SUMMARY & CONCLUSION

Stencil, pochoir, Schablone, estampa are four main terms for the same thing in different languages. Their etymology points to different characteristics of stencils. "Pochoir" is an art term related to drawing a sketch—but instead of a line with a pencil, color fields with a brush, done in a quick way. In that way, "pochoir" adds speed and color fields to the definition of stencil, besides the already determined act of attaching color enclosed in "stencil," and the notion of pattern, shape, or model but also of copy and repetition enclosed in "Schablone."

With the notion of fast repetition came the notion of illegally or cheaply copying and stealing something, often perceived as negative and also traceable in the etymology "Schablone" or "pochoir." Stencil, pochoir, and estampa are art terms. Often stencils are between letters and images and between writing, printing, and painting.

The stencil is both the resulting stencil image, letter, or pattern on a surface and the intermediate object, the stencil tool. The context in which the word "stencil" is used makes it clear what meaning is intended. Otherwise, I used "stencil tool" and "stencil image." Eric Kindel differentiated between stencil maker and stenciler. They do not have to be the same person, but both have an impact on the illegal outcome on a wall. In stencil graffiti, the importance between stenciler and stencil maker differ from case to case, sometimes in situ performance, repetition, and placement are much more important than the preparation and cutting of the stencil in the studio. One stencil tool creates a set of many opportunities in situ that can result in very different images. Repetition of street stencils in an urban space for instance creates nets, connecting lines between what is being repeated. With these connecting line networks, the individual stencil works are mutually supportive, similar but in a different way than work series in a white cube. If you only see a particular stencil graffito once, you may miss it. When seen in the same quarter of a city many times, the motif acquires meaning through its stencil-like repetition. Still, each of these stencils has a differently chosen background, structure, and context: "Because stencils are sprayed directly onto the real world, this world is read into the image like a second subject and so influences the image's interpretation. Sprayed onto the surface of a workshop wall, esteem for […][the subject of the stencil] rises and falls with the success of the shop. Sprayed onto a tree trunk, […] [the stencil] is interpreted within the force of nature itself. An image of […] [it] sprayed on the gateposts of a wealthy house means one thing while the same image sprayed on the wall of a peasant's shack suggests something quite different."[1]

1 Joel C. Sheesley: The Image of Sandino in the Streets. In: Ibid. et al. (eds.): Sandino in the Streets. Bloomington/Indianapolis 1991, p. XXII.

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Stencil graffiti enable a premeditated quality;[2] as they can be attached fast, one has relative control in advance over the outcome, i.e., the visual appearance and size. Stencils are cheap to make and to use, the basic stencil technique is easy and fast to learn. Most stencils were (and still are) one-layer stencils, painted in black, white, or red—high-contrast colors with a resistance link. The overwhelming majority in stencil graffiti are negative stencil tools, thus positive stencil images, as the opposite and mixed forms of both are more complex and require rethinking. In the case of simple stencil silhouettes, one cutting process results in two stencils, one negative and one positive.

Stencils on walls in streets increased after the mid-19th century in the form of stenciled advertising, product labeling, street signs and military labeling. The majority of these outdoor stencils were letter stencils, until the 1930s, when it became popular in countries under fascist rule, to also stencil portraits of their leaders on walls (fig. 3), at first in Italy, later also in Spain and Austria for instance. In fascist Italy, there was an even larger number of mottos—large letter stencils of condensed Mussolini quotes on walls—of which many lasted until recent years. Towards the very end of fascist Germany, life-size stenciled black propaganda shadow-like silhouettes (fig. 4) appeared; they meant "the enemy is listening" to create an atmosphere of fear where no one would trust anyone anymore, but also stenciled Durchhalteparolen (appeals to hold out until an "inevitable" victory). Resistance stencils during the time of fascism used text letters like the "V" for Victory (fig. 5) and sometimes symbols like a crossed-out swastika, as the Weiße Rose did (fig. 8), or for instance the monogram of the exile king in Norway (fig. 6). These resistance stencils were more rare than freehand ones as the protagonists tried to avoid being stopped, searched and caught with a stencil tool. By using stencils, their resistance appeared better readable, more credible and organized than freehand-written slogans on walls that appeared rather disorganized, spontaneous or messages/opinions of individuals, not of a well-prepared and thus more dangerous-appearing group of an unknown quantity.

WWII propaganda like the Italian Duce portraits, photos of WWII cruelties like the burned wall silhouettes of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, or the utilitarian stencils on a soldier's WWII Army canteen later were the first contact with or inspiration to use stencils for post-war (proto-)street artists like Ernest Pignon-Ernest, John Fekner, Christoph Kohlhöfer or Blek le Rat. In 1966, Pignon-Ernest created the first, although only orally documented, self-authorized outdoor stencil work in Vaucluse, France. Contrary to most traceable street stencils before and after him (until Alex Vallauri), Pignon-Ernest stenciled not text but figuratively, in life-size scale and in a very site- and stencil-specific way.

2 Anna Waclawek: From Graffiti to the Street Art Movement: Negotiating Art Worlds, Urban Spaces, and Visual Culture, c. 1970–2008. PhD thesis, Concordia University, Montreal 2008, p. 26–27.

The next influential event in street stencil history was the May 1968 riots in Paris. Although stencils in rare cases were used during Paris '68, the visual side of the protest was developed by screen-print posters. The Atelier Populaire, a Marxist group that occupied the École des Beaux-Arts during May 1968, consisted mostly of artists. They issued the majority of the posters that were in circulation at that time, and in contrast to political slogans that could be found on walls before 1968, these posters incorporated images and icons, influenced by advertising strategies of the time that often combined word and images and made use of humor including literal and visual puns. The protest of Paris 1968 also made the aerosol spray can a standard medium of slogan graffiti, in addition to the earlier chalk, coal, or brush and bucket of paint used to apply stencils. Later street stencil artists like [Edmond] Marie Rouffet, Blek le Rat, or Banksy, but also punk stencilers like Crass, pointed out the importance of the visual style of Paris 1968 for their street stencils.

Besides May 1968 and the analyzed pre-1950 propaganda and resistance stencils, other authors already pointed to the influence of resistance stencils to the history of stencil graffiti, for instance in Beirut, Nicaragua, and South Africa in the 1970s and 1980s. As I showed in this book, contrary to the state of the art in stencil graffiti literature, I point to the fact that propaganda and resistance stencils began even earlier, in WWII, and were not the only predecessors of stencil graffiti history. Protest stencils merged with the institutional criticism through conceptual art in the 1970s to influence punk. Conceptual art-inspired stencil graffiti exceptions like Pignon-Ernest in France (1966), General Idea in Canada (1969, see book cover), Treliński in Poland (1975, fig. 21), Fekner in the US (1976, fig. 26), Marinai in Italy (1979), or the SZ group in the former Soviet Union (1980, fig. 22) did not cause a wave of street stenciling in their home cities or countries, although there were some follow-ups in the case of Marinai,[3] and, quite different in style, also for Fekner.[4] It was all illegal conceptual art on the street, but not *for* the street, i.e., not so much with passersby as the intended audience, but a later viewer of the work in a gallery context. On-site, the works were not perceived as art, rather as irritating and unintelligible street signs.

For the first street stencilists like Pignon-Ernest, General Idea, Treliński, Fekner,[5] Vallauri, or the SZ group, performance and institutional critique, i.e., alternative ways/locations of art distribution, was important in their stencil graffiti as well. The ephemeral quality of stencil graffiti is similar to the one of performance. The alternative way of distributing art via a street stencil operated similar to "walking graffiti"[6] or "mobile

3 Isabel Carrasco: Aroldo Marinai's Frogmen project. A pioneer of street art in Florence. In SAUC Journal Vol. 6, No. 1, p. 98–99.
4 Wojnarowicz et al. all knew Fekner's work. See chapter 4.4.3.
5 John Fekner interviewed by Lorraine Inzalaco and Leslie Lalehzar, in: Queens Council on the Arts (ed.): Queens Artists and Their Studios: A Documentation. New York 1980, p. 21–27, here p. 23.
6 Rota-Rossi 2013, p. 154.

graffiti,"[7] e.g., stencils on T-shirts, in mail art or on postcards. John Fekner's environmental/conceptual art letter stencils in New York's City's outskirts have been proven, at least since 1976, to have been mostly visible from cars. Already from 1976 onwards, Fekner introduced his few-word poetry, clear site references, and hyper-large format into the use of street stencils. He is preceded in North America not only by fellow "road artist" Chaz Bojórquez in Los Angeles (fig. 25), but also by conceptual artists General Idea (see book cover) and Jerzy Treliński, who painted much smaller text stencil graffiti (fig. 21), each as part of larger conceptual series. However, it remained a one-time action for General Idea and Treliński. Conceptual stencil graffiti brought a new motivation to use stencils on the street besides the classical ones, easy to learn, speed of attachment and cheapness. For conceptual artists, stencil graffiti, especially stencil letters, addressed the structural elements of form and language and had an industrial, reduced, technical, non-painterly, non-individual look that fit with the often minimal, sober and technical style of conceptual art, minimal art, earth art, and environmental art. Stencil graffiti as a so-called "dematerialized" practice was also a way to reject art as a commodity—a goal of much art of that time. The street and its everyday look fit within the much-loved 1960s and 1970s idea to unite art and life.

In 1975, Jerzy Treliński stenciled his name (fig. 21) for the first time as a private signature text label in Poland, like Blek le Rat (fig. 18) or Banksy would do later. As early as 1969, but only in Los Angeles, the Mexican-American Chaz Bojórquez used a single stencil motif (fig. 25) in a similar way, not as a name tag but a signature image. Otherwise he started with Mexican-American calligraphy, so-called Cholo graffiti. His Señor Suerte stencil (fig. 25), a skull with pimp hat and fur collar, combined visuals associated with the Mexican Day of the Dead celebration, the 1960s civil rights movement, and the Blaxploitation films of the early 1970s. In Florence, Aroldo Marinai attached only his pictorial Frogman stencil. He was inspired by pictorial street art in Manhattan in the late 1970s;[8] he was particularly familiar with Eric Drooker's umbrella man stencil.[9] Both artists created one-off pictorial signatures like Bojórquez (fig. 25), who was the only one to continue using his signature stencil for years.

In 1977, English punk band Crass created a similar pictorial signature logo for their group and later combined it with their even earlier short political/poetic/critical/tongue-in-cheek slogans—inspired not only by May 1968 protest stencils but also by

7 Maria Olimpia de M. Vassão and Maria Adelaide do N. Pontes: Alex Vallauri: trajetória passo a passo. Revista D'Art, n. 02. Centro Cultural de São Paulo, p. 36–39, Editora 34. São Paulo 1998.

8 Isabel Carrasco: Aroldo Marinai's Frogmen project. A pioneer of street art in Florence. In SAUC Journal Vol. 6, No. 1, p. 96.

9 Aroldo Marinai in email conversation with the author, 10.03.2021. When asked about Drooker's Umbrella man stencils, he answered: "I was living among those stencils and the writings of SAMO, when I was in NY (Alphabet City) and when I came back to Firenze couldn't resist to gently cover the old stones with my Frogmen."

Pop Art and Conceptual Art of the 1960s and '70s. Street stencils appeared in a Punk context starting in 1977 at the latest, when, even before the begin of the band Crass, Eve Libertine and Penny Rimbaud started an 18-month polit slogan stencil campaign in the London tube system on billboard advertising posters, later combined with the Crass logo (fig. 36). "The public reaction to our stencils was generally very positive. I think it helped that we were respectful towards property and that we were very neat and precise with our spraying."[10] This Penny Rimbaud quote points to a characteristic of the stencil medium. It can be used for vandalism but its appearance can be reduced to the content; the form does not need to appear as (be-)smearing, scribbling, (be-) daubing, smirching, smudging or dirtying a wall—only specifically as a clearly recognizable counter-voice. Thus, stencil graffiti is more accepted by the general public.

From 1978 onwards, especially punk/rock bands in the UK occasionally issued gimmick stencils with some of their records. The Tom Robinson Band (1978, fig. 38), The Clash (fig. 39), and U.K. Subs (both 1982) were among the first to do so. Besides the pioneering Crass stencil campaign (fig. 36) and stencils used by punk bands to alternatively advertise their gigs like "fly pestering" on the streets at least since 1977, gimmick stencils were less do-it-yourself, as they were industrially fabricated and intended as purchase incentive and collector's items rather commercial products, which was criticized for instance by Crass. Most punk stencils were not only used for graffiti, but also to design T-shirts, jackets, posters, record sleeves or hair-dos, which at the same time, around 1980, became rather common even with most stencil graffiti artists who were not active in a punk context.

In the late 1970s, the punks Crass started the mentioned stencil campaign in the London Tube, illustrated on one of their records (fig. 36), which, together with their "How to make a stencil" instructions (fig. 37) inspired other punks to start stenciling, for instance a young Robert del Naja in Bristol, who later inspired Banksy to work with stencils. Del Naja also used a punk record gimmick stencil by The Clash (fig. 39) to start, but later, after his pioneering freehand style-writing graffiti, he created image-based pop art stencils that seemed to have been seen by a young fellow Bristolian, Banksy.

Also in France, the US, Germany, the Netherlands or Poland, stenciling and punk were strongly connected. Bands illegally advertised their gigs and band names in the streets around the concert venue. Contrary to many proto-street art stencils around 1980, those punk stencils were mostly letter-based typography, not stenciled images. David Wojnarovicz probably began with street stencils in 1981, also in New York. Wojnarovicz was very close to punk, playing in a post/art punk band. He used stencils to create visuals for the band together with bandmate Julie Hair. Many French 1980s pochoirists were connected to punk. In the Netherlands, already from 1978 onwards, Hugo Kaagman and many other punks worked with stencils. In Amsterdam, quoting

10 Penny Rimbaud in an email interview with the author, 25.08.2020.

UK punk fanzines and Crass, Kaagman started punk stenciling. He then developed new, all-over stencil compositions with smaller modular stencils in 1980 at the latest (fig. 40), similar to Alex Vallauri (fig. 31), who started stencil graffiti rather in a late Pop Art context, but did not stencil all-over wallpaper-like compositions like Kaagman (fig. 40), but pars pro toto compositions.

From the late 1970s onwards, street stencil movements happened independently from each other in different countries, since 1978 in São Paulo (graph 7), sparked by Alex Vallauri, in the early to mid-1980s the pochoirists in France (graph 1), initiated by Blek Le Rat, Marie Rouffet and/or Jef Aérosol, a little earlier or at roughly the same time in the US, especially in New York City, around Wojnarowicz and others (graph 9), and after the mid-1980s until 1990 also in Poland (graph 4), sparked by Faustyn Chełmecki and Tomasz Sikorski after 1980. The latter movement was not only partly influenced by the (partly) earlier stencilists in New York and São Paulo, but also in Germany (graph 5) in the Düsseldorf/Cologne area, with Bernd D. and others, here later partly influenced by the French pochoirists. Nevertheless, it makes even less sense to speak of an 1980s New York stencil movement (graph 9) because unlike the scenes in São Paulo or Paris, which had Vallauri and Blek le Rat, New York didn't have such a dominant figure. Most New York stencil graffitists of that time worked much less continuously with that medium than in Brazil (graph 7) or Paris (graph 1). Most East Village stencil users practiced stencil graffiti only once, stenciled only for a few years, or sometimes used stencils among other things.

These different waves were short-lived and not necessarily connected—as information flew slower at that time and was controlled by mainstream media (or even censored behind the Iron Curtain) so information about graffiti and early street art was rare.[11] All street stencil movements were strongly connected to punk and resistance graffiti, but also the usual high art trends of that time, for instance Pop Art, Situationism, Conceptual Art, Minimal Art, Mail Art, Performance Art.

In 1978, starting with his black boot image stencil, the second-generation Pop artist Alex Vallauri, developed a new modular approach to street stenciling, which in 1981 at the latest (fig. 31) resulted in large mural compositions built up from modularly used small stencils, often combined with freehand elements, multicolor, and repetition. His followers in Brazil are sometimes summed up as the Vallauri school. Apart from two 1960s exceptions, the one-motif logo-like signature stencil by Bojórquez (fig. 25, limited to Los Angeles at that time) and the not-photo-documented one-off stencil figures by Pignon-Ernest, Vallauri was the first to stencil figuratively in a large, life-size scale (fig. 31), over a longer period of time, using more than the color black. Like Bojórquez (fig. 25), he used his acrobat stencil also like a visual name tag (fig. 30), seemingly independent from US style-writing graffiti. "Once cut, the stencil can be

11 Robert Del Naja in conversation with Sean Bidder, in: Robert del Naja: 3D & the Art of Massive Attack. London 2015. Unpaged [booklet page 1].

used repeatedly and thus functions like a tag."[12] And Vallauri created portmanteau stencils: a top hat, a champagne bottle, etc.—single motifs that could connect larger compositions of small stencils (fig. 31). It is also one aim of this publication to rediscover Vallauri as an important yet mostly unknown stencil pioneer whose unsigned work was known as photos in European and US early on, most notably uncredited on the cover of Robinson's book *Soho Walls* (1990). Many of Vallauri's New York stencils were photographed (fig. 34) by a soon-to-be Polish stencil pioneer and graffiti chronicler Tomaz Sikorski, who did audio visual lectures in Poland with his photos, something Vallauri did even earlier in São Paulo as well. Vallauri seems to be one of the first stencil/graffiti artists to have been shown in museums in the early 1980s, even before style-writing graffiti was exhibited in European museums. Like the Canadians General Idea and Richard Hambleton, but also Birger Jesch in the former GNR before him, Vallauri was also involved in Mail Art, which shared an interest in "dematerialized" practices, the rejection of art as commodity and alternative ways to distribute art, in many cases also to circumvent censorship.

In New York also David Wojnarowicz chose to combine small figurative stencils to larger compositions from 1981 onwards (fig. 29), combined with freehand elements, shortly before Vallauri brought this to NYC in 1982 as well. As a Brazilian artist, Vallauri stenciled most of his life working under military dictatorship, quoting US pop culture, kitsch and first and foremost using positively connotated images (fig. 31). Wojnarowicz was the opposite—as an American he criticized US interventions in Central American dictatorships, quoting the language of their resistance stencils and creating rather dark US urban guerilla warfare stencils. Like Vallauri's (fig. 31), each of Wojnarowicz' stencils could be used alone (fig. 30) or combined with other stencils (fig. 29), or the works of others. Like Vallauri (fig. 34) and Bojórquez (fig. 25) before him, Wojnarowicz used one of his motifs, his Burning House (fig. 30) as a signature stencil. He was also presumably influenced by Pignon-Ernest posters (fig. 14), by punk and their stencils and iconography. Wojnarowicz collaborated and exhibited with many artists who also used stencil/graffiti in New York in the 1980s.

From 1982 onwards, maybe influenced by Canadian protest stencil graffiti, the French pochoirist Marie Rouffet seems to have been the first to combine short slogans/poetry with repeated imagery (fig. 19)—recalling the repetitive nature of stencils and their hybrid state between image and text, print and painting, utilitarian use and art, but also the repetition and the speed of rock music. His colleague from the French Pochoirists, Jef Aérosol, developed a new technique, the sliding stencil tool (fig. 20), to create larger stencil murals with smaller stencil tools he repeated and moved during the spray-painting process to create distorted images. His modular use was a bit similar

12 Anna Waclawek: From Graffiti to the Street Art Movement: Negotiating Art Worlds, Urban Spaces, and Visual Culture, c. 1970–2008. PhD thesis, Concordia University, Montreal 2008, p. 26.

to Vallauri's (fig. 30) or Kaagman's approach (fig. 40), but seemed to be developed independently.

The first stencil artists to actually sign their work seem to have been Blek le Rat (fig. 18) and Marie Rouffet (fig. 19). After initially working with smaller stencils, especially rats, Blek combined eventually the WWII Duce stencils from his memory with Pignon-Ernest's life-size Rimbaud screenprints (fig. 14) and created from 1983 onwards the first life-size figurative representations (fig. 18, see also graph 3). Fekner went large, although mostly with typeface already in 1979 (fig. 27). His figurative stencils of deers and skeletons (fig. 28) reached life-size already in 1981. Also, King Pin in Brühl (fig. 24) and Christoph Kohlhöfer (fig. 35) in New York created life-size figurative street stencils in 1983 (see also graph 3), the same year as Blek le Rat (fig. 18). Kaagman's all-over compositions went large around the same time, but he never focused much just on the human figure. Vallauri's life-size high-heeled women (fig. 31) and tie-wearing men appeared in São Paulo also before Blek's, but were made of little detail stencils connected by freehand elements.

So, the approach advocated in this book though partly challenges the following narrative about the history of stencil graffiti: "The stencil technique was discovered for street art in the early eighties by the Frenchman Blek le Rat."[13] This narrative, still repeated by authors in 2020,[14] is challenged because in the US, Poland, the UK, Brazil, the Netherlands, Italy, the USSR or Germany, but even in France itself, similar developments happened earlier or at about the same time (see graph 8), independently of one another, but due to similar influences: sign stencils, military stencils, propaganda and resistance stencils, Paris '68, Pop Art, Conceptual Art, and punk. All these aimed to bring clearly understandable messages across that can be repeated very often without spending much money. People on streets would recognize stenciled messages as they look more official than handwriting and are cheaper than posters. Pignon-Ernest sprayed with stencils in public space for the first time in 1965, 16 years before Blek. Pignon-Ernest deliberately did not photograph his early stencil work, which of course hindered their later reception. One could argue that these provincial sprayings remained unnoticed—Blek, however, took Paris. Blek was influenced by Pignon-Ernest's circa 2000 life-size Rimbaud screen prints (fig. 14) in the streets of Paris (1978), which the older artist made years after his stencil phase (1965–71). Other known pochoirists like Jef Aérosol and Marie Rouffet started around the same time as Blek le Rat, and independently of him (see graph 1). In the mid- to late 1980s, freehand graffiti style-writing began its triumphant succession in the wake of New York

13 Treeck, 1993, p. 135.

14 Scott Reyburn: Banksy Is a Control Freak. But He Can't Control His Legacy. In: New York Times, 05.02.2020, https://www.nytimes.com/2020/02/05/arts/design/banksy-legacy.html (accessed May 1, 2024).

train sprayers in Europe and the rest of the world. Stencils were less used by graffiti writers. The pochoirists had largely fallen into a slumber around 1990.

If the 1980s were the decade of street stenciling, then in the 1990s, the high times of the stencil movements in Brazil (graph 7), New York (graph 9), France (graph 1), and Poland (graph 4) were over, and Banksy's in Bristol was about to start. As documented in Treeck/Metze-Prou's *Pochoir* (2000) and in Manco's *Stencil Graffiti* (2002, he had a prototype of his book ready in 1999), there were already quite a lot of street stencils in different UK and German cities, but also worldwide, during the 1990s—but they still mostly had a niche existence in general perception.

The second stencil boom came internationally after 2000, and was almost single-handedly brought about by the British stenciler Banksy, via the internet, and parallel to the breakthrough of Street Art in general. Banksy had his national breakthrough in England in 2003 with his *Turf War* show and his commission for the Britpop band Blur, and internationally in 2006 when stars like Brad Pitt bought his art at his *Barely Legal* show in Los Angeles. From then on, gradually, every new Banksy work or event was reported internationally.

Against the popular and often repeated narrative, Banksy was not inspired to use stencils (or rats) by Blek le Rat, but by fellow Bristolian Robert del Naja—who was himself inspired by punk stencils, not only by Crass (fig. 36), who stenciled in the protest stencil tradition of May 1968 and of 1960s Pop and Concept Art tradition, but also by The Clash (fig. 39), who were influenced for instance by Nicaraguan guerilla protest stencils. Banksy also pointed out the importance of 1968 as the "birthplace of modern stencil art."

Since 2006, people have spoken of the so-called "Banksy Effect,"[15] which prompted comebacks from older street stencil pioneers such as Blek le Rat and Jef Aérosol in France, John Fekner and Chaz Bojórquez and others in the USA, and fueled interest and publications on street art, also about stencil graffiti. Banksy had used stencils at first for his tag and then for details in large freehand style writing graffiti pieces in the 1990s, but at the same time, also as single, independent stencil motifs. Banksy added a strong narrative and a more site-specific element to street stenciling, created one of the largest known illegal repertoire of different stencils so far, experimented with bleeding stencils, made the one-off stencil that is multiplied online popular, and he knew and combined most innovations of the previous decades in his work. What is unique is the sheer quantity of iconic stencil motifs that Banksy created in his 30 or so continuous years of working illegally on the streets so far, without being caught under his pseudonym, and without at any point completely shifting to legal work, something that no

15 Marc Schiller: The Banksy Effect. Wooster Collective, 13.02.2007, http://www.woostercollective.com/post/the-banksy-effect (accessed May 1, 2024); Schiller mentioned that a CNN video report about the Banksy curated group show Santa's Ghetto from 22.12.2006 was already called "The Banksy Effect."

other stencil/graffiti artist of his notoriety/fame has managed to do. This makes Banksy a fitting final point of this investigation.

The research in this book led to some questions about how to deal with street stencils and their documentation. If a capture is accompanied by an artist, location, and date, it should answer the following questions: Is it the date the stencil was made? Or the date it got attached to the wall? Or the date the photo was taken? Is the author the cutter of the stencil? Or the one who chose the motif? Or the one who created the design of the motif? Or the one who attached it to the wall in a performative way? Or the photographer? Or the one who created the composition on the wall from some stencils? When Fekner used a normal Roman stencil font to write "DECAY" on a car wreck, it is clear that his performance and his placement are the work of art documented in his photo. When someone else would use Wojnarowicz's Burning House (fig. 30) or Vallauri's Boot (fig. 34) or Acrobat (fig. 30), it would be, however, appropriation, as those motifs became strongly connected to their name. In that case, Vallauri's Tompkins Square Park mural could be co-credited to Matuck and Zeidler as well, as they presumably created some of the stencil designs, even if Vallauri might not have used the very stencil tool that one of the others may have cut before. As the trio used motifs that were already known and existent, the star, the dice, etc., these motifs seem to be similar to the Roman letters Fekner used. Then gesture, site-specific attachment, and composition constituted the art work.

Stencil usage made it easier to identify works in photos not captured with the artist's name—as long as date, place, and provenance of the source image fit with the biography of the artist. Using this knowledge, I could identify Vallauri as the author of many anonymous pieces.