author means by this statement, it is, however, common for both Byzantine and Western iconography. His buildings are adorned with “stars, crosses, checked patterns, circles etc.,”²⁴ as well as with lion masks, which appear in both Byzantine and Western art. The painter “B4” is also the painter who executed the least number of miniatures – only two folia (fol. 144r-145r), only six events of the whole manuscript.²⁵

Why he may have depicted the Old Golden Gate, built by Constantine the Great or his successors, instead of the “New” Golden Gate of Theodosius II remains unclear. Nevertheless, one can conclude that the depiction of the stately Constantinopolitan gate on the miniature 145r/b corresponds to the data in the sources which refer to old Golden Gate, built within Constantinian Land walls and that it corresponds to the Northern Gate of Diocletian’s palace. The possible mutual similarities or differences in appearance between the old Constantinopolitan Golden Gate and the Propylaic Gate, as well as the reality of the illustrated architecture of Constantinople and its buildings depicted in the Madrid Skylitzes is what remains for future research.²⁶



Fig. 6 The katholikon of Dečani in the hands of the ktetor Stefan of Dečani, fresco, after 1343.

Сл. 6 Црква Дечана у рукама Стефана Дечанског, фреска, после 1343.

Анђела Ђ. Гавриловић

ПРЕДСТАВА ЦАРИГРАДА НА МИНИЈАТУРИ ЛИСТА 145R/B РУКОПИСА
МАДРИДСКОГ СКИЛИЦЕ ΣΥΝΟΨΗΣ ἹΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ

У раду се анализира представа Цариграда на минијатури на листу 145r/b рукописа Мадридског Скилице *Σύνοψης Ἱστοριῶν* (XII век). Цариград је на минијатури приказан сведен на једно здање – главну, свечану капију пред којом је будући византијски цар Нићифор Фока (сл. 1, 2). Да је сликар несумњиво желео да илуструје Златна врата

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 348.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 398.

²⁶ The origin of illustrations: 1) Facsimile, *Synopsis Historiarum* (Athens 2000), fol. 145r/b, detail; 2) Facsimile, *Synopsis Historiarum* (Athens 2000), fol. 145r/b, detail; 3) Photograph in Public Use; 4) Zvezdan Gavrilović; 5) Blago Fund; 6) Blago Fund.

поузвано потврђује текст рукописа изнад минијатуре, у којем се Златна врата помињу (“διὰ τῆς Χρυσῆς πόρτης”). Та чињеница се може оправдати околношћу да се сликар илуструјући минијатуре дословно ослањао на текст „Кратке историје.“

Нићифор Фока је приказан на коњу у пратњи двојице коњаника, а пред њиме је оркестар који га дочекује пред градском капијом (сл. 1). На минијатури је изображена двоетажна конструкција камених фасада, која у приземљу има две бифоре са лављим маскама на колонетама (сл. 2). Здање краси жут кров, као и жута стоа на првом спрату. На pročелу свечаног здања је портал, односно пролаз, који висином надмашује први спрат здања.

Стоа на првом спрату има шест стубова (сл. 2). Они посебно привлаче пажњу, с обзиром да их има шест и да је сваки од њих у пределу капитела украшен са по једном лављом главом. Неоспорно је да бројност ових маски доприноси посебној упечатљивости минијатуре.

У раду се разматрају поменути архитектонски елементи илустрованог здања. Анализом изгледа ових архитектонских елемената уочено је да они одговарају опису тзв. „старих“ цариградских Златних врата, који наводи Манојло Хрисолорас с почетка XV века (PG 156, 45C-D). Она су срушена у једном земљотресу 1509. године. Чињеница да је сликар извео грађевину са шест стубова наводи на помисао да се они могу довести у везу са грчким термином „Ексакионион“ („шест стубова“), који је означавао место на Константиновим бедемима где су се налазила „стара“ Златна врата.

Поред тога, илустровано здање (сл. 2) својим изгледом одговара и изгледу северне, копнене капије Диоклецијанове палате у Сплиту (295-303), која као и здање на минијатури има наглашену стоу на првом спрату (сл. 3). Та капија је у познијем времену добила назив „Златна врата.“ Поједини стубови северне капије палате имају у дну и конзоле – необичне маске делимично људских, делимично животињског физиономија (сл. 4). Ако би се приказ цариградских „старих“ Златних врата из Скиличиног рукописа узео за веродостојан, он би уједно и потврђивао претпоставку да су цариградска „стара“ Златна врата позиционирана на Константиновим копненим бедемима била налик северној, копненој капији Диоклецијанове палате.

Када се разматра изглед грађевине Скиличиног рукописа мора се имати у виду да је степен реалистичности приказа архитектуре у средњовековној уметности варирао. Поред тога што је често приказивана шематски, сликана архитектура је у средњем веку могла бити и веродостојно приказивана. Примера ради, навешћемо слику дечанске цркве у рукама њеног ктитора Стефана Дечанског (после 1343.). Сликар је, илуструјући, дечанску цркву нагласио двобојну мермерну оплату, као њено наупечатљивије обележје. Тако је верујемо и непознати сликар минијатуре у Скиличином рукопису нагласио оно што је на капији било најупечатљивије – стоу на првом спрату са стубовима и лављим маскама.

У ранијој литератури је закључено да је сликар минијатуре на листу 145r/b, познат у литератури као „сликар Б4,“ потицао са Запада и имао западна уметничка схватања. Као Западнак, он свакако није боравио у Цариграду, нити је икада видео грађевину коју је насликао. Ипак, чињеница, раније уочена, да се његов сарадник, сликар „Б5,“ такође западних схватања, приликом сликања других архитектонских здања ослања на византијске моделе, даје нам за право да претпоставимо да је и сликар „Б4“ за минијатуру са представом Златних врата поседовао неку врсту сликаног предлошка. Међутим, из којих разлога је приказао „стара“ Златна врата, а не „нова“ Златна врата, која је требало да буду приказана, нејасно је. У сваком случају, остаје да се закључи да представа свечане цариградске капије са минијатуре мадридског рукописа одговара опису из извора који се односе на „стара“ Златна врата, која је подигао цар Константин Велики (324-337) или неко од његових наследника, као и изгледу северне капије Диоклецијанове палате у Сплиту. Евентуалне међусобне сличности односно разлике у изгледу између „старих“ Златних врата и Пропилеја „нових“ Златних врата, као и разматрање преосталих представа и грађевина Цариграда у Скиличином рукопису остају као предмет за будућа истраживања.