



***The Revolt of the Bees,
Wherein the Future of the Paper-Hive is Declared***
January 7 - March 7, 2005
Annenberg Rare Book & Manuscript Library | University of Pennsylvania
In collaboration with Slought Foundation, and in partnership with Peregrine Arts

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***The Revolt of the Bees,
Wherein the Future of the Paper-Hive is Declared***

On exhibit from January 7 - March 7, 2005
in the Rosenwald Gallery, Van Pelt-Dietrich Library, 6th Floor

Free reception and honey: Thursday, January 20th; 5-7pm
Conversation with Anthony Grafton: Thursday, February 17th, 2004, 5-7pm

Exhibition and event series in collaboration with Slought Foundation, and in partnership with Peregrine Arts

Curated by Aaron Levy, Associate Curator Thaddeus Squire, with research assistance by Erica Fruiterman.
Sculptural installation by Michael Zansky, with movie by Aaron Levy.

Front image: Joseph Beuys, *Honey Pump in the Workplace*, 1977. Back: Francis Daniel Pastorius, *The Bee-Hive*, 1696; and Aaron Levy, film still, in which the thinking man finds himself in a gigantic orphanage (where people are continually proving to him that he has no parents), 2004

The Revolt of the Bees, Wherein the Future of the Paper Hive is Declared.

January 7 - March 7, 2005 | Opening reception with bee pollen: Thursday, January 20, 2005
The Annenberg Rare Book & Manuscript Library at the University of Pennsylvania

Organized in conjunction with Slought Foundation, and in partnership with Peregrine Arts. Curated by Aaron Levy; Associate Curator Thaddeus Squire, with research assistance by Erica Fruiterman. Sculpture by Michael Zansky; Movie by Aaron Levy.

Bees... offer to man the most beautiful example of community that we could ever find. –Alfred Boucher, c.1902

Germantown, 1696:

"I am a Bee, (no Drone) tho' without Sting, / Here you may see, what Honey-Combs I bring. [...] What others did Contrive, I carry to my Hive."
-- Francis Daniel Pastorius, from *The Bee-Hive*

New York, 1987-Present:

"Underlying all cultures, in East and West alike, is this assumption or attitudinal stance: we—each and every one of us—must die."
-- Arakawa + Gins, *Achitectural Body*

London, 1828:

"Their institutions were the obvious causes of dissatisfaction and turbulence: of inequality in the distribution of honey, and all the evil consequences resulting therefrom..."
-- John Minter Morgan, *The Revolt of the Bees*

Berwick, 1789:

"A Bee-hive is a commonwealth, of which every individual is a senator, a soldier, and a mechanic. She is governed by laws which every one approves of, and yields cheerful obedience to: no parliamentary discords among them, no intestine wars, no arbitrary demands, no extorted obedience." – James Bonner, *The Bee-Master's Companion, and Assistant*

London, 1716:

"I cut off one of her Wings to disable her from flying, and then put her again into my Box. The first thing I was willing to know, was, what they would do without their Queen, a Quarter of an Hour like Sheep without a Shepherd..."
– Joseph Warder, *The True Amazons of the Monarchy of the Bees*

"The Revolt of the Bees, Wherein the Future of the Paper Hive is Declared" is an exhibition that proposes a new culture of memory and archiving in the true spirit of the beehive. It takes as its starting point the assumption that modern memory is first of all archival, and that the beehive and the paper hive (an archive or library) both fancy themselves utopias in which modern memory is stored up, as honey or as knowledge.

The exhibition is comprised of eleven lessons extracted from a larger examination of beehive metaphors in the rare book and manuscript collections of the University of Pennsylvania. These lessons envision the archive of the future as an organization open to the infinite possibilities of its own becoming—an organization that is comfortable with its status as a living organism as well as with its own ultimate fragility and finitude.

Nearly 100 years after Marinetti's polemical first Futurist manifesto questioned the cultural establishment of its time through incendiary aggressiveness, we are once again compelled to explore the horizon of cultural transformation. In the style of the Futurists, this exhibition builds upon the premise that the organization is not only a determinant of contemporary cultural practice, but is the embodiment of cultural practice as well—a form of art in itself. Unlike the Futurists, who presupposed that radical change necessitates destructive procedures, "The Revolt of the Bees" translates the incendiary desires and "charred fingers" of the Futurists into a purely conceptual framework and extreme metaphor of transformation as a way of rethinking our cultural obsession with permanence in all its forms.

This exhibition takes as its emblematic image a photograph from 1977 of Joseph Beuys alongside his *Honey Pump in the Workplace*. This remarkable machine, constructed by the artist in the Fridericianum in Kassel, Germany for Documenta 6, pumped nearly 300 pounds of honey through a network of pipes traversing the exhibition building. As is the case with many of the rare books displayed in this exhibition, Beuys' project is a microcosmic metaphor for a utopian social system in which members of a well-ordered cooperative work together to cultivate, cleanse and restore life and society through the production and dissemination of honey and knowledge. "The blood that circulates in the body," Beuys argued, "does the same work that the bee does in the bee-hive." "The person," he similarly claimed, "is practically a swarm of bees as well, a bee-hive in fact."

As French sociologist Pierre Nora warns, "The indiscriminate filling of archives is [...] the clearest expression yet of the 'terroristic' effect of historicized memory." One of the ways in which we may resist this terrorizing effect is through discriminate archival practices, which entails both the positive destruction of some 'memory' and the perpetual reorganization of the rest, thus elevating the curator to a new and central social role. Curatorial practices such as this exhibition—like Beuys' own artistic practice—emerge from and contribute to alternative social formations. This exhibition explores theories of curatorial innovation and approaches curatorial practice as an evolving and future-oriented field, prompting questions such as how one might renew or reinvent an archival collection by constructing a new genealogy around a historical concept, and to whom or what a curator is ultimately responsible.

In conjunction with the exhibition, Slought Foundation and Peregrine Arts have organized "The Alexandria Project: On the Future of the Organization," a discursive event series that proposes a new culture of temporality and non-permanence for the American arts organization. In conjunction with the exhibition, Anthony Grafton will speak about paper hives and archives on Thursday, February 17, 2005 from 5-6:30pm.

The exhibition also includes an installation by Aaron Levy and Michael Zansky, with a voiceover by Gary Indiana, that features a decentralized constellation of distortion lenses and theatrical devices within which is playing a video documenting a romantically degraded library in a magnificent Greek Revival structure of the 19th century. The video explores the idea of a collection in demise at a vulnerable and destructive moment in its history, and invites its audience to imaginatively recreate and reconfigure the history of an archive through contemporary practice.

Vitrine / Lesson 1: The Hive is a Living Organism

"Bring the human to the brink of the trans-human and, for that matter, the trans-human to the brink of the post-human."

The Hive is a Living Organism

The hive is a living organism, and the living organism is a metaphor for the American organization, which is both the embodiment of and emblem for contemporary cultural practice. Every hive is constituted of thousands of bees: small organisms of finite lifespan subject to an inexorable cycle of life and death. The hive as a whole, however, provides an architecture for overcoming death by possessing a different sustainability—one wrought through continuous cycles of generational passing and reemergence, for which death is not a consideration. Extending the metaphor of the hive into the cultural realm suggests new and more hopeful visions of the cultural organization. Historically, cultural organizations have been founded, built and sustained under covert and overt custodial pretenses. These pretenses foster an inexorable desire to artificially sustain practices beyond their useful lives, denying their fragility and ephemerality. Can we imagine our organizations operating without consideration or fear of fragility and sustainability as they envision their futures? And can we imagine our organizations as models for social organization that are constantly evolving and regenerating?

For over three decades, artists-architects-poets Arakawa (b. 1936) and Madeline Gins (b. 1941) have worked in collaboration to design and construct works of procedural architecture that transcend concerns about fragility and finitude, and redefine our understanding of the human body as fundamentally mortal. "Underlying all cultures," they argue, "in East and West alike, is this assumption or attitudinal stance: we—each and every one of us—must die." Arakawa and Gins have diagnosed a defeatism coursing through all art and science that has resulted in a "muted life for fear of a terrifying death". To overcome this defeatism, they have reconfigured the foundations of what makes us "human" through a fundamental rearrangement of knowledge. In the style of the historic avant-garde, they argue that human flourishing and the "good life" necessitates the activation of alternative social structures and the elusion of death; their work serves as "an open challenge to our species to reinvent itself and to desist from foreclosing on any possibility".

Vitrine / Lesson 2: The Hive is an archival industry

"I am a Bee, (no Drone) tho' without Sting, / Here you may see, what Honey-Combs I bring. [...] What others did Contrive, I carry to my Hive."

Daniel Pastorius, *His Hive, Mellitrophium Alvear or, Rusca Apium*, Begun Anno Do[m]i[n]i or, in the year of Christian Account 1696, Germantown, 1696-1865.

The Hive is an archival industry

The idea of the archive permeates the human experience, through our seemingly indomitable will to collect, organize, interpret and preserve the knowledge and artifacts of the world around us. From the building of libraries, to the history of writing and publication—from the monograph to the encyclopedic—to the development of the Internet and electronic database technologies, we have endeavored to build ever more complex and comprehensive records of the human experience. This drive is also reflected in our will to organize and “collect” ourselves and our societies in ever-changing and shifting configurations and repositories.

The Pennsylvania colonist and polymath, Francis Daniel Pastorius (1651–1719/20), is widely known as the founding father of Germantown, Philadelphia. Among his many projects was the inter-generational book *The Bee-Hive*, a compilation of commonplace knowledge and verse miscellany, and a smaller companion, *Alvearialis*. Legal scholar Marianne Wokeck has described Pastorius' extraordinary and obsessive creation as an “early American encyclopedia of knowledge.” Cultural historian Patrick Erben notes that for Pastorius “...the process of collecting and composing simultaneously engages the experiential and concrete world outside the text, the intellectual world of his reading and writing, and, finally, the physical compilation and representation of his knowledge on the pages of his manuscript books. [...] By highlighting the parallelism between the material and mental processes of collecting and selecting materials, Pastorius illustrates the participatory and continuous nature of both the production of the text and the construction of the community. His title pages present each manuscript volume not as a static, finished text, but as a tangible and dynamic compilation of entries, which invites readers to join in the project of intellectual, cultural, and material ordering.” Against the frequent analogy of the museum as mausoleum and columbarium for the storage and preservation of cultural artifact, Pastorius' *The Bee-Hive* implies a dynamic and perpetually changing model for archival practice. Today, when new forms of electronic media allow us to infinitely project the archive (as database) into the future, Pastorius' finite compilation, as a temporal commonplace book and an unfinished accumulation of knowledge, reminds us of the transient dynamics of archival industry.

Vitrine / Lesson 3: The Hive needs a curator.

"I cut off one of her Wings to disable her from flying, and then put her again into my Box. The first thing I was willing to know, was, what they would do without their Queen, a Quarter of an Hour like Sheep without a Shepherd..."

Joseph Warder, *The true Amazons, or, The monarchy of bees : being a new discovery and improvement of those wonderful creatures ... : also how to make the English wine or mead, equal, if not superior to the best of other wines.* London, 1716.

The Hive needs a curator

In Joseph Warder's *The true Amazons, or, The monarchy of bees* (London, 1716), the author conducts a series of perverse experiments designed to satisfy his curiosity about the dependency of the hive upon the queen. Among these, he finds that in taking away the queen-bee, "my poor Bees fell again to spreading themselves in search of her." His experiment casts the society of bees as a reflection of the wisdom and "lovely Order" of the English monarchic society, in which it is divinely given that loyal subjects need their Queen. Warder's experiments also testify to the value of accumulating knowledge through processes of experimentation.

In contrast to the archive as a site of indiscriminate archiving and perpetual accumulation of artifact, Warder's experiments imply the need for an authoritative ordering and life-giving force--namely, the modern curator as queen bee. To ask the question, as this exhibition repeatedly does, "What should curatorial practice look like today?" is to ask a fundamentally taxonomic question. As a preeminent site for the creation and contestation of meaning, the contemporary archive lies continually beyond the bounds of any given taxonomy, requiring that new classificatory systems be perpetually created and destroyed with each encounter. It immediately distinguishes the curatorial endeavor as an intervention on the level of the archive, as opposed to the traditional notion of the curator as expositor of archival content or national heritage. This new interventionist role for the contemporary curator, however, redefines traditional notions of archival integrity and non-invasive stewardship and places the curator in a new more critical position within society, embracing responsibility for far more than mere preservation and interpretation.

Vitrine / Lesson 4: The Hive desires to reproduce

"Mr. Huber was aware of the dilemma into which he would be thrown by making the Queen Bee and the Drone copulate in the Hive; and he therefore gives her a roving commission to search the woods for her paramour."

Robert Huish, *A treatise on the nature, economy, and practical management, of bees : in which the various systems of the British and foreign apiarians are examined, and the most improved methods laid down for effectually preserving the lives of the bees : containing also an accurate description, illustrated by plates, of the hives invented by Lombard, Ducouedic, Huber, Vicat, l'abbé della Rocca, and other foreign apiarians, and of a newly invented hive for the purpose of depriving the bees of their honey, with safety and expedition : forming the most complete guide to the study and management of those valuable insects.* London, 1817.

The Hive desires to reproduce

"In regard to the Work now offered to the Public," Robert Huish explains in his *A treatise on the nature, economy, and practical management, of bees* (London, 1817), "my aim has been... to render this Country independent of all foreign supply of the Produce of the Bee." Huish acknowledges the biological imperative of bees to sustain their species and, by extension, the agricultural imperative of apiarian practices to the sustenance of the nation-state. Common bee-keeping practice at the time mandated killing the hive to harvest the honey. This essentially destructive agricultural practice, as well as states of general mismanagement, kept England dependent on imported honey. Huish envisioned that with proper management the productivity of domestic bee stocks could be made sufficient to meet or exceed demand, thus eliminating the dependence of England on foreign economies. "To what is the ruin of the hive to be attributed—to the extreme liability of the Bees to failure," Huish wonders, "or to the ignorance of the proprietor in the mode of management?" Among his many technical and methodological innovations aimed at countering ignorance and improper bee-keeping practices, Huish invented the hive that bears his name, from which honey combs can be extracted without killing the bees or hindering production and reproduction.

Though Huish set out to develop more enlightened and technologically advanced methods for promoting apiculture by mitigating the negative effects of human intervention, his approaches to maximizing productivity remain fundamentally dependent upon positive intervention. Contemporary practices, as exemplified by the archive and the Internet, also tend toward unbridled abundance through processes of multiplication and accumulation, yet nevertheless require a degree of cultivation. The perpetuation of this dynamic process, however, depends on a degree of prudent intervention, wherein carefully gaged barriers, orders and containments are constantly created and destroyed in the interest of sustaining the enterprise as a whole.

Vitrine / Lesson 5: The Hive desires sustainability

"The larvae, it appears, are esteemed a delicacy; for the historian tells us, that "when roasted and seasoned with salt," they have the taste and flavour of sweet almonds."

François Huber in James Duncan, *Bees : comprehending the uses and economical management of the honey-bee of Britain and other countries : together with descriptions of the known wild species*. Edinburgh, 1852.

The Hive desires sustainability

For Francis Huber, in memoirs reprinted in James Duncan's *Bees : comprehending the uses and economical management of the honey-bee* (London, 1852), the tireless exploration of new culinary frontiers results in humankind becoming an apivorous or bee-eating threat to the hive. Around the time of Huber's publication, it was still widely accepted that the beekeeper must destroy the hive to harvest the honey and prevent the dreaded idea of Britain being overrun with bees. The success and sustainability of apiculture depended on balancing agricultural production with ongoing destruction of the animal suppliers.

Concerns about sustainability permeate our culture and our landscapes: they can be located in our civilization's obsession with building museums, libraries, archives, and monuments. They can also be located in the institutional impulse to prevent loss and preserve memory through the sheer accumulation of primary material (e.g. the new Library of Alexandria, or the development of the internet). In this sense, it is arguable that contemporary libraries and museums are predicated on an almost pathological fear of the destruction of knowledge. They mitigate and postpone this threat through the ongoing creation and recreation of cultural memory in the form of heterogeneous archival and discursive practices. Driven by the specter of potential loss, libraries and like institutions engage both in the positive destruction of memory (through rendering judgment on what will not be preserved), and the positive construction of memory (through rendering judgment on what will be preserved). These two positions meet in the conviction that there can be no culture without some memory, and that memory, if not in origin, then in posterity, is a fundamentally shared and collective experience.

Vitrine / Lesson 6: The Hive fancies itself a utopia

"A Bee-hive is a commonwealth, of which every individual is a senator, a soldier, and a mechanic. She is governed by laws which every one approves of, and yields chearful obedience to; no parliamentary discords among them, no intestine wars, no arbitrary demands, no extorted obedience."

James Bonner of Edinburgh, *The bee-master's companion, and assistant. Wherein is set forth the properest methods of managing those insects, so as they may turn out to the best advantage. Shewing an effectual way to preserve them from famine, cold, robbers, mice, or other enemies: also how to make all your hives equal in bees, so as never to have any weak hive; with an account of the power the working bees are invested with ...* Berwick, 1789

The Hive fancies itself a utopia

James Bonner, in *The bee-master's companion, and assistant* (Berwick, 1789), speaks of the hive as an enlightened, utopic society or "commonwealth," in which universally accepted order and law presides, all are comfortable in their respective positions, and wealth and possessions are equitably distributed. "The Bee called the Queen," he writes, "so far as ever I could observe, has no sovereignty over the rest of the Bees. The form of government in a hive seems not to be monarchical, but a democracy..." Like all utopic visions, however, Bonner's democratic inclinations have their limits, such as when Bonner maligns the drone bees when he notes that bees "...are temperate in diet, no gormandizers or drunkards among them (the Drones excepted)..." In subsequent passages, his idealized hive is revealed to be equally subject to factionalization, as is the case with any real democratic society.

Bonner's sociopolitical reading of the hive closely resembles the idealized image of the archive as a kind of universal receptacle for cultural artifact, possessed of an order and hierarchy, but dominated by a democratic ideal that aspires to the preservation and dissemination of all substance and knowledge. His analogy also suggests harmonious agreement over the content and order of artifact among the builders and constituents of the archive. The archive and the cultural organization may appear on the surface to be paragons of order and harmony, with a boundless capacity to preserve, interpret and embrace all cultural memory. Below the surface, however, one confronts the limits of utopia, and the true nature of the archive is found at the center of an ongoing discussion, debate and conflict over the nature, use, and capacity of the "archival commonwealth."

Vitrine / Lesson 7: The Hive is not impervious to critique

"...our deere & loving mother the holy church of Rome ought not to scorn or disdain, that we do compare her customes and orders to a Bee hive, considering that shee her selfe doth [...] Therefore can none blame us herein, unlesse also they blame and accuse the holy Church of Rome for blasphemie."

Philips van Marnix van St. Aldegonde, *The bee hiue of the Romish Church : a worke of all good Catholikes to be read, and most necessary to bee vnderstood : wherein the Catholike religion is substantially confirmed, and the heretikes finely fetcht ouer the coales*, London, 1623.

The Hive is not impervious to critique

The bee hiue of the Romish Church by Philips van Marnix van St. Aldegonde (London, 1623) presents the hive as divinely inspired and a favored metaphor for the Roman Catholic Church. As an example of Counter-Reformation literature, his polemic defends the church against Protestant heresy by establishing the hive as a reflection of divine order and literature—"the holy Scripture, olde Fathers, Councils, Decrees, and Canons, gathered together, and as in a sweet Bee hive." This association establishes a rigorous hermeneutical analogy between the beehive and the church. "[The Holy Roman Church] her selfe doth compare [...] the Virgine Mary unto the Bees," it is argued, "which were in very deede a great blasphemie, if the Bees were not of so great valour and vertue, that by them wee might liken & compare the holy Church of Rome." In so doing, St Aldegonde creates an infallible link between the human and the divine that is impervious to the threat of critique.

The perceived threat of heretical misinterpretation indicates, however, the very potential for critique to permeate the hive. The author presents two threats to the hermeneutic integrity of the Catholic Church. One threat is outwardly heretical readings, as he admonishes his readers, "Play not the part of a Spider, which out of sweet and odoriferous flowres sucketh deadly poison." Another threat is attributed to the potential for poorly substantiated claims and lack of exegetical rigor, as the following passage makes evident: "[...] as the hony Bee, doth not gather her hony out of one flower alone, but of many and diverse: "So doth not the church of Rome stand upon one scripture, Bible, council or bookes of Decrees, but doth catch and snatch out of each of them." Against the line of argumentation of *The Bee Hive of the Romish Church*, the critical maneuver is a positive reading tool, and is vital to the perpetual construction and ongoing interpretation of our society and its practices.

Vitrine / Lesson 8: The Hive is cunning and mercurial

"The Robbing-BEE, or Thief, boldly discovers his Purpose, as soon as he comes near the Hive, which he intends to assault, with a loud threatening Noise, proclaiming their Destruction if they shall resist..."

John Gedde, *The English apiary, or, The compleat bee-master : unfolding the whole art and mystery of the management of bees : being a collection and improvement of what has been written by all authors, relating to this subject, as well antient as modern : with a new discovery of an excellent method for making bee-houses and colonies, to free the owners from the great charge and trouble that attends the swarming of bees, and is much more advantageous than any method hitherto practiced*, London, 1721.

The Hive is cunning and mercurial

Among the many threats faced by the hive, John Gedde, in his *The English Apiary* (London, 1721), describes the phenomenon of the robber-bee, whose devious assault threatens the integrity and productivity of the hive. Unlike other accounts in his time that call attention to external threats to the hive by other species, Gedde calls attention to threats from within their own species. Invariably, the hive's ability to overcome this threat is dependent upon it being equally aggressive in its tactics of vigilance and defense. The sustainability and productivity of the enterprise of the robber-bee and that of the hive is dependent upon the successful deployment of tactical cunning.

At a time when organizations valorize work that is comfortable and familiar for audiences by virtue of redundant elements, the need arises for alternative practices that provide different rules for engagement. In the Modernist avant-garde, ideas of duplicity and cunning may be read positively to suggest alternative modes of cultural engagement. Today, in the increasingly perceived absence of established traditions, practices that are predicated on, and in turn encourage, more reciprocally cunning and mercurial tactics of engagement are more productive and provoking than ever. Richard Sennett has argued that the point of any cultural or curatorial practice should not be to display objects, but to present a problem, not to make something coherent but something that is purposely contradictory or provocative. The museumification of art has resulted in a scenario where artists believe their work must conform. Alternatively, Sennett argues for a more anarchic museum experience that, rather than imparting knowledge, actively involves the spectator by presenting something to be judged. Engaging the spectator in a constant process of judgment makes possible a productively cunning and mercurial relationship between artists, organizations, and audiences.

Vitrine / Lesson 9: The Hive is perpetual motion

"I have universally found the lower classes of people averse to all instruction in the management of their bees; their fathers, grandfathers, and so on up to Noah, followed this or that method, and therefore it must be good. All innovation is dangerous, and considered as infringing the sanctity of antiquated customs."

Samuel Bagster, *The management of bees : with a description of the "Ladies' safety hive"*, London, 1838.

The Hive is perpetual motion

"The obvious question when you go to the beehouses of those who keep up the old cottage system," Samuel Bagster remarks in *The management of bees* (London, 1838), "is, 'How do your bees get on?' But instead of a clear answer, your friend replies, 'I really cannot tell.'" Bagster criticizes the ignorance of antiquated bee-keeping practices and the resistance of its practitioners to change. Far from being dangerous in the negative sense, innovation is essential for the hive to realize prosperity and true abundance. "Without previous instruction," Bagster continues, "or consulting the most esteemed authors on the subject, I would not advise any one to commence apiarian; and it is in acting contrary to this advice, that the culture of the bees has declined." Bagster also acknowledges the inherent biological risks and dangers of innovation in bee-keeping practice, both of which may be mitigated by scholarly rigor.

While danger and risk are generally viewed as unpredictable threats to innovation, they are in fact the very indicators of and starting points for innovation. Normally, cultural innovation is associated with formal developments in individual practices and techniques, which are then reflected through movements and institutions. The metaphoric associations in this exhibition between the hive and our own cultural institutions are based on formal analogies that permit us to view the archival organization as aestheticized cultural expression—an artwork unto itself. The organization as aesthetic form is more inclined to give itself over to uncontrollable movements and less concerned with diluting dissent. The impulse to preserve culture, however, tends towards states of inertia, and often emanates from the monumental. In a hypothetical extreme that presumes an absence of such monumental nodes, innovation and a state of perpetual motion may flourish in new ways and in new locations.

Vitrine / Lesson 10: The Hive is not inherently altruistic

"Their institutions were the obvious causes of dissatisfaction and turbulence: of inequality in the distribution of honey, and all the evil consequences resulting therefrom..."

John Minter Morgan, *The revolt of the bees*, London 1828.

The Hive is not inherently altruistic

John Minter Morgan's *The revolt of the bees* (London, 1828) is a social commentary and satirical polemic about the socio-economic inequalities and hardships for many bees and humans in his day. Morgan's polemic demonstrates both the satirical thrust of the utopian tradition, and his serious yearnings for superior societies and polities in an age of enlightenment, revolution and romanticism. He attributes the suffering that results from the "unequal division of honey" to the institutions and economies of the hive, and proposes the redistribution of wealth through less competitive and more co-operative means. Gregory Claeys has argued that works such as Morgan's *The revolt of the bees* evidence how much of the communitarian aspects of early socialism descended from various utopian forms of social critique. These works also help us plot the development of republican ideals latent in agrarian society into the various forms of nineteenth-century socialism. While Morgan proposes many communitarian solutions to mollify the general state of "dissatisfaction and turbulence," he clearly aspires toward an apian and human society rooted in a fundamentally altruistic spirit. Nevertheless, he is compelled to acknowledge the impossibility of his vision: "Has not the economy of the hive been held up to the world as the model of a perfect commonwealth?," Morgan asks his readers. "Where in the whole range of animated nature can you discover a single instance of beings of the same species destroying each other?" In the allegory, Morgan's protagonist attempts to lessen the suffering around him, but "his arguments were fruitless; for all the powerful bees declared the scheme to be visionary. [...] In proposing any alteration in the oeconomy of the hive, many will erroneously apprehend that, because their particular interests are for the present disturbed, their happiness will be impaired."

Can an alternative institution built on alternative forms of cultural altruism and expenditure be envisioned? In the end, the health of our organizations and our societies may well be secured neither by pure greed nor pure altruism, but a dynamic tension wherein our tendency toward the unaltruistic is tempered by an enduring longing for a society of unbridled generosity and equality. In this fashion, cultural organizations lessen their dependence upon classical models of economics in which principles of scarcity dominate and inequality is accepted, and approach an ideal of cultural equity and optimism.

Vitrine / Lesson 11: The Hive embraces martyrdom

"the Queen-bee... disdain[ing] a Life that was no Life to her, without the Company of those which she could not have, they having all given up their Lives for her Sake."

Joseph Warder, *The true Amazons, or, The monarchy of bees : being a new discovery and improvement of those wonderful creatures ... : also how to make the English wine or mead, equal, if not superior to the best of other wines.* London, 1716.

The Hive embraces martyrdom

In Joseph Warder's *The true Amazons, or, The monarchy of bees* (London, 1716), on display under lesson three, the author casts the society of bees as a reflection of the wisdom and "lovely Order" of the English monarchic society, in which it is divinely given that loyal subjects sacrifice themselves for their Queen. He runs the hazard of destroying a swarm of bees to test the analogy. For Warder, the life of the hive is predicated on the ongoing sacrifice of the worker bees for their queen. Similarly, as this exhibition suggests, the perpetuation of the contemporary archive is predicated on a dynamic tension between sustainability and sacrifice. This tension is also expressed through metaphors of bees at war over their visions for the hive, as in Book IV of Virgil's *Georgics* (London, 1697), in which every "Knight is proud to prove his Worth" and goes to battle while "heaps of slaughter'd Soldiers bite the Ground."

Today, more than ever, the impulse to preserve stems from an awareness of the transience of cultural artifacts and the challenges to sustainability that haunt the contemporary archive. Thomas Keenan reminds us that "Museums are built on loss and its recollection: there is no museum without the threat of erasure or incompleteness, no museum not shadowed by the imagination of the impending destruction of what it therefore seeks to stabilize and maintain. [...] The [museum...] would in turn be registered by recurrent fantasies of the museum in ruins, victim from the outset of time's own depredations." In this model, fantasies of the museum in flames motivate and ultimately facilitate the preservation of cultural artifact. The archive's will to permanence is both life-giving and death-dealing, and thus constantly engages in a modality of self-sacrifice. When faced with the infinite abundance of cultural artifact, and the compulsion to sustain itself, the archive meets the impossibility of complete preservation and is compelled into a state of self-martyrdom.

As this exhibition has explored, ideas of transience lie at the heart of archival practices, organizations, and paper-hives. At the core of all these lessons is the notion that the hive is an archival industry that must ultimately embrace martyrdom, which we understand to be a negative maneuver in the interest of positive ends. The original binding for the Pastorius manuscript, on display here, serves as both an indexical trace of the paper-hive that once was, perpetuating its memory, and at the same time is a *vanitas* representing the transience and fragility of all archives.

-- Aaron Levy and Thaddeus Squire