

## 2 The Bristol Years

This chapter retraces Banksy's beginnings as a graffiti writer and how he became a street artist. A graffiti writer writes his pseudonym, while a street artist creates visual messages on the street that might consist of more than just his name, but both work on an autonomous basis. In the context of the western world, this usually means that their works are created illegally.

Banksy, aka Robin Banks,<sup>1</sup> began painting graffiti and street art on the streets of his hometown of Bristol since 1989.<sup>2</sup> Banksy started tagging, i.e. writing his name on public walls with a pen or spray paint: “I never used to paint Barton Hill,” he recalls referring to a youth center in Bristol famous for its graffiti. “I was never involved in the Bristol scene of the 80s ‘cos I never really knew it was going on [...]. We just used to do crappy put-ups on the Southmead Road. [...] We just used to sniff glue and write shit really.”<sup>3</sup> It is not known what Banksy wrote on walls back then, or if his graffiti tag already had something to do with the pseudonym “Banksy,” or if it was a variation or precursor of it. The graffiti writer seemed not to have used his Banksy tag much before 1996.<sup>4</sup> It is not correct that Banksy “never” painted in Barton Hill, this notorious Bristol youth club that was the center of Bristol’s 1980s graffiti scene. A Banksy work, influenced by earlier and fellow-Bristolian writer and stencil pioneer Jody inspired stencil piece with a freehand BaNKSy signature, was painted in Barton Hill and dated to “early-mid 90s” in the *Children of the Can* book. This is the earliest date attributed to a signed “Banksy” work so far, apart from Banksy’s Pitbull Poodle, also painted in Barton Hill Youth Club, (miss-)dated by John Nation to “1991”. This year is very unlikely—as it got the stenciled post-1998 lower case Banksy tag. And Banksy always tried not to repeat himself and other stencils on walls of Pitbull Poodle are all from ca 2000/2001. So Fishbone Men could be from mid 1990s and therefore led to the title of this book as “1995–2005” although the first legal “show” of his work did not happen before Glastonbury 1997.<sup>5</sup>

1 See also Interview with Banksy in Bristol underground magazine *Gunfight* 29, March 16, 2000.

2 On his website he wrote in 2004: “Glamorising grime [sic] since 1989”. <https://web.archive.org/web/20040708060417/http://www.banksy.co.uk/menu.html>

3 Steve Beale: Banksy and his crappy put-ups, in: *Sleazeneration*, October 1998, p. 40.

4 The imprint to his retrospective catalog *Cut & Run* states “1996–2023”. In Steve Wright: *Home Sweet Home. Banksy’s Bristol*. Bath 2007, p. 30 [2016 edition, p. 36] his “first full color piece in St. Werburgh” is dated to 1996.

5 *Children of the Can* 2007, p. 132; photo uploaded by Graham 19.03.2011, <https://www.flickr.com/photos/grahamzzzz/5540697261/>; Q&A with Bristol Legend John Nation, 21.05.2015, <https://notbanksyforum.com/thread/605/bristol-legend-john-nation-answers>; See Pitbull poodle photo by Karen Morecroft from July 2001, <https://www.flickr.com/photos/breakbeat/3026352780/> (registration required); see also chapters *Rivington Street Show* (2000) and *Swiss Embassy* (2001).

As I have discussed elsewhere,<sup>6</sup> the inspiration for this alias seemed to have several roots: Punk, football and a comic book. For the usual 3–5 letter graffiti alias Banksy seems to be too long, but for a punk or football moniker it is just right. Banksy is a fan of local football team Bristol City,<sup>7</sup> they are also called The Robins. Before the street artist Banksy became known worldwide, everyone in England thought of “Banksy” as the famous British goalkeeper Gordon Banks, also alias Banksy. For a while, the street artist Banksy was a goalkeeper himself, for an ultra-left local Bristol team.<sup>8</sup> As an artist, Robin Banksy then also painted Batman’s assistant on a wall in Los Angeles, next to which he wrote “No More Heros”, the title of a punk song. Already in 1977, Robin Banks was a punk moniker for Robin Crocker who wrote much about The Clash in zines, inspired a Clash song and worked also as roadie for them. He actually did rob some banks.<sup>9</sup> Online audio recording database Discogs lists about 20 different artists called “Robin Banks”,<sup>10</sup> most were connected to punk. The first book of an author called Robin Banks (who seems to be the same person than the street artist<sup>11</sup>) was called „The Hardcore/Punk Guide to Christianity” (1999).<sup>12</sup> The graffiti writer Banksy lived in the US on and off in the 1990s.<sup>13</sup> Around 2000, the same Robin Banks also wrote several articles in the American punk fanzine *Inside Front*,<sup>14</sup> before he issued his second book, “Calvin and Hobbes: Guide to Daily Life” (2001),<sup>15</sup> an non-profit, unauthorized, commented bootleg edition of some strips from the original comic by Bill Watterson to emphasize their relevance as a “Guide to Daily Life”. The street artist

6 There may be also be personal connections to the clear name or hair color of a person behind Banksy. See also Ulrich Blanché: *Visueller Punkrock*. In: *Weltwoche*. #32, 11.08.2022, p. 80–81; Ulrich Blanché: *Banksy. Urban art in a Material World*. Marburg 2016, p. 205–230.

7 Banksy quoted for instance in Nige Tassel: *Graffiti Guerrilla Banksy*. In: *Venue Bristol*, #463, February 2000, p. 17.

8 See chapter 3.6.

9 Robin Banks articles in *ZigZag* magazine 1977–81, <https://www.rocksbackpages.com/Library/Writer/robin-banks/>; Robin Banks /Robin Crocker quoted in Dave Simpson: *Bet you think this song is about you*. In *The Guardian*, 13.12.2008, <https://www.theguardian.com/music/2008/dec/13/people-inspired-pop-songs-muses>

10 <https://www.discogs.com/de/search?q=%22Robin+Banks%22&type=all&type=all>

11 Hint by Cosmic. The handwriting in the early 2001 version is similar to Banksy, see <https://archive.org/details/CalvinAndHobbesGuideToDailyLife/page/n11/mode/1up>

12 Robin Banks: *The Hardcore/Punk Guide to Christianity*. AK Press, San Francisco 1999, info: <https://www.akuk.com/the-hardcore/punk-guide-to-christianity.html>; online here: <http://www.louisvillehardcore.com/hardcorepunk-guide-to-christianity/>

13 Boyd Hill: *The Enemy Within*. *Bristol’s Banksy bucks the system*, *Hip Hop Connection* 136, April 2000, p. 94.

14 *Inside Front*, #13, Atlanta 2000, p. 41–42, 93–94, [https://archive.org/details/inside\\_front\\_13/page/n93/mode/2up?q=+robin](https://archive.org/details/inside_front_13/page/n93/mode/2up?q=+robin); *Inside Front*, #14, Atlanta 2003, p. 4, 101 [uncredited illustrations], <https://archive.org/details/InsideFront142003>

15 Robin Banks (ed.): *Calvin and Hobbes: Guide to Daily Life*. Atlanta 2001, <https://archive.org/details/CalvinAndHobbesGuideToDailyLife/page/n11/mode/1up>

Banksy, who used mock-up guide books several times in his work,<sup>16</sup> might also be inspired to use the pseudonym Robin Banks/Banksy from a graphic novel /mock-up guide book called “The Artist. How to be Famous in the Art Business”<sup>17</sup>, illustrated by his fellow-Bristolian Joe Berger already in 1991. In 2006, Mike van Joel, the writer of that very comic book, wrote in an article about street art, when talking about street artist Banksy’s name: “Another report states it could be Robin (this has no connection whatsoever, of course with the 1991 graphic ‘novelette’ How to Be Famous in the An Business by Mike von Joel and Joe Berger whose protagonist is one Robin [robbing] Banks, referred to throughout as Banksy ...?).”<sup>18</sup> On the first illustrated page we are introduced to a soon-to-be neo-conceptual artist called “Robin Banks” referred to as “Banksy” two pages later. Like the street artist Banksy seven years later, also this fictional artist lived in London’s East End and was connected to Damien Hirst. He was not a graffiti writer or street artist, he rather made it big in the art world (or robbing banks) similar to Young British Artist Hirst, who was constantly in the media in the 1990s and who is mentioned explicitly in this graphic novel. The first 100 (real) copies of that book were also signed by a (fictional) Robin Banks.<sup>19</sup> When he got the opportunity to create a flyer for a sound system (see chapter 2.1), he began to grapple more with graffiti.<sup>20</sup>

Even before Banksy became known as Banksy, he was interested in graffiti. In *Wall and Piece*, Banksy explains how he switched to “street art,” as a broader discipline, from freehand spray-painted graffiti and stencils:

“When I was eighteen I spent one night trying to paint “LATE AGAIN” in big silver bubble letters on the side of a train. British transport police showed up and I got ripped to shreds running through a thorny bush ... I spent an hour hidden under a dumper truck with engine oil leaking all over me. As I lay there listening to the cops on the tracks I realized I had to cut my painting time in half or give up altogether. I was

16 See photos in Aldin Vaziri, *Off the Wall*, Flaunt Magazine, December 2002, p. 64; another fake guide book cover was illustrated in Steve Lazarides: *Capturing Banksy*. London 2019, p. 256. A different photo from the same session was published in *The Face* magazine, June/July 2001, p. 146-147.

17 Hint by Cosmic. Mike Von Joel, Joe Berger: *The Artist. How to Be Famous in the An Business*. London 1991, for 1993 edition see; <https://nal-vam.on.worldcat.org/search/detail/1008410067?queryString=no%3A1008410067>; see post by Jonathan Ross’s Gallery 286, 21.01.2019, <https://www.instagram.com/p/Bs5ZHC1FV5x/>

18 Mike von Joel: *Urbane Guerillas. Street Art, Graffiti and other Vandalism*. In: *State of Art Magazine*, January/February 2006, p. 4, <https://issuu.com/flowersgallery/docs/5-jan-feb>

19 See post by Jonathan Ross’s Gallery 286, 21.01.2019, <https://www.instagram.com/p/Bs5ZHC1FV5x/>

20 Tristan Manco: *Stencil Graffiti*, London 2002, p. 76. See also Interview with Banksy in *Gunfight* 29, March 16, 2000.

staring straight up at the stenciled plate on the bottom of a fuel tank when I realized I could just copy that style and make each letter three feet high.”<sup>21</sup>

With this eureka moment Banksy created an artist myth. For him, street art seems to be post-graffiti, something that comes from graffiti but goes beyond it. Spraying “big silver bubble letters,” he realized, is much more time-consuming than cutting out stencils, which can be quickly applied on-site and used multiple times—which is an advantage if the goal is to communicate a message. The very fact that Banksy and his pals did not write their name tags on the train in the story, but “Late Again,” a funny, slightly critical message, indicates that this was indeed his aim. Unlike an ego-centric “Banksy” tag intended only for the initiated members of the graffiti scene, the “Late Again” missive would have been accessible to any member of the general public. Banksy did, however, write only “Banksy” on several trains as well, on two photos he and/or his pals did use silver bubble letters.<sup>22</sup>

The above stencil heureka moment should not be taken literally in every aspect, but many authors did do that, for example Paul Gough.<sup>23</sup> Rather, it is like a sprayed stencil, a short summary in which contrasts are exaggerated, history is condensed and unnecessary things are omitted. In another example of this tendency of his, Banksy always makes himself out to be younger than he presumably is. He feebly admits in early interviews that he actually started spraying not in his teens, as he claims above, but at 21<sup>24</sup>, an age at which classic New York graffiti writers of the 1970s and ’80s retired. The first works attributed to Banksy appeared in Bristol in the mid-1990s.<sup>25</sup>

Today, Banksy is probably primarily known for his spray-painted stencil work. It seems, however, that Banksy didn’t start working with stencil from the moment of enlightenment mentioned above, as he might have his audience believe. Instead, from the very (known) beginning, he used stencils for details in his graffiti writing-style pieces, like the mid-’90s fishbone piece at the Barton Hill Youth Club in Bristol, for instance.<sup>26</sup> What is striking about these early pieces is that Banksy was already especially interested in placement, and preferred images to letters, which is not common for a graffiti *writer*. A burned-out car wreck with Banksy’s name on it “works” despite the poor quality of his early spraying work (see fig. 1).<sup>27</sup>

21 Banksy, *Wall & Piece*, p. 13.

22 For a photo see Felix Braun: *Children of the Can*, Bristol 2008, p. 61.

23 Paul Gough: *Banksy. The Bristol Legacy*. Bristol 2012, p. 138–139.

24 For a detailed version of Banksy’s beginnings as a person, see Ulrich Blanché: *Banksy. Urban Art in a Material world*, Marburg, Tectum, p. 205–221.

25 Steve Wright: *Banksy’s Bristol*, Bath 2007, p. 32, 60.

26 For a photo, see Steve Wright: *Banksy’s Bristol*, Bath 2007, p. 132; Banksy: *Cut & Run*. Exhibition Catalog, Glasgow 2023, p. 7.

27 For a different color photo see Banksy: *Cut & Run*. Exhibition catalog, Glasgow 2023, p. 20.



Fig. 1. Banksy piece on burned-out car wreck in a park in Bristol, ca. 1994–96. Source: Archive of the editor, formerly on Flickr.

He continued to practice, creating larger throw-ups as well as multi-coloured murals from 1996<sup>28</sup> onwards. At this point, his works were still illegal or semi-legal, meaning that he sometimes asked property owners for permission,<sup>29</sup> but they looked like illegal graffiti. Similar to the car wreck, Banksy's more technically skilful bubble lettering on the nightclub ship *Thekla* in the Bristol Harbor from 2003<sup>30</sup> is more about the location than the technical and artistic virtuosity of the sprayed tag. Banksy later refused this bubble-style writing when he sprayed "I hate this font."<sup>31</sup>

Steve Wright dates Banksy's first larger color graffiti mural back to 1996. In the photo, we see Banksy's stenciled nametag for the first time. Here, "Banksy" is written on an aircraft bomb, a reference to the graffiti term "to bomb," although "bombing" is actually the opposite of what Banksy does here. "To bomb" generally means to hit many surfaces in an area, and usually with simpler, monochrome timesaving tags and throw-ups. "To bomb" does *not* mean to paint lengthy, colorful, elaborate (master) pieces. Banksy does not take graffiti-style writing seriously; his approach is instead

28 For a photo, see Steve Wright: *Banksy's Bristol*, Bath 2007, p. 30.

29 In the case of *Slick On Brick*, Banksy seemed to have asked the owner. "The man who lived here before me knew Banksy. He used the garage as a workshop and let Banksy paint on the wall a year or so before I bought it." Anthony Joseph: Two-bedroom end-of-terrace house could be worth up to £1MILLION because of Banksy artwork you can't even see, *Daily Mail* 17. October 2017. <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-4988122/Two-bedroom-house-worth-1m-Banksy-art.html#ixzz55a6L9r6L>

30 For a photo, see Steve Wright: *Banksy's Bristol*, Bath 2007, p. 26, for a context shot see photo uploaded by banksy-prints.com on 6 June 2009. <https://www.flickr.com/photos/37259769@N06/3601672636>

31 *I Hate This Font*, spray-painted in Tottenham, London, May 2012, see: Martin Bull: *This is not a Photo Opportunity*. Oakland, CA, PM 2015, p. 113.

playful and narrative. Another bomb, with a burning fuse, holds a funny cartoonish figure, a character with an exploding head, in its hand. Banksy's lettering, which rises from an explosive cloud of smoke, is nigh illegible. Only an "S" is recognizable, but it seems likely that the lettering says "BANKS." In English-language culture, "BANG" is the cartoonish, onomatopoeic sound a firing gun makes, which might be related to a certain clear name often mentioned together with Banksy's identity.

By this time, Banksy had already left the bubble style of traditional graffiti behind and started to deal with highly fragmented letters reminiscent of shattered, bursting stone letters that are barely legible due to the tremendous energy effect: "Make It Rock or go home" is written under his 1997 "BANKS" lettering.<sup>32</sup> The style is rock as well, not hiphop. At the same time when the readability of Banksy's letters deliberately declined around 1997, his use of visuals and stencils increased and began to take over, as in another piece, which is often named after its location, "Albion Road" in Bristol. In this work, Banksy wrote in large, barely readable fragmented rock letters that he also transcribed legibly in a small caption: "New Forms."<sup>33</sup>

In 1997, Banks[y] became an official member of graffiti crew BAD APPLEZ. While his compatriots Pert/Lokey, Kato/Junk, Verse/Soker, Justa and Tes garnished their lettering with figures, Banksy, aka Robin Banks, conversely visualized his tag, which sounds like "robbin' banks." For example, in a collaborative piece, a "caution schoolchildren" pedestrian sign was converted into two children fleeing stenciled bank robbers.<sup>34</sup> BAD APPLEZ quickly renamed itself DRY BREADZ, DBZ for short. The DRY BREADZ came up with this name because they experienced a constant shortage of money, as evidenced by the lack of photo quality.<sup>35</sup>

After he became a member of DBZ, Banksy began two years of intense teamwork from 1997 to 1999, not only with other crewmembers, but also with unaffiliated graffiti friends. In these joint works, each artist usually paints a piece, but sometimes an overall concept is recognizable. In some cases, the work is a true artistic collaboration, whereas in other cases, some artists lend their manual skills to one artist's vision. Banksy seems to be responsible primarily for figures and imagery, such as animals and weapons, which points again to his later shift to "street art" from graffiti, i.e. lettering. His images are in many cases not just garnish to the lettering like traditional b-boy characters or Vaughn Bodé-like cartoon figures. They do not just stand there and support, they tell

32 Only visible in a photo on Kato's Flickr account. Kato was a member of the same crew like Banksy, the DBS (Dry Breads), see photo uploaded by Catobristol on 13 August 2007 <https://www.flickr.com/photos/catobristol/1107541111/sizes/o/>. An earlier, work-in-progress version is reproduced in Steve Wright: Banksy's Bristol, Bath 2007, p. 12.

33 For a photo, see Steve Wright: Banksy's Bristol, Bath 2007, p. 3. Another BBC News photo here: [http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/shared/spl/hi/pop\\_ups/07/uk\\_enl\\_1173789574/html/1.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/shared/spl/hi/pop_ups/07/uk_enl_1173789574/html/1.stm)

34 For a photo, see Felix Braun: Children of the Can, Bristol 2008, p. 133.

35 Felix Braun: Children of the Can, Bristol 2008, p. 117.



a story on their own: “It’s got a have a beginning, a middle and an end.”<sup>36</sup> In a way, the lettering became the background for Banksy’s imagery, not vice versa.

In one example, Banksy shares the wall with colleagues Acer, Dicy (Justin McCarthy) and Paris.<sup>37</sup> This work, like the one on Albion Road, is dated “1997”. Easily distinguishable stencils seen here, like the one of a rat with camera, and a winged tractor, emerge as illustrations in other contexts as well. At this point, Banksy was still in the process of finding a name; he spray-painted “BANKS” in large letters, and with a small stencil he painted “Banksy” five times. The photo was taken with a low-quality photo camera and no better copy seemed to exist. The image is therefore a little blurry. The early “Banksy” tags of this time are written with a capital “A” in “Banksy,” as opposed to later stencil tags where he used a small “a.”

After 1999, the artist calls himself primarily “Banksy.” Before that, he tried out several variations of his long pseudonym “Robin Banks,”<sup>38</sup> for example “Robin Banx”<sup>39</sup> and “Robin Bankz.”<sup>40</sup> In the credits of a 1999 video documenting a commissioned indoor mural he is listed as “Robin Street-Secret.”<sup>41</sup>

Banksy’s contemporaries primarily focused on the style of the lettering. Banksy spent long periods of time working on legal or semi-legal large-sized pictorial murals. Even in the lettering of his collaborative work, the name of a writer was often not central, though that would have been typical for graffiti writing. Instead, a slogan or a catch-term, which was often chosen to suit a location, was at the center of attention, as with the mentioned “Late Again”.

Parallel to his work as a freehand graffiti tagger then graffiti muralist (the tagger Banksy seems not to be recorded on photographs), Banksy started to put up stencils,

36 Banksy quoted by Steve Beale: Banksy and his crappy put-ups, in: Sleazeration, October 1998, p. 40.

37 Photo uploaded by Acer One on 8 June 2012 <https://www.Flickr.com/photos/acertcf/7166264821/in/pool-651750@N23/>, see also photo uploaded by Catobristol on 13 August 2007 <https://www.Flickr.com/photos/catobristol/1107541111/sizes/o/> An earlier, work-in-progress version is reproduced in Steve Wright: Banksy’s Bristol, Bath 2007, p. 12.

38 “Robin Banks (Banksy)” in: Ric Blackshaw, Liz Farrelly: Scrawl: Dirty Graphics and Strange Characters. Published May 27 or even in March, London 1999. Unpaged.

39 Reproduced in Felix Braun: Children of the Can, Bristol 2008, p. 133: above “Robin Banx DBZ”, below: “Banks” in a sketch called “why being popular...”

40 In the shout-outs (little inscriptions to a larger graffiti piece) writer TES called his fellow DBZ crew member Banksy “Bankz”, as a mock or as a variation, or referring to Banksy actually calling himself that for some time. Photo taken by Walt Jacobso in 1999, Stapleton Rd., Bristol. See photo uploaded by Walt Jabsco on 1 October 2006 <https://www.Flickr.com/photos/waltjabsco/257264934/>

41 iContact Video Network: Southmead Slamming, ‘an excellent centre’ (dir. Dave Greenhalgh), Bristol 1999, 11:51 min. [TC 10:26min.], uploaded on Youtube by Ben Edwards as Southmead Slamming (featuring Banksy)—How sport was used to solve drugs problems on 12 Aug 2010 <https://youtu.be/qzPmu-uwICo?t=626>

as early as 1992 to 1994<sup>42</sup> or 1996/97<sup>43</sup>, according to others. He did so not only as a detail, but also as independent stencil works since 1997, according to himself. In 1998 he stated further: “The first [...] [stencil, the editor] I did was Precision Bombing. The one with these guys in suits and the target.”<sup>44</sup> The title still refers to graffiti lingo (“bombing”), but also the concept of guerrilla art (“target”, precision bombing”), and the more precise tool of the stencil that is able to execute more details, i.e. other kinds of work that a graffiti bomber could with his/her spray can. 25 years later Banksy explained his first (two) stencils in more detail: “1997 [...] Bristol. I’d been stencilling ants instead of writing my name as a tag [...] when one day I came across an ad in the back of the Mirror for a security company. Something about it appealed to me so I went to the library, enlarged it on the photocopier, added the motto ‘Easton Hit Squad’ and spent a few weeks blasting my neighbourhood with it.”<sup>45</sup>

A late example of Banksy’s freehand graffiti work in Bristol is “Slick on Brick”, that Banksy painted in 65 Bannerman Rd., Easton, Bristol, approximately in September 1999,<sup>46</sup> before he moved to London, quit freehand graffiti and switched mostly to stencils. The image of a monkey jumping on a detonator combines the slippery (and erotic-suggestive) of his banana-bomb, which is “slick”, with the other notion of “slick” as clever or skilful. Banksy, the monkey-bomber, i.e. graffiti writer, stated he’s “slick on brick”. Banksy cut this motif as a stencil later.

42 Steve Wright: *Home Sweet Home. Banksy’s Bristol*. Bath 2007, p. 32, 60, 63.

43 Fellow Bristolian Tristan Manco, interested in stencil graffiti since 1986 and a close observer of graffiti in Bristol saw his first Banksy, a CCTV rat in 1996 or 1997. On 04.02.2020, Banksy photographer Steven Lazarides stated on Instagram about “Precision Bombing”: “Super early Banksy piece circa 1997”, [https://www.instagram.com/p/B8JY94iFX\\_u/](https://www.instagram.com/p/B8JY94iFX_u/)

44 Banksy quoted by Steve Beale: *Banksy and his crappy put-ups*, in: *Sleazeration*, October 1998, p. 42.

45 Banksy: *Cut & Run*. Exhibition catalog, Glasgow 2023, p. 10.

46 Just after the Severnshed exhibition Banksy released a set of 15 in A4 and A3 size photographs (edition of 50), this is A3, including title, date and location. For another photo, see Steve Wright: *Banksy’s Bristol*, Bath 2007, p. 59, see also Anthony Joseph: *Two-bedroom end-of-terrace house could be worth up to £1MILLION because of Banksy artwork you can’t even see*. Daily Mail Online, 17.October 2017. <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-4988122/Two-bedroom-house-worth-1m-Banksy-art.html#ixzz55a6L9r6L>



## 2.1 1992 Banksy's Start

“[Banksy] left his native Bristol in 1993 to hang out with Nottingham’s DIY free party posse, taking his baptism by repetitive beats at the now legendary Castlemorton Common free festival [in 1992, editor’s note]. He got into drawing when asked to do a flyer, and from there into graffiti.”<sup>47</sup> 30 years after the festival Banksy stated: “Castle Morton was a pivotal moment in my life. [...] It was the culmination of the free party scene I’ve been involved in and every significant sound system in the country showed up. The police were nowhere to be seen - but unfortunately neither was I. [...] Castle Morton was a turning point for me [...]. After that I vowed never to miss my moment again.”<sup>48</sup>

Banksy’s early visual work was mostly related to music promotion. From the start, Banksy let himself be promoted not as a “classical” contemporary artist but like a DJ who happened to paint instead of doing music: One of his first managers was “Stephen Earl whose agency, Timebomb, represents DJs and the graffiti artist Banksy.”<sup>49</sup> Before that, Bristol barber Paul Kelly helped Banksy: “I had some experience of managing a few local bands when I wasn’t cutting hair,” he says. “And I was friends with the lads from Massive Attack and Portishead. They started telling me that Banksy needed a bit of management, and I said I was happy to give it a go [...]”<sup>50</sup> “Kelly [was, editor’s note] [...] putting on fledgling graffiti artist Banksy’s first show, as a DJ, and as a musician.”<sup>51</sup> To better understand Banksy’s work after 2000, it is important to look at his roots, which go beyond the usual narrative: Banksy did hip hop graffiti in Bristol, than street art with stencils and became famous. Mitchell’s quote from 2000 when he interviewed Banksy proves the variety of subculture and musical influences Banksy got. Besides hip-hop, ska, dub and punk, Banksy was also part of the British rave scene of

47 Si Mitchell: Banksy. Painting And Decorating. In: Level magazine, issue 08, June/July 2000, p. 66.

48 Banksy quote in the banksy youth room in his 2023 retrospective in Glasgow, photo taken 20.08.2023, <https://www.facebook.com/photo/?fbid=10159093324961097&set=oa.980486106531725>

49 Kate Worsley: Living Review Design: We can make it—Fancy starting your own creative business? Don’t want to run it from the spare bedroom? You are not alone, Independent on Sunday, 6 October 2002.

50 From Breaking Banksy to Sofa Surfing, This is Bristol: 03.04.2010, <https://web.archive.org/web/20100407204608/www.thisisbristol.co.uk/homepage/breaking-banksy-sofa-surfing/article-1967711-detail/article.html>

51 Mark Gould: Pictures by homeless people rub frames with photography greats. The Guardian, 10.03.2010, [https://amp.theguardian.com/society/2010/mar/10/homeless-photography-exhibition-royal-diptych?fbclid=IwAR3vkNBZ43oXHKGXUdLoVaoW8Q2XiQ6FlmHWq2Hs1\\_gLRVTs-XVVgIWYDpQ](https://amp.theguardian.com/society/2010/mar/10/homeless-photography-exhibition-royal-diptych?fbclid=IwAR3vkNBZ43oXHKGXUdLoVaoW8Q2XiQ6FlmHWq2Hs1_gLRVTs-XVVgIWYDpQ)

the 1990s,<sup>52</sup> in his own words in 1998: “I’m more of your jump-up drum n’ bass boy really.”<sup>53</sup> Banksy, however was not just partying and consuming a variety of music in the 1990s. What he did was actively helping to promote club nights, and he did not just design a few flyers for a particular soundsystem, Babble in Leicester. Banksy stated repeatedly he started his career selling fake band posters after concerts. Like graffiti this was an illegal visual activity and, like his music flyers, strongly connected to (the visual side of) music.<sup>54</sup>

But how did Banksy get to Leicester and when did he start? His way went from Bristol over Nottingham to Leicester. In Manco’s book “Stencil graffiti” is stated, Banksy “was involved in the great aerosol boom of the late 1980s. Banksy was asked to design flyers for a sound system after the printer went on holiday.”<sup>55</sup> Banksy, however, seemed to have written this text himself to disguise his background. This would explain the odd start of the Banksy text in “Stencil Graffiti”. Nowhere else in the bio section Manco started with the year of birth or what the artist’s parents’ jobs. This text seems to be a mock up on artist biographies—nevertheless quoted by many for the next decades. According to fellow writers, Banksy did not start writing graffiti before the early to mid 1990s.<sup>56</sup> Manco stated he saw his first Banksy stencil, a CCTV rucksack rat in 1996 or 1997.<sup>57</sup> In a 2000 interview with art fanzine *Gunfight29* writer James<sup>58</sup> Lucas, Banksy stated: “I [...]didn’t really start making pictures until I was about, nineteen [...], and I had to make flyers for my mate who was doing a club night.”<sup>59</sup> Following Mitchell and Lucas, I assume Banksy started graphic design in 1993, there are

52 BBC News: Banksy’s Silent Majority fetches more than £445k in Paris, 01.06.2015. <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-bristol-32955713>

53 Banksy quoted in Steve Beale: Banksy and his crappy put-ups, in: *Sleazeration*, October 1998, p. 40. Drum ‘n’ Bass is electronic music that stems from jungle, techno, dub, reggae, fusion, industrial, electronica, breakbeat and avant-funk.

54 Banksy quoted in Nathalie Fraser: Agitateur surprise. In *Numéro* magazine, No. 41, March 2003, p. 102; “The thing is, I was a bootlegger for three years so I don’t really have a leg to stand on.” That was what was so strange about working with Blur, he says. “It was weird because I must have worked a good dozen Blur shows in the past.” Did he tell them? “Not until well into the job. I said I’ve never been inside a Blur gig, because I was with five scallies in the car park banging out posters and T-shirts of you lot.” Banksy quoted in Simon Hattenstone: Something to spray. In: *The Guardian*, 17.07.2003, <https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2003/jul/17/art.artsfeatures>

55 Tristan Manco: *Stencil Graffiti*, London 2002, p. 76.

56 Claudia Joseph: Graffiti artist Banksy unmasked ... as a former public schoolboy from middle-class suburbia. *Daily Mail* online, 12. July 2008.

57 Tristan Manco Zoom interview with the author, 4.11.20.

58 Matthew Carey Simos: My work sits somewhere between the real and the fantastical..., May 26, 2017 <https://probablyprints.com/page/3/>

59 [James] Lucas, [Trevor Jackson]: [alias The Boy Lucas]: Banksy [Interview]. In: [gratis magazine] *Gunfight 29*. No. 3. 2000. Unpagged.

rumors he did not finish studying art at Leicester Polytechnic around that time.<sup>60</sup> 1993 and 1994,<sup>61</sup> a person, who is often assumed to be Banksy, designed two music covers for Bristol ska band Mother Samosa. In the first Mother Samosa cassette, this person is credited for the design with his full name.<sup>62</sup> The drawings of a clown and aggressive animals bear great stylistic and motivic similarities to Banksy's "Drawing Elephant" in *Knowledge Magazine* (1999), Banksy's murals in the Carton Arms Hotel (1999), a book cover Banksy made for Mike Tyler's book "Park(ing lot)"<sup>63</sup> (2000) and a logo he designed for Dub reggae collective Vibronics latest in 1998:<sup>64</sup> "Steve Gibbs (aka Steve Vibronics) [...] told a story about how in the mid to late 1990s an artist called Robin designed the Vibronics logo, and that this same Robin turned out to be the guy who became the famous artist Banksy."<sup>65</sup>

According to Beale, Banksy went to college in Nottingham.<sup>66</sup> "Nottingham's DIY free party posse"<sup>67</sup> with whom Banksy hung out with in 1993, is identical with the so-called DiY [Do it Yourself] collective from Nottingham, founded in November of 1989, one of Britain's first house music sound systems: "They started throwing house parties around the city's inner city suburbs, graduating quickly to warehouse break-ins, before their serendipitous encounter with the travellers at Big Glasto's Little Brother

60 UAA member Rubberneck, 28 October 2019: "apparently RG did fine art at the Poly but didn't finish lolz and most of his graffiti would've been around the old railway scrapyard and canal which is long gone".

61 Oh My God It's Cheeky Clown, cassette, cd, 1993; The Fairground of Fear, cassette, 1994; <https://recordart.net/2020/10/03/mother-samosa-a-ska-band-from-bristol/>

62 Krishan Davis: Is this a pre-Banksy, Banksy? Bristol Post, 9 July 2018 <https://www.bristolpost.co.uk/news/bristol-news/pre-banksy-banksy-original-robin-1765704>, see also <https://urbanartassociation.com/thread/110932/obscure-banksy-pieces?page=33>

63 Banksy credited New York City poet and musician Mike Tyler in Wall and Piece (p. 206). They presumably met at some point between 1994 to 2002 when Tyler was the poet-in-residence at the artist decorated Carlton Arms Hotel in New York City where Banksy lived and worked as well. Banksy quoted for instance Tyler's "only the ridiculous survive" and much later "Park(ing lot)", <https://www.poetrymiketyler.com/tpl>

64 See CD cover of "Jah Free greets Vibronics—Outernational Dub Convention Vol.1", 1998, <https://www.discogs.com/de/master/346046-Jah-Free-greets-Vibronics-Outernational-Dub-Convention-Vol1>; "[...] in the early 90s [...] [Banksy] relocated to Leicester. Whilst there he was active in the thriving dub scene and through a mutual friend was asked by Steve Gibbs founder of the reggae collective Vibronics to design a logo for the band. Banksy painted the image above and Vibronics have used it as their logo ever since." Posted by Instagram user banksyarchive, 07.11.2020, <https://www.instagram.com/p/CHFFAmCFgzN/>

65 Richard Forrest: Banksy's art on record. Mother Samosa—A Ska Band From Bristol. 3 October 2020, <https://recordart.net/2020/10/03/mother-samosa-a-ska-band-from-bristol/>; Positive Thursdays episode 633—Sound System DNA—Vibronics—Leicester, podcast, 19 July 2018, [https://www.mixcloud.com/Positive\\_Thursdays/positive-thursdays-episode-633-sound-system-dna-vibronics-leicester-19th-july-2018/](https://www.mixcloud.com/Positive_Thursdays/positive-thursdays-episode-633-sound-system-dna-vibronics-leicester-19th-july-2018/)

66 Steve Beale: Banksy and his crappy put-ups, in: Sleazation, October 1998, p. 40.

67 Si Mitchell: Painting and Decorating. LEVEL magazine, issue 08, June/July 2000, p. 66.

the following summer.”<sup>68</sup> DiY founding member Harry stated: “Our aim was always to take club music to the fields and the attitude of the fields to the clubs. We were very zealous about the ‘free’ principle as applied to festivals and parties. No start or finish time, no fences, no security. No rip-off, basically.”<sup>69</sup> Banksy still tries to work according to these “free” DIY principles in 2023. From 1994 latest, both soundsystems, DiY and the mentioned Babble, played together on several occasions at least until 2000. In his 2023 retrospective, Banksy hung a red DIY party flyer from Friday, Juli 1st [1994] on the wall of his recreated youth bedroom when he showed his roots and early inspiration. The background is a UK map outline with loudspeakers all over it, similar to the illustrations Babble used later. And Banksy learned, when he did flyers for Babble, the tricks of the trade of organizing events that were not just about one thing—music or later: art—but an experience for all senses. Quite a couple of flyers for Babble, a similar sound system from Leicester (where Banksy maybe studied) were attributed to Banksy:<sup>70</sup> “Back in 1993 a small group of students from Leicester started babble collective sound system, inspired by the likes of [...] legendary midlands deep house proponents DiY. [...] Babble has always been run as a non-profit making organization, with any proceeds from nights going towards repayment of the original loans, maintenance of equipment and [...] acquisition of new sound and lighting equipment used to enhance the nights.”<sup>71</sup>

We are on shaky grounds when it comes to attribution, so we have to conduct a circumstantial trial. On some flyers for Babble events since 1994, we find cartoon-like characters that bear very obvious stylistic similarities with his Mother Samosa works, Banksy’s “Drawing Elephant” in *Knowledge Magazine* (1999) and his murals at the Carton Arms Hotel (1999). Emma, an ex-girlfriend of Banksy, gave six Banksy objects to an unauthorized Banksy exhibition in Manchester in 2022, which he created when they were together between 1994 and 1998,<sup>72</sup> among them also a print sheet on fabric

68 Scott Oliver: The Raving Crew Who Were Named ‘The Most Dangerous People in the UK’. Nottingham’s DiY collective had a vision for a new society, *Vice*, 20.08.2014 [https://www.vice.com/en\\_uk/article/xd38mq/diy-25th-anniversary-scott-oliver-125](https://www.vice.com/en_uk/article/xd38mq/diy-25th-anniversary-scott-oliver-125)

69 Scott Oliver: The Raving Crew Who Were Named ‘The Most Dangerous People in the UK’. Nottingham’s DiY collective had a vision for a new society, 20.08.2014 [https://www.vice.com/en\\_uk/article/xd38mq/diy-25th-anniversary-scott-oliver-125](https://www.vice.com/en_uk/article/xd38mq/diy-25th-anniversary-scott-oliver-125)

70 UAA member Rubberneck, 28 October 2019: “There are a few rave flyers for the Babble sound system in Leicester to be hunted down.. apparently RG did fine art at the Poly but didn’t finish lolz[...]”; <https://urbanartassociation.com/post/1875074/thread>; Banksy Archive, 04 April 2022, [https://www.instagram.com/p/CcGW\\_2HFtyQ/?igshid=MDJmNzVkJmY%3D](https://www.instagram.com/p/CcGW_2HFtyQ/?igshid=MDJmNzVkJmY%3D); Instagram user Banksy Archive illustrated a detail of a scan of a Babble flyer, not visible on this scan was that it was from Friday, 23rd February [1996] when Babble played at Starlight 2001 in Wharf Street South Leicester.

71 Babble.org.uk: <http://www.babble.org.uk/about.html>

72 BBC News [Manchester]: Banksy: Unseen early works given public debut at Salford show. 21 October 2022, <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-manchester-63327012>

of a Babble flyer from Friday, 10 March [1995]. There seemed to be other Babble flyers from the same year that were printed on fabric, not on paper. So Banksy's first works on canvas were extravagant party flyers. A rocket Banksy used in one of those objects on display in Manchester, a birthday card,<sup>73</sup> appeared also in the Carlton Arms Hotel room and in a Babble flyer from 1995. An elephant flying on a missile on another one of those gifts to Emma is very similar to Banksy's later monkey on a missile and Banksy's Heavy Weaponary.<sup>74</sup> An (uncredited) artwork with a frog in the same visual freehand early Banksy style, used as a stage backdrop,<sup>75</sup> presumably from the mid-1990s, was on Babble's Instagram account around the time when the Emma gifts appeared in the Manchester show.<sup>76</sup> It already appeared on Babble flyers from 1995. Since 2018, Babble used a similar frog motif on a stage backdrop as cover image on Facebook<sup>77</sup> that already appeared on a Babble flyer from 1996.<sup>78</sup> Flickr user Andy Spanners tagged a color photocopy he stated he got from Banksy in 1996 with "Babble Soundsystem".<sup>79</sup> Other gifts from Banksy to Spanners were birthday cards and cartoons,<sup>80</sup> some dated to 1996 or 1997.<sup>81</sup> In both Banksy painted also a spanner (the tool). A DJ called "(Andy) Spanners" appeared as part of Babble on flyers at least from 1995 until 2000. A Babble party as late as February 28, 2003 listed a "Banksy" also as a DJ,<sup>82</sup> it is up for debate, if an occasional Babble DJ called Robbin' (10.11.1995) or "ringmaster Rob G. performance poet" (06.04.unknown year) was also Robin Banksy.

Banksy learned via designing flyers also how to enhance an event via spectacle elements and how to choreographe performances: "all the usuall babble rubble plus outside in the courtyard more music more p.a, food, and fire jugglers" (08.07.1994); "plus jugglers, fire and walkabout weirdos" (23.01.1997); "Chunckie beats from a boomin'

73 For a photo see BBC News [Manchester]: Banksy: Unseen early works given public debut at Salford show. 21 October 2022, <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-manchester-63327012>

74 For a photo see BBC News [Manchester]: Banksy: Unseen early works given public debut at Salford show. 21 October 2022, <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-manchester-63327012>

75 Photo on babble's facebook page, 19. November 2019, <https://www.facebook.com/babblesoundsystem/photos/pb.100055363537869.-2207520000./981228975572559/?type=3>

76 Babblesoundsystem, 19 October 2022, <https://www.instagram.com/p/Cj5QizzM1IU/?hl=de>

77 Babblesoundsystem, 25 October 2018, <https://www.facebook.com/babblesoundsystem/photos/pb.100055363537869.-2207520000./715446948817431/?type=3>; <https://www.facebook.com/babblesoundsystem/photos/pb.100055363537869.-2207520000./912698385758952/?type=3>

78 Front of a Babble Collective Sound System flyer, 23rd August [1996]. See also front of two flyers, Friday 28 November [1997] and Friday 3rd October [1997]. All three ones did advertise club nights at The White Room, 28 Newarke Street, Leicester.

79 Andy Spanners, 08 March 2008, <https://www.flickr.com/photos/andyspanners/2343083813>

80 Andy Spanners, 03 April 2008, <https://www.flickr.com/photos/andyspanners/2385458009>; <https://www.flickr.com/photos/andyspanners/2385458007>; <https://www.flickr.com/photos/andyspanners/2385458005>; <https://www.flickr.com/photos/andyspanners/2385458003>

81 Andy Spanners, 15 March 2008, <https://www.flickr.com/photos/andyspanners/2337346118>; 18 March 2008, <https://www.flickr.com/photos/andyspanners/2343918072>

82 <https://web.archive.org/web/20030216032356/http://www.babble.org.uk/>

system, lights and lunatic décor” (15.12.1995); “circus workshops, video and slide shows, veggie vegan food” (11.03.1995).

Like with his graffiti and later with his street art, Banksy’s music flyers combined images, often (animal) figures with similar roles like figural characters in style writing graffiti, in brand logos or mascots in adverts. Like DiY or Babble, Banksy’s visual works use cheap, illegal do-it-yourself methods popularized by punk and the free party scene to promote an (initially) noncommercial or consumption-critical, political message in a fun and playful way. Many slogans on Babble flyers from the 1990s bear such messages which anticipate Banksy’s later witty, pun-heavy, political to the point slogans:

“Kickin’ on babble” (27.03.1994), “sounds for slackers” (09.09.1994); “slackers sound system” (30.09.1994), “Herbal Gurgle” (name of a regular babble club night in 1994/95), “pumping party posse” (14.10.1994), “positive party people” (23.12.1994), “a night of slow motion flotation” (Sept./Oct. 1994), “no dress or lifestyle restrictions” (23.08.1996), “a freaky festival of fumpin’ fat house” (08.12.1994) “homegrown house happiness” (23.05.1995), “a stomping slice of squidly acid house” (02.06.1995), “deepest beats comfiest house” (28.07.1995), “strictly positive vibes—dress to floresce” (28.04.1995), “for losers, groovers, boozers & abusers” (14.03.1997), super strength house” (18.04.1997)

Many flyers had also a political message against UK criminal justice bill/act:

“Chill the Bill / benefit against the ciminal justice bill” (19.08.1994), “support & survive, anti criminal justice act benefit” (26.05.1995), “stop criminal justice ... act!” (27.10.1995).

The audience of graffiti on the street and the ones Babble tried to catch with their flyers was a similar one. They both had to get it in very short time or they would just drop the flyer or look away. Banksy’s art shows and early exhibitions were organized like illegal raves or punk concerts, and attracted a similar audience, for example, people who might go to Glastonbury. Banksy’s early work is an amalgam of DIY inspired by punk, hip-hop and free party house elements,<sup>83</sup> visually, but also concerning attitude, organisation, performance and choreography: “It’s being fluffy in a militant way.”<sup>84</sup>

83 About the similarities of these scenes see Torsten Gross: Fast schon marxistisch. Der deutsche Techno-Pionier und DJ Westbam über Musik, Utopien, den ewigen kulturellen Niedergang – und Mozart. *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 3 April 2019, p. 10.

84 Si Mitchell: Banksy. Painting and decorating. *LEVEL magazine*, issue 08, June/July 2000, p. 68.



## 2.2 1997 (27–29 Jun.) Glastonbury, First Commissioned Work With Inkie, Etc.

“I’ve made a bunch of work at Glastonbury over the years—I don’t think the country has a better art gallery. [...] There are lots of things to love about the Festival, but I especially enjoy how it throws mud in the eye of common sense and market forces.”<sup>85</sup>

Starting in 1997, Banksy, together with other writers, spray-painted works at music festivals and youth clubs, as evidenced for the first time in 1997 at the Glastonbury Festival, a popular arts festival not too far from Banksy’s hometown of Bristol, where, together with others, he designed the inside of a dance tent, “possibly it was the dance/west holt stage tent”<sup>86</sup>. One of the large works on a plywood wall was called “Devious Nature” and both were executed by Banksy with Inkie (Tom Bingle), Dicy (Justin MacCarthy), Ekoe, Feek (Damien Neary) and Paris (Graham Dews).<sup>87</sup> Inkie was born in 1969 or 1970 and has been active in the graffiti scene since 1983.<sup>88</sup> As Inkie recalls, a young Banksy approached him: “The turning point for me was when Banksy was painting the shutters of Rollermania [skate shop], and I walked past and he invited me to go and paint at Glastonbury Festival.”<sup>89</sup> Banksy’s very first Glastonbury work was completed on two scaffolding walls, each about ten meters long and about five meters high.<sup>90</sup> They were sprayed freehanded and the image part has great stylistic similarities with the motives that Banksy sprayed in New York at the Carlton Arms Hotel in 1999.

There are only a few low quality photographs of “Devious Nature” known.<sup>91</sup> They depict a hilly green countryside and blue sky. In the foreground of the first photograph,

85 Michael Eavis/Emily Eavis: *Glastonbury 50*. London 2019, p. 188.

86 Jesse Zuefle posted this in the Facebook group “BANKSY Locations, News & Information”, 02.05.2021, <https://www.facebook.com/photo/?fbid=10158129761800205&set=oa.1049626268897835>

87 See two photos both uploaded by Melfleasance on 22 April 2008 <https://www.Flickr.com/photos/24387752@No7/2435095574/in/pool-651750@N23/> and <https://www.Flickr.com/photos/24387752@No7/2434279089/in/pool-651750@N23/>, see also Felix Braun: *Children of the Can*, p. 163, 183, 222 and Ric Blackshaw/Liz Farrelly: *Street Art*. Hove 2008, p. 79.

88 Roger Hicks: *The airbrushing book: the handbook for all airbrush users*. Broadcast 1998, p. 156.

89 Inkie in Felix Braun: *Children of the Can*, p. 56.

90 Dicy and Feek retrospectively described the length of the panel quite differently. See Felix Braun: *Children of the Can*, p. 163, 183. Dicy and Feek retrospectively described the length of the panel quite differently.

91 Bristolgraffiti: *Glastonbury Pieces Over the Years...*, 2008. <https://bristolgraffiti.wordpress.com/2008/04/20/glastonbury-pieces-over-the-years/> and Braun, F., 2012. *Children of the Can*. *Bristol Graffiti and Street Art*, Bristol, p. 107 and 138. Besides the already mentioned ones see another photo posted by Jesse Zuefle in the Facebook group “BANKSY Locations, News & Information”, 02.05.2021, <https://www.facebook.com/photo/?fbid=10158129761785205>

a big white monster looks at the viewer directly and reaches out with its hands. The red graffiti lettering was probably designed by Ekoe, and grows out of a kind of explosion crater. In the background, chickens flee from an oversized paw that emerges from the back of the hill or from armed blue-uniformed men, which are visible in the background under a highway bridge. They are wearing orange helmets or hats and are standing under a motorway flyover along which cars are driving. Based on style alone, it can be concluded that the pictorial part was done or conceptualized by Banksy; it is humorous and entertaining, derives from style writing graffiti, and is almost childlike in terms of subject matter, color design and execution.

Four other photographs document the other wall, which was one part grey wild style writing with rocks, fire and grey flowers, one part (Banksy) illustration. In the latter, a bull or cow wearing safety goggles and a nose ring is racing down the hill on a tractor. It crashes through a brown fence. In front of the tractor is a fleeing goat. Large orange-blue flowers and a fly agaric are depicted on the grass. Three signs are illustrated to the right of the tractor: the dark blue sign shows a situation at a shooting gallery with four yellow ducks and a white figure in the center. The light blue sign shows two brown bottles with dark labels with three white Xs reminiscent of bottles of poison. Furthermore, the rear bottle has fallen over. The third sign in a red frame illustrates a rabbit, which adopts the same body posture as the bull/cow on the tractor. It activates a firing box, similar to Banksy's later monkey detonator stencil. Above are early parachute cows.

Ellsworth-Jones describes the work as “a cartoon of Michael Eavis, who runs Glastonbury, on his tractor being chased by a herd of cows.”<sup>92</sup> The depicted cows, chickens, and goat are a reference to the farm-like festival location and are in a tumult that causes chaos. Therefore, in the second photo we again see a meadow landscape, whose rest is disturbed by noise, appropriate for the dance tent. In the three landscape-oriented frames, three close-ups are inserted: first, plastic ducks on sticks with targets like at the fair, suitable for the festival atmosphere, second, poison bottles, perhaps a reference to drug consumption at festivals and third, a hare that is operating a bomb detonator, which humorously illustrates the explosive energy and loud volume of a dance event.

&set=oa.1049626268897835 and from the same group, posted by Jay Tomkins, 21.01.2021, <https://www.facebook.com/photo/?fbid=10157392622556097&set=pcb.898059237690326>  
92 Ellsworth-Jones, W., 2012. Banksy. *The Man Behind the Wall*, London, p. 67.

## 2.3 1998 (26–28 Jun.) Glastonbury and Other Festivals

In 1998, Banksy worked again with Inkie, Dicy, Feek and Paris on a dance tent for Glastonbury where they “did the stage decor.”<sup>93</sup> The piece depicts two speakers that are connected by a futuristic looking fabric. “KER-CHINK-KER-LICK-KA-BOOMF” can be read next to and above the speakers. Yellow cartridge cases are falling from the letters “KER”. In the middle, a triangular black-yellow warning sign, a reference to official electricity warning signs can be seen. It shows a jumping or dancing cow and lightning. The onomatopoeic inscription and the imagery refer to the electronic music played in the dance tent.

In contrast to the previous year, Banksy et al react to the techno played in the dance tent rather than the nature that surrounds it, although the electrified cow humorously reminds the audience of the location. The inscription reflects the energy and loudness of a festival dance tent. In contrast to the previous year, there is no recognizable graffiti name lettering in this section. The clean work focuses primarily on the pictorial part and the visualization of the atmosphere.

In the same year or in 1999,<sup>94</sup> Banksy—together with Inkie and Lokey—designed one side of an almost 10-meter-long lorry, a work commonly referred to as “Silent Majority”,<sup>95</sup> recalling Richard Nixon’s infamous speech of the same name from 1969. The lorry stood at the right hand side of the Dance Stage as part of the Hiphop Phenomenon event.<sup>96</sup> It can be assumed that Banksy sprayed the imagery, while Inkie did

93 Digard Auction Catalogue: XXIe Art Contemporain Urbain, Paris 2015, 45. See also <https://www.Flickr.com/photos/warholian/6048710027/> and Wright, S., Jones, R., 2016. Banksy’s Bristol. Home Sweet Home, Bristol, p. 72.

94 The exact date of origin of *Silent Majority* is not known. In literature and the relevant internet forums, 1998 as well as 1999 can be found. 1998: Digard Auction Catalogue: XXIe Art Contemporain Urbain, Paris 2015, 44–45; Bull, M., Banksy, 2010. Banksy Locations (& a Tour). More Graffiti Locations from the UK, Volume 2, London, n. p.; Instagram-Post post of Inkie on Instagram (inkiegraffiti) from 30 May 2015; 1999: User *burroughsart* in the Urban Art Association Forum: <http://urbanartassociation.com/thread/75096/banksy-timeline/>; photo uploaded by Lokey on 1 June 2015 <https://www.Flickr.com/photos/jerforceone/18339226692/> and Ellsworth-Jones, W., 2012. Banksy. The Man Behind the Wall, London, 258: “[...] he [Banksy; M. R.] contacted them [the owners of the lorry; M. R.] through Seb Bambini, paid them their diesel money and in return got to paint one side of the trailer at Glastonbury in 1999. [...] Banksy finished it at the Sun and Moon Festival in Cornwall a few weeks later [...]”. In the Digard Auction Catalogue, Inkie indicated to have done the stage decor (*KER-CHINK-KER-LICK-KA-BOOMF*) in the Dance Tent in the same year. Therefore, the date of origin is most likely the year 1998; see Digard Auction Catalogue: XXIe Art Contemporain Urbain, Paris 2015, 45.

95 Digard Auction Catalogue: XXIe Art Contemporain Urbain, Paris 2015, 44–47; Ellsworth Jones 2012, 257–262; Wright, S., 2007 [photos p. 21, 72,73] Banksy. Bristol Home Sweet Home, 20–21 and 72–73.

96 Digard Auction Catalogue: XXIe Art Contemporain Urbain, Paris 2015, 45.

the lettering and Lokey carried out smaller tasks. “Silent Majority” shows five men on the left landing an orange dinghy. In the dinghy sits another person behind a record player and a sound system. All characters wear military clothing. Three military helicopters are flying in the background with two of them carrying speakers on a rope. Banksy based the motif of the soldiers who are docking their boat on a photo of US Marine corps from an illustrated book about modern elite forces, who would use such a boat quiet and in the darkness,<sup>97</sup> like graffiti writers. Banksy sprayed the human figures freehand while the three military helicopters were stenciled.

The scene is divided by a little window in the middle of the right side. There, the lettering “Stealth” can be read. To its right is another figure, presumably sprayed by Banksy, who belongs to the group on the left. He is holding a megaphone in his left hand. The three white artist signatures can be seen underneath Inkie’s lettering. At the top of the lorry, it says in white: “It’s better not to rely too much on silent majorities... for silence is a fragile thing...” At the bottom is an additional: “...one loud noise and it’s gone.” The work paraphrases a quote from Alan Moore’s graphic novel *V for Vendetta* from 1982:<sup>98</sup> “It does not do to rely too much on silent majorities, Evey, for silence is a fragile thing, one loud noise, and it’s gone. But the people are so cowed and disorganised. A few might take the opportunity to protest, but it’ll just be a voice crying in the

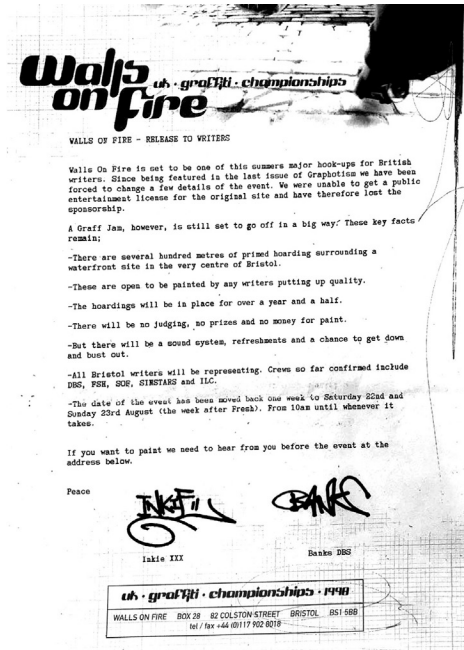


Fig. 2: Banksy/Inkie: Wall on Fire—Release for Writers, Bristol 1998. Source: <https://www.instagram.com/p/Buttm-hF2G6/>

97 Max Walmer: *An Illustrated Guide to Modern Elite Forces*. London 1984, p. 140–141.

98 Hint by Tina Öcal.

wilderness. Noise is relative to the silence preceding it. The more absolute the hush, the more shocking the thunderclap. Our masters have not heard the people's voice for generations, Evey and it is much, much louder than they care to remember." By paraphrasing this *V for Vendetta* quote, Banksy recalls the major themes of the graphic novel, which is about self-liberation and the inherent opposition between freedom and power. According to the current owner of "Silent Majorities," who bought the work at an auction, the piece is about the "rave and hip-hop scene of the time."<sup>99</sup> The previous owners, Nathan Wellard, stated, Banksy asked if he could paint on it at Glastonbury festival: "He was doing it as a live graffiti show, so on the first day it was just a few squiggly lines—you couldn't really make out much what it was about and then he'd do a bit the next day and it started to take shape. And then on the final day it became a picture in half an hour."<sup>100</sup> Banksy depicted various themes that centered mostly on non-visual concepts, such as movement, noise, and explosive energy—which brings to mind his name (the "bang" in Banksy) and graffiti bombing—but also on political upheaval and the hip-hop and rave party scene of that time.

The painted truck, titled "Silent Majorities", was on show at Glastonbury for three to four years,<sup>101</sup> and at other festivals such as the Solar Eclipse in 1998 and the Lizard Festival in August 1999. Banksy reworked one side of the lorry: the second monkey playing the keyboard became a pig, and a speech bubble with the head of Sid Vicious from the Sex Pistols, as well as the words "Fungle Junk," were added.

A blue caravan was standing to the right of that lorry in 1998 or 1999. It was designed by Banksy<sup>102</sup> and by oldschool graffiti writer crew TCA (The Chrome Angelz),<sup>103</sup> especially their member Mode2, a known graffiti pioneer, who painted his trademark female figure. On the rear part of the Mode2 camper-van Banksy sprayed a troop of apes (a visualized pun). A red and a white target was on the chest of two of the monkeys. To the left of the Mode2 lettering and in front of the dancing female figure Banksy depicts another monkey. Banksy attached the three military helicopters with speakers to the front and used stencils of *Silent Majority* for this. He replaced the chimpanzee army in a second version by a robot figure. Before that or rather after that, there was an alternative version of Banksy's mentioned "New Pollution" mural for Abi

99 Banksy's Silent Majority fetches more than £445k in Paris. BBC News, 1 June 2015. <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-bristol-32955713>

100 Nathan Wellard in Trailer a Banksy treasure, BBC Arts and Culture, 03.6.2008, [http://www.bbc.co.uk/norfolk/content/articles/2008/06/03/arts\\_banksy\\_20080603\\_feature.shtml](http://www.bbc.co.uk/norfolk/content/articles/2008/06/03/arts_banksy_20080603_feature.shtml)

101 Steve Cotton: [http://www.artofthestate.co.uk/banksy/Banksy\\_in\\_europe.htm](http://www.artofthestate.co.uk/banksy/Banksy_in_europe.htm)

102 It is not certain, that Banksy was involved in designing the caravan at Glastonbury Festival 1998. Perhaps he installed his pieces at a later date. See the comment by *Mr Slide* under photo uploaded by Walt Jacobso on 26 January 2008 <https://www.Flickr.com/photos/waltjab sco/2220987999/>: "I got a pic of Banksy and Chu painting over this when we were at Bristol carnival a few years back."

103 Ibid.

on that truck.<sup>104</sup> An insect as well as the inscriptions “CLASS” and “The New Pollution” inscription can be found here in a similar style.<sup>105</sup>

## 2.4 1998 (22–23 Aug.) Walls on Fire, UK Graffiti Championships, Habourside, Bristol

In summer 1998, Banksy once again worked with Inkie, one of Bristol’s most well-known local writers at that time, in order to create the piece “Finesse,” an illegal spray paint work, in broad daylight on Grosvenor Road in Bristol during St-Paul’s Carnival. Shortly after that, the pair organized the *Walls on Fire!* event in Bristol on August 22 and 23, 1998. A number of well-known graffiti writers from around the UK were invited to work on a combined 400-meter long spray-paint area.

Several members of Banksy’s graffiti writers crew DBS (Dry Breads)/Bad Apples participated, including Pert/Lokey, Kato, Verse/Soker, Justa and Tes. Further participants were old school writer and stencil artist Nick Walker, Shab, Turoe, Will Barras, and Banksy’s collaborators at Glastonbury, Feek and Dicy (FSH crew) and further writer crews like SOF, Sinstars, ILC,<sup>106</sup> etc. According to Steve Lazarides, he and Banksy met via the journalist Steve Beale, when Banksy coordinated Walls on Fire.<sup>107</sup> Lazarides stated it was “around 1997”<sup>108</sup> although Walls on Fire happened in 1998. Lazarides photographed many Banksy works until 2007,<sup>109</sup> his first Banksy photos were published in October 1998.<sup>110</sup>

Walls on Fire featured New York’s Next Level Breakdance boys crew,<sup>111</sup> hip-hop music from the Bristol hip-hop label Hombro Records, for whom Banksy also designed album covers around that time. One of the flyers for the event featured, alongside information about the event, a warning sign with an explosion, which visually represented the energy and volume of the event as well as the graffiti term “to bomb.”

104 For a photo, see Steve Wright: *Banksy’s Bristol*, Bath 2007, p. 94–95.

105 The truck was allegedly in Spain later. Steve Cotton: [http://www.artofthestate.co.uk/banksy/Banksy\\_in\\_europe.htm](http://www.artofthestate.co.uk/banksy/Banksy_in_europe.htm), parts of the front of the lorry were sold by Christies in 2012 and by Sotheby’s in 2018 with a Pow certificate as “Painting for a Sound System Lorry” (3 parts, 102 × 193 cm), <https://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2018/contemporary-art-day-sale-n09933/lot.456.html?locale=en>

106 Banksy/Inkie: Wall on Fire—Release for Writers, Bristol 1998. <https://www.instagram.com/p/Buttm-hF2G6/>

107 Steve Lazarides: *Banksy captured*. Vol. 1. London 2019, p. 7.

108 Lazarides on Instagram, 15.01.2019, <https://www.instagram.com/p/B3opOillRA/>

109 Steve Lazarides: *Banksy captured*. Vol. 1. London 2019, p. 7.

110 Steve Beale: Banksy and his crappy put-ups, in: *Sleazeration*, October 1998, p. 39–45.

111 Watch the Paint dry at-Bristol, [Press release] August 1998. [https://web.archive.org/web/20040224121319/http://www.at-bristol.org.uk/about/Press/03\\_graffiti.htm](https://web.archive.org/web/20040224121319/http://www.at-bristol.org.uk/about/Press/03_graffiti.htm)



Banksy's later preference for clearly legible information, traffic sign icons, and stencil art, is already evident in this poster.<sup>112</sup>

Not only did Banksy organize the event, but he also painted a large mural that featured a series of monitor screens.<sup>113</sup> On each of the nine screens, Banksy painted a stencil. Banksy's classic "BANG" is present, as well as hand grenades, both of which reference the practice of graffiti "bombing." The work also features his later famous "Heavy Weaponry" elephant with a rocket launcher for the first time, and again the term "Precision Bombing." Other stenciled images that appear in this work, like a winged tractor, a winged angel with a gas mask or the slogan "Playing it safe can cause a lot of damage in the long run" appeared individually on the streets of Bristol as well. Only the slogan "Whats the point of being popular when you're already famous" was unique to this particular work, although it is included in a sketch<sup>114</sup> that was also drawn in 1998, when Banksy planned to paint a mural together with Inkie and other graffiti writer Nach that was never executed.

The outlines of the lettering on an operating table surrounded by doctors and technicians were executed by the writer Astek,<sup>115</sup> whose "E" is almost completely covered by a Banksy figure with its back turned. Banksy created the main part of this mural around the graffiti lettering. Several photos that document the process of spray-painting this piece show Banksy at work.<sup>116</sup> An inscription reads "For Astek in the Scrubs." This may mean that the Astek lettering is in the hospital, or "The Scrubs" may refer to the male prison Wormwood Scrubs. Why this somewhat outlandish setting of an operating room? More typical would be to depict b-boys, DJs, MCs with music equipment, and a setting fitting for a hip-hop-related subject matter. *Walls on Fire* was funded by an organization called At Bristol, which was at the time planning a project with the motto "Science, Art and Nature"<sup>117</sup> for the impending millennium. *Walls on Fire* was a kind of precursor to this event. Science, that is, physicians, are represented by artistic means as they help the sick, imperfect human nature.

112 Reproduced online: <https://banksyunofficialdotcom.files.wordpress.com/2017/04/19988-flyer-walls-on-fire.jpeg>

113 Reproduced in Felix Braun: *Children of the Can*, Bristol 2008, p. 198.

114 Reproduced in Felix Braun: *Children of the Can*, Bristol 2008, p. 133.

115 Felix Braun: *Children of the Can*, Bristol 2008, p. 198.

116 For instance, see Steve Wright: *Home Sweet Home*. Banksy's Bristol, Bath 2007, p. 28.

117 Steve Wright: *Banksy's Bristol*, Bath 2007, p. 31.

## 2.5 Summary: “Turbozone” or the End of Free-Hand Graffiti for Banksy

At major festivals, Banksy created several elaborate legal spray-painted works of art on walls, buses and trucks converted into campervans, and festivalgoers were able to watch the painting process. In a video from 1999, we can watch a disguised Banksy at work. In this commissioned work for the Southmead Youth Club in Bristol, the message is that the youth are better off exercising and improving their basketball skills rather than consuming crack, smack or pills, which are crossed out.<sup>118</sup> As evidenced by this painting process or his work at festivals, Banksy tried to communicate with a general public, not just the graffiti scene, and his goal was to reach many observers by painting on vehicles, which, unlike the Glastonbury dance tent, were not disposable and could therefore continue to be seen on the streets for many years by many spectators.

Around the turn of the millennium, Banksy slowly stopped writing and spraying graffiti freehand, and turned mostly to stencils, although free-hand elements continue to appear in his work even in 2018. A piece painted on a truck on New Year’s Eve 1999 is Banksy’s last major freehand graffiti work. It combines the later well-known Banksy slogan “Laugh now but one day we’ll be in charge” with the motif of the monkey. The slogan recalls Luke 6:25 “Woe to you who laugh now, for you will mourn and weep.”<sup>119</sup>

The truck is titled “Turbozone” because it was commissioned by a friend of Banksy who ran a pyrotechnic circus called Turbozone. The title “Turbozone” is located above the windshield, and the word “Turbo” also appears in large lettering in a saw-blade-like font on the back left of the truck. Cannons, movement, running soldiers in action, fire, again a “Caution cows” sign are depicted on the left. Banksy sprayed the truck in Spain, which is indicated by the small lettering “Cuidado con el taro” (“attention bull”) above the cow. The “turbo”-equipped raging bull is a mixture of a cartoon bull and a cannon that has just broken through a railroad track and seems to be pursuing the soldiers. The theme is reminiscent of the previous year’s Glastonbury dance tent.

On the right side of the truck, between two anvils, a punk with a mohawk, the main character, is about to smash a TV set with a sledgehammer, a visualization of “Smash the System”. On the TV screen we see a gas mask. Next to it, we read “All Systems Go.” Behind and above him is another army of twelve (this time winged) chimpanzees flying down to a very technical large chrome lettered inscription “Circus” (the R is inscribed with the words “Diesel Power”), which is accompanied by large gear wheels. One monkey is holding an axe in his hand while three others hold wrenches,

118 iContact Video Network: Southmead Slamming, ‘an excellent centre’ (dir. Dave Greenhalgh), Bristol 1999, 11:51 min. [TC 10:26min.], uploaded on Youtube by Ben Edwards as Southmead Slamming (featuring Banksy)—How sport was used to solve drugs problems on 12 Aug 2010 <https://youtu.be/qzPmu-uwICo?t=626>

119 Hint by Tina Öcal.

recalling the expression "to throw a monkey wrench in something." Banksy signed this capitalism- and (nuclear) war-critical work on both sides with the stenciled tag he used during this time period. Similar to Banksy's "Silent Majorities," Banksy addresses here a silent majority, who, like some kind of guerrilla army, like graffiti writers, are preparing a revolution—first silent and in secret, then loud and energetic.

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There are photos of more than three dozen freehand graffiti works or sketches Banksy painted in the 1990s in Bristol or at festivals. A surprisingly high number of these works were painted legally on and/or commissioned by youth clubs, halls of fame, trucks, or elsewhere. For many we do not know for sure; pieces appear to be illegal, but Banksy might have asked the house owner, as he did in the case of "Slick on Brick." At the time of this writing, some pieces have remained intact, while others are already destroyed.<sup>120</sup> In addition, some might have been done with permission or were legalized afterwards, like the illegally<sup>121</sup> painted "Wild Wild West." Only two other walls, "Finesse" and "There's all this Noise," were definitely painted illegally.<sup>122</sup> The same has been hypothesized about four to five others, such as the burned-out car wreck. Also at least 20 pieces were collaborations with other writers, all between 1997 and 1999. Approximately 90% of Banksy's freehand works from the 1990s (of which we are aware at the point of writing) stem from these three years. He signed most of his works and authorized about half of them in print or video.

Banksy's personal top three authorized freehand graffiti works are "Visual Warfare" (1997–98), "Class (The New Pollution)" (1997–98) and "From the Westside to the East" (1998), each of which has been published four times. Banksy used additional stencils in at least two thirds of these works. In most, animals appear somewhere, as supporting or main characters; in five works monkeys, and in five works rats, in addition to other animals. In nearly half of those works he painted weapons (bombs, tanks, or guns). Fewer pieces make visual reference to hip-hop culture, be it with DJs, MCs, B-Boys or subwoofers or graffiti as represented by sprayers or a spray can.

120 Martin Bull: *Banksy Locations (& a Tour). More Graffiti Locations from the UK, Volume 2*, London 2010, unpagged [BR3,6,10,13,17,20,22,23,25,28,29]

121 Steve Wright: *Banksy's Bristol, Bath 2007*, p. 24.

122 Steve Wright: *Banksy's Bristol, Bath 2007*, p. 59 and *Banksy in Level Magazine*, p. 69.

## List of Works

- Fishbone men, two male stenciled and haloed figures in suits with a fishbone and freehand Banksy tag, Barton Hill Youth Club, Bristol, early- to mid-1990s<sup>123</sup>
- *Banksy* lettering piece on burned-out car wreck in a park in Bristol, early- to mid-1990s (fig. 1)
- Silver *Banksy*, train piece,<sup>124</sup> silver freehand Banksy piece on a red train, 1995–98?
- BANKS (lettering), Banksy’s first full color piece with character holding a bomb, stenciled **BANKSY** tag, St. Werburgh’s, 1996<sup>125</sup>
- “New Forms,” inscription: ~~London, New York~~, Bristol, with stenciled **BANKSY** tags, Albion Road, off St. Marks Road, Easton,<sup>126</sup> dated by Banksy ‘[19]97.
- “Without Art we are Nothing but Monkeys with Car Keys,” diver monkey writing *Banksy*, holding car key from the title inscription, [former] Millionaire’s Row Hall of Fame, round the back of the old Concorde cinema, off 438 Stapleton Road, c. 1997<sup>127</sup> (fig. 3a)
- Drawn figure on green spray paint, sketchbook spread (for Lokey), with stenciled **BANKSY** tag, 1997.<sup>128</sup>
- Wild Style shutter, piece painted with Kato, 62 Park Row, “Rollermania” [shop], Bristol, before 27 June 1997.<sup>129</sup>

123 Photo and info: Felix Braun: Children of the Can, p. 132. For a later context shot see photo uploaded by graffiti writer Banksy collaborator Acerone 04.01.2014, <https://www.instagram.com/p/iuaOizsdgL/>; One of the heads is illustrated in Banksy: Cut & Run. Exhibition catalogue, Glasgow 2023, p. 7. In the same show, Banksy showed this head as a two-page-spread from a black book.

124 A photo of this unidentified was uploaded by Banksyarchive, 29.06.2021, [https://www.instagram.com/p/CQq\\_1hxlw-f/](https://www.instagram.com/p/CQq_1hxlw-f/) (later removed). There is also a photo of a different silver freehand train piece of a train painted by BANKS[y] together with Bristol writers TES and NACH, ca. 1997.

125 Photo and info: Steve Wright: Banksy’s Bristol, Bath 2007, p. 30.

126 Photo and info: Steve Wright: Banksy’s Bristol, Bath 2007, p. 3.

127 There are two work-in-progress photos and one close-up of the finished piece, the last one in Dirty graphics & Strange Characters, 1999, unpagged, the first work-in-progress photo is in Felix Braun: Children of the Can, p. 132, here called Space Monkey, although it is a diver monkey. The second work in progress is visible on a photo uploaded by Catobristol on 10 January 2008 <https://www.Flickr.com/photos/catobristol/2183410409/in/dateposted/Later> overpainted by Sake, see photo uploaded by Walt Jacobso on 4 August 2006 <https://www.Flickr.com/photos/waltjabsco/206701750/>

128 Photo and info: Felix Braun: Children of the Can, p. 134.

129 Martin Bull: Banksy Locations (& a Tour). More Graffiti Locations from the UK, Volume 2, London 2010, n. p., Inkie walked past when Banksy/Kato painted there and Banksy asked him to paint together at Glastonbury (27–29 June 1997). Inkie interview in Felix Braun: Children of the Can, p. 56.



Fig. 3a: Banksy, Without Art we are nothing but Monkeys with Car keys, ca. 1997. Source: photomerge reconstruction by the author.

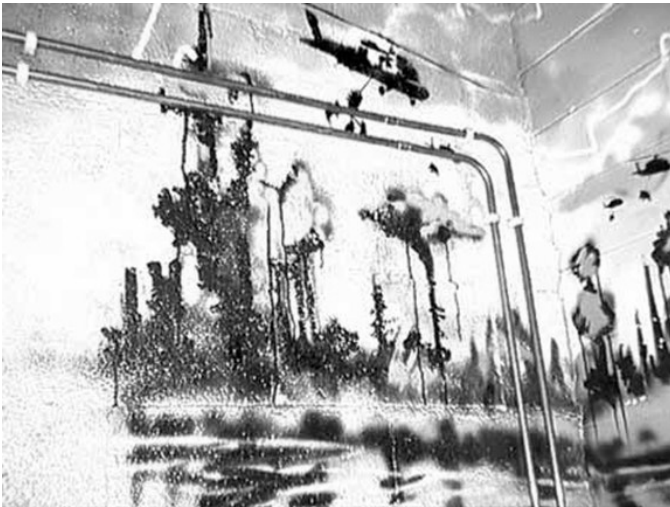


Fig. 3b: Banksy, Helicopters with Cranes and Cows, Bristol (?), ca. 1997/98. Source: Formally on Flickr.

- “Devious Nature” (with Dicy, Eko, Feek, Inkie and Paris), 20ft × 50 ft (Dicy); 16ft × 32ft (Feek)<sup>130</sup> Glastonbury Festival, 27–29 June 1997.
- “Robin Banx,” another version of the bastardised ‘Children crossing’ sign, done as part of a collaboration piece on a wall as a member of the Dry Breadz [DBZ] crew, together with Vers (aka Soker), Tes. Esso Garage, 1997<sup>131</sup>
- Stenciled **BANKSY!** tag on blue train,<sup>132</sup> next to a NACH and TES,<sup>133</sup> ca. 1997–99.
- *Do not Inhale*, BANKS (lettering), with stenciled **BANKSY** tags and small stencils of a flying tractor and a CCTV rat, inscription: “make it rock or go home”, dated by Banksy ‘[19]97, part of Easton Hall of Fame wall, done with Acer, Dicy, Paris.<sup>134</sup> Millionaires plot, side of M32, Easton, 1997.
- Ashton Court Jazz Tent, & Bristol... *Rockin the Spot II*, DJ character with turntables and first “Heavy Weaponary”<sup>135</sup> stencils incl. **BANKSY** tag, collaboration piece with lettering by Feek, Xenz, Ekoe, Paris and Dicy, Ashton Court, 1997<sup>136</sup>
- Banksy’s small illustrated corner part of a larger dark green graffiti collaboration (indoor basement)<sup>137</sup> piece with Bristol writer Xenz (Graeme Brusby, \*1974) depicts apocalypse atomic explosions combined with stenciled helicopters with cranes and cow[s?]. This obscure UK piece (fig. 3b) seems to be from circa 1997<sup>138</sup>–98, maybe in Bristol.

130 Braun, F., 2012. Children of The Can. Bristol Graffiti and Street Art, Bristol, 107 and 138. See also Bristolgraffiti: Glastonbury pieces over the years..., 2008 <https://bristolgraffiti.wordpress.com/2008/04/20/glastonbury-pieces-over-the-years/>

131 Photo and info: Felix Braun (ed.): Children of the Can. Bath 2008, p. 133.

132 Photographed, dated to “98/99 I recon” and uploaded by Acerone, 05.01.2014, <https://www.instagram.com/p/BtflybnXJl/>; different photo uploaed by ant\_evo, 16.09.2014, <https://www.instagram.com/p/tBERRfSss9/>, captured: “Bad picture. Old train we came across late 90’s Bristol off Feeder Rd I think.”

133 There is a photo of another train painted with NACH and Tes, a silver BANKS piece.

134 Photo and info uploaded by Acer One on 8 June 2012 <https://www.Flickr.com/photos/acertcf/7166264821/in/pool-651750@N23/>

135 A pun on “weaponry” and “ornery” (grouchy, grumpy, cranky, crotchety, cantankerous, bad-tempered, ill-tempered, dyspeptic, irascible, waspish). A self portrait of the graffiti bombing grumpy elephant Banksy.

136 Photo and info uploaded by Man Paris 22 January 2011 <https://www.Flickr.com/photos/22769767@No8/5392165637/in/pool-651750@N23/>

137 A water pipe on photos points to an indoor location, a cellar with concrete walls, i.e. rather a legal pipe, maybe still existent, see photo: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/nuart/158777625/>, the photo was obviously taken later (because of the pipe) and was uploaded to Flickr by Martyn Reed on 2 June 2006. Reed cannot remember where he got the photo from, he did not take it: “I’m sure I had this debate previously and received a larger image of the whole piece but can’t find anything in my files.” Message to the editor on Facebook, 1 January 2021.

138 Hint by Cosmic: Banksy used the same stencil tool of a crane like in DJ and Crane, which is from 1997.



- *QuakAttack*, four ducks, one on a tank, part of a collaboration piece with Kato, Soker, Tes, Lokea, Lawrence Weston, next M5/M49 motorway junction,<sup>139</sup> 1997<sup>140</sup> or 1998.<sup>141</sup>
- Youth work shop piece, Electrocuted skeleton and the word *Electric*, as part of a collaboration piece with his fellow Bad Applz/Dry Breadz crew members Kato, Pert (aka Lokey), Verse and Tes. Road tunnel underneath Hengrove Way, Hartcliffe, c. 1997/98.<sup>142</sup>
- Banksy reworked the characters and background (a former B-Bob character<sup>143</sup>) around Kato's lettering to *Click! Clack! Boom!*, inscriptions: 1<sup>st</sup> Division Airborne Aerosol Supremacy, *Visual Warfare*, Cato Street/Mivart Street, Easton, ca 1997/1998<sup>144</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup> version: according to Kato 1998.<sup>145</sup> **BANKSY** included a stenciled tag and at least one other stencil of a landscape with dead trees, which he added later as there is a photo without it.<sup>146</sup> This later added cartoon-like panel shows the future after the great bang.
- Class, the New Pollution, inscription: *dedicated to pure class... Abi Rest in Peace*, mural for Abigail Clay († Nov. 27, 1996) Sevier Street, St Werburgh's/Montpelier, ca. 1997,<sup>147</sup> according to **BANKSY** Oct. 1998.<sup>148</sup>
- Bugged Out Battle Formations, robot scorpion with injection needle, with stenciled Banksy tag, done as part of a piece on a wall as a member of the Dry Breadz

139 Bull, M., Banksy, 2010. *Banksy Locations (& a Tour)*. More Graffiti Locations from the UK, Volume 2, London, n. p.

140 Martin Bull: This is Not a Photo Opportunity. *The Street Art of Banksy*. Oakland, CA, 2015, p. 10, 173.

141 Photo and info uploaded by Catobristol on 14 August 2007 <https://www.Flickr.com/photos/catobristol/1119240492/in/dateposted/>

142 Photo and info uploaded by Shell Shock on 17 September 2009 <https://www.Flickr.com/photos/shell-shock/6581233993/in/photostream/>

143 Photo and info: Steve Wright: Banksy's Bristol, Bath 2007, p. 4.

144 Photo and info: Steve Wright: Banksy's Bristol, Bath 2007, p. 24–25.

145 Photo and info uploaded by Catobristol on 31 March 2007 <https://www.Flickr.com/photos/catobristol/441287397/in/photostream/> see also photo by Banksy [as Robin Banks] in Ric Blackshaw, Liz Farrelly: *Scrawl: Dirty Graphics and Strange Characters*. Published May 27 or even in March, London 1999. Unpaged.

146 Photo and info about the dead tree stencil detail, uploaded by Walt Jacobso on 13 March 2007, <https://www.Flickr.com/photos/waltjabsco/431803997>, bigger picture including the dead tree, uploaded by Walt Jacobso on 13 March 2007, <https://www.flickr.com/photos/waltjabsco/421091359> Photo without dead tree stencil uploaded by Melfleasance, 31 March 2008, <https://www.flickr.com/photos/24387752@No7/2378733451>

147 Martin Bull: This is Not a Photo Opportunity. *The Street Art of Banksy*. Oakland, CA, 2015, p. 11, 173.

148 See photo by Banksy [as Robin Banks] in Ric Blackshaw, Liz Farrelly: *Scrawl: Dirty Graphics and Strange Characters*. Published May 27 or even in March, London 1999. Unpaged.

crew, together with Nach, Lokey, Vers. Bristol, 1997<sup>149</sup> or Oct. 1999, according to Banksy<sup>150</sup>

- Silhouette of a city in front of a yellow and red sunset, collaboration piece with Inkie (lettering), not signed, Cato Street, Greenbank, Bristol, ca. 1998.<sup>151</sup>
- Cat and dogs, Graffiti writing cat with spray-can with police dogs, inscription: “there are crimes that become innocent and even glorious through their splendor number and excess”<sup>152</sup>, collaboration piece with Verse and Pert, Robertson Road, on the Greenbank/Easton border, c. 1998<sup>153</sup> A sketch of that piece (fig. 4) was published in James 1999, p. 33.
- From the Westside to the ...EAST, Easton Rockers, Rock Hard, with stenciled **BANKSY** tag and Heavy Weaponary elephant stencils, Lower Ashley Road, Easton, dated by Banksy: July 1998<sup>154</sup>



Fig. 4: Banksy, *Cats and Dogs*, 1997–99. Source: Scan from Marcus James: [Interview with Banksy], *Knowledge Magazine*, 1999, p. 33. Original photo: <https://i.playground.ru/pix/35995/image.jpg>

149 Photo and info: Felix Braun: *Children of the Can*, p. 133.

150 Auction house Catawiki: <https://auction.catawiki.com/kavels/13690979-bristol-photography-x-banksy-battle-information>

151 Photo and info: Bull, M., Banksy, 2010. *Banksy Locations (& a Tour)*. *More Graffiti Locations from the UK*, Volume 2, London, unpagged. See also photo uploaded by Walt Jacobso on 13 December 2008 <https://www.Flickr.com/photos/waltjabsco/3105215856/in/photostream/>

152 Quote by Francois de La Rochefoucauld.

153 Photo and info: Martin Bull: *This is Not a Photo Opportunity. The Street Art of Banksy*. Oakland, CA, 2015, p.14, 173.

154 Photo: Steve Wright: *Banksy's Bristol, Bath 2007*, p. 6–7. See also Auction house Catawiki: <https://auction.catawiki.com/kavels/13424077-banksy-bristol-photography-x-banksy-from-wast-side-to-the-east>

- *What's the point in being popular if you are already famous?*, sketch for Full Cycle Records commission (planned with Inkie and Nach) that was never painted, 1998<sup>155</sup>
- *KER-CHINK-KER-LICK-KA-BOOMF* (stage decor in the Dance Tent with Dicy, Eight freehand rats (on a caravan painted with Lokey)<sup>156</sup> Inkie: "[...] we also did [...] rotating canvases above the crowd."<sup>157</sup> (Inkie, Banksy, Lokey at Dance Tent). There are no pictures of the rotating canvases. Glastonbury Festival, June 1998. Feek, Inkie and Paris)<sup>158</sup>, Glastonbury Festival, 26–28th June 1998.
- Helicopters and apes with targets on a blue caravan next to a Mode 2 character of a girl and a The Chrome Angelz piece<sup>159</sup>, Glastonbury Festival June 1998 or June 1999. Later partly overpainted with "CLASS". The Helicopters part was sold by Christie's for £103,250 in 2012.<sup>160</sup> (fig. 5a and 5b). It is unclear, if the other side of this truck was also painted by Banksy.<sup>161</sup>

155 Photo and info: Felix Braun: Children of the Can, p. 133–134.

156 Martin Bull: Banksy Locations (& a Tour). More Graffiti Locations from the UK, Volume 2, London 2010, unpagged. The caravan was Lokey's. In 2008, a photo of these rats was on Lokey's/ Jerforceone's Flickr account <https://www.flickr.com/photos/jerforceone/>

157 Digard Auction Catalogue: XXIe Art Contemporain Urbain, p. 45.

158 Digard Auction Catalogue: XXIe Art Contemporain Urbain, 45. Inkie: "[...] we also did the stage decor [...]" ; an article in the Guardian shows a photo of the performance of the Chemical Brothers in the Dance Tent in 1998. In the foreground, there is a part of *KER-CHINK-KER-LICK-KA-BOOMF*. See D. Lynskey: The Chemical Brothers: 'We've been together longer than a lot of marriages'. The Guardian Online 28 June 2015. <https://www.theguardian.com/music/2015/jun/28/chemical-brothers-been-together-longer-than-marriages>.

159 The piece doesn't exist anymore. "UTB774S (1977) Bedford TK . VanPlan Pantechnicon. Ex-Richmond Removals Co. Seen Pilton, Somerset. Cookie still has her old rig painted by Banksy parked up at her land in Spain. Previously owned by Neil & Claire who'd painted it matt black to cover up Richmond's yellow color scheme. Photo: Gary Conway. <http://www.travellerhomes.co.uk/?p=12040> After Glastonbury, an alternative version of Banksy's "Mural for Abi" was on the caravan. Amongst other things, it showed an insect as well as the lettering Class and The New Pollution. Later the caravan was in Spain. See Martin Bull: Banksy Locations & Tours Vol. 2. A Collection of Graffiti Locations and Photographs from Around The UK, Oakland, n. pag. (SW6) and [http://www.artofthestate.co.uk/banksy/Banksy\\_in\\_europe.htm](http://www.artofthestate.co.uk/banksy/Banksy_in_europe.htm). For The New Pollution see Steve Wright, R. Jones: Banksy's Bristol. Home Sweet Home, Bristol 2016, p. 102–103.

160 Christies. <http://www.christies.com/lotfinder/paintings/banksy-painting-for-a-sound-system-lor-5545256-details.aspx?from=salesummery&intObjectID=5545256&sid=1d6671d4-e4do-45c8-a4fd-99e214d80f8f>; for a photo of the front see [https://scontent-fra3-1.xx.fbcdn.net/v/t39.30808-6/295995403\\_10158343895446097\\_8674504471541752315\\_n.jpg?\\_nc\\_cat=101&ccb=1-7&\\_nc\\_sid=5cd70e&\\_nc\\_ohc=\\_K4p961HPhYAX8Ae3Q4&\\_nc\\_ht=scontent-fra3-1.xx&oh=00\\_AfDqkZziQoQ-Rbdz7a0xpeEUb1TEQB7u9fLsMsTO8qH1jw&coe=6431E695](https://scontent-fra3-1.xx.fbcdn.net/v/t39.30808-6/295995403_10158343895446097_8674504471541752315_n.jpg?_nc_cat=101&ccb=1-7&_nc_sid=5cd70e&_nc_ohc=_K4p961HPhYAX8Ae3Q4&_nc_ht=scontent-fra3-1.xx&oh=00_AfDqkZziQoQ-Rbdz7a0xpeEUb1TEQB7u9fLsMsTO8qH1jw&coe=6431E695)

161 For a photo by Gary Conway see [https://web.archive.org/web/20170622152944/http://www.travellerhomes.co.uk/pictures/12042\\_200w.jpg](https://web.archive.org/web/20170622152944/http://www.travellerhomes.co.uk/pictures/12042_200w.jpg)



Fig. 5a: Banksy, helicopters and apes with targets on a blue caravan next to a Mode 2 character of a girl and a The Chrome Angelz piece, Glastonbury Festival 1998 or 1999. Source: <http://www.travellerhomes.co.uk/?p=12040>

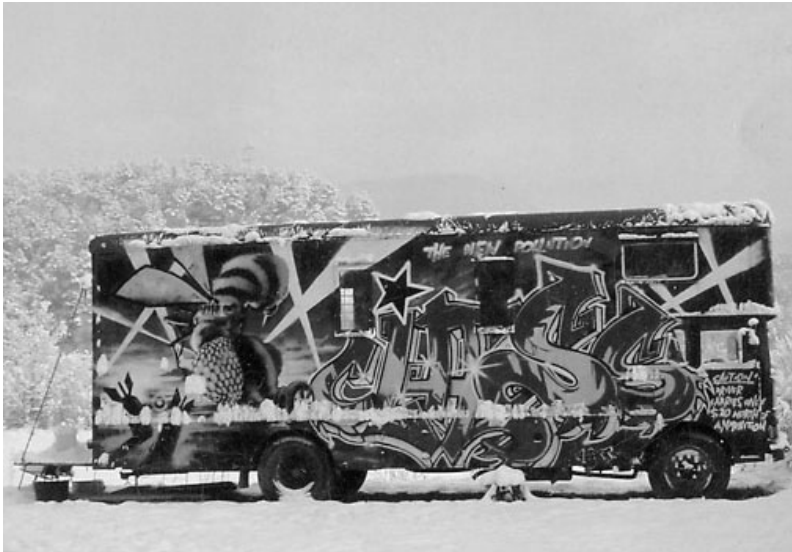


Fig. 5b: Banksy, CLASS. Source: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/24387752@N07/2415235286>

- *Finesse*, inscription: *Stressing this verbal gymnastics to get a girl on my mattress!! Won't stop 'N' BIG production*, DJ and MC characters with sound system, incl. stenciled **BANKSY** tag, part of a collaboration piece on a wall with Inkie (lettering), Gros-govenor Road, St. Paul, painted during St. Paul Carnival, 4th July 1998.<sup>162</sup>
- *"For Astec in the Scrubs"*, done as part of a freehand piece accompanied by 10 small stencils and a **BANKSY** tag, with Astec (lettering outline), Wall of Fire event, Bristol Harbor site, 22–23 Aug. 1998.<sup>163</sup> One of the last times Banksy used the "big **A**" tag.
- "Silent Majority"/"Fungle Junk" truck, Glastonbury Festival 1998/1999/2000. The left outer wall ("Silent Majority") painted with Inkie and Lokey (240 × 993 cm) of the truck was sold for 625399 € at Digard Auction in 2015.<sup>164</sup> The disposition of the three separated parts of the right outer wall ("Fungle Junk") is unknown. Someone tried to sell the pieces several times (Number Nine Gallery in Birmingham, Border Auctions in Hawick/Scotland, Lyon & Turnbull in Edinburgh) but never successfully.<sup>165</sup> "Fungle Junk" was done at the Lizard Festival in Cornwall in August 1999.<sup>166</sup>
- Flies, commissioned freehand indoor piece, workshop next to Tattoo Parlour [closed], Pieced Up Body Piercing, 3–4 Perry Road, c. 1998/99<sup>167</sup>
- *Take the Money and Run*, running Bank robbers, in a piece painted with Inkie [as Inky] (lettering) and Mode 2, opposite the Old England pub,<sup>168</sup> 43 Bath Buildings, Montpellier, c. 1998/99<sup>169</sup>, according to Banksy Aug. 1999.<sup>170</sup>

162 Photo and info: Felix Braun: Children of the Can, p. 134. See also Steve Wright: Banksy's Bristol, Bath 2007, p. 58–59.

163 Photo and info: Felix Braun: Children of the Can, p. 198, see also photo uploaded by Iamdek on 25 January 2011 <https://www.Flickr.com/photos/iamdek/5388091111>, see also photo by Banksy [as Robin Banks] in Ric Blackshaw, Liz Farrelly: Scrawl: Dirty Graphics and Strange Characters. Published May 27 or even in March, London 1999. Unpagged.

164 Digard Auction Catalogue: XXIe Art Contemporain Urbain, p. 44–47.

165 Ellsworth-Jones, W., 2012. Banksy. The Man Behind the Wall, London, 260–261 and the discussion on Flickr: <https://www.Flickr.com/groups/651750@N23/discuss/72157605368556015/>

166 Steve Wright, R. Jones: Banksy's Bristol. Home Sweet Home, Bristol 2016, p. 73–75 and Martin Bull: Banksy Locations (& a Tour). More Graffiti Locations from the UK, Volume 2, London 2010, n. p.

167 Photo and info: Martin Bull: This is Not a Photo Opportunity. The Street Art of Banksy. Oakland, CA, 2015, p.17, 173.

168 Photo and info: Steve Wright: Banksy's Bristol, Bath 2007, p. 16–17.

169 Martin Bull: This is Not a Photo Opportunity. The Street Art of Banksy. Oakland, CA, 2015, p. 16, 173.

170 <https://auction.catawiki.com/kavels/13657549-bristol-photography-x-banksy-take-the-money-and-run>



- *There's All This Noise... But you Ain't Saying Nothing...*, lettering by Lokea, illegal piece,<sup>171</sup> Redcliffe End of Welsh Back<sup>172</sup> [corner Little King St.], center of Bristol. 1999<sup>173</sup> Banksy freehand piece, Lawrence Weston Youth Center, Bristol, 1999<sup>174</sup>
- *Bristol's Last Wanted*, [Selling off the Ghetto to the Highest Bidder], characters of mafia men in suits and money suitcase, a premonition of gentrification, done as part of a piece on a wall with lettering by Inkie, Lokey, Will Barras 1999<sup>175</sup>
- *Southmead Slammin'* (fig. 6), commissioned piece, inscription: *CRACK SMACK PILLS 100% Skills*, Basketball characters, Southmead, 1999<sup>176</sup>
- "The Mild Mild West...", three riot police men opposed a teddy with a Molotov cocktail, Stokes Croft<sup>177</sup>, 1999



Fig. 6: Banksy, *Southmead Slammin'*, 1999. Source: iContact Video Network: *Southmead Slamming*, 'an excellent centre' (dir. Dave Greenhalgh), Bristol 1999, 11:51 min. [TC 10:26min.], screenshot.

171 Banksy in *Level Magazine* 2000, p. 69.

172 Photo and info: Steve Wright: *Banksy's Bristol*, Bath 2007, p. 52–53.

173 Photo uploaded by iamdek, January 23, 2011: "Loke, Kato & Banksy (Bristol) Bristol City Center, 1999" <https://www.Flickr.com/photos/iamdek/5382385170/in/pool-651750@N23/>

174 Urban Art Association forum user Vivalarepublique in thread *Obscure Banksy pieces?*, Nov 15, 2013 <http://urbanartassociation.com/thread/110932/obscure-banksy-pieces?page=8>

175 Photo and info: Felix Braun: *Children of the Can*, p. 133–134. See also: Steve Wright: *Banksy's Bristol*, Bath 2007, p. 36.

176 iContact Video Network: *Southmead Slamming*, 'an excellent centre' (dir. Dave Greenhalgh), Bristol 1999, 11:51 min. [TC 10:26min.], uploaded on Youtube by Ben Edwards as *Southmead Slamming (featuring Banksy)—How sport was used to solve drugs problems on 12 Aug 2010* <https://youtu.be/qzPmu-uwICo?t=626>

177 Photo and info: Steve Wright: *Banksy's Bristol*, Bath 2007, p. 22–24.



- "Slick on Brick," image of a monkey jumping on a detonator, done with permission of the then-owner, 65 Bannerman Road, Easton, according to Banksy Sept. 1999<sup>178</sup>
- *Turbozone* truck, 1999/2000
- Monkeys & Aliens, mural, collaboration with Remi Rough (letters), South London, 1999 (fig. 7)<sup>179</sup>
- Dogma, illegal mural, collaboration with Remi Rough (letters), big Banksy stencils used as the background. Inscription: Nobody ever forgets where they buried the hatchet!, Sutton, South London, 1999<sup>180</sup>
- Wuff, illegal mural, collaboration with Remi Rough (letters), inscriptions: There's no money in this shit... I'm Going into Management.... Get to work !, Herne Hill train station, South London, 1999<sup>181</sup>
- Lab Rat, Jan. 2000, 220 × 242 cm, oil painting on Marine Ply with original painted metal frame (see also chapter 9.2.).



Fig. 7a: Banksy collaboration with Remi Rough, [Monkeys & Aliens] South London, 1999.  
Source: Archive of the editor, formerly on Flickr.

- 178 Photo: Steve Wright: Banksy's Bristol, Bath 2007, p. 59. See also Anthony Joseph: Two-bedroom end-of-terrace house could be worth up to £1MILLION because of Banksy artwork you can't even see, Daily Mail, 17 October 2017 <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-4988122/Two-bedroom-house-worth-1m-Banksy-art.html#ixzz55a6L9r6L> and <https://goo.gl/maps/UXhp27XjFbx> and auction house Liveauctioneers [https://www.liveauctioneers.com/item/55613006\\_bristol-photography-x-banksy-slick-on-brick-numbered](https://www.liveauctioneers.com/item/55613006_bristol-photography-x-banksy-slick-on-brick-numbered)
- 179 Remi Rough posted this photo 12.01.2020 in his Instagram-Story. When asked by Michael Reidenbach about the location in a personal message he answered "South London". The photo was years ago on Flickr, account deleted.
- 180 Photo posted by Remi Rough, 01.08.2019, <https://www.instagram.com/p/BonK2mVlyGM/>; Remi Rough interviewed by Jay Tomkins, 23.03.2023, <https://www.facebook.com/groups/768336387329279/permalink/1448268259336085/>
- 181 Photo uploaded by Warholian, 16.08.2011, <https://www.flickr.com/photos/warholian/6049261572/>; Remi Rough interviewed by Jay Tomkins, 23.03.2023, <https://www.facebook.com/groups/768336387329279/permalink/1448268259336085/>



Fig. 7b: Banksy, Riot Scene [detail?], Sugar House, Bristol, ca. 1998. Source: Photo by Calvin 976. <https://urbanartassociation.com/post/1956855>

## 2.6 1999 (16 Jan.) A ‘Romantic’ View of Easton, Group Show, Bristol

On January 16, 1999,<sup>182</sup> Banksy exhibited his oil paintings at a group show<sup>183</sup> at Lansdowne Court—a block of flats in Easton, Bristol. The show seemed to have been Banksy’s first art exhibition ever. It was an 8 minutes walk from Oxford Place,<sup>184</sup> Banksy’s alleged home at that time, also located in Bristol’s Easton<sup>185</sup> district. At

182 Jacob KG [Kelly], the son of the show’s curator, Paul Kelly, posted an undated, unnamed local article reviewing the show, 18.06.2019, <https://www.instagram.com/p/By3UHflgvKv/> Banksy mentioned the show in Ric Blackshaw, Liz Farrelly: Scrawl: Dirty Graphics & Strange Characters: Dirty Graphics and Strange Characters. Published 27 May or even in March, London 1999 (according to Amazon.co.uk). According to Banksy Archive, 31.01.2022, <https://www.instagram.com/p/CZaUiZas6a2/>, this show was in 1998. The flyer points to 1999. Published 27 May or even in March, London 1999 (according to Amazon.co.uk).

183 Banksy: “Some of us had a show in a block of flats in Bristol and all the people who lived there checked it out.” Ric Blackshaw, Liz Farrelly: Scrawl: Dirty Graphics & Strange Characters: Dirty Graphics and Strange Characters, published May 27, London 1999. Unpaged.

184 Daniel Boffey: Banksy... by Banksy ‘Self-portrait’ could confirm elusive artist’s identity at last, Daily Mail, 9 May 2009. <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-1179969/Banksy---Banksy-Self-portrait-confirm-elusive-artists-identity-last.html#ixzz4wbBylFj9>

185 Steve Wright / Richard Jones: Banksy’s Bristol. Home Sweet Home. Tangent Books, Bristol 2016, p. 45.

this Paul Kelly<sup>186</sup>-curated show entitled “A ‘Romantic’ View of Easton” Banksy “[p]ainted with oils on board, traditional media, but the imagery was strictly street. Riots, goldfish, coppers, shopping trolleys, and clown suits collide in a surreal but straight faced way.”<sup>187</sup> According to the flyer, the show was “An exhibition of Bristol talents in the high rise. Featuring artists, Graffiti [sic] Writers, Deejays, Poetry, Merchandise”. Banksy exhibited together (among others maybe) with conceptual artist Danny, artist Lucy Smail, DJ Cyril, and graffiti writer crew Bad Applz. Banksy actually began writing freehand with the Bad Applez or DryBreadZ crew from the Kingswood area of Bristol: “one crew comprising the artists Kato, Lokey (or Lokea), Juster, Soker and Tes. Originally known as MBA, they then became Bad Apples and finally DBS which stood for DryBreadZ—a reference to being so fiscally challenged they couldn’t afford any spread for their toast.”<sup>188</sup>

Four canvases and a sticker from that show photographed by Marc Simmons, are depicted in Steve Wright’s book *Home Sweet Home*: “Easton Exhibition Sticker,” “Do Community Service /Clown with Cops,” “More Public Disorder,” “Modern Art Can Suck My Cock” and most likely “People Di Everyday”<sup>189</sup>/Riot Painting;<sup>190</sup> the last painting is catalogued in *Home Sweet Home* as being exhibited in a garage in Easton. The participation of the other listed artworks cannot be proved at the moment. Like “People Di Everyday/Riot Painting,” they can only be assumed to have participated due to their likeness in style and date or their appearances in magazines prior 2000.

According to his own disclosures, Banksy has been experimenting with traditional oil painting since mid-1997, as he said in *Knowledge Magazine* in 1999:

“What I’m facing is this compromise between making images that are more beautiful than my graffiti but get seen by less people. I think doing a gallery show would be

186 Former barber and music promoter Paul Kelly worked later as photographer. He talked about the Easton show in Mark Gould: Pictures by homeless people rub frames with photography greats. *The Guardian*, 10.03.2010, [https://amp.theguardian.com/society/2010/mar/10/homeless-photography-exhibition-royal-diptych?fbclid=IwAR3vkNBZ43oXHKGXUdLoVaoW8Q2XiQ6FlmHWq2Hs1\\_gLRVTs-XVVgIWYDpQ](https://amp.theguardian.com/society/2010/mar/10/homeless-photography-exhibition-royal-diptych?fbclid=IwAR3vkNBZ43oXHKGXUdLoVaoW8Q2XiQ6FlmHWq2Hs1_gLRVTs-XVVgIWYDpQ); see also: From Breaking Banksy to Sofa Surfing, This is Bristol, 03.04.2010, <https://web.archive.org/web/20100407204608/www.thisisbristol.co.uk/homepage/breaking-banksy-sofa-surfing/article-1967711-detail/article.html>

187 Jacob KG [Kelly], the son of the show’s curator, Paul Kelly, posted an undated, unnamed local article reviewing the show, 18.06.2019, <https://www.instagram.com/p/By3UHflgvKv/>

188 The Bad Applz (quoted *ibid.*) were also spelled Bad Apples or Bad Applez, see Steve Wright / Richard Jones: Banksy’s Bristol. *Home Sweet Home*. Tangent Books, Bristol 2016, p. 2, 14.

189 Si Mitchell: Banksy. Painting and Decorating. In: *LEVEL* magazine, No. 08, June/July 2000, p. 69. People Di everyday was captured in *Home Sweet Home* as Flower Power being ‘exhibited’ in a garage in Bristol.” Photo and capture differ from the other photos by Simmons, it is not 100% clear if the painting was shown in the exhibition already.

190 In 2011 Banksy showed this painting in a reworked version with a new title (Riot Painting) at the MOCA show. See photo uploaded by Arthunter999 on 24 February 2019 [https://www.instagram.com/p/BuRMvFlh5uQLP-GnnxNOdfIC-AP2\\_jtfjm-Xkso/](https://www.instagram.com/p/BuRMvFlh5uQLP-GnnxNOdfIC-AP2_jtfjm-Xkso/)

kind of a step down, both in terms of how many people see your shit and what type of person sees it.”<sup>191</sup>

Banksy promoted the exhibition with the help of stickers with an urban scene depicting a figure pair with a bike on the run from the city with a helicopter searching for them in the background. The motif resembles the ending scene of the movie *E.T.* from 1982.

The rest of this chapter is not so much about one singular exhibition but about Banksy’s early steps in making portable, i.e. sellable, art on canvas and other media. The mentioned works are not the only ones sold at that time, but a representative sample. Apart from new materials, acrylic and oil paint instead of the spray paint, Banksy experiments with new audiences and different kinds of ways people look at his works, instead of passersby, he began to communicate with the professional art world at large.

Banksy depicted scenes of persecution in “Attack of the Badly Drawn Boy”<sup>192</sup> and “Bloodhounds” from the same year. While the first is an oil painting, the latter is the only artwork done with stencil technique. A connection to the exhibition can be only established through the use of a similar motif and the date. “Attack of the Badly Drawn Boy” was shown in the later Severnshed Exhibition in 2000. In the *Knowledge Magazine* article from 1999,<sup>193</sup> there is a photo of Banksy’s studio that shows a snippet of an earlier stage of the painting, the same stage is documented in a photo in *Hip Hop Connection*.<sup>194</sup> The canvas was presented during the an event at the nightclub boat Thekla called the *Dunk Show* on January 29, 1999.<sup>195</sup> It most likely hung in the Easton Exhibition.

Banksy’s painting “Do Community Service” was the only Banksy painting from that show pictured in a photo in a review.<sup>196</sup> A man dressed in a mascot costume being arrested by two police officers after having applied red paint on the wall behind him. Banksy wants to ridicule the power of authority during riots and in general. In the

191 Marcus James: [Interview with Banksy], *Knowledge Magazine*, 1999, p. 33. *Knowledge Magazine* aka *Kmag* was a UK jungle/Drum & Bass magazine for “drum & bass, hip hop, breaks and street culture”, first issue was Dec. 1994, last issue 2009. In 1999 five numbers were issued, 8–12, <https://web.archive.org/web/20011211142709/http://knowledgemag.co.uk/backissues.shtml>

192 The title refers to a character in an animated TV children show called *The Magic Ball* (1971–72). A UK rock band around 2000 also inspired by this TV show character is called *Badly Drawn Boy*.

193 Marcus James: [Interview with Banksy], *Knowledge Magazine*, 1999, p. 33.

194 Boyd Hill: *The Enemy Within*. Bristol’s Banksy bucks the system. *Hip Hop Connection* 136, April 2000, p. 93.

195 *Dunk @ Thekla* dated 29/Jan/1999, Bristol 1999, 2:32min., uploaded on Youtube by Disc Shop Zero on 31 January 2011 [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EeuGl7\\_5sfo](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EeuGl7_5sfo) Contradiction: Banksy dated his graffiti mural “Bugged Out / Battle Information” to October 1999, but it is in the Thekla video. In Felix Braun: *Children of the Can*, Bristol 2008, p. 133 it is dated to 1997 which seems more plausible stylistically.

196 Jacob KG [Kelly] posted an undated, unnamed local article reviewing the Easton show, 18.06.2019, <https://www.instagram.com/p/By3UHflgvKv/>

same vein, people often wore mascot costumes during riots. By appearing in a more child-friendly way, they are simultaneously making fun of authority, as mascots are seen as a friendly creature under normal circumstances. This motif was used one year later as an album cover for *Do Community Service* by Monk & Canatella.<sup>197</sup> The figures of police officers are ridiculed in a cruder way in the artwork “It’s tough love as all cops know”<sup>198</sup> (fig. 9). Aiming to make fun of public morality, the work has sexual overtones and features two partially undressed women wearing police hats. One is bent over in front of the other, who has a bear puppet on her hand. Banksy questions and mocks the authority and morality of the police by showing the women wearing uniforms as a kind of role-play or fetishism.

The topic of riots is explored more fully in the canvases “People Di Everyday/Riot Painting” and “More Public Disorder”. Another riot scene from that time exists (fig. 7b). It was not on canvas but on a wall on the back of the Sugar House, Bristol.

Similar to the dead tree stencil in the freehand piece *Visual Warfare in Cato Street* (1998), this could also have been a detail stencil within a larger freehand composition.<sup>199</sup> All these riot scenes demonstrate the defiant character of Banksy and his preferred lifestyle at that time, as he disclosed in an interview with *Hip Hop Connection* in April 2000:

“I’ve been to a few and I like it when the world’s turned on its head. It’s something that taking drugs will never give you. (...) I’ve got a passion for rioting and it makes good pictures.”<sup>200</sup>

“More Public Disorder” was on display at the Easton show.<sup>201</sup> It shows a distinct riot scene. The crowd is moving towards the right side of the painting ready to throw stones. Two distinct figurative office workers in the center stand out due to their cool clothes. Their movement within the frame follows the same the direction as the crowd, which may represent union between employers and workers.

“People Di Everyday/Riot Painting” depicts maybe the first version of Banksy’s signature stencil motif “Flower Bomber.”<sup>202</sup> In an interview with *Arena Magazine* in

197 “Do Community Service” by electronic artists Monk and Canatella was published in UK in 2000 by Cup of Tea Records: <https://www.discogs.com/de/Monk-Canatella-Do-Community-Service/release/101762>. The cover was a collaboration with Banksy’s later POW colleague (Paul) Insect (\*1971).

198 Boyd Hill: The Enemy Within. Bristol’s Banksy bucks the system, *Hip Hop Connection* 136, April 2000, p. 95.

199 Photo and info see <https://urbanartassociation.com/post/1956855>

200 *Ibid.*, p. 94.

201 According to Banksy Archive, 31.01.2022, <https://www.instagram.com/p/CZaUiZas6a2/>

202 In 2023, Leonie Laws, lent another early Flower Bomber painting also dated to „1997“ to an [unofficial] The Art of Banksy show in London. Contrary to the capture in the show this seems not to be a „screenprint“, but spray stencil on board. The Monk and Canatella member Leonie Laws was in an „on and off again“ relationship with Banksy in the 1990s. This early single Flower Bomber was a Valentine Gift for Laws. Banksy also designed an album cover for Monk and Canatella. Hint by Cosmic.

2004, Banksy states that the idea for “People Di Everyday/Riot Painting” arose through circumstance of him showing “More Public Disorder” to his mother:

“A few years ago I spent too much time diligently painting a riot scene with two cool guys walking down the middle. Quite a childish picture, I don’t even know what I was doing. It was the first time I’d shown her one of that style of picture and she looked at it for about a quarter of a second and said: “Why can’t you paint something nice like flowers?” So I went away and drew a picture of a rioter with a bunch of flowers in his hand just to cheese her off. It was a few month later that I realized it was quite a good picture.”<sup>203</sup>

In 2011 Banksy showed this work in a group show stating: “When I was a kid I spent all times drawing guns and violence. Then I grew up and spent all my time drawing guns and violence. This picture was the first time I tried to make a ‘proper’ painting. Which explains why I stuck with the stencils.”<sup>204</sup> Banksy seemed to have reworked this painting twice.<sup>205</sup> In 2001 he removed his tag and changed increased the contrast of a badly visible background figure. For 2011 he changed the throwing hand and the bunch of flowers of the main figure and removed the clouds.

So either “People Di Everyday/Riot Painting” or “More Public Disorder” was Banksy’s first painting. The face in this early version of the main motif of the Flower Bomber on canvas has an angry, almost aggressive expression he took from a staged photo of a molotov cocktail thrower in a spoof BP advert in a 1987 anarchist newspaper.<sup>206</sup> In his 2023 retrospective, Banksy showed a “first version” of this angry Flower Bomber stenciled on paper (not illustrated in the catalog though) and told another version of this back story, as directly inspired by Bristol’s Hatcliffe Riots after July 17th, 1992, i.e. half a decade earlier.<sup>207</sup> His later stencil would develop a more neutral expression. The essence of ambiguity is already present with the element of the flowers, as Si Mitchell wrote:

“One riot scene, ‘People Di Every Day’ (caused by “the mob sentimentality that swept Britain when Princes Diana died”), includes two figures inspired by that ubiquitous Paris ‘68 brick throwers photograph.”<sup>208</sup> Another character is modelled on the girl who was snapped belting a riot cop with a scaffold bar during the 1990 Poll Tax riot in

203 Steve Beale: First against the wall. In: *Arena Magazine*, January 2004, p. 153.

204 Banksy, sign next to the painting during Arts in the Streets group show in MOCA Los Angeles.

205 Urban Art Association User Cosmic was the first to see differences between the Severnshed and the Moca version, 01.12.2019, <https://urbanartassociation.com/thread/160494/original-inspiration-banksy-images?page=3>

206 Attack: The Voice of Respectable Moderation, [Anarchist Newspaper] London, November 1987, p. 13. <https://issuu.com/randalljaykay/docs/attacknovember1987>

207 Banksy: Cut & Run. Exhibition catalog, Glasgow 2023, p. 24–25.

208 Students hurling projectiles against the police, Paris, 6th Arrondissement, Boulevard Saint-Germain. May 1968. Photo. Bruno Barbey / Magnum Photo, <https://content.magnumphotos.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/cortex/par4104-teaser-story-big.jpg>



Trafalgar Square (“That was the girl I wanted to marry,” says Banksy). But instead of bars and bricks, Banksy’s figures throw flowers. Fluffy meets Spiky again.”<sup>209</sup>

Fluffy grannies in front of a spiky burning supermarket are depicted in another similar painted riot scene called Ghetto Supermarket/Superstore, which was in the Easton share house show<sup>210</sup>, but more likely hung in the Severnshed show as well.<sup>211</sup>

The work “Heavy Weaponary [frontal version]”<sup>212</sup> (of uncertain medium) and the small drawing “Heavy Weaponary [peace]” (1996)<sup>213</sup> are early realizations of Banksy’s stencil “Heavy Weaponary,” also known as “Elephant with Rocket Launcher,” which Banksy stenciled in 1997 in the Ashton Court mural, or in 1998, where it was part of his mural for *Walls on Fire*. The elephant is powerful and peaceful at the same time, like a graffiti “bomber” who uses paint (or a wrench, as in the drawing) as a tool for peace. The Flickr user and apparent owner who uploaded the drawing, is called Andy Spanners, perhaps a pun on “spanner,” the British word for “wrench.”<sup>214</sup> “Heavy Weaponary” can be seen as a self-portrait. It is deliberately spelled wrong; “nary” means “not one,” and could be interpreted as a form of disagreement of the first half of the word.

The figure of the elephant appears in “Drawing Elephant” as a metaphor for art and creation. This motif is also shown in the painting “Modern Art Can Suck My Cock,” in which a painter is seen at work. He is in the process of portraying an abstract dragon-like figure on a chair as a human on the canvas. Banksy put a preparatory drawing of it on his website years later.<sup>215</sup>

In the paintings “The Drummer” and “The DJ,” Banksy dealt with pop music. His “art dealer” and manager at the time, Stephen Earl, was a DJ as well, and sold at least two further stencils on canvas showing twice the same DJ with a crane hanging over him like the sword of Damocles: “The stencil depicts a disc jockey or DJ with decks who looks skyward toward a looming crane with impending doom. Like many who believe that the popular arcade classic “The Claw Machine” is rigged, Banksy too hints at a sort of prankish unfairness in the club scene where DJ’s can be replaced at a moment’s notice at the claw’s whim. Whether the claw is an allegory for the public’s favor or for some higher power like the club’s management/music business in general is up to interpretation. Banksy may also be commenting on Bristol’s experimentally focused musical space where in one night there could be different DJs sampling a mix of styles including Reggae, Hip-Hop, Pop, Garage, Jazz, and Punk as if it were a

209 Si Mitchell: Banksy. Painting and Decorating, In: Level magazine, No. 08, June/July 2000, p. 69.

210 According to Banksy Archive, 31.01.2022, <https://www.instagram.com/p/CZaUiZas6a2/>

211 See chapter 2.8.

212 Descriptive title.

213 Descriptive title.

214 Flickr user Andy [Spanners], profile: <https://www.Flickr.com/photos/andyspanners/>

215 Banksy’s website (state 2007) [https://web.archive.org/web/20071006051217/http://www.banksy.co.uk:80/drawing/draw\\_frameset.html](https://web.archive.org/web/20071006051217/http://www.banksy.co.uk:80/drawing/draw_frameset.html)

game.”<sup>216</sup> Banksy called a photo print of a street stencil version of it “Grab a DJ and Make a Star” and dated it to 1999.<sup>217</sup>

The painting “Rubber Ducky” is a problematic work. On its website, Andipa Gallery, which is an experienced unauthorized Banksy secondary market trader, dates it to 2006 and lists its measurements as 91 × 91 cm.<sup>218</sup> Similar Banksy secondary market traders, the Lionel Gallery, did not date it on their website, but measure it 90 × 90 cm.<sup>219</sup> The un-authorized secondary market exhibition *Banksy. Laugh Now* (2017, MOCO, Amsterdam) was produced by the Lionel Gallery as well. In the catalogue, the painting grew to 98 × 98 cm, was dated to 1998, and in the photo the work is trimmed—Banksy’s signature stencil is missing.<sup>220</sup> The catalogue listed the provenance as “Private Collection, United Kingdom.” Like “Drummer,” this work was never shown in an authorized Banksy publication or exhibition. Unlike “Drummer” and “Ghetto Supermarket,” however, it was also never discussed early on in forums. From a stylistic point of view, a date previous to 2003 would make sense, as Banksy rarely signed his works with a stencil on the front after this. More precisely, it was most likely produced around 1999, as it shows similarity to Banksy painting “Sharks (Painting everyone always says they want to buy but no one does)” in that it tells another funny shark story. Based on photographic documentation, it seems that Banksy chose to include it in neither the Easton exhibition (or at least not photographed by Simmons), nor in the better documented Severnshed show. Also works like both “Grab a DJ and Make a Star” or “Police Officers with Tracking Dogs” seemed to be sold straight from the studio by Banksy himself or Stephen Earl.

216 Julien’s Auctions: Lot 256: Untitled (Dj & Crane), 1999. <https://www.julienlive.com/view-auctions/catalog/id/176/lot/75786/BANKSY-British-1974>

217 Grab a DJ and Make a Star: Bristol 1999. Just after the Severnshed exhibition Banksy released a set of 15 photographs (edition of 50), 9 of which featured stencil work that was allegedly photographed by Banksy himself, see auction house Catawiki <https://auction.catawiki.com/kavels/13657223-bristol-photography-x-banksy-grab-a-dj-and-make-a-star> In the Nottingham graffiti magazine—Big Daddy, issue 04, 2000, p. 45—the street stencil is dated “Bristol 1997”.

218 Andipa Gallery: <http://andipa.com/artist/banksy/rubber-ducky>

219 Lionel Gallery: <http://www.lionelgallery.com/en/collection/banksy-rubber-ducky/>

220 Kim Logchies, Lionel Logchies, Sheela van der Veldt, Victoria Elisabeth Clemmensen: Banksy Laugh Now. Exhibition Catalogue, MOCO Amsterdam 2017, p. 68–69.

Banksy also sold works through the clothing shop Alterior in 1999,<sup>221</sup> 2000,<sup>222</sup> or/ and 2001,<sup>223</sup> but the urge is similar—going professional as an artist, both formally and financially.

## List of Works

### Persecution

- Easton Exhibition Sticker<sup>224</sup>, print on paper, ca. 1999

- 221 Bristolgraffiti-Blogger: “we had a chat about auctioning Banksys in the summer, and he said he had a Sid Vicious style piece he’d bought at the show i’m annoyed i missed, Alterior on Park Street in ’99.” Bonhams contemporary art auction Feb ’08—the Banksy lots. December 23, 2007. <https://bristolgraffiti.wordpress.com/2007/12/23/bonhams-contemporary-art-auction-feb-08-the-banksy-lots/>
- 222 Bonhams: <http://www.bonhams.com/auctions/16259/lot/62/> In July 2000, Banksy showed and sold works at the gallery space of Alterior clothes shop in Park Street, Bristol. See scan of the flyer, <https://urbanartassociation.com/thread/110932/obscure-banksy-pieces?page%5Cu003d2&page=21> It is possible that the other dates (1999, 2001) are due to bad memory.
- 223 “The five striking pieces on display this month show the breadth of an art form misunderstood by many as simple vandalism. From Banksy’s simple but effective picture of a girl clutching a bomb to the riot of colour in Will Barras’ work and Mr Jago’s edgy portrait, this is far removed from the ‘tagging’ so often associated with street art.” Bristol Evening Post: Wearing the label of street art, 22 June 2001 [http://docs.newsbank.com/s/InfoWeb/aggdocs/UKNB/0F68876715E4591D/0F8BFF68D3921800?p\\_multi=BEP1&ts\\_lang=en-US](http://docs.newsbank.com/s/InfoWeb/aggdocs/UKNB/0F68876715E4591D/0F8BFF68D3921800?p_multi=BEP1&ts_lang=en-US) A bomb hugging girl, maybe [the selling date differs] the one mentionend in the quote above, was sold via Bonhams on 05.02.2008, <https://www.bonhams.com/auctions/16259/lot/62/> as “Bomb Love”, 2000, stencilled signature, stencil spray paint on board, 58.5 × 58.5cm. “Provenance: Alterior, Park Street, Bristol, 2000.” Maybe after the “Peace is Tough” show in Glasgow Banksy sold some pieces at Alterior in 2001 (visible on this photo exhibited at the Vanguard | Bristol Street Art at Bristol Museum 26.6.–31.10.2021, uploaded by buffin 123 on 14.09.2021, <https://www.instagram.com/p/CTyxZ3AMJOI/>): The I Fought the law canvas [on display before in Glasgow], Avon and Somerset Constabery [blue version] (<https://www.bonhams.com/auctions/14942/lot/146/>), Sid Vicious [white circle version] (<https://www.bonhams.com/auctions/16259/lot/19/>) and “Laugh Now Barcode [Monkey]” were on display, the last one stencilled on white fake mold and gold-framed, signed with the stencilled Banksy tag. Uploaded by the inofficial The Art of Banksy show in Göteborg on 02.08.2019, <https://www.instagram.com/p/BopwaOfHO5P/>
- 224 Steve Wright / Richard Jones: Banksy’s Bristol. Home Sweet Home. Tangent Books, Bristol 2016, p. 45.

- *Attack of the Badly Drawn Boy*, 74 × 96 cm, oil on board with stencil spray paint, 2000<sup>225</sup>, signed with stenciled Banksy tag, an earlier version was painted prior January 29<sup>th</sup> 1999<sup>226</sup>, a new version of the painting with same motif was shown during the “Severnshed Exhibition” in Bristol, February 2000.<sup>227</sup>

## Police

- Bloodhounds, 1998, spray paint on board, 22,8 × 71,1 cm, 1998<sup>228</sup>, sold for £10.00 to unknown buyer, who still was the owner of the artwork in 2013.<sup>229</sup> Before April 2000, Banksy combined this stencil with the inscription “Nowhere will you find the statue of a critic or the biography of a committee”<sup>230</sup> (fig. 8). The image is a variation of the logo of French music label Hostile Records, Banksy removed the guns and some of the persecutors.<sup>231</sup>
- Do Community Service, alternative title: Clown with Cops, 1998<sup>232</sup>

225 Rikard Anderson: <https://banksyunofficial.com/2017/04/16/early-exhibition-in-easton-1998/#jp-carousel-864>. Photos by Mark Simmons.

226 The canvas was already shown in *Dunk @ Thekla* dated 29/Jan/1999, Bristol 1999, 2:32min., uploaded on Youtube by Disc Shop Zero on 31 January 2011 [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EeuGl7\\_5sfo](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EeuGl7_5sfo) Contradiction: Banksy dated his graffiti mural “Bugged Out / Battle Information” to October (!) 1999, but it is in the *Thekla* video.

227 Photo from the Severnshed show, 2000, uploaded by Melfleasance on 5 March 2008, copied from the then still functioning Bristolbeat-website. <https://www.flickr.com/photos/24387752@No7/2312865622/in/photostream/>; different photo: <https://banksyexplained.com/attack-of-the-badly-drawn-boy-2000/>

228 Backside shows handwriting of Banksy stating 1998, see Urban Art Association forum user Ilmambo in thread *Obscure Banksy pieces?*, 13 November 2013 <http://urbanartassociation.com/thread/110932/obscure-banksy-pieces?scrollTo=1127831&page=8>

229 Urban Art Association forum user Vivelarepublique in thread *Obscure Banksy pieces?*, 13 November 2013 <http://urbanartassociation.com/thread/110932/obscure-banksy-pieces?scrollTo=1127831&page=8> 13 November 2013, with thread *Obscure Banksy Pieces*.

230 Photo in Boyd Hill: *The Enemy Within*. Bristol’s Banksy bucks the system. In: *Hip Hop Connection* 136, April 2000, p. 94/95. Different version of the same stencil: <https://capturingbanksy.files.wordpress.com/2012/06/nowhere.jpg>

231 In Bristol, Banksy also stenciled only one the main persecutor with the dogs on a wall, this time combined with his tag: Banksy got away with it. Photo uploaded by Bristol Archivist, 28.01.2019, <https://www.instagram.com/p/BtKLEy7HLYo/>; because of the small-letter-a-Banksy tag this might be rather from 1998 than 1997 (capture on Instagram). For the Hostile Records logo see <https://www.discogs.com/label/36977-Hostile-Records/>; the logo was already on the compilation “*Hostile Hip Hop 2*”, published 13.02.1998, <https://www.discogs.com/ru/release/8080787-Various-Hostile-Hip-Hop-2>

232 See <https://banksyexplained.com/clown-with-cops-1998/>; pictured in Steve Wright / Richard Jones: *Banksy’s Bristol. Home Sweet Home*. Tangent Books, Bristol 2016, p. 67. The canvas was on the cover (and inside) of *Venue Bristol* magazine, No. 423, 7-21.08.1998 and later

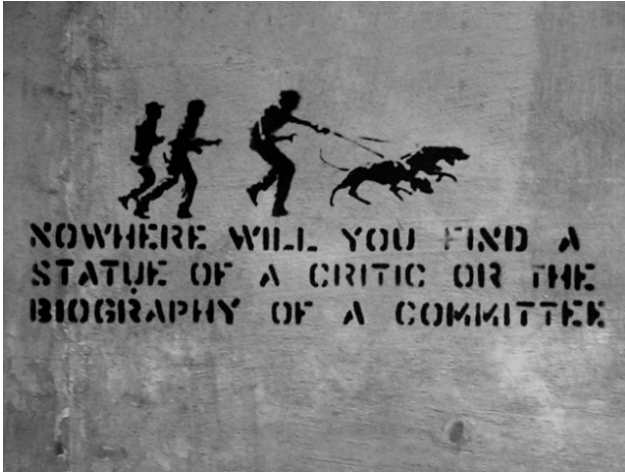


Fig. 8: "Nowhere will you find the statue of a critic or the biography of a committee", stencil, ca. 2000. Source: <https://capturingbanksy.files.wordpress.com/2012/06/nowhere.jpg>

- It's Tough Love as All Cops Know, 1997–99<sup>233</sup> (fig. 9)



Fig. 9: Banksy, "It's Tough Love as All Cops Know," 1997–99. Source: Boyd Hill: The Enemy Within. Bristol's Banksy bucks the system. In: *Hip Hop Connection* 136, April 2000, p. 95.

shown during Dunk Show at Thecla dated on Youtube January 29th 1999, [https://youtu.be/EeuGl7\\_5sfo?t=42](https://youtu.be/EeuGl7_5sfo?t=42)

233 Boyd Hill: The Enemy Within. Bristol's Banksy bucks the system. In: *Hip Hop Connection* 136, April 2000, p. 95. Premise that it was already shown in this source, and that Banksy stated

## Riots

- *People Di Everyday*<sup>234</sup> [*first version*], alternative titles: *Flower Power*<sup>235</sup>, *People Di all the Time*<sup>236</sup>, Riot Painting, “acrylic paint, oil stick and guesswork on wood”<sup>237</sup>, 1997–99<sup>238</sup>
- More Public Disorder<sup>239</sup>, alternative title: Riot on the Move<sup>240</sup>, 1997–99
- Ghetto Supermarket<sup>241</sup>, alternative title: Ghetto Superstore, large canvas, previous owner Banksy’s ex manager Stephen Earl (?) (†2007)<sup>242</sup>, signed with stenciled Banksy tag, the similarities in style with the other canvases enable to date the artwork to late 1999/ early 2000<sup>243</sup> (fig. 10)
- A T-Shirt entitled Ghetto Superstore was shown in Genua by Antipa gallery in 2019<sup>244</sup>

to easel paint since 1997, see Marcus James: [Interview with Banksy], Knowledge Magazine 1999, p. 33.

- 234 Photo and title posted by Robert Klimek, March 12, 2008 <https://www.Flickr.com/photos/24552058@N07/2328912785>
- 235 Steve Wright / Richard Jones: Banksy’s Bristol. Home Sweet Home. Tangent Books, Bristol 2016, p. 87.
- 236 Bristolbeat.co.uk (state 2001): [https://web.archive.org/web/20010831181508/http://www.bristolbeat.co.uk:80/artists/banksy/exhibition.asp?Artist=Banksy\\_Exhib&image=2](https://web.archive.org/web/20010831181508/http://www.bristolbeat.co.uk:80/artists/banksy/exhibition.asp?Artist=Banksy_Exhib&image=2)
- 237 According to Banksy in a sign next to the work shown during the MOCA group show in Los Angeles in 2011. See [https://pp.userapi.com/c4928/u1515830/132544551/x\\_086f31cc.jpg](https://pp.userapi.com/c4928/u1515830/132544551/x_086f31cc.jpg)
- 238 1999 according to Steve Wright / Richard Jones: Banksy’s Bristol. Home Sweet Home. Tangent Books, Bristol 2016, p. 87, Banksy stated “1997” when he exhibited the painting again at the MOCA show in Los Angeles in 2011. See [https://pp.userapi.com/c4928/u1515830/132544551/x\\_086f31cc.jpg](https://pp.userapi.com/c4928/u1515830/132544551/x_086f31cc.jpg)
- 239 Steve Wright / Richard Jones: Banksy’s Bristol. Home Sweet Home. Tangent Books, Bristol 2016, p. 42.
- 240 Rikard Anderson, 16.4.2017, <https://banksyunofficial.com/2017/04/16/early-exhibition-in-easton-1998/#jp-carousel-864>. Photos by Mark Simmons.
- 241 Title given by Daniel Silk in 2010: <http://urbanartassociation.com/thread/46265/banksy-ghetto-supermarket> See also his photo and info uploaded by Silky on 10 January 2010 <https://www.Flickr.com/photos/silksilky/4263729354/>
- 242 Martin Worster: Banksy vs Bristol Museum—Review, 02.07.2009, <https://martinworster.wordpress.com/2009/07/02/63-banksy-vs-bristol-museum-review/>; hint by Cosmic: The size of the stencil tool of one of the figures visible in the BBC Channel 4 docu “Shadow People” (dir: Wendie Ottewill, 11Min.) from 15.04.2000 also point to a large work.
- 243 Hint by Cosmic: The stencil tool of one silhouettes from this large painting is visible in the Banksy Channel 4 docu from 14.05.2000 (3.52 min.). Banksy later quoted a different part of that video in his B-Movie.
- 244 I’m grateful to Cosmic for pointing this out to me. For a photo see <https://www.mentelocale.it/images/fotogallery/full/8422-91252.jpg>. Maybe this was the sold out Banksy T-shirt from the Easton show mentioned in the review.





Fig. 10: Ghetto Supermarket, ca. 1999. Source: <https://www.Flickr.com/photos/silkysilky/4263729354/>

## Weaponry

- “Heavy Weaponary” [frontal version], 1997–99<sup>245</sup> (fig. 11)
- “Heavy Weaponary” [Peace], 3 × 5 cm, biro and acrylic on card, signed on reverse, 1996<sup>246</sup> (fig. 12a and 12b)
- Grenade, 17.5 × 15.5 cm, spray paint on panel, Banksy used a grenade (Bang! + Bombing = Banksy) as a street stencil as well<sup>247</sup>, 1999<sup>248</sup>
- Armored Car [first version], ca. 1997–98<sup>249</sup>

## Art

- Drawing Elephant, 1997–99<sup>250</sup>

245 Marcus James: [Interview with Banksy], Knowledge Magazine, 1999, p. 33.

246 Photo and info by Andy on 15 March 2008: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/andyspanners/2337346118>

247 Illustrated in Steve Wright / Richard Jones: Banksy’s Bristol. Home Sweet Home. Tangent Books, Bristol 2016, p. 21.

248 Andipa Gallery: <http://andipa.com/artist/banksy/grenade>

249 A version of this was offered on French Ebay in June 2014, [Trimmed] photo in Felix Braun: Children of the Can, Bristol 2012, p. 50.

250 Marcus James: [Interview with Banksy], Knowledge Magazine, 1999, p. 33.

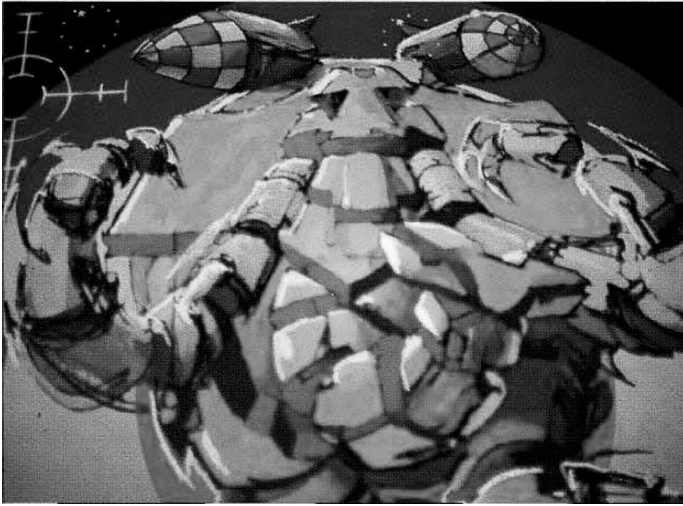


Fig. 11, Heavy Weaponary [frontal version], ca. 1997–99. Source: Marcus James: [Interview with Banksy], Knowledge Magazine, 1999, p. 33.

- “*Modern Art Can Suck My Cock* [preparatory drawing]<sup>251</sup>, ca. 1998–99 (fig. 14)
- “*Modern Art Can Suck My Cock*,”<sup>252</sup> alternative titles: “*Artist at Work*,”<sup>253</sup> “*Portrait of an Artist*,”<sup>254</sup> 100 × 141cm, stencil spray-paint signature, oil on canvas,<sup>255</sup> ca. 1998–99<sup>256</sup> This painting exists/existed in two versions.<sup>257</sup>

251 Banksy put this drawing on his website in 2007. [https://web.archive.org/web/20071006051217/http://www.banksy.co.uk:80/drawing/draw\\_frameset.html](https://web.archive.org/web/20071006051217/http://www.banksy.co.uk:80/drawing/draw_frameset.html)

252 Steve Wright / Richard Jones: *Banksy’s Bristol. Home Sweet Home*. Tangent Books, Bristol 2016, p. 45.

253 Anderson, Rikard <https://banksyunofficial.com/2017/04/16/early-exhibition-in-easton-1998/#jp-carousel-860>. Photos by Mark Simmons.

254 Photo and Info see <https://www.bonhams.com/auctions/18726/lot/45/>

255 Ibid.

256 Steve Wright / Richard Jones: *Banksy’s Bristol. Home Sweet Home*. Tangent Books, Bristol 2016, p. 45.

257 An alternative version is visible in an undated studio shot by Steve Lazarides: *Banksy Captured*. Vol. 1. London 2019, p. 107. Hint by Cosmic.



Fig. 12a: Heavy Weaponry [Peace], 3 × 5 cm, biro and acrylic on card, signed on reverse, 1996. Source: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/andyspanners/2337346118>

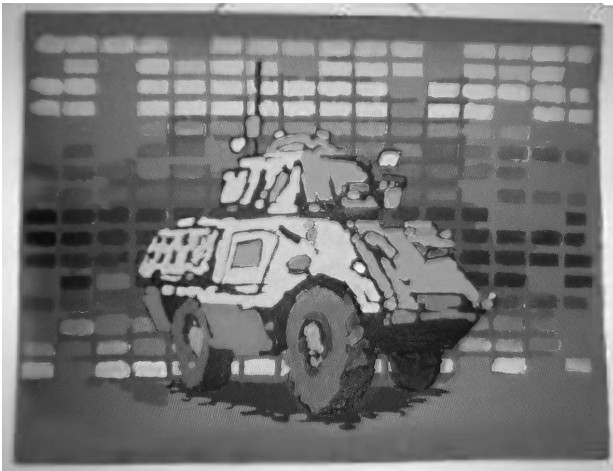


Fig. 12b: Armored Car [first version], ca. 1997–98. Photomerge reconstruction by the editor.

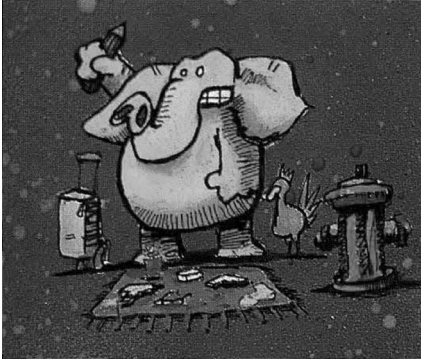


Fig. 13: Drawing Elephant, ca. 1997–99. Source: Marcus James: [Interview with Banksy], Knowledge Magazine, 1999, p. 33.

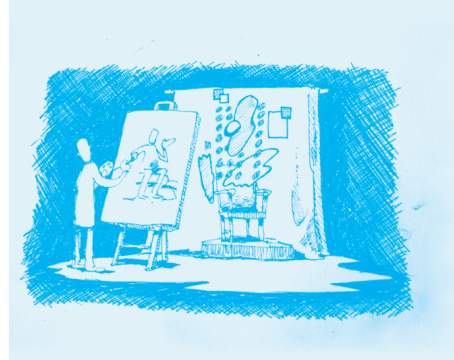


Fig. 14: Modern Art Can Suck My Cock [preparatory drawing], ca. 1998–99. Source: [https://web.archive.org/web/20071006051217/http://www.banksy.co.uk:80/drawing/draw\\_frameset.html](https://web.archive.org/web/20071006051217/http://www.banksy.co.uk:80/drawing/draw_frameset.html)

## Music

- Drummer<sup>258</sup>, 1997–99<sup>259</sup>
- DJ, 1997–99<sup>260</sup>
- Cloud DJ (DJ Clouds), [70 or] 71 × 74 cm, 1998–99, acrylic and spray paint on wood, 1998–99, Private Collection, UK.<sup>261</sup> Variation of “Grab a DJ and Make a Star”. The crane (grab) is missing here, as is the star in Untitled (Dj & Crane). Cloud DJ shows a DJ in front of clouds and a circular saw stencil, recalling Banksy’s Weston Super Mare piece. According to it was intended to be used as the cover art for a Massive Attack album and shows their frontman Robert del Naja.<sup>262</sup>

258 Urban Art Association forum user Stender in thread Obscure Banksy pieces?, 7 February 2017 <http://urbanartassociation.com/thread/110932/obscure-banksy-pieces?page=29>, photo: <https://image.ibb.co/d1FyFa/S6301077.jpg>

259 Descriptive title by the author of this text.

260 Marcus James: [Interview with Banksy], Knowledge Magazine, 1999, p. 33.

261 Kim Logchies, Lionel Logchies, Sheela van der Veldt, Victoria Elisabeth Clemmensen: Banksy Laugh Now. Exhibition Catalogue, MOCO Amsterdam 2017, p. 70–71. See also auction house Catawiki <https://auction.catawiki.com/kavels/13657223-bristol-photography-x-banksy-grab-a-dj-and-make-a-star>

262 Rockdoc999: Banksy’s Cover Art for a Massive Attack Album That Was Never Used. 30.05.2022, <https://recordart.net/2022/05/30/banksys-cover-art-for-a-massive-attack-album-that-was-never-used/>; as Del Naja usually designs the Massive Attack covers and the band were three people (at that time), only one person on the cover is therefore unlikely IMO. There is, however, a 12 inch promo record by Massive Attack called Razor Promo Vol 1, the edge of



Fig. 15: Drummer, ca. 1997–99.  
Source: <https://image.ibb.co/d1FyFa/S6301077.jpg>



Fig. 16: DJ, ca. 1997–99. Source: Marcus James: [Interview with Banksy], Knowledge Magazine, 1999, p. 33.

- DJ & Crane, ca. 62 × 60 cm, hand-painted acrylic and aerosol on wood, signed with stenciled **BANKSY** tag vertically to upper right, 1998<sup>263</sup>, acquired from Stephen Earl, Banksy's manager until mid-2002. Banksy entitled a street stencil version of that motif in a photoprint "Grab a DJ and Make a Star".<sup>264</sup> The star is missing here.
- Rubber Ducky, 98 × 98 cm, oil on canvas, signed with stenciled Banksy tag, 1998, Private Collection UK<sup>265</sup> (fig. 17)

vinyl is cut into a razor/saw type shape similar to the background of DJ Clouds, <https://www.discogs.com/de/release/739105-Massive-Attack-Razor-Promo-Vol-1>

263 Julien's Auctions: <https://www.julienslive.com/view-auctions/catalog/id/176/lot/75786/BANKSY-British-1974>; here dated to 1999, because of the capital A Banksy tag, I suggest rather 1998.

264 Auction house Catawiki <https://auction.catawiki.com/kavels/13657223-bristol-photography-x-banksy-grab-a-dj-and-make-a-star>

265 Kim Logchies, Lionel Logchies, Sheela van der Veldt, Victoria Elisabeth Clemmensen: Banksy Laugh Now. Exhibition Catalogue, MOCO Amsterdam 2017, p. 68–69. Other photo: [http://andipa.com/sites/default/files/artwork/Banksy%2C%20Rubber%20Ducky%202006%20cm.%2091%20x%2091\\_0384.jpg](http://andipa.com/sites/default/files/artwork/Banksy%2C%20Rubber%20Ducky%202006%20cm.%2091%20x%2091_0384.jpg)





Fig. 17: Rubber Ducky, 98 × 98 cm, oil on canvas, signed with stenciled Banksy tag, 1998 or later, Private Collection UK. Source: [http://andipa.com/sites/default/files/artwork/Banksy%2C%20Rubber%20Ducky%202006%20cm.%2091%20x%2091\\_0384.jpg](http://andipa.com/sites/default/files/artwork/Banksy%2C%20Rubber%20Ducky%202006%20cm.%2091%20x%2091_0384.jpg)

## 2.7 2000 (28 Feb. – 3 Apr.) \*Banksy Exhibition, New Paintings, Photographs and Graffiti, Severnshed Restaurant, Bristol

Starting at the end of February 2000, Banksy hosted an exhibition in Bristol’s Severnshed Restaurant, at The Grove, Bristol. It was the artist’s first indoor solo exhibition for the general public, called *Banksy Exhibition. New Paintings, Photographs and Graffiti*. According to the flyer, admission was free and the show was open during the opening times of the bar and restaurant.

A restaurant is still an unconventional venue for a graffiti-writer-turned-street-artist. Banksy either deliberately avoided classical art institution spaces or did not have the opportunity to make use of them, like many young emerging artists. “Apparently Banksy, graffiti artist and painter of growing renown, is skeptical about showing art work anywhere that charges people to see it, or where there’s no beer to be had. In showing at Severnshed he’s found an answer: a thoughtfully arranged exhibition in a pleasantly set out bar/restaurant down by the river... and it’s a short walk from one of his larger murals. Some great paintings, smart titles and a few familiar faces and themes showing up from his street work.”<sup>266</sup> The listings magazine *Venue Bristol* and Wall of

<sup>266</sup> Press text, written by Birse or/and Banksy. Bristolbeat (state 2002) <https://web.archive.org/web/20020108013125/http://www.bristolbeat.co.uk:80/artists/banksy/exhibition.asp>



Sound, the record label for which Banksy did graphic design work at the time, presented the show. The exhibition was photographically documented in 2000,<sup>267</sup> including the titles, on the now defunct website [Bristolbeat.co.uk](http://bristolbeat.co.uk),<sup>268</sup> an online Bristol-centric magazine, and was copied to Flickr in 2008.

The motto of the show on all three flyers (see fig. 18a and 18b) was: “Extremism in defense of liberty is no vice.”<sup>269</sup> Only the stenciled board “Filth,” an early version of Banksy’s Flying Coppers motif—still overloaded with Mickey Mouse ears and a screen monitor head—was actually in the show. The other two flyer motifs the HMV dog Nipper with a bazooka and the “Golf Sale” tank man were not in the show, at least according to the Bristolbeat-photos.

In an interview from underground culture magazine *Gunfight29* Banksy talked about the show as well, accompanied by the “curator of the show” Robert Birse. Save for three allegedly, all works were sold out after just one day.<sup>270</sup> Banksy and Birse also talked about the show in a radio interview with BBC Bristol just before his Severnshed Exhibition opened.<sup>271</sup> Banksy explained his motivation to do the show to make a living as an artist (“I’m old-fashioned, I like to eat”) and also about the transfer from street graffiti to canvas: “I’m trying to make canvases work, better than graffiti can work, as you can take time on it. Graffiti does not always turn out the way you like it because you’re rushing, you’re panicking or whatever. The question is trying to get the adrenaline rush you get when you’re doing graffiti into a canvas. That’s the problem I’m having.”<sup>272</sup> None of the pieces depict indoor scenes. He transferred the street style aesthetics from out- to indoors by using street sign imagery, especially in the works with lettering. All pieces carried his trademark signature that Bristolians knew from the street, and they knew some of the motifs from there as well.

Banksy also talked about his approach on the street: “I’m putting the wall first and the picture second,” and his motivation: “I don’t have a particular agenda with what I’m doing. I like to be funny, you know? [...] I consider it a victimless crime what I do

267 Bristolbeat (state 2009) <https://web.archive.org/web/20090412121957/http://www.bristolbeat.co.uk:80/>

268 Bristolbeat (state 2002) <https://web.archive.org/web/20020108013125/http://www.bristolbeat.co.uk:80/artists/banksy/exhibition.asp>

269 [bristolbeat.co.uk](http://bristolbeat.co.uk) (state: 2007) <https://web.archive.org/web/20070425131650/http://www.bristolbeat.co.uk/artists/banksy/exhibition.asp?Artist=Banksy%5FExhib&image=6>

270 [James] Lucas, Trevor Jackson: [alias The Boy Lucas]: Banksy [Interview]. In: [gratis magazine] *Gunfight 29*. No. 3. 2000. Unpaged.

271 Banksy in a BBC Radio feature from 2000, 3:00 min. uploaded by Matt Spqr on Youtube as Banksy Severnshed 2000 on Feb 28, 2010 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gQrmoje-eoI> Birse was also involved in one of the Zapatista charity shows, called “Come on You Reds!”, see chapter 3.5.)

272 Banksy in a BBC Radio feature from 2000, 3:00 min. [C. 1.53–2.07min.], uploaded by Matt Spqr on Youtube as Banksy Severnshed 2000 on Feb 28, 2010 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gQrmoje-eoI>

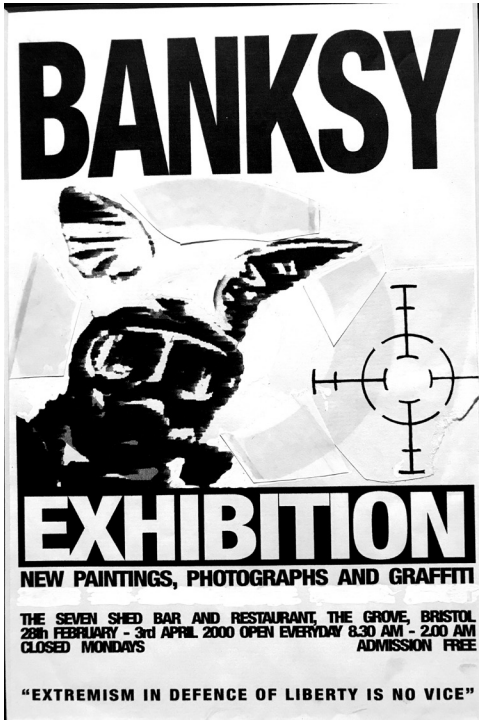
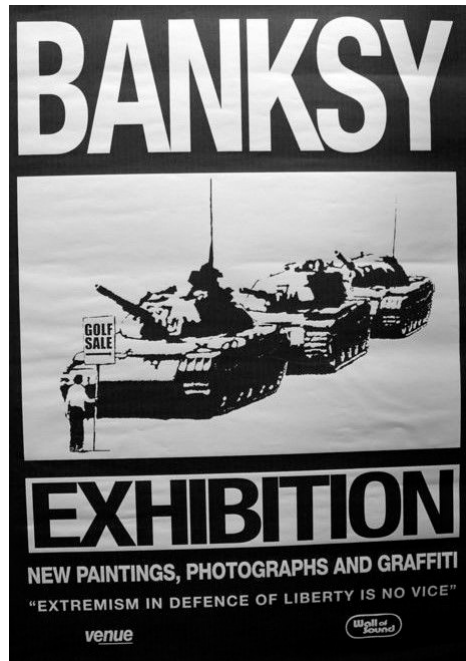


Fig. 18a: Banksy Exhibition, New Paintings, Photographs and Graffiti, flyer 2, 2000.  
Source: <https://www.instagram.com/p/B2WqV971Nnd/>

Fig. 18b, Banksy Exhibition, New Paintings, Photographs and Graffiti, flyer, 2000.  
Source: <https://auction.catawiki.com/kavels/13859129-banksy-exhibition-poster>



generally. But the criminal side of it *is* important. Any piece of graffiti is saying that: “You’re not going to be told what to do necessarily that you’ll go out on your own steam and you’ll make the city look the way you want it to look.”<sup>273</sup>

## Exhibition Concept/Presentation of the Works

If we assume that the photos were taken in the order they were presented in the show, then he started with one picture that comes close to a context shot. A monkey graffiti bomber, identified by a detonation warning sign as “Cheeky Monkey,” was hung over a series of five boards (“Simple Intelligence Testing [in Dumb Animals]”), telling the viewer to think outside the box. Next came Banksy’s painting “People Di Everyday/Riot Painting,” which features an early, more aggressive version of the “Flower Bomber”<sup>274</sup> motif, which serves as another self-portrait; the disguised graffiti bomber beautifies the world with flowery colors. “People Di Every Day/Riot Painting” is an important work for Banksy, as it combines imagery and themes concerning Lady Di, the movement Reclaim the Streets and May 1968, a period that was marked by civil unrest in France.<sup>275</sup> Banksy allegedly showed it at his Easton show (1999), later in a reworked version without the tag and other changes in Edinburgh (2001) and again, in a third version, without clouds and reworked flowers and throwing hand,<sup>276</sup> at MOCA (2011).<sup>277</sup>

“Self Portrait of the Artist” recalls Martha Cooper’s known portrait of graffiti pioneer Futura 2000 looking and spraying at the camera. It shows a figure with a monkey head that reminds the viewer of the movie *Planet of Apes* (1968), as well as the mirror scene from the film *Taxi Driver* (1976) by Martin Scorsese. For the body of the figure, Banksy used a *Dead Presidents* (1995) film still of a female bank robber wearing white and black makeup and pointing two guns. Some versions of this motif

273 Ibid., TC 0.45–1.05 min.

274 Just after the Severnshed exhibition opened, Banksy released a set of 15 A4 or A3 sized photographs (edition of 50), 9 of which featured stencil works that were allegedly photographed by Banksy himself. One was entitled “Flower Bomber, Bristol, 1999”. Auction house Invaluable: <https://www.invaluable.co.uk/auction-lot/bristol-x-banksy-flower-bomber-numbered-107-c-7dc4269984>

275 I dedicated a chapter to that in *Street Artist Banksy* (2010), in more detail again in my essay *Street-Art—Kunst zwischen Raum und Bild*, in: Dominic E. Delarue, Thomas Kaffenberger (ed.): *Bildräume | Raumbilder. Studien aus dem Grenzbereich von Raum und Bild*. Regensburg 2017 (both in German).

276 Urban Art Association User Cosmic was the first to see differences between the Severnshed and the Moca version, 01.12.2019, <https://urbanartassociation.com/thread/160494/original-inspiration-banksy-images?page=3>

277 Banksy’s former dealer Lazarides mentioned the work as “DI” on a prize list in the window of his Banksy prints gallery in December 2016. <http://urbanartassociation.com/thread/142599/lazarides-banksy-print-gallery>

depict the bank robber with a monkey head, and others with a clown head. In “Self Portrait of the Artist,” the monkey-headed figure holds spray cans, rather than guns, in each hand, from which light green sparkles drizzle. The illustrated representation of Banksy shoots at the viewer and at himself, showing graffiti as a kind of self-mirroring, masturbatory activity.<sup>278</sup> “It’s being fluffy in a militant way,”<sup>279</sup> said Banksy about his Flower Bomber. A militant or aggressive element, for example sharks, police, tanks, a circular saw, a rioter, a cross hair, a detonator, the titles “Precision Bombing,” “Heavy Weaponary,” or “Caution,” is often combined with something fluffy or vulnerable, like a goldfish, a clown, a lollipop lady with school kids, a homeless person, bunny ears, angel’s wings, flowers, a stick man, people with a car, an elephant or a monkey. Usually both the viewer and Banksy identify with the innocent part, while the depicted police, for example, are on the lookout for the vandal Banksy (“Avon & Somerset Constabulary 1”). But why do the police have to chase him (“Avon & Somerset Constabulary 2”) if he is just a monkey or an elephant doing graffiti, or “bombing,” as in “Cheeky Monkey,” “TNT Monkey,” “Precision Bombing,” and “Heavy Weaponary”? Banksy sees himself as a bunny in a happy bow-tie tank,<sup>280</sup> someone who stops the tanks for a while before Life knocks school children hard (Hard Knock Life), someone who wants to be funny, an inside-out policeman with mickey mouse ears (Filth) or someone who paints fake “trap doors.”

The photo documentation on BristolBeat closed with two pictures of a graffiti magazine article that was published in April of 2000.<sup>281</sup> The photos were taken at the end of the show’s runtime. It’s possible that other works were exhibited before, as auction results provide proof that Banksy also sold variations of works such as “Avon & Somerset Constabulary 1,”<sup>282</sup> “Heavy Weaponary,” and “Precision Bombing”. At least “People di everyday/Riot Painting” was exhibited on the opening night as well as

278 For more details see my essay «Laugh now but one day we’ll be in Charge»—les poètes du Street Art: du truisme de Jenny Holzer à Banksy, (2018) Edwige Comoy Fusaro, Helene Galliard (Ed.), Éditions Universitaires de Dijon (in French).

279 Si Mitchell: Banksy. Painting and decorating. LEVEL magazine, issue 08, June/July 2000, p. 68.

280 Banksy made a different version of the same idea in 2002 called Armoured Car, stencil spray paint and acrylic on canvas, 60 × 60 cm. Phillips: <https://www.phillips.com/detail/BANKSY/NY010117/55> and on the record cover of Bad meaning good / Roots Manuva—Yellow submarine, 2002, offset printing on record sleeve and 33rpm disc, 42.80 × 52.80 cm. <https://www.mutualart.com/Artwork/Bad-meaning-good---Roots-Manuva---Yellow/E8FCA9A7D70A5EC8>

281 Boyd Hill: The Enemy Within. Bristol’s Banksy bucks the system. In: Hip Hop Connection 136, April 2000.

282 61 × 61 cm, acrylic and spray paint stencil on canvas, stencilled with the artist’s name. Executed in 2001, this work is from an edition of 10. Blue version. Sotheby’s: <http://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2014/banksy-steve-lazarides-ls1403/lot.6.html?locale=en>

“Cops, monkeys, burning buildings,” according to Si Mitchell.<sup>283</sup> There are no works featuring burning buildings in the BristolBeat photos, which hints at the possibility that there were other or different works in the show.

A photo of an ominous painting that could be from that period was posted on the Banksy online forum [urbanartassociation.com](http://urbanartassociation.com) in 2010. The painting, which is called “Ghetto Supermarket, 1999,”<sup>284</sup> shows the after-effects of riots: four black silhouettes stand in front of a burning building. Around 2005, music journalist Martin Forster saw “one massive painting, ‘an amazing piece’ depicting Grannies outside a burning supermarket” in the Barcelona apartment of Stephen Earl, a DJ who had been Banksy’s manager until mid-2002, before Steve Lazarides.<sup>285</sup> According to Jim Paine, Banksy seemed to have planned to paint something similar to “Ghetto Supermarket” on the spot where he instead created the “Mild Mild West” mural in 1999: “Banksy’s first design had buildings in flames, with a looter fleeing the inferno with a loaded shopping trolley.”<sup>286</sup>

Shortly after the opening of the Severnshed show, Banksy published a series of 15 photos (listed below) in February 2000, each of which had a 50-print run, and which were allegedly produced in [late] 1999.<sup>287</sup> The photos depict six works Banksy spray-painted freehand, and nine he stenciled, in public spaces between July 1998 and October 1999. All photos are labeled with location, date, Banksy’s printed tag, “© Bristol Photography,” and the print number out of 50. The smaller A4-size photos, of the stenciled works, are labeled, aside from the title, with only the short “Bristol, 1999.” The larger A3-size photos, of the freehand works, also indicate the month, street name and quarter of Bristol where the pieces were spray-painted. All photos were sold in the “Bristol Shop,” whose owner informed buyers that Banksy took the photos, at least of the stencil works, himself. “The vendor had worked with Banksy to produce three prints that were featured in his first exhibition, being the flower bomber, TNT monkey, and cut out and collect images.”<sup>288</sup>

283 Si Mitchell: Banksy. Painting and decorating. LEVEL magazine, issue 08, June/July 2000, p. 69.

284 Daniel Silk: <http://urbanartassociation.com/thread/46265/banksy-ghetto-supermarket>. 10 January 2010 with thread: Banksy Originals & Canvases.

285 Earl died in 2007. Will Ellsworth-Jones: Banksy. The Man Behind The Wall, London, Aurum, p. 165.

286 Jim Paine interviewed about the creation of The Mild Mild West in Steve Wright: Banksy’s Bristol, Bath 2007, p. 24.

287 Action house Catwiki: <https://auction.catawiki.com/kavels/13690979-bristol-photography-x-banksy-battle-information>

288 Action house Catwiki: <https://auction.catawiki.com/kavels/13690979-bristol-photography-x-banksy-battle-information>

The BristolBeat photo of “TNT monkey” looks either like a stencil on metal or a glossy photo print. “Floor Stencil 3”<sup>289</sup> was auctioned as “Trap Doors” in 2008.<sup>290</sup> [Cut out & Collect frame with Banksy tag]. The title indicates that there were more “floor stencils,” i.e. more exhibited works. It does look like a wall, not a floor. Besides “Flower Bomber” and “TNT Monkey,” there are two “cut out & collect” stencils that could be the third print in the show—either the Sickie boy or just the Banksy tag.

## List of Works

### In Order of the Bristolbeat Photos

- “Cheeky Monkey”<sup>291</sup>, 140 × 140 cm, 2000<sup>292</sup>
- “Simple Intelligence Testing [in Dumb Animals]”, alternative title: “Do Not Test,”<sup>293</sup> 5 parts, 91.5 × 91.5 cm, oil on canvas laid on board, each, 2000<sup>294</sup>

289 Picture no. 3 on the Bristolbeat website as captured on the Wayback machine bears a Cut Out & Collect stencil on white wall (propably a photoprint) and the title “Floor Stencil 3”. [https://web.archive.org/web/20030131144616/http://www.bristolbeat.co.uk:80/artists/banksy/exhibition.asp?Artist=Banksy\\_Exhib&image=3](https://web.archive.org/web/20030131144616/http://www.bristolbeat.co.uk:80/artists/banksy/exhibition.asp?Artist=Banksy_Exhib&image=3) But “Floor Stencil 3” is according to the copy on Flickr the work Trap door. <https://www.Flickr.com/photos/24387752@No7/2312834876/in/photostream/> So either the Flickr copier made a cut & paste mistake or it was wrong on the Bristolbeat website, which is not completely copied in its original state on the wayback machine.

290 Photo and info: <https://www.bonhams.com/auctions/16259/lot/42/>

291 Photo and info uploaded by Melfleasance on 5 March 2008 copied from the then still functioning Bristolbeat-website. <https://www.flickr.com/photos/24387752@no7/2312066669/in/photostream/>

292 Kim Logchies, Lionel Logchies, Sheela van der Veldt, Victoria Elisabeth Clemmensen: Banksy Laugh Now. Exhibition Catalogue, MOCO Amsterdam 2017, p.116–117. The catalogue states: “Spraypaint on canvas” and “2003”, both is incorrect. Banksy seemed to have used a projector or a stencil and then finished it in a paint-by-numbers way.

293 Photo and info uploaded by Melfleasance on 5 March 2008 copied from the then still functioning Bristolbeat-website. <https://www.Flickr.com/photos/24387752@No7/2312066669/in/photostream/>

294 Sotheby’s: <http://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2008/contemporary-art-day-auction-lo8021/lot.327.html>



- “People Di Every Day,”<sup>295</sup> alternative titles: “Flower Power,” “People Di all the Time,”<sup>296</sup> Riot Painting, 1997<sup>297</sup>
- “Self Portrait of the Artist,”<sup>298</sup> 122 × 122 cm, signed with stenciled Banksy tag (lower right), oil and spray paint on canvas laid to board, 2000<sup>299</sup>
- “Attack of the Badly Drawn Boy,”<sup>300</sup> 74 × 96 cm, oil on board with stencil spray paint,<sup>301</sup> 1999<sup>302</sup>
- “Sharks,”<sup>303</sup> alternative title: “Painting everyone always says they want to buy but no one does,”<sup>304</sup> “Meals on Wheels,”<sup>305</sup> 122 × 144 cm, acrylic on canvas,<sup>306</sup> 1999<sup>307</sup>

295 Banksy in Hill, Boyd: The Enemy Within. Bristol’s Banksy bucks the system. In: Hip Hop Connection 136, April 2000, p. 95.

296 Bristolbeat.co.uk (state: June 2002): [https://web.archive.org/web/20020602075935/http://www.bristolbeat.co.uk:80/artists/banksy/exhibition.asp?Artist=Banksy\\_Exhib&image=2](https://web.archive.org/web/20020602075935/http://www.bristolbeat.co.uk:80/artists/banksy/exhibition.asp?Artist=Banksy_Exhib&image=2)

297 According to Banksy in the MOCA show 2011 in Los Angeles. See [https://pp.userapi.com/c4928/u1515830/132544551/x\\_086f31cc.jpg](https://pp.userapi.com/c4928/u1515830/132544551/x_086f31cc.jpg)

298 Photo and info uploaded by Melfleasance on 5 March 2008 copied from the then still functioning Bristolbeat-website. <https://www.Flickr.com/photos/24387752@N07/2312056451/in/photostream/> This also appeared in a TV docu by KEO Films for BBC Channel 4 called Shadow People, broadcasted 14.05.2000, produced by Jaimie D’Cruz (who later made Exit Through the Gift Shop with Banksy). See docu about Banksy (3.52min.), TC: 0.54min. [The video is not from 1995 as stated on Youtube, the docu was mentioned in Gunfight 29, Banksy later made it official by quoting it in B-movie on his Exit Through the Gift Shop DVD] <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yW5rzWYLwg4>

299 Bonhams: <http://www.bonhams.com/auctions/14890/lot/40/>

300 Photo and info uploaded by Melfleasance on 5 March 2008 copied from the then still functioning Bristolbeat-website. <https://www.flickr.com/photos/24387752@N07/2312865868/in/photostream/>

301 Bonhams: <http://www.bonhams.com/auctions/14942/lot/14/>

302 Rather earlier. The canvas was already shown in Dunk @ Thekla dated 29/Jan/1999, Bristol 1999, 2:32min. [TC 1.59min.], uploaded on Youtube by Disc Shop Zero on 31 January 2011 [https://youtu.be/EeuGl7\\_5sfo?t=119](https://youtu.be/EeuGl7_5sfo?t=119)

303 “No deep and meaningful title to this one, it’s just Sharks” Banksy in Hill, Boyd: The Enemy Within. Bristol’s Banksy bucks the system. In: Hip Hop Connection 136, April 2000, p. 95.

304 Bristolbeat.co.uk (state: Oct: 2001) [https://web.archive.org/web/20020708113802/http://www.bristolbeat.co.uk:80/artists/banksy/exhibition.asp?Artist=Banksy\\_Exhib&image=5](https://web.archive.org/web/20020708113802/http://www.bristolbeat.co.uk:80/artists/banksy/exhibition.asp?Artist=Banksy_Exhib&image=5)

305 Andipa Gallery (ed.): Banksy from the collection of Andipa Gallery [23 April – 16 May 2009], exhibition catalogue, p. 18–19. [https://issuu.com/andipa\\_gallery/docs/banksy\\_copy](https://issuu.com/andipa_gallery/docs/banksy_copy)

306 Sotheby’s: <http://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2012/contemporary-art-day-auction-no8901/lot.449.html> and private secondary market gallery Andipa [http://andipa.com/sites/default/files/artwork/Banksy%2C%20Sharks%201999%20cm.%20122%20x%20144\\_0010.jpg](http://andipa.com/sites/default/files/artwork/Banksy%2C%20Sharks%201999%20cm.%20122%20x%20144_0010.jpg)

307 Rather earlier. Was shown at Dunk @ Thekla dated 29/Jan/1999, Bristol 1999, 2:32min. [TC 0.19min], uploaded on Youtube by Disc Shop Zero on 31 January 2011 [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EeuGl7\\_5sfo](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EeuGl7_5sfo) When represented by record company Wall of Sound Banksy used this work on a postcard advertising a poetry competition: “Inspired? Win £50 of music vouchers. Send a poem of up to 14 lines inspired by the image on the reverse (or any part of

- “You Told that Joke Twice,”<sup>308</sup> 124.8 × 165.1 cm, acrylic, spray enamel and oilstick on canvas, signed with stenciled Banksy tag, 2000<sup>309</sup>
- “Hard Knock Life,”<sup>310</sup> 115 × 145 cm, acrylic with spray paint on canvas, 2000<sup>311</sup>
- “Weston Super Mare,”<sup>312</sup> 109 × 84 cm, original painting on canvas,<sup>313</sup> 1999/2000. There are other versions of this work on canvas [?], which was issued as a print in 2003.<sup>314</sup> The other canvas versions (from the same period as this canvas) are square,<sup>315</sup> not rectangular like this one.

- it eg. colours, shape, the way it makes you feel.) Closing date 31st August 2000. Send to The Poetry Can, Kuumba Project, 20–22 Hepburn Road, St Pauls Bristol, BS2 8UD [...]
- 308 Photo and info uploaded by Melfleasance on 5 March 2008 copied from the then still functioning Bristolbeat-website. <https://www.Flickr.com/photos/24387752@No7/2312056169/in/photostream/>
- 309 Sotheby's: <http://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2012/contemporary-art-day-auction-no8901/lot.449.html?locale=en>
- 310 Photo and info uploaded by Melfleasance on 5 March 2008 copied from the then still functioning Bristolbeat-website. <https://www.Flickr.com/photos/24387752@No7/2312865328/in/photostream/>
- 311 Banksy from the collection of Andipa Gallery, catalogue, 2011, p.18–19, [https://issuu.com/andipa\\_gallery/docs/banksycatalogue](https://issuu.com/andipa_gallery/docs/banksycatalogue)
- 312 Bristolbeat.co.uk (state: 2002): [https://web.archive.org/web/20020626003402/http://www.bristolbeat.co.uk:80/artists/banksy/exhibition.asp?Artist=Banksy\\_Exhib&image=4](https://web.archive.org/web/20020626003402/http://www.bristolbeat.co.uk:80/artists/banksy/exhibition.asp?Artist=Banksy_Exhib&image=4) A different version from 1999, divided in 2 square canvases (acrylic on canvas, 76.5 × 76.5cm each) was auctioned at Sotheby's in 2006: <http://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2006/contemporary-art-wo6708/lot.560.html>
- 313 In 2005 offered by TomTom Gallery, [https://web.archive.org/web/20051025214719fw\\_/http://www.tomtomshop.co.uk/art/art\\_pics/art\\_big%20pics/BANKSY/bigbankwsmpaint.htm](https://web.archive.org/web/20051025214719fw_/http://www.tomtomshop.co.uk/art/art_pics/art_big%20pics/BANKSY/bigbankwsmpaint.htm)
- 314 Sotheby's: <http://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2014/banksy-steve-lazarides-ls1403/lot.44.html?locale=en>
- 315 One alternative, square version was sold on Sotheby's in 2006: Weston Super-Mare, stamped with the signature (= stenciled Banksy tag), acrylic on canvas, 76.5 × 76.5 cm, painted in 1999. <https://www.sothebys.com/en/search-results.html?keyword=Banksy> Here the part with the saw is missing, it is just the man on the Bench. A similar one was shown at MOCO Amsterdam: Weston Super Mare, spraypaint on canvas, diptych, 75 × 75 × 2cm, 1999, see Kim Logchies, Lionel Logchies, Sheela van der Veldt, Victoria Elisabeth Clemmensen: Banksy Laugh Now. Exhibition Catalogue, MOCO Amsterdam 2017, p. 94–95. Here the second part, the one with the saw, carries Banksy's tag.

- “Playmate of the Month,”<sup>316</sup> 39 × 44 cm, acrylic and marker pen on wood, signed with stenciled Banksy tag, 2000<sup>317</sup>
- “Filth,”<sup>318</sup> 44.4 × 40.5 cm, spray paint and acrylic on canvas, 2000<sup>319</sup>
- “Riot Green,”<sup>320</sup> alternative title: “Flower Bomber,” “Flower Chucker,” 84.7 × 68.3 cm, signed, acrylic and spray paint stencil on canvas, 2000<sup>321</sup>
- “Avon & Somerset Constabulary 1,”<sup>322</sup> (red), ca. 1999<sup>323</sup>–2000<sup>324</sup>
- “Avon & Somerset Constabulary 2,”<sup>325</sup> ca. 1999–2000
- “Precision Bombing,”<sup>326</sup> 42.5 × 47 cm, acrylic and stenciled spray paint on canvas, signed with stenciled Banksy tag, numbered edition of 10, dated 2000 verso.<sup>327</sup>

316 Photo and info uploaded by Melfleasance on 5 March 2008 copied from the then still functioning Bristolbeat-website. <https://www.Flickr.com/photos/24387752@No7/2312055895/in/photostream/> Banksy made a different version of the same idea in 2002 called Armoured Car, stencil spray paint and acrylic on canvas, 60 × 60 cm. Phillips: <https://www.phillips.com/detail/BANKSY/NY010117/55> and on the record cover of Bad meaning good / Roots Manuva —Yellow submarine, 2002, offset printing on record sleeve and 33rpm disc, 42.80 × 52.80 cm. <https://www.mutualart.com/Artwork/Bad-meaning-good---Roots-Manuva---Yellow/E8FCA9A7D70A5EC8>

317 Bonhams: <http://www.bonhams.com/auctions/14942/lot/153/>

318 Photo and info uploaded by Melfleasance on 5 March 2008 copied from the then still functioning Bristolbeat-website. <https://www.Flickr.com/photos/24387752@No7/2312026047/in/photostream/> and [https://web.archive.org/web/20070821155344/http://www.bristolbeat.co.uk/artists/banksy/exhibition.asp%3FArtist=Banksy\\_Exhib&image=6.html](https://web.archive.org/web/20070821155344/http://www.bristolbeat.co.uk/artists/banksy/exhibition.asp%3FArtist=Banksy_Exhib&image=6.html)

319 Phillips: <https://www.phillips.com/detail/BANKSY/UK010214/221>

320 Photo and info uploaded by Melfleasance on 5 March 2008 copied from the then still functioning Bristolbeat-website. <https://www.Flickr.com/photos/24387752@No7/2312835172/in/photostream/>

321 Sotheby's: <http://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2007/contemporary-art-wo7711/lot.514.html?locale=en>

322 Photo and info uploaded by Melfleasance on 5 March 2008 copied from the then still functioning Bristolbeat-website. <https://www.Flickr.com/photos/24387752@No7/2312025873/in/photostream/>

323 In 1999, A blue version of this motif was purchased in Alterior, a clothing shop in Bristol, ‘Banksy’ stencil signature incorporated into the design, stenciled spray paint and oil on canvas, 60.5 × 60.5 cm, see Bonhams <http://www.bonhams.com/auctions/14942/lot/146/>

324 There is also a larger pink version from 2000: stenciled with the artist’s name, numbered 4/10 and dated 2000 on the stretcher, spray paint on canvas, 76 × 76 cm: <http://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2017/contemporary-art-day-auction-17023/lot.256.html>

325 Photo and info uploaded by Melfleasance on 5 March 2008 copied from the then still functioning Bristolbeat-website. <https://www.Flickr.com/photos/24387752@No7/2312025845/in/photostream/>

326 Photo and info uploaded by Melfleasance on 5 March 2008 copied from the then still functioning Bristolbeat-website. <https://www.Flickr.com/photos/24387752@No7/2312835030/in/photostream/>

327 Not the version on display, but a similar version was sold through Bonhams. The displayed version is believed to have the same measurements. See Bonhams: <http://www.bonhams.com/>

- “Heavy Weaponary,”<sup>328</sup> “~~London New York~~ Bristol”, stencil, spray paint on canvas, either: 54 x 57 cm, numbered edition of 10 and dated 2000<sup>329</sup> or 50.5 x 52.5 cm, spray paint on MDF board, 1998<sup>330</sup>
- “[Caution: Concealed] Trap Doors [in Operation],” pictured as “Floor Stencil 3” on Flickr,<sup>331</sup> 68.2 x 82.7 cm, acrylic and stencil spray paint on canvas, stencil signature incorporated into the design, 2000<sup>332</sup>
- Monkey Detonator, acrylic and stencil spray paint on plyboard, Banksy tag, 100 x 70 cm, 2000<sup>333</sup>

### “Bristol Photography” Prints

- “Bristol Massive” [angry bull flying over a city], Bristol 1999. © Bristol Photography, ca. 29,5 x 21 cm numbered edition of 50, Bristol, 1999<sup>334</sup>
- “Cut out and collect” [Sickle Boy & Policeman], Bristol 1999. © Bristol Photography, ca. 29,5 x 21 cm, photo print, numbered edition of 50, Bristol, 1999<sup>335</sup>

auctions/14942/lot/219/, see also Sotheby’s: <http://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2011/contemporary-art-day-auction-111021/lot.228.html>

- 328 Photo and info uploaded by Melfleasance on 5 March 2008 copied from the then still functioning Bristolbeat-website. <https://www.Flickr.com/photos/24387752@No7/2312834940/in/photostream/>
- 329 All measurements are taken from a similar one sold at Ether Bar, Bristol in 2000. So the one on display was not 03/10. <http://www.bonhams.com/auctions/18959/lot/247/>, 07/10 was sold at Bonhams: <http://www.bonhams.com/auctions/20511/lot/55/>
- 330 A different, colored version dated to 1998, that was not on display, was sold at Severnshed as well. Accompanied by a certificate of authenticity issued by Pest Control it was sold in 2010. Bonhams: <http://www.bonhams.com/auctions/17951/lot/292/>
- 331 Photo and info uploaded by Melfleasance on 5 March 2008 copied from the then still functioning Bristolbeat-website. <https://www.Flickr.com/photos/24387752@No7/2312834876/in/photostream/>
- 332 Auction house Bonhams: <http://www.bonhams.com/auctions/16259/lot/42/>
- 333 Photo and info see Dreweatts: The Urban Art Sale. Auction catalogue. London 14.10.2008, p. 61. Maybe this was sold and replaced with a street stencil photo of the same motif (<https://www.flickr.com/photos/24387752@No7/2312834842/in/photostream/>) before the Bristolbeat photos were shot. To see the work untripped see photo by Adam Gasson/SWNS.com, [https://i.dailymail.co.uk/1s/2019/10/13/00/19639416-7566453-image-a-18\\_1570922902567.jpg](https://i.dailymail.co.uk/1s/2019/10/13/00/19639416-7566453-image-a-18_1570922902567.jpg)
- 334 Auction house The saleroom: <https://www.the-saleroom.com/en-gb/auction-catalogues/east-bristol-auctions/catalogue-id-sreas10223/lot-8a1e1de1-ad50-4602-853e-a7940126cc12>; the same stencil image, combined with a different stenciled slogan, “Cider Genetics”, was sprayed onto a metal window shutter of the Cattle Market Tavern in Bristol (closed in 1997) and was recovered prior to the building’s demolition in 2018, photo and info: <https://www.multiplesinc.com/artists/27-banksy/works/428-banksy-cider-genetics-1999/>
- 335 AuctionhouseLiveauctioneers: [https://www.liveauctioneers.com/item/57147850\\_bristol-photo-graphy-x-banksy](https://www.liveauctioneers.com/item/57147850_bristol-photo-graphy-x-banksy)

- “TNT Monkey” [Monkey Stencil<sup>336</sup>], Bristol 1999 © Bristol Photography, ca. 29,5 × 21 cm, photo print, numbered edition of 50, Bristol, 1999<sup>337</sup>
- “Flower Bomber,” Bristol 1999. © Bristol Photography, ca. 29,5 × 21 cm, photo print, numbered edition of 50, Bristol, 1999<sup>338</sup>
- “Heavy Weaponary,” Bristol 1999. © Bristol Photography, ca. 29,5 × 21 cm, photo print, numbered edition of 50, Bristol, 1999<sup>339</sup>
- “Precision Bombing,” Bristol 1999. © Bristol Photography, ca. 29,5 × 21 cm, photo print, numbered edition of 50, Bristol, 1999<sup>340</sup>
- “Grab a DJ and Make a Star,” Bristol 1999 [1997<sup>341</sup>?] © Bristol Photography, ca. 29,5 × 21 cm, photo print, numbered edition of 50, Bristol, 1999<sup>342</sup>
- “Keep back 200 ft. [HMV Dog Nipper with bazooka],” Bristol 1999. © Bristol Photography, ca. 29,5 × 21 cm, photo print, numbered edition of 50, Bristol, 1999<sup>343</sup>
- “Banksy Explosion,” Bristol 1999. © Bristol Photography, ca. 29,5 × 21 cm, photo print, numbered edition of 50, Bristol,<sup>344</sup> 1999<sup>345</sup>

336 Photo and info uploaded by Melfleasance on 5 March 2008 copied from the then still functioning Bristolbeat-website. <https://www.Flickr.com/photos/24387752@N07/2312834842/in/photostream/>

337 Just after the Severnshed exhibition opened, Banksy released a set of 15 A4 or A3 sized photographs (edition of 50), 9 of which featured stencil works that were allegedly photographed by Banksy himself. One shows the same stencil, here called TNT Monkey, dated 1999. Auction house Catawiki <https://auction.catawiki.com/kavels/13424371-banksy-bristol-photography-x-banksy-tnt-monkey>

338 Auction house Invaluable: <https://www.invaluable.co.uk/auction-lot/bristol-x-banksy-flower-bomber-numbered-107-c-7dc4269984>

339 AuctionhouseLiveauctioneers: [https://www.liveauctioneers.com/item/55670240\\_bristol-photo-graphy-x-banksy-heavy-weaponary-numbered](https://www.liveauctioneers.com/item/55670240_bristol-photo-graphy-x-banksy-heavy-weaponary-numbered)

340 AuctionhouseLiveauctioneers: [https://www.liveauctioneers.com/item/55670338\\_bristol-photo-graphy-x-banksy-precision-bombing](https://www.liveauctioneers.com/item/55670338_bristol-photo-graphy-x-banksy-precision-bombing)

341 Lazarides, who took the photo, dated it to 1997, the capital “A” Banksy tag points to 1997 as well. Steve Lazarides, 30 May 2019. <https://www.instagram.com/p/ByFBX7-FiNv/>

342 Auction house Catawiki: <https://auction.catawiki.com/kavels/13657223-bristol-photography-x-banksy-grab-a-dj-and-make-a-star>; in Big Daddy magazine Banksy dated the stencil to 1997. Big Daddy, issue 04, 2000, p. 45.

343 Auction house Liveauctioneers: [https://www.liveauctioneers.com/item/56227885\\_bristol-photo-graphy-x-banksy-heavy-weaponary-numbered](https://www.liveauctioneers.com/item/56227885_bristol-photo-graphy-x-banksy-heavy-weaponary-numbered) The lot was falsely called “Heavy Weaponary” but the photo showed “Keep back 200 ft.”

344 Photo by Steve Lazarides, 3 June 2019, <https://www.instagram.com/p/ByPFTpwlavV/>

345 AuctionhouseLiveauctioneers: [https://www.liveauctioneers.com/item/55670331\\_bristol-photo-graphy-x-banksy-explosion-numbered](https://www.liveauctioneers.com/item/55670331_bristol-photo-graphy-x-banksy-explosion-numbered)

- “From the West Side to the East,” Lower Ashley Road, Easton, Bristol, July 1998. © Bristol Photography, ca. 42 × 29,5 cm, photo print, numbered edition of 50, Bristol, 1999<sup>346</sup>
- “Walls on Fire,” Canons Way, Canons Marsh, Bristol, September 1998. © Bristol Photography, ca. 42 × 29,5 cm, photo print, numbered edition of 50, Bristol, 1999<sup>347</sup>
- “The New Pollution Class,” Servier Stret, Montpellier, Bristol, October 1998. © Bristol Photography, ca. 42 × 29,5 cm, photo print, numbered edition of 50, Bristol, 1999<sup>348</sup>
- “Take the Money and Run,” Bath Buildings. Montpellier, Bristol, August 1999. © Bristol Photography, ca. 42 × 29,5 cm, photo print, numbered edition of 50, Bristol, 1999<sup>349</sup>
- “Slick on Brick,” Bannerman Road, Easton, Bristol, September 1999. Photo print. © Bristol Photography, ca. 42 × 29,5 cm, photo print, numbered edition of 50, Bristol, 1999<sup>350</sup>
- “Bugged Out / Battle Information,” Off Stapleton Road, Easton, Bristol, October 1999. © Bristol Photography, [ca. 42 × 29,5 cm?], photo print, numbered edition of 50, Bristol, 1999<sup>351</sup>

Beside these 15 photos Banksy exhibited the following photo:

- Cut out and collect frame with Banksy tag within<sup>352</sup>

346 Auction house Catawiki: <https://auction.catawiki.com/kavels/13424077-banksy-bristol-photography-x-banksy-from-wast-side-to-the-east>

347 Auction house Catawiki: <https://auction.catawiki.com/kavels/13216201-bristol-photography-x-banksy-walls-on-fire>

348 Auction house Catawiki: <https://auction.catawiki.com/kavels/13424259-banksy-bristol-photography-x-banksy-the-new-pollution-class>

349 Auction house Catawiki: <https://auction.catawiki.com/kavels/13657549-bristol-photography-x-banksy-take-the-money-and-run>

350 Auction house Liveauctioneers: [https://www.liveauctioneers.com/item/55613006\\_bristol-photography-x-banksy-slick-on-brick-numbered](https://www.liveauctioneers.com/item/55613006_bristol-photography-x-banksy-slick-on-brick-numbered)

351 Auction house Catawiki: <https://auction.catawiki.com/kavels/13690979-bristol-photography-x-banksy-battle-information>

352 Photo and Info: Bristolbeat (state 2007) [https://web.archive.org/web/20070425131530/http://www.bristolbeat.co.uk/artists/big\\_picture.asp?image=%2Fartists%2Fbanksy%2Fimages%2Fbig%2Fbanksy%5Fex%5F0911%2Ejpg](https://web.archive.org/web/20070425131530/http://www.bristolbeat.co.uk/artists/big_picture.asp?image=%2Fartists%2Fbanksy%2Fimages%2Fbig%2Fbanksy%5Fex%5F0911%2Ejpg)