

Thomas Hvid Kromann

“Montages wrapped in flong: a material–archaeological investigation of Asger Jorn and Guy Debord’s *Fin de Copenhague*” (2015)

Extended English summary

"Montager svøbt i matricepap. En materialearkæologisk undersøgelse af Asger Jorn og Guy Debords Fin de Copenhague" was published in the Danish peer-reviewed journal Fund & Forskning, no. 54, 2015, pp. 587–625. Published by The Royal Library in Copenhagen.

Thomas Hvid Kromann (b. 1974), PhD
Researcher at the Center for Manuscripts and Rare Books,
The Royal Library, Copenhagen, Denmark.
thok@kb.dk and thomas.hvid.kromann@gmail.com

Aim of the article

The making of *Fin de Copenhague* took place a couple of months before the foundation of the Situationist International movement (1957–72) and is closely linked to it. In an increasingly politicized situationist movement, *Fin de Copenhague* and its sequel, *Mémoires*, were instrumentalized as “documents” – not as art works in a book format, but rather as anti-art works. As was stated in the first issue of the bulletin *Internationale Situationniste*, no situationist art form could exist, only a situationist use of artistic methods. This self-perception, primarily influenced by Debord, has subsequently influenced the way the two books have been critically received. In the decades that followed their creation, relatively little attention was paid to them in the increasing amount of research into the art of Jorn, the political-avantgardist activism of Debord and the situationist movement. The “concept” behind the books was reduced to the theoretical framework of the situationist movement (corresponding to key situationist strategies such as “détournement”), while the material dimension of the concrete artefacts themselves was neglected.

However, interest in Jorn’s printed-matter output is growing. At the centennial celebration of his birth in 2014, the National Gallery in Copenhagen and the Museum Jorn in Silkeborg exhibited books and pamphlets alongside Jorn’s paintings and ceramics. Likewise, a particular focus on various aspects of materiality can be seen in recent research into Jorn’s relationship to avant-garde, architecture and book craft, as well as artists’ books.

In the light of this development, it may seem odd that no one has taken particular interest in the cover(s) of *Fin de Copenhague*. Yet the cover was exceptional, in the sense of being both “eye-catching” and “unique”. Every one of the covers of this edition of 200 was made from “flong” (a waste product from the production of newspapers by stereography) and was unique. The choice of this anonymous readymade material inevitably resulted in an intended destabilization: how can we say something about the cover of the book, when each cover was unique and no documentation took place before the book was distributed? Any attempt to be more specific about the cover would seem to be doomed to failure.

The aim of the article is to shed new light on *Fin de Copenhague* by looking at its covers. Although maintaining the focus on the “concept” of the book (without reducing it to the situationist ideology), I want to stress the fact that a concept is necessarily rooted in a material artefact. The empirical basis of the article is the large inventory of covers of *Fin de Copenhague* that I have assembled from various sources in Europe and in the United States. This material makes it possible for the first time to analyse the specific variations and different aesthetic effects of the individual covers. Furthermore, the flong, as a historical-aesthetic object in itself, represents a source of knowledge about the book’s production. Surprisingly, it supplies information that contradicts existing “facts” (provided by the artists and printers themselves) about the process whereby it was produced.

Introduction

According to the sources, *Fin de Copenhague* was created in the first half of May 1957 (possibly around 7 or 8 May) in a 24-hour fit of vandalistic creativity – from assembling the material to the finished book. Jorn and Debord constructed 32 montages from clippings – primarily adverts and isolated pieces of text from Danish, French, German and English newspapers and magazines. At Permild & Rosengreen, a lithography business in the outskirts of Copenhagen, the montages were photographed and copied onto the printing plates. Jorn, standing on a ladder, dripped lithographic ink onto the printing plates. Afterwards, he raised the plates and lowered them again in order to make the ink run. The appropriated material was printed in black, whereas these drippings were printed with iris printing in “yellow-green-blue and Bordeaux-red-cinnabar-ochre-gray”. The iris printing created small variations in the colours on the pages in each copy when the colours mixed.

Finally, the book was bound in flog, which accentuated the singularity of each book, which was further emphasized by the numbering and signing of the books by the two authors, a feature well known from the graphic arts.

The use of verbal and visual means was intended as a so-called “détournement” – a critical redirection of appropriated material. *Fin de Copenhague* was literally a *pièce de résistance* against the massive cultural influence of consumer culture. On the title page of *Fin de Copenhague*, Debord is mentioned as “conseiller technique pour le détournement”, but it seems fair to guess that this “adviser” assisted Jorn in the montages. Basically, a “détournement” is an appropriation of a piece of given material, where the original context is kept and at the same time distorted. In this way, a critique of consumer culture was formulated through the verbi-visual language of consumer culture itself. A strategy that included the cover of the book as well.

The distribution and reception

In *Fin de Copenhague*, the dominant and obligatory practical information given on a standard book cover – names of the authors, title and publisher – was replaced by a highly visual and tactile but *authorless* surface. The lack of information was in practice probably rather unproblematic, insofar as the book – in its limited edition, of which an unknown quantity of complimentary copies were sent to friends, colleagues and business contacts in Denmark and abroad – wasn’t meant for ordinary distribution through the usual channels for (art) books. The primary network was probably of a private nature, as a gift or in part exchange, or sold directly from the printers, Permild & Rosengreen. Nevertheless, *Fin de Copenhague* was reviewed; that is to say, it existed in a literary network, not just in the art world. Besides the review in *Architectural Review* (reprinted in the 1986 edition), two other reviews were published: in the major Danish newspapers *Information* and *Politiken*. In the Danish press the book was characterized as a daring, anti-bibliophilic witticism. Surprisingly enough, none of the local reviews mentioned the cover, but the book price was given in the reviews: 15 kr. (equivalent to approximately US \$35 today). In other words, *Fin de Copenhague* was priced as a book and not as an art work, despite its unique cover, and despite the fact that each copy was numbered and signed.

Flong

A book cover uses a variety of visual and verbal effects to give an impression – possibly accurate, possibly not – of what the reader can expect to find inside the book. It should come as no surprise that an experimental and process-based work like *Fin de Copenhague* would challenge the conventions of the book cover as well. The use of flong was very unusual, almost as far removed from the tradition of classical book-craft as one could get. Flong was a residual product from the age of cylinder and rotary presses and part of the process of stereography. The typeset page form was covered with damp papier-mâché, with which a copy of the form was produced. After drying, the flong became the stable mould for the printing plate, as lead, tin and antimony were poured into it – to produce a stereotype, from which one could print. The thickness of the flong varied from less than 1 millimetre to almost 2 millimetres. After its use, the flong was normally destroyed, because it could not be reused or recycled, nor did it represent any value in itself. Despite its apparent worthlessness, though, the flong has – at least, for a contemporary reader/viewer – obvious tactile qualities by virtue of its rugged, silvery surface, on which the letters and pictures are die-stamped, creating small indentations in the material. Running one's fingers across the varied surface is itself a pleasant sensation. As a material, the flong is solid enough to function as the material for a book cover. The flong was folded, which is why the book doesn't have a regular spine, and it was sewn by hand: jute yarn was used to hold the 32 pages and a folded sheet (with title page on the front and colophon on the back) together. The jute yarn was drawn through four holes and tied with a knot. On the inside of the cover, the flong was covered with felt on the areas where no letters or pictures were printed on the back, in order to create a uniform surface and to make the thin material less fragile.

When *Fin de Copenhague* was published, the function of the flong must have been obvious – at least, to people in the trade. In a review of *Fin de Copenhague* in *Architectural Review*, the anonymous reviewer mentioned the flong without any further explanation. Outside of professional circles, however, the material must have created some bewilderment – on the one hand it looked like something well known from everyday life (a newspaper), but on the other it wasn't an actual newspaper but a cropped version of one, in a different material. The stereography process is associated with traditional letterpress printing, which

became obsolete as a consequence of the development of photocomposition and offset printing between the end of the 1950s and the mid-1980s.

The disappearance of the covers

With the passing of time, the original edition of *Fin de Copenhague* has become a rarity and only available, if at all, in reading rooms in special collections in university libraries or museum collections. Occasionally the book has been exhibited and bits of it reproduced in auction catalogues. However, for most people, the reproduced covers featured in the 1986 and 2001 editions of the book (published by Éditions Allia in Paris) have been the only chance to see examples of the cover of the first edition: simultaneously underlining the lacking possibilities of grasping the *whole* work – or rather, at least a small quantity of the edition.

I am now able to supplement the two reprints of *Fin de Copenhague* with a large number of new ones: 34 covers from copies of the book located in museum and library collections: eight from the United States, five from Denmark, four from France, two from Belgium, one from the Netherlands, one from Germany, one from Great Britain well as 12 copies sold at auction.

Due to the fact that a specific piece of flong comes from a specific newspaper, it's possible to date the individual pieces of flong. The microfilm archive at The Royal Library has been my principal resource, through which I've been able to locate 32 out of 36 covers, listed in order of the age of the flong (Table 2). It has been said a few times in the secondary literature that the flong originally came from the conservative Danish newspaper *Berlingske Tidende*, but is this actually true? My research has produced documentary evidence that the flong comes from newspapers belonging to Det Berlingske Officin, the parent company of the Berlingske group, namely the newspapers *Berlingske Tidende* and *B.T.*, which explains the variations and graphic design of the individual covers of flong. Four covers have not yet been traced backed to their source, but the typography indicates that they originate from *Berlingske Tidende* and *B.T.* as well. Both newspapers are conservative, politically, and the latter is in a tabloid format.

A few of the books aren't numbered (10 out of 36) and/or signed (9 out of 36) – including the copies at the Museum Jorn and The Royal Library in Copenhagen – which clearly indicates that the 200 printed copies – a number often mentioned in the secondary literature (because given in the colophon of the book) – must be supplemented by an unknown amount of extra copies. It's common practice for a stipulated print run to be supplemented by copies given to the artist, the publisher and the printer. However, the extra copies are not marked as such.

Another, far more crucial detail is the production date of the flong. The dates not only begin before and during the working process in May, but nine copies can be dated to *after* the alleged completion of the work. In other words, contrary to the statements from authoritative sources such as the printer V. O. Permild and the Jorn expert Troels Andersen, *Fin de Copenhague* was definitely not finished within those hectic 24 hours in May 1957.

If one reads carefully volume “o” of Debord's published correspondence (2010), this is confirmed. In a letter dated 8 July 1957, Debord writes: “As-tu des exemplaires de *Fin de Copenhague*? Peut-être est-il encore temps de demander une épreuve des quelques lignes que Permild devait faire imprimer (le titre, la justification du tirage).” This letter indicates that the 24 hours – contrary to the statements of those involved – did not result in finished works, because the sheet containing the title page (“le titre”) and the specification of the number of printed books (“la justification du tirage”) were missing. *Fin de Copenhague* was most probably completed – as a printed book, including cover – around 1 July. The actual printing of the 32 pages could very well have been undertaken in May, when Debord and Jorn were in Copenhagen. This indicates that the numbering and signing of the book were done on a blank sheet on which the title page and the colophon were printed later. On 15 July, Debord wrote to Permild again, thanking him for sending the print run of *Guide psychogéographique de Paris*, which was printed at the same time, as well as a single copy of *Fin de Copenhague*.

One must draw a distinction, I would argue, between three parts of the artistic process of producing the work: 1) finalizing the idea for the book; 2) the printed work; and 3) the published work. Conceptually, *Fin de Copenhague* was in place in May 1957, in as much as the pages (except the sheet containing the title page and the colophon) were printed and

some dummies of the book had probably been produced, making it possible for the printers to complete the edition after Jorn and Debord had left the Danish capital. One should, I would suggest, consider the book and especially the cover as the result of a collective decision-making process – what book historians refer to as “social authorship” or “the sociality of texts” – which credits the printers, especially Permild. *Fin de Copenhague* was a collaborative and process-based work, in which the printing techniques used and, more generally, new ideas about what a book could be were crucial. Obviously, after their departure Jorn and Debord couldn't control the production process or, even more importantly, the choice of what material to include and what to omit. This extended concept of authorship corresponds to the actual process – which mirrors what happens in the graphic arts, where the artist is often credited while the professional knowledge and skill of the printer go unacknowledged.

The aesthetic effect of the flong

It is possible, though, with the 36 covers that have been traced, to say something about their general aesthetic approach and to look at the differences between the individual covers. *B.T.* was printed in a tabloid format, whereas a broadsheet format was used for *Berlingske Tidende*. A cover made of material from *B.T.* had to use the flong in its entirety, except for a small cropping in the margins, and turned 90 degrees, which meant that the text ran vertically. In most of the covers where flong from *Berlingske Tidende* was used, the larger format meant that one could cut a cover either lengthways or from side to side. In other words: the direction of reading could either go from left to right or from top to bottom. In total, every part of the newspaper is used, with the proportions more or less corresponding to the different types of content in the two newspapers: newspaper articles (10 covers), advertising (11 covers), job advertisements (12 covers), radio and TV listings (1 cover) and comic strips (2 covers).

In the Danish version of the article, I'll comment on the copies of the book owned by Museum Jorn and The National Gallery in Denmark. Here, I'll restrict myself to the copy in the Museum Jorn: Jorn himself donated this copy to the museum, when it was still called Silkeborg Kunstmuseum (Silkeborg Art Museum). The flong dates from *B.T.* for 22 February

1957. The cover is made from a page featuring six comic strips: Ferd'nand, The Phantom, Blondie, Popeye, Big Ben Bolt and Tom Puss. Under the headline "Radioen i dag" ("Today's Radio") the radio and TV listings for the day are given. The flong was turned 90 degrees. Only the first four comic strips are on the front cover, and the titles of the strips are difficult to read. The normal direction of reading is challenged too: it is no longer possible to read the comic strips from left to right. Instead the page seems to be in a sort of grid shape: i.e., the eye doesn't read the surface but moves along in an arbitrary way. The radio and TV listings appear as an unreadable, ornamental edging below this grid. This copy of the book seems especially to illustrate Jorn's remark to the printers in a letter from February 1958 regarding a connection between *Fin de Copenhague* and *Mémoires*, on the one hand, and the handwritten illuminations of the Middle Ages and the cartoons of Walt Disney, on the other:

I do not know if you realize how close we are coming to an entirely new understanding of the book. The two books we are making together here will become focal points for this renewal. Books printed in offset are not an entirely new phenomenon, but until now they have been made to imitate Gutenbergian books. The new freedom offered by this technology will bring us closer in a way to medieval manuscripts as well as to the cartoons of Walt Disney, with one essential difference, which I implore you to observe, that this publication is neither for minors nor for priests.

The choice of words is significant. Although Jorn clearly senses a "renewal", his points of reference are located partly in the past (medieval illuminations) and partly in pop culture. The idea of the artist's book, which was about to emerge some five years later, is still far off. *Fin de Copenhague* is not an artist's book and not a classical *livre illustré*, but rather a transitional work: an intermediate form between these two types of book. Contrary to many of the artists' books that were published in the first half of the 1960s, especially in North America (the prime example being Ed Ruscha's *Twenty-Six Gasoline Stations*, from 1963), Jorn and Debord did not insist on the principle of the mass-produced artefact, which was to become an essential part of the idea of the democratization of the arts. *Fin de Copenhague* represents – in terms of the development of printing technologies – a clash between the flong and the pages. Or, in other words, a clash between, on the one hand, a black-and-white technology (stereography), a technology soon to become obsolete, and, on the other,

the colourful pages of the book, which were printed using offset, a technique soon to become a part of the mimeograph revolution in the decade to come.

The unique vs. the industrial

In general, the cover of *Fin de Copenhague* combines a unique element of the mass-produced with a mass-produced element of the unique: the flong was fabricated as part of an industrial process, but represented a one-off. At the same time, this unique part was a waste product. In this paradoxical process, an auratic artefact was re-established, an art work in the format of the book.

In *Fin de Copenhague*, Jorn and Debord did not reproduce art works, but they created an art work through the reproduction of seemingly worthless material from newspapers and magazines. To stress this, the material for the cover was not reproduced but *re-circulated*. To some extent a part of this auratic quality is acquired simply with the passing of time: stressing not only the specific visual qualities of the flong but also its inherent qualities as a historical material, establishing a connection to the past, authentic evidence about the time and the process that was so crucial for the work. It is not possible to recreate this authenticity in the later editions of the work (the photographic facsimiles), where the paradoxical junction between the mass-produced and the unique inevitably becomes exactly what the work was not intended to be: a mass-produced reproduction.

Jorn was no latter-day Luddite, but one consistent theme of *Pour la forme* (1958), his collection of theoretical writings on aesthetics and art, was the critique of the industrialization: “Characterized by rationalization and automation, modern industry is only capable of reproducing increasing numbers of anonymous pieces in identical series in a more and more inflexible process, thanks to ever more complicated and costly equipment.” These remarks did not relate directly to book production, but the experiment with the uniqueness of the flong in *Fin de Copenhague* was equivalent to Jorn’s call for “an opposing tendency of re-evaluation, of distinctiveness through the research and creation of THE UNIQUE”. However, with Debord things were rather different. His target was the “spectacle”, not industrial production in itself. On the contrary: printed matter – especially pamphlets, magazines and books – was the perfect vehicle for situationist propaganda.

Predecessors

The use of flong was a common practice in the production of newspapers in the 1950s. In Britain the technique was used for the first time in a Victoria Rotary Press in 1866, and the technique was introduced into Denmark in 1875, when *Nationaltidende* bought the first rotary press. It should come as no surprise that Jorn and Debord (and Permild) were not the first to have the brilliant idea of using the flong in an artistic context. I've found two predecessors, although it's unclear whether Jorn and Debord knew about these experiments. *PM Magazine – An Intimate Journal for Production Managers, Art Directors, and Their Associates* (1934–42) was a trade journal within the graphic industries. The journal printed articles about printing techniques, typography, etc. In the first issues the covers were used to present aspects of printing techniques or even new techniques. Later on, artists were invited to be guest graphic designers. In *PM Magazine* no. 5, from January 1935, flong was used for the magazine's cover. Unlike with *Fin de Copenhague*, it was not waste material (the leftovers from an actual production) but a sample of the magazine's own typesetting. The text was elegantly designed: four elegantly leaning columns and with the logo of *PM Magazine* in the bottom right corner. Every copy of this issue had (apparently) the same cover.

A publication that was closer to *Fin de Copenhague* in terms of technique, geography and time, was *experimenta typografica*. Willem Sandberg, the Dutch graphic artist and director (1945–62) of the Stedelijk Museum in Amsterdam, undertook a series of typographical experiments between December 1943 and December 1944, which resulted in 12 volumes of *experimenta typografica*. Shortly after the Second World War, Sandberg was extending his choice of materials and bound an unknown amount of the first volume of *experimenta typografica* in flong, a practice that he returned to around 1960, when some leftover copies of the first volume were also bound in this material. Only the researcher Roberto Ohrt has cited the experiments of Sandberg in relation to *Fin de Copenhague*. The question is, whether Jorn (and Debord) knew of Sandberg's experiments. Jorn's own remarks regarding *Fin de Copenhague* are few in number, and he didn't, as far as I know, make any comments about the cover. Whether Jorn had seen *experimenta typografica* is unknown, although it's known that there was contact between Jorn and Sandberg before May 1957. The

key thing is how the flong was put to use: in *Fin de Copenhague* it wasn't about testing a wide range of materials, but about how this concrete material, with its specific qualities, produced a specific aesthetic effect. The edition was of the same size in these two books, but every copy of the first edition of *Fin de Copenhague* was bound in flong. The typographical experiments of Sandberg weren't really connected to the flong (with a little ingenuity one could, of course, consider the flong as some kind of formalist typographical experiment), whereas a more direct connection exists in *Fin de Copenhague* between the cover and the content of the book, the covers fitting perfectly the visual and verbal material that had been appropriated in the book. A media satire through distortion.

Finally

For a work like *Fin de Copenhague*, an interdisciplinary approach, straddling the historical disciplines of art and the book, provides the chance to obtain new information about the material. To reduce the work to a concept ("détournement") is unsatisfying, because the concept is embedded in a concrete material. The tracking and dating of the collected covers add new knowledge to the reception of the covers. Differentiation between the covers becomes possible in regard to the selection of material and the specific verbi-visibility of each copy, which produces its own individual aesthetic effects. Furthermore, the information contained in the flong forces us to revise the information derived from the authors and printers themselves. The history of *Fin de Copenhague* has to be revised and a new, more nuanced one written, in which it's possible to distinguish between the different parts of the process: the finishing of the concept of the book, the printed work and the published work. Lastly, one must underline the importance of the social authorship at the expense of The Great Artist(s) – which doesn't make *Fin de Copenhague* a less great, or even a minor, work. On the contrary: it just clarifies the circumstances that were so crucial to its emergence.

Postscript (January 2016)

Since the publication of the article in December 2015, three additional copies of Fin de Copenhague have been detected with the help of the American collector Mehdi El Hajoui.

When working on the article, I've been limited to looking through microfilm with no access to full text search, a very time-consuming process. In January 2016 the Danish newspaper *Berlingske Tidende* was digitized by the Danish State Library, making it a lot easier to locate some (three) of the remaining covers. I've revised the English tables in the article according to the current status.

I would like to thank all the people who have helped me retrieving information and providing me with photographs of the covers. I would also be grateful for information about copies of the 1957 edition other than those mentioned in the tables.

THOMAS HVID KROMANN

Table 1. The provenance of the clippings (see Danish article)

Table 2. The located covers of *Fin de Copenhague*

Source	Location	Numbered/ signed	Provenance
<i>Berlingske Tidende</i> 10/2/1957	Réserve des livres rares, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris	Not numbered, not signed	Bought in 1986 through Librairie Yves Gevaert.
<i>Berlingske Tidende</i> , 10/2/1957	Unknown (auction)	11/200, Jorn/Debord	Sold at Christie's, Paris, 11/5/2011. Price: 10,000 euros
<i>B.T.</i> , 11/2/1957	The National Gallery, Copenhagen, Denmark	87/100*, Jorn/Debord (* should have been 87/200)	Sold at Bruun Rasmussen, Copenhagen, Denmark, 24/3/1979. Price: 1679 kr.
<i>Berlingske Tidende</i> , 11/2/1957	Unknown (auction)	75/200, Jorn/Debord	Sold at Drouot, Paris, 14/4/2004. Price: unknown
<i>Berlingske Tidende</i> , 11/2/1957	Unknown (auction)	79/200, Jorn/Debord	Sold at Drouot in Paris in 2008; cf. catalogue 20/6/08. Price: unknown
<i>Berlingske Tidende</i> , 11/2/1957	Library of Special Collections, Northwestern University, Illinois, USA	72/200, Jorn/Debord	Unknown
<i>Berlingske Tidende</i> , 11/2/1957	Private collection, Belgium	70/200 Jorn/Debord	Unknown
<i>Berlingske Tidende</i> , 12/2/1957	Beinecke Library, Yale	Not numbered,	Alice and Guy Debord's

	University, USA	Jorn/Debord	copy
<i>Berlingske Tidende</i> , 12/2/1957	Unknown (auction)	10/200, Jorn/Debord	Sold at Lauritz.com, 6/7/2011. Price: 13,000 kr.
<i>Berlingske Tidende</i> , 12/2/1957	Special Collections, University College London, UK	60/200, Jorn/Debord	Unknown
<i>Berlingske Tidende</i> , 12/2/1957	The State Library, Aarhus, Denmark	53/200, Jorn/Debord	Legal deposit
<i>Berlingske Tidende</i> , 12/2/1957	Éditions Allia, Paris, France, 1986	Apparently not	Unknown
<i>Berlingske Tidende</i> , 12/2/1957	Éditions Allia, Paris, France, 2001	Apparently not	Unknown
<i>Berlingske Tidende</i> , 12/2/1957	Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, USA	61/200, Jorn/Debord	Unknown
<i>B.T.</i> , 22/2/1957	Museum Jorn, Denmark	Not numbered, not signed	Donation by Jorn
<i>B.T.</i> , 22/2/1957	The collection of Walther König, Germany	Unknown	Unknown
<i>B.T.</i> , 1/3/1957	MIT Institute Archives and Special Collections, MA, USA	Xx/200 (unreadable)	Bought 30/9/1958 for US\$4,50
<i>B.T.</i> , 1/3/1957	Unknown (auction)	76/200, Jorn/Debord	Sold at Bruun Rasmussen, Copenhagen, Denmark, 2/9/2014. Price: 60,000 kr.
<i>Berlingske Tidende</i> , 5/5/1957	Unknown (auction)	8/200, Jorn/Debord	Sold at Bruun Rasmussen, Copenhagen, Denmark, 5/6/2012. Price: 46,000 kr.
<i>Berlingske Tidende</i> , 5/5/1957	Unknown	Numbered (exact numbering isn't mentioned), Jorn/Debord	Jørgen Nash's copy. A gift from Maud Grotte (?), 26/12/86. Sold at Librairie Lardanchet, Paris.
<i>Berlingske Tidende</i> , 6/5/1957	Unknown (auction)	41/200, Jorn/Debord	Sold at Bruun Rasmussen, Copenhagen, Denmark, 25/11/2014. Price: 55,000 kr. A gift from Jorn's brother Jørgen Nash to the critic Torben Brostrøm
<i>Berlingske Tidende</i> , 7/5/1957	The collection of Mehdi El Hajoui, USA	Not numbered, not signed	Sold from Kirkegaards Antikvariat, Copenhagen, in 2015. A gift from Jorn to his son Ole. It bears the inscription: "Til Ole/ fra Papa."
<i>Berlingske Tidende</i> , 8/5/1957	Stedelijk, Amsterdam, Netherlands	191/200, only Jorn	Unknown
<i>Berlingske Tidende</i> , 11/5/1957	Unknown (auction)	192/200,	Sold at Bruun Rasmussen,

		Jorn/Debord	Copenhagen, Denmark, 9/3/2010. Price: 32,000 kr.
<i>Berlingske Tidende</i> , 12/5/1957	Unknown (auction)	99/200, Jorn/Debord	Sold at Bruun Rasmussen, Copenhagen, Denmark, 11/4/2014. Price: 65,000 kr.
<i>Berlingske Tidende</i> , 12/5/1957	Special Collections and Preservation, Stony Brook, New York State University	Not numbered, not signed	Donation from The Lawrence Alloway Collection
<i>Berlingske Tidende</i> , 12/5/1957	Environmental Design Library, University of California, Berkeley, USA	Not numbered, not signed	Unknown
<i>Berlingske Tidende</i> , 13/5/1957	Avery Architectural and Fine Arts Library, Columbia University, New York City, USA	31/200, Jorn/Debord	Unknown
<i>Berlingske Tidende</i> , 21/5/1957	Private collection, Denmark	92/200, Jorn/Debord	Review copy for the Danish newspaper <i>Politiken</i> . Reviewed 27/7/1957
<i>Berlingske Tidende</i> , 7/6/1957	Unknown (auction)	24/200, Jorn/Debord	Sold at Bruun Rasmussen, Copenhagen, Denmark, 7/6/2009. Price: 26,000 kr.
<i>Berlingske Tidende</i> , 7/6/1957	Royal Library, Copenhagen, Denmark	Not numbered, not signed	Legal deposit in 1957; two copies, one of which has disappeared
<i>Berlingske Tidende</i> , 7/6/1957	The collection of Ceuleers & Van de Velde Booksellers, Antwerp, Belgium	24/200 Jorn/Debord	Unknown

Table 3. Additional covers of *Fin de Copenhague*

Unknown (<i>B.T.</i>)	Bibliothèque littéraire Jacques Doucet, Paris, France	98/200, Jorn/Debord	Bought in 2000
Unknown (<i>Berlingske Tidende</i>)	Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Pompidou, Paris, France	42/200, Jorn/Debord	Unknown
Unknown (<i>Berlingske Tidende</i>)	Bibliothèque nordique, Paris, France	66/200, Jorn/Debord	Unknown
Unknown (<i>B.T.</i>)	Unknown	Numbered (exact numbering isn't mentioned), Jorn/Debord	Sold at Librairie Lardanchet, Paris (cf. New York Book Fair catalogue, April 2013).