

The Pattern Degendered: Hannah Höch, Cubism, and Collage-Drawing

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Saloua Raouda Choucair, *Fractional Module*, 1947-1951, 49,5 x 59 cm, Courtesy Saloua Raouda Choucair Foundation

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Late in her life, Hannah Höch made reference to a body of works that she called alternatingly her "collage-drawings," "paste-drawings," or "pattern-collages." Comprising over fifteen examples, the loosely defined series of abstract collages remains one of the German artist's least examined endeavors, despite emerging alongside her canonical Weimar era production. Schneiderblume [Tailor's Flower] (dated 1920, most likely 1924–25) occupies a special position among these works, housed uniquely in an artist-made frame of repurposed zippers, snaps, and hasps. Strikingly visceral and aleatory, the collage presents an unruly assemblage of flat shapes and linear sequences of dashes, dots, and waves, stretching energetically beyond the limits of a stable ground of tightly gridded paper; just off center, a pink flower tipped by red anthers breaks the otherwise austere palette of black, white, and beige. To shape its central construction, Höch dissected and reassembled elements from an essential material for this broader series: the commercial sewing pattern.

Born of the nineteenth century, the sewing pattern is a peculiar and little-studied technical medium, an ephemeral instrument of everyday life in Western modernity. "There is nothing so cheap and yet so valuable; so common and yet so little realized; so unappreciated and yet so beneficial...," claimed one 1916 American advertisement. "Truly one of the great elemental inventions in the world's history — the Tissue of Dreams." For *Schneiderblume*, Höch reworked one or more pattern sheets from Ullstein & Co., the largest publishing conglomerate of interwar Germany and the artist's employer from 1916 to 1926, for whom she produced designs for embroidery, lace, clothing, and other items. A typical Ullstein pattern encoded a dense network of superimposed garment panels on a double-sided sheet, organized with reference to an illustrated key. The inexpensive paper objects, slid within Ullstein fashion periodicals and books as well as sold in retail stores, coaxed users — predominantly women — into self-fashioning and domestic labor, transforming both clothing styles and their production processes. In the period, such patterns were at once a means of creative expression and individual empowerment, a tool for social and professional advancement, and a "technology of gender," in the formulation of Teresa de Lauretis, a commodified instrument linked to the fashioning of gendered appearances and gendered hierarchies of labor and work.

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Disregarding the sheet's embedded technical logic, Höch's *Schneiderblume* builds form by excising distinctive lines and shapes from the pattern and combining them with other printed elements. Previously unremarked, her collage offers a singularly astute reading of gendered dynamics within cubism and the so-called path toward abstraction, building on her commentary in articles and unpublished writings. I argue that *Schneiderblume* manifests an interplay of gendering and degendering, flaunting the feminized pattern while critically redirecting its fraught making practice. Crossing techniques of mass-produced craft and avant-garde art, Höch's collage further elucidates the artist's multifaceted examination of gender and suggests a different genealogy for interwar abstraction, one preoccupied with the technics of everyday life.

Dirty Dishes and Modernist Threads

Höch came of age in a society only beginning to reckon with the profound cultural entrenchments of gender difference. Born in 1889, she was around thirteen years old when the prominent German sociologist Georg Simmel acknowledged plainly that "human culture... is not genderless." "Rather, our culture, with the exception of very few provinces," he asserted in the essay "Female Culture" of 1902, "is thoroughly male. It is men who have created industry and art, science and commerce, state administration and religion." Höch experienced this patriarchal regime as an inescapable feature of both bourgeois and avant-garde milieus, discouraged by her father from studying fine art — choosing applied art instead — and routinely belittled within the Berlin Dada group, which she joined alongside her then-partner Raoul Hausmann.

Written around 1920, Höch's unpublished story *Der Maler* [The Painter] frames a stark divide between feminized domestic work and masculinized artistic production. The four-page typewritten narrative recounts the home life of "modern" painter Gotthold Himmelreich, his wife, and their child, unfolding its central drama around household chores. The artist, absorbed by his intellectual pursuits, feels degraded when asked to wash the dishware; resisting these intrusions, and while his nameless wife attends to his daily needs, Himmelreich devotes himself wholeheartedly to a single work — a painting that seeks to depict the essence of the female soul, which he glimpses, inexplicably, in the forms of wild chives. Failing to achieve his elusive goal after two years, the fictional painter instead opts for a pure green abstraction entitled *The Soul of Woman*. After its first exhibition, his work gains instant recognition by the nation's President as a manifestation of the "revolution" and is acquired by the National Gallery. Read most often in biographical terms, *Der Maler* is a lightly fictionalized account of Höch's troubled seven-year extramarital relationship with Hausmann; while professing a belief in gender equality, he continually derided Höch's artistic ambitions, convinced her to support his own creative pursuits with her salary, and compelled her to undergo two unwanted abortions by refusing to leave his wife as promised.⁷

In its pointed caricature, Höch's tale directly implicates the projects of cubism and abstraction, mocking their predispositions for mysticism and misogyny. Himmelreich's painterly ambition to "cube the similarity



of wild chives to a woman's soul" follows from his discovery that "there is a hollowness that fills each of these objects from top to bottom" thus, he strives to present "in an infinitely clearly articulated, *cubist* painting — the female soul dissected in a positively scientific manner, so that anyone tuned into *abstraction* can see, that's her, that is what she is like in her very essence." The story provides a vital framework for understanding Höch's relationship to the discourses of avant-garde experimentation, satirizing male creative genius and emphasizing its dependence on reproductive labor. Tellingly, early in their relationship, Hausmann executed several portraits of Höch in his own "entirely personal cubism," including the 1916 painting *Hannah abstrakt*, which depicted his partner in a primitivist- and expressionist-inflected cubist idiom.

Höch's narrative targets both the male painter's tendency to analogize the female body with natural forms (the chives parodying flowers or similar motifs), as well as the veiled motivations for its formalist dissection. Himmelreich's "positively scientific" ambitions, the story suggests, stem from having heard that "these often highly malleable little women could not always be molded and formed in a manner that would ensure one's psychic and physical comfort," compelling his "dark urge... to grapple with this particular problem, in paint on canvas." In short, *The Painter* casts modernism's probing study of the female form – its "erotic appropriation of the body in paint," in the words of Carol Armstrong – and its arrival at abstraction as engendered by domestic subservience, psychic displacement, and sublimation. In its rhetoric, Höch's critique most directly incriminates scientifically-minded Salon cubists like Albert Gleizes and Jean Metzinger; the artist's subsequent collage-drawings, as we'll see, more specifically interrogate the work of Pablo Picasso.

In her own practice, Höch was by no means against abstraction as such. In articles published between 1918 and 1919, she demonstrated a strong belief in abstraction as a means of elevating and reimagining craft techniques such as embroidery, arguing that these modes of making belonged as much to the museum as the home. "Why does our modern European embroidery," Höch asks in one instance, "always exhibit only this stockpile of flowers, baskets, birds, and curlicues? Shouldn't it also be possible for embroidery to achieve in an analogous way that which the abstract art of nonobjective painting has done, without making embroidery into a surrogate for painting?" In another, she declares it essential for embroidery to embrace abstract forms as part of a strategy for women to document their era. Incomparably beautiful hands sew the Venice laces," she mused at the time, "Germany has Ullstein patterns to iron on." Referencing the firm's iron-on embroidery sheets, her sardonic quip takes aim at their effect of deskilling, setting the artisanal prowess of Italian women against Weimar Germany's culture industry.

Grasping Höch's interventions into the Ullstein sewing pattern requires a basic knowledge of how such patterns work. To produce a desired garment, the user first locates the item along the top section of the sheet and identifies the relevant numbers and linear patterns for each necessary component; these panels then must be isolated and extracted individually from the disorienting tangle of lines, a task done most often by



overlaying the pattern with transparent paper and tracing each shape. Once cut out, these secondary paper pieces are finally laid and pinned onto fabric, after which time further cutting, fitting, and finally sewing ensue.

Setting this process into motion, the sewing pattern is the key mediator in a practice of making at once industrially designed and personally enacted. For some Weimar women, its zigzagging lines offered the opportunity to remake themselves anew; for instance, it gave working class women the ability to adapt their clothing more easily for white-collar labor, as well as a means of domestic creativity.

Fashion magazines and patterns also enabled trans and gender non-conforming people to imagine gender differently, opening new possibilities for refashioning the self by easing access to a wide variety of clothing styles. That said, Ullstein exclusively promoted the normative dimensions of the pattern's labor: its designs were explicitly premised upon unpaid domestic practices undertaken by women, often on behalf of men or children. Tai Smith observes that the sewing pattern "marks a shift toward a flexible model of production," evincing a "capacity to democratize itself, to remold itself" with consumer demands. The potentials of Ullstein's patterns, in other words, were enmeshed in reorganizations of capital, gendered divisions of labor, and market-driven imperatives. Willfully scrambling technical codes, Höch's *Schneiderblume* reconfigures the gendered logics framed by *Der Maler*, her embroidery statements, and the patterns themselves, employing scissors and glue in place of needle and thread.

Gendering and Degendering

Asked about her use of handicraft elements in 1975, Höch noted that she "liked to make *collage-drawings* out of these sewing pattern sheets, because each of these patterns has its own peculiarity." "The line is not a line," she explained, "but interrupted in some way, so that it differentiates itself from the others, and now I have drawn with these lines." Looking at *Schneiderblume* [Tailor's Flower], one thing is immediately apparent: Höch's making is all wrong. She cuts *into* the pattern, rather than transposing its designs, wholly interrupting the sheet's instrumental use. In this very material way, Höch *degendered* the pattern's labor — an act that does not entail an attempt to bypass gender, but instead the active resistance of its determinations at the level of social practice. Defining "degendering" as a feminist strategy, sociologist Judith Lorber writes that it "attacks the structure and process of gender — the division of people into two social statuses and the social construction of what we call the opposites." For Höch, her treatment of the pattern freed its designs from any predetermined order: "the only law that applies is to create anew," she stated, underscoring a continued belief in the expansive possibilities of abstraction. At the same time, *Schneiderblume* equally reveals a highly nuanced engagement with cubism, surfacing contradictions in Picasso's treatment of gender and technique in particular.

In its angular linear scaffolding, Höch's work engages formally with an extremely charged moment within the development of so-called "high" cubism. Compare her collage to Picasso's print *Mademoiselle Léonie*



sur une chaise longue from the summer of 1910: in this period, the Spanish painter strove to reinvent the depiction of the human figure, working with a rigidly constrained vocabulary of schematic lines, curves, angles, and volumetric devices. These "free-floating" components "do not correspond to any particular element of the figure's anatomy," Pepe Karmel explains, "... rather than describing the body, they evoke the envelope of space surrounding it." One major consequence of this investigation was a precipitous breakdown of visual markers of sex and gender in Picasso's works, resulting in a fluid and purportedly genderless play of signs. Trevor Stark observes of *Mademoiselle Léonie* that "despite the title, it seems premature to insist on stable gender identity," finding instead a "study in the coexistence of mutually contradictory cues."

Schneiderblume similarly plays with the limits and conditions of figuration. Höch's handling of the pattern assembles a flattened, discontinuous construction out of its already frenetic surface, deliberately avoiding the consolidation of a legible human figure or garment; nevertheless, her placement of a printed flower seems to signal the presence of a body. Positioned between two bowed elements suggestive of legs, this pink almond blossom wryly assigns female sex to the disjointed assemblage as a kind of token. Picasso referred to similar devices in his own work — such as the swath of hair in his 1910 Portrait of Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler — as "attributes," rescuing a minimally legible figure from total abstraction. In Höch's critical miming, the photomechanically reproduced flower clashes with the pattern's diagrammatic lines, not so much materializing a body as indicating a failure to cohere. Much like her satire in Der Maler, this tension appears calculated to undermine cubism's rhetoric of analytic neutrality, evincing a latent sense of gendered violence in its practice.

In her handling of pasted paper, Höch likewise contends technically with the cubist medium of *papier collé*. This is especially apparent in her related collage *Weiße Form* [White Form] (dated 1919, most likely 1924–25), which models a face at the very edge of recognition, formed by suggestions of a stem-like neck, an eye, and a nose in profile. Placing Höch's collage against a work like Picasso's *Tête d'homme au chapeau* (1912) prompts a quite significant realization: true to its hyphenated name, Höch's so-called "collage-drawing" shrewdly integrates into one unified act the two distinct, formative operations of Picasso's work, namely pasting paper and drawing in charcoal.²⁵ Through her deployment of lines and shapes from the pattern, pasting and drawing become one. In so doing, Höch's approach resituates the sewing pattern's overlapping lines as a kind of vernacular cubist idiom, proposing a procedural link between cubism and the sewing pattern.

With this gesture, Höch in fact anticipated later art historical scholarship. Elizabeth Cowling similarly pursued Picasso's relationship to artisanal techniques and feminized labor forms, examining home dressmaking specifically as a potential source. Stressing the close resemblance between the *papiers collés* and the flat workspace of the home tailor (as in the Ullstein illustration), Cowling described that "the dressmaker will inadvertently produce effects which are curiously like the puzzling intersections and changes of orientation in the *papiers collés*." Moreover, Cowling's writings were among the first to emphasize Picasso's use of sewing pins, examples of which still remain in certain works. These pins permitted the artist to actively



fix, unfix, and rearrange his compositions in an open-ended way, a "process of adjustment (and repining)," she notes, not dissimilar from the dressmaker's placement of paper sheets on fabric or the temporary fixing of panels together during fitting.²⁷ Picasso's *Table de bar avec guitare* (1913), for example, bears the markers of this contingent method: the work also demonstrates — as Cowling discusses elsewhere — the artist's incorporation of stereotypically gendered materials like cheap and outdated wallpapers, the connotations of which remained most often latent or subordinate in his treatment.²⁸ Höch's collagedrawings bring these very same strategies and allusions within cubist practice into the foreground.

Playfully but incisively, *Schneiderblume* recodes these pivotal moments of Picasso's practice, synthesizing analytic cubism and *papier collé*. The collage introduces a final measure of distance with its very name: utilizing a colloquial term for the cornflower, its title suggests the work of a *male* tailor [*der Schneider*], displacing the sense of authorship and agency responsible for the disarticulated anatomy and floral appliqué. At issue in Höch's work, it appears, are both cubism's analytical deformation of the female body and its appropriations from women's practices of home tailoring. The artist found in Ullstein's patterns a means to achieve many things at once, negating the feminized, industrialized, and domestic status of the pattern while demonstrating its potential for formal inventiveness and critical reflection. *Schneiderblume*, in short, is animated by a calculated tension between gendering and degendering; by substituting the feminized pattern for the cubist newspaper, Höch strategically genders her collage's materials in order to register simultaneously the liberatory degendering of her treatment. Her work serves as a retort to cubist practices – undercutting their claims and procedures by means of feminized tropes and processes – at the same time as it destabilizes the pattern itself by reimagining its technical logics and cultural positioning.

Condensing the prejudices of the epoch, Simmel's "Female Culture" located women principally within the home and – in its 1911 revision – identified their artistic contributions strictly with reproductive practices, among them "that most distinctive type of embroidery in which the mark of incomparable skill and industry consists precisely in its reproduction of a 'given' pattern." Submitting the sewing pattern to new ends, Höch put abstraction to work for the critical unlearning of gendered codes, labor practices, and prescribed roles. As she suggests, "the only law that applies is to create anew."



Notes

- 1. The term "collage-drawings [Collage-Zeichnungen]" appears in the manuscript of a 1975 interview with Höch, and "paste-drawing [Klebe-Zeichnung]" can be found in the artist's preparatory notes. See: Suzanne Pagé, "Interview with Hannah Höch. Berlin, 18.11.1975," BG-HHC H 105/79, Nachlass Hannah Höch, Berlinische Galerie. And: Hannah Höch, "Notes on the interview Suzanne Pagé. Berlin, Mid-November 1975," BG-HHC H 107/79. The term "pattern-collages [patrons-collages]" features in a 1976 statement by Höch, translated into French from the artist's German. Hannah Höch, "Propos sur l'art et la photomontage; décembre 1976," Skira Annuel, no. 3 (1977): 72.
- 2. An exception here is the work of Bettina Schaschke, who included discussions of *Schneiderblume* and *White Form* in her study of Höch's approach to ornament and exploration of positive/negative forms. Building on findings by Maria Makela, Schaschke also suggested a redating of these works and other related collages to the years 1924–25 based on their source materials. My forthcoming dissertation will further substantiate this redating. See: Bettina Schaschke, "Schnittmuster der Kunst: Zu Hannah Höchs Prinzipien der Gestaltung," in *Hannah Höch: Aller Anfang ist DADA!*, ed. Ralf Burmeister (Berlin: Berlinische Galerie, 2007), 129–30, 136n62. For Makela's analysis of *Schneiderblume*, see: Maria Makela, "Hannah Höch," in Jo-Ann Conklin, ed. *The Louise Noun Collection: Art by Women* (lowa City: University of Iowa Museum of Art, 1990), 24.
- 3. Advertising copy in: *The Designer*, Volume 44, no. 6 (October 1916): 37. Quoted in: Joy Spanabel Emery, *A History of the Paper Pattern Industry: The Home Dressmaking Fashion Revolution* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014),
- 4. For Höch's Ullstein work, see: Maria Makela, "By Design: The Early Work of Hannah Höch in Context," in Maria Makela and Peter Boswell, eds., *The Photomontages of Hannah Höch* (Minneapolis: Walker Art Center, 1996), 49–80.
- 5. In her 1987 book *Technologies of Gender*, theorist Teresa de Lauretis proposes "that gender...both as representation and as self-representation, is the product of various social technologies, such as cinema, and of institutionalized discourses, epistemologies, and critical practices, as well as practices of daily life." Teresa de Lauretis, *Technologies of Gender: Essays on Theory, Film, and Fiction* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), 2.
- 6."Die Voraussetzungen wie die Ergebnisse dieser Fragestellung übersieht man erst von der Erkenntnis aus, daß die Kultur der Menschheit sozusagen nichts Geschlechtsloses ist, daß sie keineswegs in reiner Sachlichkeit jenseits von Mann und Weib steht. Vielmehr, unsere Kultur ist, mit Ausnahme ganz weniger Provinzen, durchaus männlich. Männer haben die Industrie und die Kunst, die Wissenschaft und den Handel, die Staatsverwaltung und die Religion geschaffen [...]." Georg Simmel, "Weibliche Kultur (1902)," in Schriften zur Philosophie und Soziologie der Geschlechter, ed. Heinz-Jürgen Dahme and Klaus Christian Köhnke (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1985), 160–61.
- 7. For a book-length study of their relationship, see: Silke Wagener, *Geschlecterverhältnisse und Avantgarde: Raoul Hausmann and Hannah Höch* (Königstein/Taunus: Ulrike Helmer Verlag, 2008).
- 8. Emphasis mine. Hannah Höch, "Der Maler (The Painter), c. 1920," in *Hannah Höch*, ed. Dawn Ades, Daniel F. Herrmann, and Emily Butler (Munich: Prestel, 2014), 74–75.
- 9. For this satirical dimension, see: Kathrin Hoffmann-Curtius, "Michelangelo beim Abwasch Hannah Höchs Zeitschnitte der Avantgarde," *Frauen, Kunst, Wissenschaft*, no. 12 (1991): 60.
- 10. Quoted from a letter to Höch, dated September 12, 1915. See: Berlinische Galerie, ed. *Hannah Höch: Eine Lebenscollage*, vol. 1:1, 1889–1918 (Berlin: Argon/Berlinische Galerie, 1989), 140.
- 11. Höch, "Der Maler" (The Painter), c. 1920, 74.
- 12. As Carol Armstrong observes, "the female nude would come to constitute one of the principal leitmotifs of avantgarde practice, from Courbet to Matisse and Picasso; and it is no wonder that the erotic appropriation of the body in paint would so easily lend itself to aestheticization and abstraction. That potential was there from the very beginning of the genre." Carol M. Armstrong, "Edgar Degas and the Representation of the Female Body," in *The Female Body in Western Culture: Contemporary Perspectives*, ed. Susan Rubin Suleiman (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1986), 223.
- 13. Hannah Höch, "Die freie Stick-Kunst," Stickerei- und Spitzen-Rundschau: Illustrierte Monatshefte zur Förderung der deutschen Stickerei- und Spitzen-Industrie 20, no. 1/2 (October/November 1919): 22.
- 14. See: Hannah Höch, "Vom Sticken," Stickerei- und Spitzen-Rundschau: Illustrierte Monatshefte zur Förderung der deutschen Stickerei- und Spitzen-Industrie 18, no. 12 (September 1918): 219.
- 15. Hannah Höch, "Italienreise [1920/1921]," in Künstlerarchiv der Berlinische Galerie, ed. *Hannah Höch: Eine Lebenscollage*, vol. 2:2 (Ostfildern-Ruit: Verlag Gerd Hatje, 1995), 61.
- 16. Sexologist Magnus Hirschfeld's groundbreaking work *Die Transvestiten* provides evidence of this fact in the self-narrated account of "Herr K.," a fifty-year-old teacher. See: Magnus Hirschfeld, *Die Transvestiten: Eine Untersuchung über den erotischen Verkleidungstrieb* (Berlin: Alfred Pulvermacher, 1910), 73–77.
- 17. T'ai Smith, "Three Figures, Three Patterns, Three Paradigms", *Art Practical* (February 26, 2015), https://www.artpractical.com/feature/three-figures-three-patterns-three-paradigms/.



- 18. Emphasis mine. "Mit Vorliebe habe ich aus diesen Schnittmusterbögen Collage-Zeichnungen gemacht; weil jedes dieser Muster irgend eine Eigenart hat. Der Strich ist kein Strich, sondern unterbrochen auf irgendeine Weise, so daß er sich unterscheidet von den anderen und mit diesen Linien habe ich nun gezeichnet." Suzanne Pagé, "Interview with Hannah Höch. Berlin, 18.11.1975." Quoted in: Schaschke, "Schnittmuster der Kunst," 131.
- 19. Judith Lorber, *Breaking the Bowls: Degendering and Feminist Change* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2005), 7. In recent years, gender non-conforming writer and activist Alok Vaid-Menon has also led calls to #DeGenderFashion, urging the fashion industry to break from the gender binary.
- 20. "Das einzige Gesetz das gilt ist die Neuschöpfung." Höch, "Notes on the interview Suzanne Pagé, Berlin, Mid-November 1975." Quoted in: Schaschke, "Schnittmuster der Kunst," 131.
- 21. Pepe Karmel, Picasso and the Invention of Cubism (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 74.
- 22. As Emily Braun summarizes, Picasso "had obsessively delved into the visual signs of gender ambiguity in many works of 1906–9 and nearly obscured the recognition of male and female in his Analytic Cubist figures of 1910–12," before his "aggressive return to the representation of sexual difference" with *Woman in a Chemise* (late 1913–early 1914). Emily Braun, "Picasso's Female Anatomies," in *Cubism: The Leonard A. Lauder Collection*, ed. Emily Braun and Rebecca Rabinow (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2014), 150.
- 23. Trevor Stark, Total Expansion of the Letter: Avant-Garde Art and Language after Mallarmé (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2020), 47.
- 24. On Picasso's "attributes" and their function, see: Yve-Alain Bois, "Pablo Picasso: The Cadaqués Experiment," in Leah Dickerman, ed. *Inventing Abstraction, 1910-1925: How a Radical Idea Changed Modern Art* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 2012), 40–42.
- 25. Höch perhaps knew Picasso's *Head of a Man with a Ha*t from her first trip to Paris in 1924. At the time, the work was very likely in the collection of Tristan Tzara, with whom Höch spent significant time during her stay. See the findings of MoMA's Provenance Research Project here: "Pablo Picasso, *Head of a Man with a Hat*, 1912," Museum of Modern Art, accessed August 15, 2021, https://www.moma.org/collection/works/35867.
- 26. Elizabeth Cowling, "The fine art of cutting: Picasso's papiers collés and constructions in 1912-1914," *Apollo* CXLII, no. 405 (November 1995): 13.
- 27. Ibid. Writing of precisely this "contingent" aspect of cubist practice, Jeffery Weiss acknowledges Cowling's work, but is "disinclined to extrapolate from [her observations] a gendering of technique." Jeffrey Weiss, "Contingent Cubism," *Grey Room* 58 (January 2015): 30.
- 28. See: Elizabeth Cowling, "What the Wallpapers Say: Picasso's Papiers Collés of 1912-14," *Burlington Magazine* 155 (September 2013): 594–601.
- 29. Georg Simmel, "Female Culture (1911)," in Georg Simmel: On Women, Sexuality, and Love (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), 74.