

DANISH DENNINGS - PART II

by
Anders Berglund

Catalogue

The catalogue is based on the holdings of the State Historical Museum¹ (GIM) in Moscow (48 specimens), Nationalmuseet in Copenhagen (5 specimens), two private collections (4 specimens), and part (4 specimens) of the holding of the Hermitage in Leningrad. More specimens do exist in private collections, but were not available for study.

1. Obv. Mint mark P. (Die A).
Rev. closely similar to 4c. (Die K).
Weight: 0.52, 0.58, 0.58 gram (coins in GIM), 0.57 gram (private coll.)
Ref: Melnikova 7, and 8.
2. Obv. Well engraved horse, mint mark M. (Dies B1-B4).

¹ A.S.Melnikova has most kindly supplied enlarged photographs of 27 coins.

² The inscription is, however, less corrupt than the impression given by a comparison with Russian coins. The letters in the inscription are, with two exceptions, very close to the handwriting of the day. The following lines are the result of taking the same letters from a contemporary document.

(риѣианѡ' шѣпира «орѡ)αδ

Rev. Corrupt² cyrillic legend. $\epsilon\zeta\gamma\epsilon\mu\gamma\alpha\eta\omicron\sigma$ $\omega\epsilon\mu\gamma\beta\alpha$ $\mu\omicron\beta\omicron\lambda\alpha\varsigma$ $\Delta\epsilon\eta\mu\alpha\zeta\iota\iota\varsigma$ (Dies L1-L4).

One specimen in Nationalmuseet, 7 in GIM, and one in the Hermitage. Average weight: 0.49 gram.

Ref: Schou 85, 86, Melnikova 1, 2, 3.

3. Obv. Well engraved horse, no mint mark. (Dies B5-B7).

Rev. $\text{van g gnaden christian der iiii konn in dennemarken}$ (Dies M1-M4).

3 specimens in Nationalmuseet, 3 in GIM, and 1 in the Hermitage. Average weight: 0.47 gram.

Ref: Schou 80, 81, 82, Melnikova 5, 6.

4. Obv. Crudely engraved horse, mint mark M or no mint mark. (Dies C1-C4).

- a. Rev. same as 2. (Die L5).

3 specimens in GIM. Average weight: 0.44 gram.

Ref: Melnikova 4.

- b. Rev. $\text{van 6 Gnaden christian der iiii konn in dennemark}$ (Dies N1-N3).

1 specimen in Nationalmuseet, 12 in GIM, 2 in the Hermitage, and 1 in private collection. Average weight: 0.46 gram.

Ref: Schou 83, 84?, Melnikova 9-14.

- c. Rev. Proper 'Cyrillic' legend in the name of Mikhail Fedorovich. $\text{.РѢВѢД | ЧИКΗΣѢТ | УЯІДѢФЕД | РОВНЧѢОС | ЕЯОЧІ.}$ (Dies O1-O5). The inscription is copied from a kopeck, with broken X and M letters, struck about 1615-1618.

7 specimens in GIM, 1 in private collection. Average weight: 0.48 gram.

Ref: Melnikova 16-21.

- d. Rev. same as 5b. (Die P3).

1 specimen in GIM. Weight 0.50 gram.

Ref: Melnikova 15.

5. Obv. Different horse. Mint mark HPCI (corruption of Novgorod dated kopeck). (Dies D1-D3).

- a. Rev. same as 4c. (Die O6).

$\Delta\epsilon\eta\mu\alpha\zeta\iota\iota\varsigma$ $\zeta = \rho$ $\epsilon = \text{C}$

The characters σ and ζ may be derived from the variant forms used when placed above the text (similar to contractions). Although very variable in those days, the spelling, and grammar are quite bad, and "Denmarks" is Danish for "Denmark's" rather than a word in Russian.

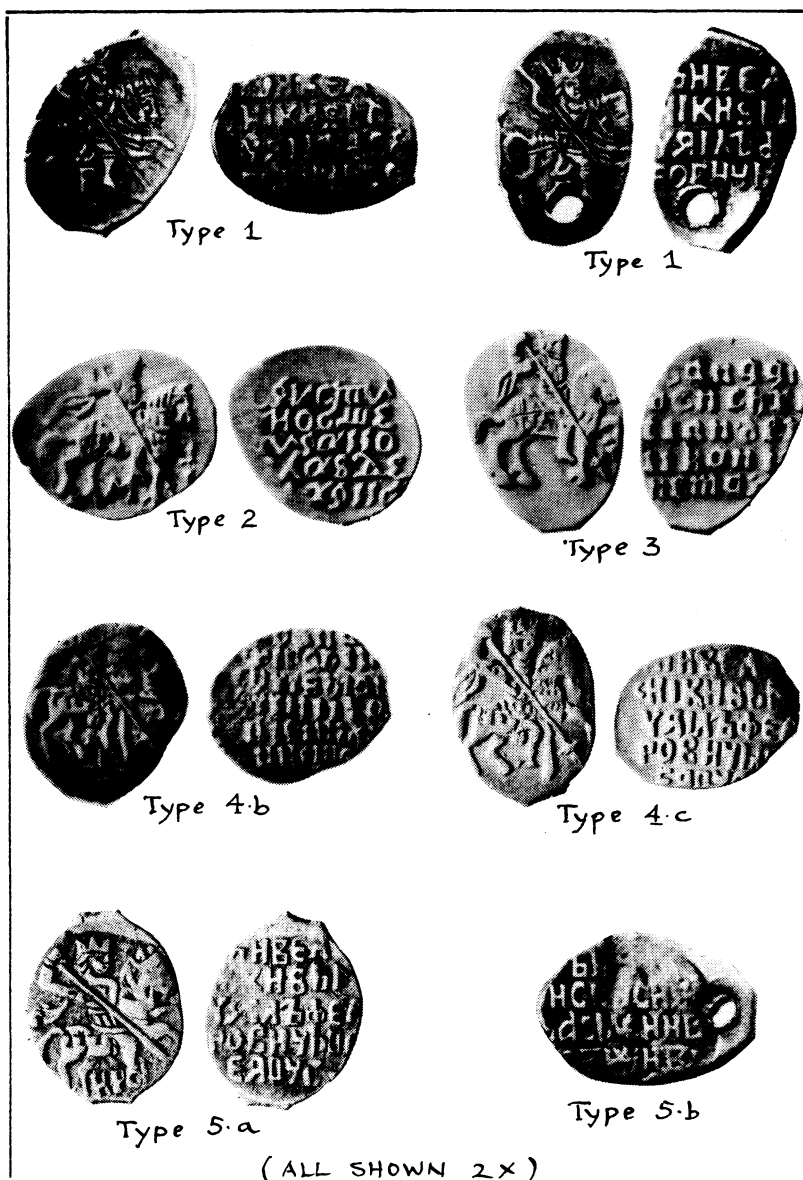


Figure 1: Type 1 (A-K) from GIM, 2 (B1-L1), 3 (B5-M2), and 4b (C1-N2) from Nationalmuseet, 4c (C2-O2), and 5a (D1-O6) from a private collection, and 5b (P3) from GIM.

5 specimens in GIM, 1 in private collection. Average weight: 0.46 gram.

Ref: Melnikova 22.

- b. Rev. name of Vasilii Ivanovich. (Dies P1-P3).
5 specimens in GIM. Average weight: 0.47 gram.
Ref: Melnikova 25-28.

- c. Rev. name of Boris Fedorovich. (Die Q).
1 specimen in GIM. Weight 0.48 gram.
Ref: Melnikova 23.

- d. Rev. name of Dmitrii Ivanovich. (Die R).
1 specimen in GIM. Weight 0.49 gram.
Ref: Melnikova 24.

Note the differences in the legends with Gothic letters - **f** vs **k** and **g** vs **g** and **christian** vs **christian**. In addition, the letter punches are different (for all letters).

Photographs of sample coins are shown in fig. 1. In order to show the details of the dies as clearly as possible, drawings have been made, combining details from more than one specimen per die. The drawings were made on tracing-paper using photographs enlarged 5 times. They were then photographically reduced to the x 2 scale used in the die-linkage table.

The total sample of coins, 61 specimens, is not large, but some 90% of the dies used should be represented statistically.³

Attribution of type 1, 4c, and 5

Some authors⁴ have expressed criticism of the attribution of the types 4c, and 5 as being of Danish origin. The dies for the Russian coins of this period were made from "matochniks" (master dies), with which the whole design was impressed into the die at the same time. By contrast most western mints used punches instead, for a larger or smaller part of the design. Comparing the letters in fig. 2, die O2 and die O6, we find that the letters are identical on the two coins, but that their relative position is different (e.g. the top of the **d** is under the **H** on one coin, and between the letters **K** and **H** on the other). This clearly indicates the use of letter punches, and thus a non-Russian origin. Comparing the design of the horse in fig. 3 die

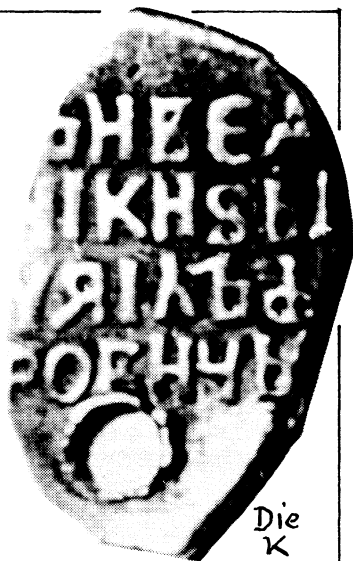
³ C.S.S.Lyon: The Estimation of the Number of Dies Employed in a Coinage, in *The Numismatic Circular*, 1965, pp. 180-181.

⁴ G.Hatz, Review of A.S.Melnikova: *Russko-datskie monety XVII veka v sobranii gosudarstvennogo istoricheskogo muzeya*, *Ezhegodnik gosudarstvennogo istoricheskogo muzeya*, Moscow 1960, p. 90-105, in *Hamburger Beitrage zur Numismatik V*, p. 215-216.
G.Galster, Review of G.Hatz: *Denninge*, *Zeitschrift fuer Ostforschung*, 1962, in *Hamburger Beitrage zur Numismatik V*, p. 721-723.

K.Bendixen: *Christian IV's Rytterpenninge - forsoeg til en forsidestypologi*, *Nordisk Numismatisk Aarsskrift* 1969.



Russian Model



Die K



Die 02



Die 06



Die P

Figure 2



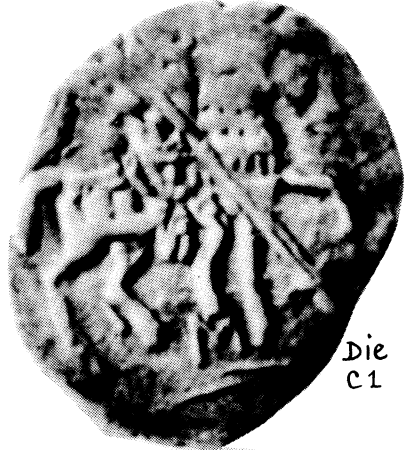
Russian Model



Die A



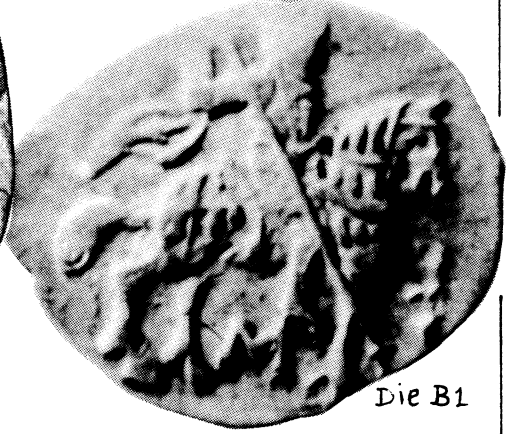
Die C2



Die C1



Die D1



Die B1

Figure 3.

C1 (type 4b - Danish legend) and fig. 3 die C2 (type 4c - Cyrillic legend), we find that identical punches were used. Note, for example, the leftmost leg of the horse. Thus the Dennings with the Danish legend *van G Genaden christian der iiii konig in dennemarc* are firmly linked to those with the legend .РѢНБЕД | СІІКНЗБІ | ХІІІІБФЕД | РОВНЧБД | ЕРДЧІ. This latter legend (same letter punches) is also found on coins with the mint mark НРСІ (see fig. 2 die O6 and O2). We also know that all these coins occur in genuine hoards in the Soviet Union, so these types are not forgeries made to deceive collectors, but are genuine contemporary imitations. In other words, kopecks of types 4b, 4c, and 5 all belong to one group, and were either struck in the same mint or one must assume that the dies or punches were sent to another mint. Through the three coins of type 4a (die C4-L5), these coins are further linked to type 2.

The coins of the types 2 and 3 are also linked to each other by many details of the horse and horseman. The head, chest, and right arm of the horseman are identical, and the same applies to part of the horse. Some details are different, but the identical nature of the features mentioned, as well as the general style compared to the previous group, firmly links them. Furthermore, the style of this group is very close to that of the 2 and 4 skilling lybsk of Albert Dionys in Glueckstadt.

Dr. I.G.Spassky attributed⁵ the type 1 to Johan Post, the Copenhagen mint master, based on the letter P and the weight. V.L.Yanin⁶ attributed the type to Rostov (minted between February and April 1613). A.S.Melnikova⁷ refutes this attribution by pointing out that the kopeck taken as model for the inscription began to be struck in 1615-1618.

The style of the letters of this coin (see fig. 2 die K) is very close to that of type 4c, but it is clear that in details the punches are different. The style is, however, quite different from the Russian model (see fig. 2 "Russian Model"). We conclude that most of the evidence points to it being of Danish origin. As will be discussed below, it is also the only coin fitting the weight of the coins Johan Post was ordered to strike in the letter of Christian IV of 5th April 1619.

⁵ In for example "The Russian Monetary System", Amsterdam 1967, p. 118; 3rd edition, Leningrad 1962, p. 107; 4th edition, Leningrad 1970, p. 119;

"The Russian Government's Management of Monetary affairs in the mod-XVII Century", in Arkheograficheskii Ezhegodnik za 1959, Moscow 1960, p. 105-106.

⁶ "Iz istorii russkoi monetnoi chekanki v 1612-1613 gg.", in Numizmatika i Epigrafika, I, Moscow 1960, p. 78-93.

⁷ Sistematizatsiya monet Mikhaila Fedorovicha, in Arkheograficheskii Ezhegodnik za 1958, Moscow 1960, p. 66-89.

Quantities Minted

From the number of dies used in the minting we can obtain an estimate, although only very approximate, of the number of coins minted.

Table 1: Rough estimate of quantities minted

type	# obv dies	# rev dies	estimate of quantity minted (1000's)
1	1	1	25-75
2	4	4	100-300
3	3	4	80-250
4b	1.3	3	50-150
4c	1.7	5	80-250
5	3	5.5	100-300

In the case of medieval Scottish pennies, I.Stewart⁸ has estimated the average number of coins per obverse die to be of 25000-75000, and it seems not unreasonable to assume similar numbers for the Dennings.

Where were the various types minted?

The attribution of some types to Johan Post in Copenhagen and others to Albert Dionys in Glueckstadt appears to be more a convention than based on solid facts. From older works A.Ernst⁹ reports:

- Frederick IV, *Museum Regium, seu Catalogus ... illustratus, accurate J.Laurentzen* [1710], Part II. Page Q13 No. 214, describes a coin most closely corresponding to Schou 83 (our type 4b), but without M under the horse, as being one of Johan Post's Copenhagen mintings.¹⁰ Mention is also made of a further small coin with Russian inscription.
- Joh. Muleni: *Numismata Danorum* [Hafniae 1670] reports a Denning under Cl. III, series VII, nr. 12. No mention of mint.
- Helmstierns *Medaille og Moent ... Samling* [Copenhagen 1786] describes on page 270 nr. 154-155 two coins (Schou 80 and 84) as being struck by Johan Post.
- L.Praetorius [1791] and Jens Vintmoels [1804] also describe Dennings.

⁸ I.Stewart: *The Volume of Early Scottish Coinage*, in *Coinage in Medieval Scotland (1100-1600)*, ed. D.M.Metcalf, BAR 45 (1977), p. 68.

⁹ A.Ernst: *Om Guldsmid, Moentmester og Bjergvaerksparticipant Johan Post og hans Udmoentninger*, NNAa 1949, p. 73-106.

¹⁰ The letter from Christian IV to Johan Post is quoted and one can safely assume that this was the source of the attribution to Post.

It appears that the attribution of the Dennings to Glueckstadt was first made by Wilcke,¹¹ based on the letter of privilege of July 7, 1619 allowing Albert Dionys to mint both Dennings, and multiples thereof (2 and 4 skilling lybsk)¹² with the inscription 'Christian der vierdte von Gottes gnaden Koenig zu Dennemarken'. It should be noted that, whilst this inscription was used on the 2 and 4 skilling lybsk, the inscription on the Dennings attributed to Glueckstadt have 'van g gnaden' moved to the beginning of the inscription.

From the discussion of the die linkage of the Dennings we have found that all but type 1 are linked to each other. We know further that the letter of April 4th. 1619 from Christian IV to Johan Post specifies a weight of 0.539 gram of pure silver (the gross weight would be around 0.58 gram) compared to an average weight of 0.56 gram for the three pieces Melnikova reports. The privilege of Albert Dionys of July 7th, 1619 specifies¹³ a weight of 0.433 gram of pure silver and a gross weight of 0.487 gram. It is thus very attractive to identify type 1 as the 1619 minting of Johan Post, and the mint mark P could be taken as for Post.¹⁴ The quantity ordered - 72 000 pieces - also agrees well with the number of dies used. The coins of type 2, with the average weight of 0.49 gram of the specimens in GIM and 0.50 gram of the specimen in Nationalmuseet Copenhagen, correspond well to the Albert Dionys privilege. They also show a close similarity in style to the 2 and 4 skilling lybsk coins of Albert Dionys in Glueckstadt. Identification of this type as the first one of Johan Post, which is the 'traditional' Danish attribution, seems less likely since these coins should have a content of 0.539 gram of silver and a gross weight of about 0.58 gram. Die linkage would suggest that the remaining types were struck by Albert Dionys, but dies or punches could of course have been sent to Johan Post in Copenhagen. This would explain the use of two sets of Gothic letter punches.

The large quantity of Dennings minted and the different types - from clearly Danish coins (well engraved horse and non-Russian inscription) to more Russian-like coins (Russian inscription and cruder horse) - suggests that, even though the minting originated for the Petsoriske Compagni, it was continued for a longer period. It may well be that, finding the clearly Danish types not readily accepted, it was decided to change the design and inscription to be closer to the Russian kopecks.

¹¹ J.Wilcke: Christian IV's Moentpolitik 1588-1625 [Copenhagen 1919]

¹² J.Wilcke: Christian IV's Moentplotik 1588-1625, p. 171. G.Hatz: Denninge, p. 5. Primary source: Schleswig Staats-Archiv. Fasc. A. III., Nr. 457.

¹³ J.Wilcke, Christian IV's Moentpolitik 1588-1625, p. 171, table p. 215, G.Hatz, Denninge, p. 5.

¹⁴ Post never used P as a mark on Danish coins but, instead, two crossed swords and, later, perhaps a bird. As the Russian coins all had letters as mint marks, it is not unreasonable to assume the use of P instead of his normal mark on the Dennings.

One might argue that some of the types attributed here to Danish minting are forgeries made elsewhere, but, with a number of key die links firmly correlating the various types, this seems highly unlikely.

During the decade before the Danish minting of Dennings the Russian kopeck underwent a change of weight. Since 1533 the weight had been 0.68 gram, but during the "time of troubles" the weight was reduced, first to about 0.56 gram (1610 in Moscow, and in Novgorod at the end of 1613), and then to about 0.50 gram (in Moscow 1612, and in Novgorod in March 1615). During the reign of Mikhail Fedorovich, the weight was reduced further.

The decrease in weight of the kopeck during the reign of Mikhail Fedorovich, causing a large scale melting and reminting of old kopecks - both of the older heavier type and the "new" lighter ones - into even lighter ones, would account for the low number of Danish kopecks that has survived. As an example of the reminting activity, we can mention the Novgorod mint in September 1616.¹⁵ More than 210 000 old kopecks were melted down and reminted during this one month! As most types of Danish kopecks were easily distinguished from the Russian ones they could also have been sorted out as forgeries and been melted down.

I would like to thank the following people for discussions and for making photographs and literature available: A.S.Melnikova of the State Historical Museum, Moscow; I.G.Spasky of the Hermitage, Leningrad; K.Bendixen and J.S.Jensen of Nationalmuseet, Copenhagen; and K.Oehrstroehm of Ulf Nordlinds Mynthandel, Stockholm.

¹⁵ Novgorod occupation archive No 111, Riksarkivet, Stockholm.