

THE UNDATED DENARII MINTED BY VLADISLAV II – NEW MONETARY SUBTYPES AND THE ISSUE OF THEIR SEQUENCE

Abstract: This article records the results of the analysis conducted on the undated denarii struck by Vladislav II, between 1500 and 1502, in the mint from Kremnica (Slovakia). Based on direct observations on the denarii in several Transylvanian hoards (Oradea - Bihor County, Hotoan - Satu Mare County etc.), taking into account the previous study of the Hungarian numismatist J. Lakos, I ordered the new subtypes identified, the so-called *hybrid* coins, into three distinct categories. Unlike classical hybridisation, where the dies of a monetary subtype are combined, during the minting process, with the dies of the neighbouring subtypes, in the case of Vladislav II's denarii I noticed that the dies had suffered a series of changes as regards the writing of the coin legend. At stake were not the formulas of abbreviating the legend: M WLADISLAI R VNGARIE / PATRONA VNGARIE, but the combination of the different types of script, which highlights the gradual elimination of Gothic characters and their replacement with the humanist ones. Besides this observation, we have also identified the mechanism of die association: the new subtypes appeared as a result of associating the obverse of the traditional denarii Huszár 806, Huszár 808 and Huszár 807, with versions of the reverse of the Huszár 809 denarius.

Looking at the classical subtypes from the standpoint of the new categories and the standardisation process to which Vladislav II's undated denarii were subjected, it appears that there are more subtypes of undated denarii and versions thereof than those illustrated in Hungarian numismatic catalogues. The positioning of the consecrated and new subtypes according to the idea of standardisation towards imposing a single prototype (the future Huszár 811 denarius) leads us to propose a new typological sequence, in which the Huszár 806 denarius becomes the head of the series, followed by Huszár 808 denarius, which was succeeded by the Huszár 805 and respectively, Huszár 807 subtypes.

Keywords: Hungary, Vladislav II, undated denarii, Kremnica, subtypes.

During 1500-1502, the Chamber of Kremnica/Körmöcbánya issued, for the Hungarian King Vladislav II, a series of undated denarii marked on the reverse with the privy marks of the chamber administrator, Hans Thurzó (K-H or K-h). Due to the standardisation of the representations, as Vladislav II maintained the drawing of Matthias Corvinus' reformed denarius - the quartered shield of Hungary and the Virgin Mary with Jesus in her arms -, the separation of the denarii with almost identical legends and coin representations by subtypes has proved to be difficult.²

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² Among the elements used by the Hungarian numismatists to separate by subtypes the undated denarii of Vladislav II, there are the small differences pertaining to the manner of rendering the eagle of the Jagiellonians, which surmounts the quartered shield on the obverse, and those related to the manner of representation of the Virgin Mary on the reverse.

The attempt to typologically identify these undated denarii, which have been preserved in several of the Transylvanian hoards,³ according to the classification made by the Hungarian numismatists L. Réthy, J. Lakos or L. Huszár has turned out to be challenging. The difficulty arose due to the numerous versions noticed and to the presence of new monetary subtypes, unreported in the numismatic catalogues.

The real variety existing for each subtype is difficult to determine, as there appear a series of minor differences, quite often, due to the characteristics of the dies or the manner of abbreviating the coin legend. Besides these less suggestive variations, there appear repetitive deviations from the prototype, which impel us to bring the traditional typology of the undated denarii back into discussion. Moreover, establishing the versions of the subtypes consecrated by the numismatic determinators is relevant for identifying and ordering the new subtypes catalogued in numismatic literature as hybrid denarii.

The typology of the undated denarii struck by Vladislav II

Depending on the small differences observed in the rendition of the legend and the coin design, the Hungarian numismatist L. Huszár grouped the undated denarii of Vladislav II, minted at Kremnica between 1500-1502, into five coin subtypes⁴ (Fig. 1). The starting point of L. Huszár's approach was the old classification made by L. Réthy.⁵

Réthy	C274	C272A	C272B	C275	C272C
Huszár	H805	H806	H807	H808	H809

Fig. 1. The correspondence of the subtypes of undated denarii issued at Kremnica (1500-1502)

The description in words or the graphical rendition of the image characteristics of each coin subtype is difficult, but it is necessary for identifying and recording the deviations. What proves to be much easier is ascertaining the script versions of the circular legend M WLADISLAI R VNGARIE / PATRONA VNGARIE, where the variations are given by the letter script or the abbreviations used (PATRONA-PATRON and VNGARIE-VNGARI-VNGAR).

³ Our analysis is based on the lot of denarii stored in the hoards discovered in Oradea - cart. Ioşia (Bihar County), Hotoan (Satu Mare County), Ghighişeni (Bihar County) and, to the extent that the published descriptions and illustrations have allowed us, a part of the denarii from the hoard in Iara (Cluj County). E. Chirilă, I. Némethi, "Tezaurul monetar de la Hotoan, sec. XV-XVI," in *Tezaurul monetar din jud. Satu-Mare (Münzhorte aus Kreis Sathmar)*, Satu Mare, 1968, pp. 61-81, pl. X-XVI; Fr. Pap, Z. Milea, V. Feneşan, "Tezaurul monetar din secolele XV-XVI de la Iara (jud. Cluj)," in *Studii şi cercetări de numismatică*, 5, 1971, pp. 188-189; Corina Toma, "Un tezaur monetar din sec. XV-XVII descoperit în localitatea Ghighişeni (com. Rieni, jud. Bihar)," in *Cercetări Numismatice*, 15, 2009, pp. 197-256; *Eadem*, "Un tezaur monetar din secolele XV-XVI descoperit la Oradea (cartierul Ioşia)," in *Sargetia*, I, s.n., 2010, p. 224/942.

⁴ L. Huszár, *Münzkatalog Ungarn von 1000 bis heute*, München, 1979, p. 125/805-809.

⁵ L. Réthy, *Corpus Nummorum Hungariae. Magyar Egvetemes Éremtár, II. Kötet Vegyesházi Királyok Kora*, Budapest, 1907, p. 35/272A-D, 274-275, Táb. 4



Fig. 2. Denarius of the C274/H805 subtype (Oradea-Ioşia, MȚCO inv. 16/846)

(1) The denarii of the *C274/H805* subtype, marked with the privy marks K-H or K-h,⁶ render on the obverse a small eagle with short wings displayed and elevated. On the reverse, the Virgin Mary, represented with a nimbus and crown, has a shortened dress hem, which barely crosses the circle framing the coin legend written exclusively with humanist letters: *M WLADISLAI R VNGARIE/PATRON VNGARIE* / (Fig. 2).



Fig. 3. Denarius of the C272A/H806 subtype (Oradea-Ioşia, MȚCO inv. 16/769, 755)

(2) The denarii of the *C272A/H806* subtype feature the eagle with the wings folded on the obverse and the hem of the Virgin's dress on the reverse is rendered in the shape of the letter M (Fig. 3). Regarding the coin inscription, next to the version of Gothic script rendered in the catalogues, *Ω · WLADISLAI · R · VNGARIE · PATRONA – VNGARIE*, there appears a new version, standing out through the specific typeface of the letter A (with a horizontal crossbar above), *Ω · WLADISLAI · R · VNGTRI · PATRON – VNGTRI*. Even if both privy marks used by Hans Thurzó (K-H or K-h) are signalled in the numismatic catalogues, on the reverse of the denarii we have analysed we have identified only the privy mark written in Gothic script (K h).



Fig. 4. Denarius of the C272B/H807 subtype (Oradea-Ioşia, MȚCO inv. 16/1456)

(3) The coin subtype *C272B/H807* is characterized by the illustration of an eagle similar to that on the obverse of a denarius of the *C274/H805* subtype, the difference consisting

⁶ The presence of both versions of the privy mark on the reverse of the denarii reinforces the conclusion of Fr. Pap, according to which we cannot talk about a chronological differentiation based on the type of script (Gothic or humanist) of the mark, as they were used in parallel for the denarii issued between 1500 and 1502 (Fr. Pap *et alii*, pp. 188-189).

in charging the heraldic bird on a shield (Fig. 4). The obverse described is associated with a twofold reverse version: a. the Virgin Mary represented partially in the coin field bounded by the circular legend (*H807*) and b. the Virgin Mary rendered whole, interrupting the circular legend (*C272B*). The coin legend is written, in different abbreviation formulas, exclusively in humanist script: *M WLADISLAI R VNGARIE / PATRON VNGARIE*. Regarding the privy marks, even though we encounter the humanist script (K-H), it is predominantly written using the Gothic script (K-h).



Fig. 5. Denarius of the *C275/H808* subtype (Oradea-Ioșia, MȚCO inv. 16/815, 848, 1457)

(4) The denarius of the *C275/H808* subtype features two obverse versions. The item illustrated by L. Réthy, *C275*, renders an eagle with the wings displayed and inverted (Fig. 5/1), while the denarius with the number 808 in L. Huszár's catalogue depicts a large eagle with wings displayed and elevated, addorsed to the level of the head (Fig. 5/2). The coin legend is different from the previous subtypes by associating the Gothic and the humanist scripts. The combinations between the Gothic or humanist typefaces of the letters M and A (*ſ*, *M*, *ſ*, *A*) gave rise to several versions of the legend on the obverse, whose common feature is the particular typeface of the uppercase N, rendered in a mirror (*N*).

The common reverse (*C275/H808*) depicts only the upper half of the body of the Virgin Mary, surrounded by the coin legend *PATRONA • VNGARIE*, impressed with the same typographical error in writing the letter N. The only copy identified is a denarius from the hoard of Oradea-Ioșia (MȚCO, inv. 16/848, Fig. 5/3),⁷ which presents, like in the case of the coin illustrated by E. Unger,⁸ a version of the obverse legend written entirely in humanist script, but featuring the same peculiarity of writing the uppercase N (*M • WLADISLAI • R • VNGARI •*). The privy mark identified for the denarii of this subtype is K-H.

⁷ During the publication of the hoard from Oradea-Ioșia, the denarius with the inv. number 16/848 was hypothetically included among the hybrid coinages (Corina Toma, "Un tezaur...", 2010, p. 224/942).

⁸ E. Unger, *Magyar Éremhatározó. II. füzet (1307-1540)*, Budapest, 1960, pl. XXXVI/646.



Fig. 6. Denarius of the C272C/H809 subtype (Oradea-Ioşia, MŢCO inv. 16/1436)

(5) The last subtype of undated denarius mentioned by L. Huszár, *C272C/H809*, depicts the heraldic eagle in the same manner with the eagle on the obverse of the *C272B/H807* and *C274/H805* denarii (Fig. 6). By contrast, the reverse stands out through the scale of the crown worn by the Virgin Mary and through the manner of draping the dress. The circular legend is written, like those on the *C272B/H807* and *C274/H805* denarii, exclusively in humanist script. The Gothic script appears only in the case of the K-h privy mark, which is competed, at least in the hoard from Oradea-Ioşia, by the K-H mark.

The new subtypes of undated denarii struck by Vladislav II

Defining the characteristics of the coin subtypes presented in the numismatic catalogues is necessary with a view to the identification and ordering of the new subtypes. Among the denarii that we could examine directly,⁹ we have identified a series of so-called *hybrid* coins that are grouped according to the origin of the dies, more specifically of the coin iconography, into two distinct groups:

(1) *Denarii that combine the obverse of C272A/H806 with the reverse of C272C/H809* (the H806-H809 subtype)

The first new subtype associate - with some changes in terms of the writing of the coin legend - the obverse die of the H806 denarius with the reverse die of the H809 denarius. The analysis of the coins in the hoards from Oradea-Ioşia and Hotoan¹⁰ has led to the identification of two dies for the obverse and another two dies for the reverse of this subtype of denarius (Pl. I).

One of the obverse dies is identical to the die version of the H806 denarius, which imprinted the coin legend: *Ω · WLADISLAI · R · VNGTRI* (Obv.1). The other die of the obverse derives from it, the difference consisting in the replacement of the Gothic typeface of the letter N with the humanist one: *Ω · WLADISLAI · R · VNGTRI* (Obv.2).

In the case of the reverse, the differences compared to the die of the H809 denarius are much great. The relationship between reverse of the new subtype and the reverse of the denarius of the H809 subtype is confirmed only by the unmistakable manner of representing the Virgin Mary, while the legend reveals, given the combination between the Gothic and the humanist script, close connections with the obverse of the H806 denarius. From the association of the original iconography with the modified legend there results a new reverse die, with two versions of legend writing,

⁹ The provenance of the coins and their technical data are summarized in Annexes no. 1 and 2.

¹⁰ I must thank my colleague Péter Szőcs for making available to me the denarii of Vladislav II from the hoard of Hotoan, preserved in the numismatic collection of the Satu Mare County Museum.

entailed by the Gothic or humanist script of the letter N: **PTTRON**–**VNGTRI** (Rev.1) and **PTTRON**–**VNGTRI** (Rev.2).

As a result of the manner of associating the four dies in the process of minting the denarii from the aforementioned hoards, we have identified three sub-groups of the H806-H809 subtype: the obverse die Obv.1 is combined with the reverse die Rev.2, and the obverse die Obv.2 combines, in turn, with both reverse dies, Rev.1 and Rev.2 (Annex 1).

The absence of the version of writing the legend of the H806 denarius with the Gothic letter A (**A**), the replacement of the Gothic typeface of the letter N (**N**) with the humanist uppercase and the manner of combining the dies for the H806-H809 subtype suggest the tendency to gradually relinquish the Gothic script in favour of the humanist script.

(2) *Denarii that combine the obverse of C275/H808 with the reverse of C272C/H809* (the H808-H809 subtype).

The second new subtype, with much more numerous variants, combines the two variants of the die for the obverse of C275/H808 denarii with the reverse die for denarius H809. Depending on the borrowed obverse dies, *C275 (eagle with wings displayed and inverted)* or *H808 (eagle with wings displayed and elevated)*, the H808-H809 subtype is divided into two sub-groups, each with several spelling variations for the circular legend (Annex 2):

- *Sub-group I* associates the obverse iconography of the C275 denarius, the eagle with the wings displayed and inverted, with the reverse iconography of the H809 denarius (Pl. II).

- *Sub-group II* associates the obverse iconography of the H808 denarius, the eagle with the wings displayed and elevated, with the reverse iconography of the H809 denarius (Pl. III).

Despite the impression of apparent, meaningless diversity, the legend versions found for each of the two sub-groups illustrate the transition from one coin subtype to another or, in other words, the sequence of coin subtypes.

The denarii in the first sub-group suggest a direct relationship between the H806 and the H808 denarii,¹¹ as evidenced by the appearance in the coin legend, in its various versions, of the letter *antiqua* A (**A**), specific to the H806 denarius, together with the incorrect form of writing, in a mirror, the letter N (**N**), specific to the H808 denarius. The coin legend changes with the introduction in the process of preparing the dies of a new punch for the humanist uppercase A. The three punches were used concurrently for a while, indicating a direct succession between the H806 and the H808 denarii.¹² The

¹¹ In the typological sequence proposed by L. Réthy, between the C275 and C272A denarii there are interposed the C272B-C, C273 and C274 denarii (Réthy, *Corpus Nummorum...*, p. 35, Tab. 20). L. Huszár reduces the series of the interposed subtypes and places a single coin subtype, H807, between the H806 and the H808 denarii (Huszár, *Münzkatalog Ungarn...*, p. 125).

¹² For the H808-H809 denarius, we have identified three the obverse dies. The legend of the obverse die no. 1 is identical with the legend of the H806-H809 denarius, sub-group 3. The connecting link between it and the obverse die no. 3, which is actually that of the denarius H808, with the humanist script of the letter A and N in the mirror, is die no. 2 combining the *antiqua* letter A (the mark of the H806 denarius) with the letter N written in a mirror (the mark of the H808 denarius).

The denarii from the second sub-group capture the transition from the H808 denarius to a new subtype of denarius (H809, H807 or H805?), in the legend of which the Gothic lowercase **𐌺** was replaced with a humanist uppercase (**M**), the *antiqua* shape of the letter A was removed by the humanist script and the humanist uppercase letter N was impressed correctly. Replacing the Gothic lowercase **𐌺**, substitute of the word *moneta*, was done gradually. Before reaching the final version of the legend of the new subtype of denarius (H809, H807 or H805?), written in humanist letters, the new punch was used in combination with older punches, employed for impressing the denarii of the H806 and H808 subtypes (the *antiqua* letter A and the letter N in a mirror).

The reverse of the *CNH 272C/Huszárr 809* denarius

As in the case of the obverse, on the reverse of the H806-H809 denarius, the Gothic script of the letter N, typical of the H806 denarius, is gradually replaced with the humanist script, both combining with the *antiqua* script of the letter A (**PTTRON – VNGTRIC/PTTRON – VNGTRI**).

1. older versions of the legend of the H806-H809 subtype, sub-groups 1 and 3.
2. novel versions resulting from the association of the *antiqua* and humanist typeface of the letter A with the mirror typeface of the letter N (**PATRON-VNGTRI/PATRON-VNGARI**).

¹³ An overview of the structure by types and issuers of the Transylvanian coin hoards published to date reveals a different situation, as except for the copy from Oradea-Ioșia, the CNH 275/Huszár 808 denarius struck by Vladislav II is not reported in any of the 14 Transylvanian coin hoards considered here: Sălciva (HD), Șieu II (BN), Iara (CJ), Enciu (BN), Hotoan (SM), LuncaTârnavei (AB), Ribîța (HD), Călnic (AB), Slătinița (BN), Ioșia (BH), Gelu (TM), Sângeorgiul de Pădure (MS), Șona (AB), Teaca (BN).

3. the new version of the legend written solely in humanist script, properly impressed (**PATRON–VNGARI**).

Following these gradual changes that occurred in writing the coin legend of the undated denarii, we find that the final form of script, **M • WLADISLAI • R • VNGARI • PATRON–VNGARI**, is found on three subtypes: C274/H805, C272B/H807 and C275/H809. The constant use of the iconography of the H809 denarius on the reverse of the new subtypes focuses attention on the latter denarius.

L. Huszár placed the H809 denarius at the end of a series of undated denarii, after the H807 and H808 denarii, and before the dated denarii of the H811 subtype.¹⁴ Before him, Réthy had placed the H809 (C272C) denarius immediately after the minting of the H807 (C272B) denarius.¹⁵ Following a comparative analysis of the H807 and H809 denarii from the hoards of Oradea and Hotoan, we noticed that they have the same obverse die; the small differences in rendering the heraldic eagle pertain to the characteristics of the dies. By contrast, the reverse of the H807 denarius is completely different, as the Madonna is represented partially and not entirely, as is also the case of the reverse of the H809 denarius.

Thus, it appears that the so-called denarius of the C272/H809 subtype does not have its own obverse, as its reverse punch is combined with the obverse dies of the H806, H808 and H807 denarii, all these three coin subtypes having, in parallel, their own reverse dies. In other words, the so-called *hybrid* denarii of Vladislav II resulted from the association of the obverse dies of the H806, H808, and H807 denarii with versions of the reverse die of the H809 denarius.

Due to the changes occurring in the writing of coin legends, we believe that the sequence of the *hybrid denarii* or, better said, of the new subtypes of undated denarii was as follows: H806-H809, H808-H809 and, respectively, H807-H809. We have placed the H807-H809 denarius, whose legend is written exclusively in humanist script, at the end of a transition process that envisaged, as already stated, the standardisation of coin subtypes, both in terms of representations and the style of script the letters in the coin inscription.

The sequence of the undated denarii issued by Vladislav II

The chronological sequence of the new subtypes resulting from positioning the H808-H809 denarius before the H807-H809 brings into question the traditional typological order of the undated denarii issued by Vladislav II. In the Hungarian numismatic catalogues compiled by L. Réthy or L. Huszár, the denarii with the privy marks of Hans Thurzó issued at Kremnica, between 1500 and 1502, were separated into five coin subtypes, while the new subtypes, with the exception of the H808-H809, classified as the H809 denarius, were not mentioned.

¹⁴ Huszár, *Münzkatalog Ungarn...*, pp. 125-126.

¹⁵ Réthy, *Corpus Nummorum* ..., Tab. 20. J. Lakos adopted a similar position on the sequence of the denarii C272B (H807) and C272C (809), but avoided including the denarius C275/H808 in the series of typological sequences, characterized as a variant of the subtype that renders the dress of Maria in the shape of the letter M (J. Lakos, *II. Ulászló pénzverése*, in *Numizmatikai Közlöny*, 58-59 (1959-1960), p. 26).

The existence of *hybrid coinages*¹⁶ among the undated denarii issued by Vladislav II was reported by the Hungarian numismatist J. Lakos,¹⁷ following his research on a large number of coins from the collection of the Hungarian National Museum. At the time, J. Lakos, talking about the combination between the obverse and the reverse of some neighbouring coins,¹⁸ foresaw the possibility of establishing the sequence of undated denarii with the help of hybrid denarii.

Beyond the general rule of hybridisation, the Hungarian numismatist noted the possibility of changing just the obverse; the same reverse being consecutively struck on several coin subtypes.¹⁹ While noting that after the death of Matthias Corvinus, the Gothic script was slowly replaced with the humanist script, Lakos failed to notice the direct link between this trend and the *hybridisation* phenomenon involving the undated denarii struck at Kremnica, whose causes remained unknown to him.²⁰

From among the *hybridisation* rules mentioned by J. Lakos, the only one we have identified throughout our analysis is that of the constant association between a specific subtype of reverse (H809) with various obverse subtypes (H806, H808, and H807). There was not, however, as already stated, a single reverse die that was randomly combined with different obverse dies, but a complex standardisation process of the coin subtypes, ending with the appearance, in 1503, of the *millésime* denarii issued by Vladislav II.

When the *hybridisation* phenomenon follows a certain rule and cannot be explained solely by the negligence of the craftsmen in using the older and newer monetary dies existing within the same workshop, the possibility of establishing a chronological relation between the undated subtypes of denarii issued at Kremnica increases. According to minor aspects related to writing the legend or the rendition of the coin design, we can separate the undated denarii struck with Thurzó's privy marks into two distinct categories:

(A) Consecrated coin subtypes: H805 (C274), H806 (C272A), H808 (C275), H807 (C272B).

(B) So-called *hybrid* or new subtypes: H806-H809, H808-H809, H807-H809 (the former C272C or H809 subtype).

Identifying and ordering the new subtypes leads us to propose changing the sequence established by L. Huszár for the consecrated subtypes: H805, H806, H807 and H808.

¹⁶ Inadequately called hybrid denarii, they are new subtypes of undated denarii resulted through the combination of die variants, known or unknown, of monetary subtypes consecrated through their inclusion in numismatic catalogues (Réthy, Huszár).

¹⁷ Lakos, *II. Ulászló pénzverése ...*, pp. 23-32.

¹⁸ The combination of the dies, possible due to the simple rules that regulated the minting process, was explained by the fact that, after the reverse die was made, they did not wait for the corresponding die of the obverse to be completed, but used the dies of the previous subtype (Lakos, *II. Ulászló pénzverése ...*, p. 25).

¹⁹ *Ibidem*.

²⁰ *Idem, op. cit.*, pp. 25-26. Analyzing the denarii of the hoard from Iara (Cluj County), Fr. Pap adhered to Lakos' opinion on the use of the Gothic script after the death of Matthias Corvinus, and indicated the presence, among the denarii in the hoard, of Gothic next to humanist characters on the reverse or the obverse of some coins. At the same time, the Romanian numismatist noticed the transient nature of the new subtypes, which he called transitional, but realized that he could not establish a chronological relationship between them (Pap *et alii, Tezaurul monetar ...*, p. 189).

We noted above the presence of the coin legend written entirely in humanist script, **M • WLADISLAI • R • VNGARI • PATRON–VNGARI**, on three undated subtypes of denarii issued by Hans Thurzó after taking over the mint in Kremnica: H805 (C274), H807 (C272B) and H809 (C275). At the time, we placed the denarius combining the obverse H807 with the reverse H809, known as the denarius of the H809 subtype among the so-called *hybrid* coinages. In the same discussion, we reversed the traditional order of coinages for the consecrated H807 and H808 subtypes, the place of the H807 denarius being fixed between the H808 denarius and the dated denarii of the H811 (C277-278) subtype, struck from 1503 on.

The new position of the H807 denarius, at the end of the series of undated denarii bearing the privy marks of Hans Thurzó and the relatedness between it and the H805 denarius, believed to be the first subtype, raises questions about the place of the H805 coin subtype.

The H805 subtype: the head or the end of the series of undated denarii?

The similarity between the subtypes H805 and H807 is not limited to the use of the humanist script in the coin legend. Given the representation of the eagle, the entire obverse H805 is similar to the point of being identical with the obverse of the H807 denarius. The reverse mode is also aligned with the manner of partial representation of the Virgin Mary, used for minting the H808 and H807 denarii. The only distinguishing feature is the presence of the halo surrounding the crowned head of the Virgin Mary.

The rendition of the Virgin Mary and the infant Jesus with a halo is characteristic of the first denarii issued at Kremnica for Vladislav II (the H803 and H804 subtypes) before the coming of Thurzó, when the head of the chamber had been, ever since the time of Matthias Corvinus, Peter Schaidler.²¹ The presence of the haloed Virgin on the first denarii of Vladislav II led the Hungarian numismatists to place the denarius of the H805 subtype in their immediate vicinity, but the differences between the three subtypes are major:

- a. The H803 and H804 subtypes of denarii struck at Kremnica, for Vladislav II, under the control of Peter Schaidler, used the older reverse die of Matthias Corvinus' denarius, H722.
- b. On the reverse of Vladislav II's denarius, H805, the draping of the Virgin's dress is totally different from that of its alleged predecessors (H803 and H804), as it is related to the reverse of the H807 denarius. The only difference between the two

²¹ The haloed iconography of the Virgin Mary and the infant Jesus was taken, on the first of Vladislav II's denarii (the H403 subtype), from the denarii of Matthias Corvinus (type H 722/C232). In fact, it was a matter of reusing the reverse die of Matthias' denarius, H722, issued with the mark of Caspar Stek, who worked at Kremnica, under the leadership of Peter Schaidler, during the last years of Matthias' reign and the early years of Vladislav II's reign (Huszár, *Münzkatalog Ungarn...*, p. 125; A. Pohl, *Münzzeichen und Meisterzeichen auf ungarischen Münzen des Mittelalters 1300-1540*, Budapest, 1982, p. 83, Tab. 118/223-4, Tab. 121/237). This reverse die with the mark of Caspar Stek, taken from the mint of Matthias, is associated both with the obverse of the H803 denarius, which renders the heraldic lion of Bohemia at the heart of the quartered shield, and the obverse of the next subtype, H804, where the lion is replaced by the Jagiellonian eagle.

reverses, H805 and H807, is the addition of the halo around the head of the Virgin, but not around the head of the infant Jesus, as was the case of the dies used at Kremnica under the leadership of Peter Schaidler.

- c. The humanist typeface, we refer here to the letters M and N, already introduced on the last denarii of King Matthias, was adopted on the first denarii of Vladislav II (H803, H804), where it was associated with the Gothic script of the letter A. The humanist script introduced by Peter Schaidler, ever since the denarii of Matthias, was removed by Thurzó, who resumed, on the H806 denarius, the Gothic script for the three letters. The humanist script on the H805 denarius does not prove the succession of the H803, H804 and H805 subtypes, but was the result of a process of transition, in which Thurzó, after relinquishing the humanist script adopted by Schaidler, returned to it himself, after a journey of almost two years.

Following these observations, we believe that the H805 denarius does not open the series of undated coins issued by Thurzó for Vladislav II; on the contrary, it must be placed alongside the H807 denarius, towards the end of the series of these coinages.

Conclusions

Analysing the undated denarii of Vladislav II, specifically those with the heraldic eagle of the Jagiellonians on the obverse, issued from the mint of Kremnica after Hans Thurzó's appointment as head of the chamber, we have identified two new subtypes of denarii. Both subtypes appeared as a result of the association between the obverse of the traditional H806, H808 and H807 denarii with reverse versions of the H809 denarius. The new categories identified are not, as it used to be thought, the result of a simple association between the obverse and the reverse of neighbouring coins, issued sequentially.

It was generally considered that the eagle design charged on the shield and the manner of representing the Virgin Mary, through the draping of the dress or the crown design, were the decisive elements in distinguishing them by subtypes and in identifying the possible versions or deviations. The graphical representations are relevant to a point, enabling one to distinguish Vladislav II's undated denarii by subtypes and variants. The key to identifying the new subtypes resides in the relationship between these representations and different versions of writing the coin legend.

Examining the numerous versions of the legend, we have come to the conclusion that they are relevant not through the abbreviation formulas, but through the way of combining several types of script. We have found that they follow an unexpectedly simple rule: the gradual replacement of the Gothic script with the humanist script, with a view to standardizing the coin subtypes.

Identifying new subtypes and the mechanism of a complicated so-called *hybridisation* process has led us to resume the discussion on the typological sequence of Vladislav II's undated denarii from the Hungarian numismatic catalogues. An examination of the classical subtypes from the vantage point of the new categories and of the standardisation process to which Vladislav II's undated denarii were subjected reveals that:

1. The H809/C272C denarius is a subtype that associates, in the absence of its own obverse die, the obverse of the H807 denarius with the reverse of the so-called H809 denarius, a reverse that is common to the other two subtypes identified (H806-H809, H808-H809).
2. The H807 denarius was issued after the H808 denarius and not before it. The reversed sequence of the two coin subtypes of monetary is proved by the obvious similarity, in terms of the legend writing and the manner of rendering the coin design, between the H807 denarius and the denarius of the H811 subtype, issued from 1503 on, once the standardisation of coinages was completed and the *millésime* was introduced.
3. The H805 denarius, related to the H807 denarius, does not open the series of undated denarii issued under Thurzó's control, for King Vladislav II. The presence of the halo does not represent a link between this subtype of Thurzó's and the subtypes of his predecessor, Peter Schaidler (H803, H804). On the contrary, it must be placed, alongside the H807 coin, toward the end of the series of undated denarii.

Through the present analysis, we add two new subtypes of undated denarii issued by king Vladislav II (H806-H809, H808-H809) and suggest a change in their traditional sequence: the H806 denarius becomes head of the series, followed by the H808 denarius, which is succeeded by the H805 and, respectively, the H807 subtypes.

Annex 1

The H806-H809 subtype

Sub-group 1:

Vladislav II (1490-1514)

Obv.: obverse of the Réthy denarius 1907 272A, Huszár 1979 806

Rev.: new legend+coin drawing Réthy 1907 272C, Huszár 1979 809

Körmöcbánya, Hans Thurzó (on the reverse the mark **KH**)

Obv.: **Ω · WLADISLAI · R · VNGTRI ·**

Rev.: **PTTRON – VNGTRI**

Ag; 2; 0.33; 15.1x15.4; Oradea-Ioşia, MŢCO, inv. 16/802

Obv.: **Ω · WLADISLAI · R · VNGTR**

Rev.: **PTTRON – VNGTRI**

Ag; 6; 0.42; 15.7x15.5; Oradea-Ioşia, MŢCO, inv. 16/804 (Pl. I/1)

Sub-group 2:

Obv.: obverse of the Réthy denarius 1907 272A, Huszár 1979 806

Rev.: legend of the denarius CNH II 272A/Huszár 806 + coin drawing CNH II 272C/Huszár 809

Körmöcbánya, Hans Thurzó (on the reverse the mark **Kh**)

Obv.: **Ω · WLADISLAI · R · VNGTR**

Rev.: **PTTRON – VNGTRI**

Ag; 11; 0.53; 15.6x15.9; Oradea-Ioşia, MŢCO, inv. 16/759

Ag; 12; 0.32; 14.9x15.4; Oradea-Ioşia, MŢCO, inv. 16/854 (Pl. I/2)

Sub-group 3:

Obv.: legend version of the denarius CNH II 272A/Huszár 806

Rev.: new legend version + coin drawing Réthy 1907 272C, Huszár 1979 809

Körmöcbánya, Hans Thurzó (on the reverse the mark **K h**)

Obv.: **Ω · WLADISLAI · R · VNGTRI**

Rev.: **PTTRON – VNGTRI**

Hotoan, Satu Mare Museum, f. i., exhibition (Pl. I/4)

Obv.: **Ω · WLADISLAI · R · VNGTR**

Rev.: **PTTRON – VNGTRI**

Ag; 10; 0.47; 16.2x15; Oradea-Ioşia, MŢCO, inv. 16/766 (Pl. I/3)

Annex 2

The H808-H 809 subtype

Sub-group 1:

Obv.: Réthy 1907 275 (eagle with wings displayed and inverted)

Rev.: Huszár 1979 809

Körmöcbánya, Hans Thurzó (on the reverse the mark **K H**)

Obverse die no. 1 + reverse die no. 1 (= legend of the denarius H806-H809/sub-group 3)

Obv.: **Ω · WLADISLAI · R · VNGTRI**

Rev.: **PTTRON – VNGTRI**

Ag; 5; 0.51; 15.6x16.1; Oradea-Ioşia, MŢCO inv. 16/812

Obv.: **Ω · WLADISLAI · R · VNGT**

Rev.: **PTTRON – VNGTRI**

Ag; 2; 0.49; 15.8x16; Oradea-Ioşia, MŢCO inv. 16/803 (Pl. II/1)

Obv.: **Ω · WLADISLAI · R · VNGT**

Rev.: **PTTRON – VNGTRI**

Ag; 0; 0.42; 16.6x15.7; Oradea-Ioşia, MŢCO inv. 16/762

Obv.: **Ω · WLADISLAI · R · VNGT**

Rev.: **PTTRON – VNGTRI**

Ag; 12; 0.51; 16.2x15.4; Oradea-Ioşia, MŢCO inv. 16/801

Obverse die no. 2 + reverse die no. 2

Obv.: **Ω · WLADISLAI · R · VNGTRI**

Rev.: **PTTROU – VNGTRI**

Ag; 5; 0.52; 15.7x15.2; Oradea-Ioşia, MŢCO inv. 16/813 (Pl. II/2)

Obverse die no. 2 + reverse die no. 3

Obv.: **Ω · WLADISLAI · R · VNGTRI**

Rev.: **PATROU – VNGARIE** (the letter A with the median crossbar rendered as a broken line **Λ**)

Ag; 11; 0.57; 15.8x16.1; Oradea-Ioşia, MŢCO inv. 16/815 (Pl. II/3)

Hotoan, Satu Mare Museum, f. i., exhibition

Obverse die no. 3+reverse die no. 2

Obv.: **Ω · WLADISLAI · R · VNGAR** (the letter A with the median crossbar rendered as a broken line **Λ**)

Rev.: **PTTROU – VNGTRI**

Ag; 6; 0.41; 15.3x16.3; Oradea-Ioşia, MŢCO inv. 16/814 (Pl. II/4)

Obverse die no. 3 + reverse die no. 3 (= legend of the denarius H808)

Obv.: **Ω · WLADISLAI · R · VNGARI**

Rev.: **PATROU – VNGARI**

Ag; 12; 0.45; 16x15.2; Oradea-Ioşia, MŢCO inv. 16/810

Obv.: **Ω • WLADISLAI • R • VIGARI**

Rev.: **PATROI-VIGARIE**

Ag; 6; 0.47; 16x15.4; Oradea-Ioșia, MȚCO inv. 16/816

Ag; 11; 0.41; 16x16.1; Oradea-Ioșia, MȚCO inv. 16/817

Hotoan, Satu Mare Museum, f. i., exhibition

Obv.: **Ω • WLADISLAI • R • VIGAR**

Rev.: **PATROI-VIGARIE**

Ag; 7; 0.56; 15.5x15.8; Oradea-Ioșia, MȚCO inv. 16/799

Ag; 9; 0.43; 16.4x16.3; Oradea-Ioșia, MȚCO inv. 16/800

AR, 6; 0.47; 15.1x15.2; Ghighișeni, MȚCO inv. 8/13 (Pl. II/5)

Obv.: **Ω • WLADISLAI • R • VIGAR**

Rev.: **PATROI-A-VIGARI**

Hotoan, Satu Mare Museum, f. i., exhibition (Pl. II/6)

Sub-group 2A:

Vladislav II (1490-1514)

Obv.: Huszár 1979 808 (eagle with the wings displayed and elevated)

Rev.: Huszár 1979 809

Körmöcbánya, Hans Thurzó (on the reverse the mark **KH**)

Obverse die no. 1 + reverse die no. 2 (= legend of the denarius H806-H809/sub-group 1)

Obv.: **Ω • WLADISLAI • R • VIGARI**

Rev.: **PATRON-VIGARI**

Ag; 5; 0.52; 15.9x15.4; Oradea-Ioșia, MȚCO inv. 16/805 (Pl. III/1)

Obv.: **Ω • WLADISLAI • R • VIGARI**

Rev.: **PATRON-VIGARI**

Hotoan, Satu Mare Museum, f. i., exhibition

Obverse die no. 3+ reverse die no. 3 (= legend of the denarius H808)

Obv.: **Ω • WLADISLAI • R • VIGARIE** (=legend of the denarius H808)

Rev.: **PATROI-VIGARIE**

Ag; 12; 0.42; 15.8x16.1; Oradea-Ioșia, MȚCO inv. 16/807 (**WLADISLA**)

Ag; 6; 0.53; 14.8x14.3; Oradea-Ioșia, MȚCO inv. 16/808 (Pl. III/2)

Obv.: **Ω • WLADISLAI • R • VIGARIE**

Rev.: **PATROI-VIGARI**

Ag; 6; 0.57; 15.2x14.7; Oradea-Ioșia, MȚCO inv. 16/818

Obv.: **Ω • WLADISLAI • R • VIGARI**

Rev.: **PATROI-VIGARIE**

Ag; 12; 0.60; 15.7x15.2; double striking; Oradea-Ioșia, MȚCO inv. 16/811

Ag; 12; 0.57; 15.9x15.6; double striking; Oradea-Ioșia, MȚCO inv. 16/819

Obv.: **Ω • WLADISLAI • R • VIGAR**

Rev.: **PATROI-A-VIGARIE**

Hotoan, Satu Mare Museum, f. i., exhibition

Obv.: **Ω • WLADISLAI • R • VIGARI**

Rev.: **PATROI-VIGARI**

Ag; 10; 0.57; 16x15.2; Oradea-Ioșia, MȚCO inv. 16/809

Obv.: **Ω • WLADISLAI • R • VIGAR**

Rev.: **PATROI-A-VIGARI**

Ag; 12; 0.46; 15.2x15.3; Oradea-Ioșia, MȚCO inv. 16/806

Obv.: **Ω • WLADISLAI • R • VIGAR**

Rev.: **PATROI-VIGARI**

Ag; 3; 0.54; 15x15.4; Oradea-Ioșia, MȚCO inv. 16/765

Ag; 8; 0.46; 16.4x15.7; Oradea-Ioşia, MŢCO inv. 16/767

Obv.: illegible legend

Rev.: **PATRON-VNGARIE**

Ag; 5; 0.41; 14.8x14.8; double striking; Oradea-Ioşia, MŢCO inv. 16/865

Obverse die no. 4 + reverse die no. 2

Obv.: **M • WLADISLAI • R • VNGTRI •**

Rev.: **PATRON — VNGTRI •**

Ag; 12; 0.45; 16.1x16.4; Oradea-Ioşia, MŢCO inv. 16/831

Ag; 4; 0.48; 16.1x15.8; Oradea-Ioşia, MŢCO inv. 16/832 (Pl. III/3)

Obverse die no. 5 + reverse die no. 3

Obv.: **M • WLADISLAI • R • VNGARI •**

Rev.: **PATRON-VNGARIE**

Ag; 1; 0.53; 15.5x15.3; Oradea-Ioşia, MŢCO inv. 16/827 (Pl. III/4)

Sub-group 2B:

Obv.: Huszár 1979 808, eagle with the wings displayed and elevated

Rev.: Huszár 1979 809

Körmöcbánya, Hans Thurzó (on the reverse the mark **K h**)

Obverse die no. 3+ reverse die no. 3

Obv.: **Ω • WLADISLAI • R • VNGARIE**

Rev.: **PATRON-VNGARI**

Iara, Pap *et alii* 1971 no. 962, Turda Musem or MNIT Cluj-Napoca

Obverse die no. 6+ reverse die no. 4 (=legend of the denarii 805, 807, 809)

Obv.: **M • WLADISLAI • R • VNGARIE •**

Rev.: **PATRO—VNGARIE**

Ag; 1; 0.59; 15.3x15.5; double striking; Oradea-Ioşia, MŢCO inv. 16/825

Obv.: **M • WLADISLAI • R • VNGARI •**

Rev.: **PATRON—VNGARIE •**

Ag; 5; 0.52; 15.2x14.9; Oradea-Ioşia, MŢCO inv. 16/820

Ag; 7; 0.48; 15.5x15.6; Oradea-Ioşia, MŢCO inv. 16/1484 (Pl. III/5)

Ag; 5; 0.50; 15.3x15.7; Oradea-Ioşia, MŢCO inv. 16/1491

Ag; 1; 0.61; 15.9x15.6; Ghighişeni, MŢCO inv. 8/14

Iara, Pap *et alii* 1971 no. 966, Turda Musem or MNIT Cluj-Napoca

Hotoan photo 0121-0122

Obv.: **M • WLADISLAI • R • VNGAR •**

Rev.: **PATRON—VNGARIE •**

Ag; 9; 0.57; 15.2x14.9; Oradea-Ioşia, MŢCO inv. 16/821

Hotoan photo 0109-0110

Obv.: **M • WLADISLAI • R • VNGAR •**

Rev.: **PATRON—VNGARI**

Ag; 8; 0.51; 15x15.7; Oradea-Ioşia, MŢCO inv. 16/822

Ag; 9; 0.58; 15.1x15.5; Oradea-Ioşia, MŢCO inv. 16/823

Ag; 1; 0.36; 15.8x15.4; Oradea-Ioşia, MŢCO inv. 16/1444

Ag; 1 2; 0.57; 14.8x15.2; Oradea-Ioşia, MŢCO inv. 16/1451

Hotoan, Satu Mare Museum, f. i., exhibition (5 pieces) (Pl. III/6)

Obv.: **M • WLADISLAI • R • VNGARI •**

Rev.: **PATRON—VNGARI**

Ag; 3; 0.41; 15.5x15.2; Oradea-Ioșia, MȚCO inv. 16/838

Ag; 8; 0.49; 15x15.7; Oradea-Ioșia, MȚCO inv. 16/842

Hotoan, Satu Mare Museum, f. i., exhibition

Obv.: **M • WLADISLAI • R • VNGAR •**

Rev.: **PATRO-VNGARI**

Ag; 4; 0.49; 15.2x14.8; Oradea-Ioșia, MȚCO inv. 16/824

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Plate II. 1-6. *H808-H809 subtype/sub-group 1*(Oradea-Ioșia, MȚCO inv. 16/803, 16/813, 16/815, 16/814; Ghighișeni, MȚCO inv. 8/13; Hotoan, Muz. Satu-Mare).

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Plate IV. 1. Denarius H722 issued by Matia Corvin, 1487 (Oradea-Ioșia, MȚCO inv. 16/612); 2. Denarius H803 issued by Vladislav II, 1490-1491 (Oradea-Ioșia, MȚCO inv. 16/690); 3. Denarius H803 issued by Vladislav II, 1497 (Oradea-Ioșia, MȚCO inv. 16/703); 4. Denarius H803 issued by Vladislav II, 1495 (Oradea-Ioșia, MȚCO inv. 16/728); 5. Denarius H803 issued by Vladislav II, 1496, (Oradea-Ioșia, MȚCO inv. 16/740).



1

2

0

2 cm



3

4

Plate I.



1



2



3



4



5



6

Plate II.



1



2



3



4



5



6



Plate III.



1



2



3

4

5

Plate IV.

Fig. 2
Iosia 16/846



Fig. 4
Iosia 16/1456



Fig. 6
Iosia 16/1436



Fig. I.



Fig. 3



Fig. 5

Fig II.