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MUSEUM LUDWIG

Smile! How the Smile Came Into Photography Presentation in the Photography Rooms

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Publication text Katharina Sykora: Smiling: A Photographic Balancing Act between
Seriousness and Laughter

You can find all press images in our [online press service](#).

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MUSEUM LUDWIG

November 15, 2025 – March 22, 2026

Smile! How the Smile Came Into Photography

Presentation in the Photography Rooms

Smizing, squinching, duck face, fish gape, cheese, or prunes: Beauty ideals and social media have given rise to increasingly mercurial trends in portrait photography. Until the late nineteenth century, having one's photo taken required the sitter to remain absolutely motionless in order to produce a sharp image, which more often than not resulted in a fixed and lifeless expression.

Smile! How the Smile Came Into Photography, presented in the Museum Ludwig Photography Rooms, investigates how our “photographic faces” have evolved over time. The show assembles a range of anonymous and artistic portrait photographs from the nineteenth to the twenty-first century to recount a history of the smile.

Whether or not we smile when being photographed, or whether we show our teeth, depends on social norms and the photographic technology available. In 1878, the photographer Josef Janssen observed that “the awkward situation in which a person finds themselves at the moment of having their photo taken is in itself enough to prevent them from displaying their individual personality. Motionless and with a fixed gaze, their head leaning on that dreaded, detestable head rest, they are required for a set period of time to stare at a certain point in space that generally offers the eye nothing of interest. What else could this result in but stiffness and lifelessness?”

The fact that people in the nineteenth century rarely smiled when having their picture taken in a photographic studio also reflected contemporary norms regarding how one should appear in a portrait, norms based on conventional ideas of class, gender, and context. Emotions were considered a private matter that had no place in a portrait.

The emergence of silent film played a key role in the appearance of the smile in twentieth-century portraits. Facial expressions were used to convey emotions, filling the frame in tight close-up shots. Parallel to this, headshots increasingly replaced full-body portraits. Then came advertising, where the beaming smiles of actors served to embody the allure of products. The corners of the mouth began to rise ever upward. A 2015 study of student portraits in American yearbooks revealed that smiling in photographs has consistently increased since the start of the twentieth century, with results confirming that women smile more than men. A trend toward increased facial expressiveness can be observed the world over. A look at fashion photography, however, shows that status and coolness are conveyed with barely a smile. As early as 1927, the sociologist Siegfried Kracauer noted that the world—and thus the people in it—had taken on a “photographic

face." The presentation at the Museum Ludwig aims to show that this observation still holds true today and that the smile has a history.

The show is accompanied by a publication with a text by Katharina Sykora.

Curators: Miriam Szwast with Brit Meyer

#PhotographyFaces #MLxPhotography

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MUSEUM LUDWIG

PRESS IMAGES

Smile! How the smile came into photography

November 15, 2025 – March 22, 2026

Presentation in the Photography Rooms



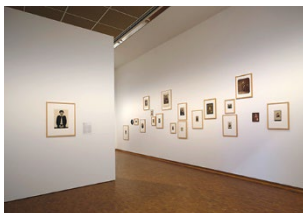
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Installation view

Smile! How the smile came into photography

Museum Ludwig, Cologne, November 15,
2025 – March 22, 2026

Photo: Historisches Archiv mit Rheinischem
Bildarchiv/ Mark Weber



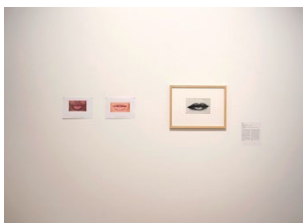
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Installation view

Smile! How the smile came into photography

Museum Ludwig, Cologne, November 15,
2025 – March 22, 2026

Photo: Historisches Archiv mit Rheinischem
Bildarchiv/ Mark Weber



rba_d065662_02

Installation view

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Agfa Werbung

Unknown Photographer
Advertising motif, Test, around 1965
Color Photography
Archive Museum Ludwig



Agfa Werbung_smile

Unknown Photographer
Advertising motif, around 1965
Color Photography
Archive Museum Ludwig



rba_d065531

Adolf Hengeler
"At the photographer's: 'Now, young lady, please smile nicely and look friendly!... One, two, three!... That's it, thank you! Now you can go back to your natural expression!'",
published in: *Fliegende Blätter*, 1893
Print
47 x 36,4 cm
Museum Ludwig, Cologne
Repro: Historisches Archiv mit Rheinischem Bildarchiv



rba_d035565

Julia Margaret Cameron
Summer-days, 1866
Albumen print on cardboard
34.0 x 27.6 cm
Museum Ludwig, Cologne
Repro: Historisches Archiv mit Rheinischem Bildarchiv



rba_d038112

Thomas Struth
The Schäfer Family, Meerbusch 1990, 1990
C-print
166 x 198 cm
Museum Ludwig, Cologne
Acquisition with the support of the Peter and Irene Ludwig Foundation
Repro: Historisches Archiv mit Rheinischem Bildarchiv
© Thomas Struth



rba_d038395

Andy Warhol

Warhol, Andy, 1972

Polaroid

10,8 x 8,6 cm

Museum Ludwig, Cologne

Repro: Historisches Archiv mit Rheinischem Bildarchiv

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rba_d038396

Andy Warhol

Warhol, Andy, 1972

Polaroid

10.8 x 8.6 cm

Museum Ludwig, Cologne

Repro: Historisches Archiv mit Rheinischem Bildarchiv

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rba_d043102

Nadar

Portrait of Marc de Montifaut, around 1877

Woodburytype on cardboard

22.9 x 18.6 cm

Museum Ludwig, Cologne

Repro: Historisches Archiv mit Rheinischem Bildarchiv



rba_d046532

August Sander

Girl with Ball, 1910s (*Mädchen mit Ball*)

Gelatin silver paper

10.7 x 6.9 cm

Museum Ludwig, Cologne

Repro: Historisches Archiv mit Rheinischem Bildarchiv

© Die Photographische Sammlung/SK

Stiftung Kultur-August Sander Archiv, Köln /

VG Bild-Kunst, Bonn 2025



rba_d056705

Man Ray

Lips, (Lee Miller), 1930

Print

21 x 25.5 cm

Museum Ludwig, Cologne

Repro: Historisches Archiv mit Rheinischem Bildarchiv

© Man Ray 2015 Trust / VG Bild-Kunst, 2025



Passbilder

Test images from the photo booth, Kaufhof, Cologne, 1920s

Archive Museum Ludwig



Klassenfoto 1923

class photo, 1923

Archive Museum Ludwig



Klassenfoto 1963

class photo, 1963

Archive Museum Ludwig

Smile!

Wie das Lächeln in die Fotografie kam

Smizing, Squinching, Duckface, Fish Gape, Cheese oder Prune – die Geschichte des Fotoporträts kennt viele Gesichtsausdrücke. Sie unterliegen sozialen Normen und ändern sich fortwährend. Ob wir lächeln, wenn wir wissen, dass wir fotografiert werden, oder nicht, ob wir Zähne zeigen oder nicht, das alles ist meist keine spontane, individuelle Entscheidung. Entscheidend sind vielmehr gesellschaftliche Konventionen, Klasse, Gender, Medien oder Fototechnik. Schon 1927 schrieb der Soziologe Siegfried Kracauer davon, dass sich die Welt – und damit auch der Mensch darin – ein „Photographiergesicht“ zugelegt habe. Daran hat sich bis heute nichts geändert. Und auch wenn in der Fotografie genau wie in gemalten Porträts immer mal gelächelt wurde, hat das Lächeln seit dem 20. Jahrhundert nachweislich und kontinuierlich zugenommen. Folgen wir der Geschichte des Lächelns durch die Sammlung Fotografie, vom Ganzkörperporträt zur Nahaufnahme von Gesichtern, von der Studioaufnahme zum Schnappschuss.

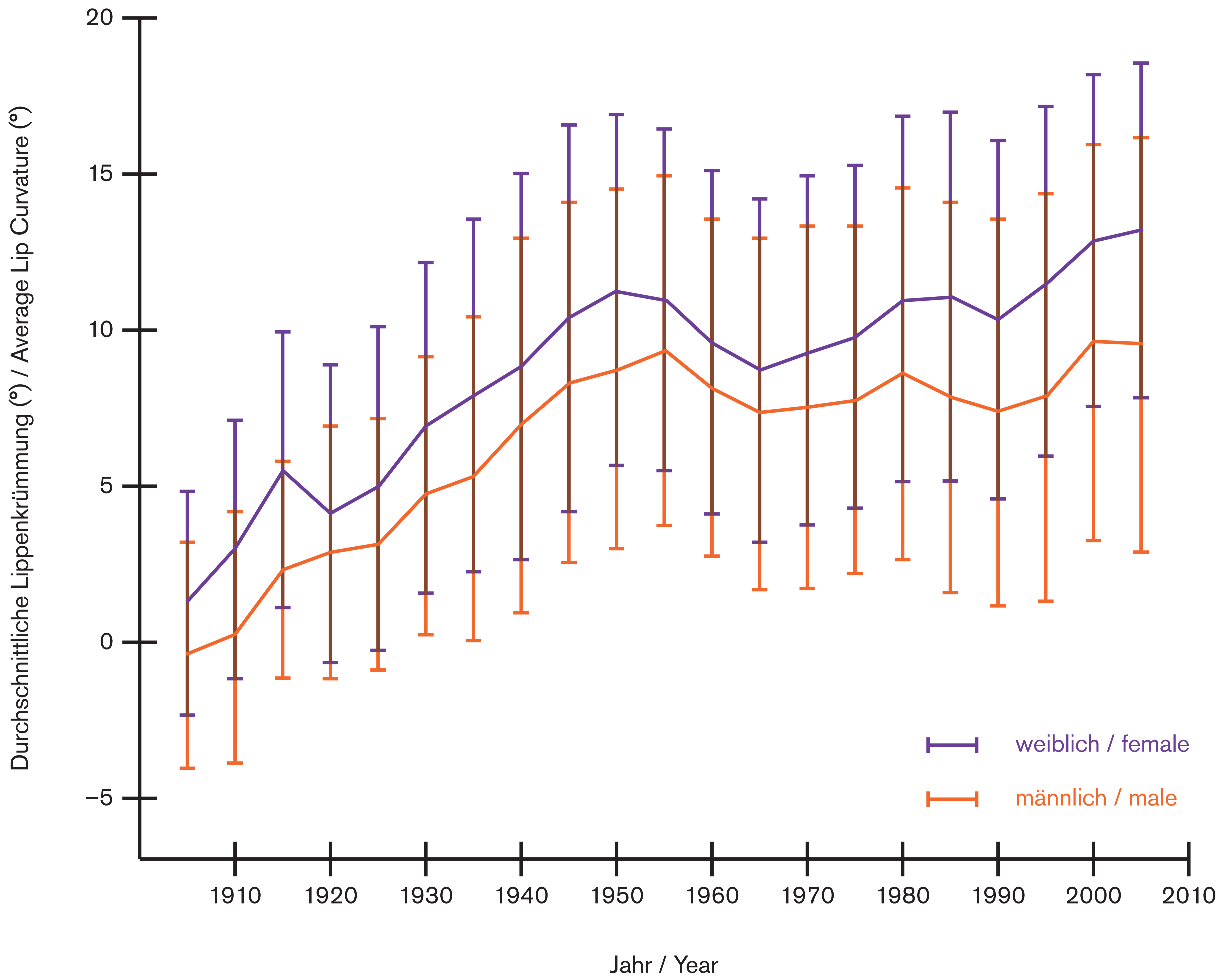
How the Smile Came Into Photography

Smizing, squinching, duckface, fish gape, cheese, or prune—the history of photographic portraits has seen many facial expressions. They are subject to social norms and are constantly changing. Whether or not we smile when being photographed, or whether we show our teeth, is usually not a spontaneous, individual decision. Rather, social conventions, class, gender, media, and photographic technology are decisive factors. As early as 1927, the sociologist Siegfried Kracauer noted that the world—and thus also the people in it—had taken on a “photographic face.” Nothing has changed in this regard to this day. And even though people smiled occasionally in photographs, just as they did in painted portraits, there is evidence that smiling has increased steadily since the 20th century. Let’s follow the history of smiling through the photography collection, from full-length portraits to close-ups of faces, from studio shots to snapshots.

1. November 2025 – 22. März 2026

Durchschnittliche Lippenkrümmung (°) im Vergleich zum Jahr

Average Lip Curvature (°) vs Year



Quelle / Source
Shiry Ginosar, Kate Rakelly, Sarah M. Sachs, Brian Yin,
Crystal Lee, Philipp Krähenbühl, Alexei A. Efro:
„A Century of Portraits: A Visual Historical Record of
American High School Yearbooks“ (2019)
<https://arxiv.org/pdf/1511.02575>



FOTOGRAF*IN UNBEKANNT

Agfa Werbeaufnahmen und deren Testbild, um 1965
[Agfa advertisement and its test shot]

Museum Ludwig, Agfa Werbearchiv

Im Archiv der Agfa Werbeabteilung, das heute im Museum Ludwig verwahrt wird, finden sich diese beiden Aufnahmen. Während die Farbkarte in einem Bild verrät, dass es sich um eine informelle Testaufnahme für den Fotografen oder die Fotografin handelt, zeigt das andere Bild die offizielle Version der Werbung. Nur in der offiziellen Version lächeln alle – sogar der Mann, der gerade die Kamera vor das Gesicht hält, um einen Schnappschuss seiner Familie zu machen. Da Werbung die Zufriedenheit der Menschen mit einem bestimmten Produkt kommunizieren sollte, trug sie enorm zu Verbreitung und Normalisierung des lächelnden, lachenden Menschen im Bild bei. Dies gilt besonders für die Werbung der Fotoindustrie. Wie Christina Kotchemidova in ihrem Aufsatz „Why we say ‚Cheese‘: Producing the Smile in Snapshot Photography“ (Warum wir ‚Cheese‘ sagen. Lächeln in der Schnappschussfotografie) schreibt: „Offensichtlich lernten Fotoamateure von der Foto-Werbung (...). Das Anschauungsmaterial stellte sicher, dass das Idealbild der Werbung exakt reproduziert wurde. So wurde die private Fotografie zur Erweiterung der Werbung.“

These two photographs can be found in the archives of Agfa's advertising department, which are now kept at the Museum Ludwig. While the color chart in one picture reveals that it is an informal test shot for the photographer, the other picture shows the official version of the advertisement. Only in the official version is everyone smiling—even the man holding the camera in front of his face to take a snapshot of his family. Since advertising has to communicate people's happiness with a particular product, it contributed enormously to the spread and normalization of smiling, laughing people in pictures. This is particularly the case with the advertisement of the photo industry. As Christina Kotchemidova writes in her article „Why we say ‚Cheese‘: Producing the Smile in Snapshot Photography: „Obviously, amateurs learned from advertisements (...). The visuals ensured that the advertising ideal was accurately replicated, thus making popular photography an extension of advertising culture.“

HUGO ERFURTH

1874 Halle (Saale)

1948 Gaienhofen (Bodensee)

Hildegard Seemann-Wechler (Malerin), 1929

[Hildegard Seemann-Wechler (Painter)]

Ölpigmentdruck auf Karton

Ankauf Sammlung Agfa 2005

FH 01161

Als Hildegard Seemann-Wechler ihr Porträt im Dresdner Atelier von Hugo Erfurth aufnehmen ließ, studierte sie bei Otto Dix Malerei. Die strenge Frontalität dieses Bildes, der neutrale Hintergrund und der gerade Blick in die Kamera wird gemildert durch die leichte Andeutung eines Lächelns in den Mundwinkeln der Künstlerin. Hildegard Seemann-Wechlers Bubikopf-Frisur weist sie als Neue Frau aus, die konservative Rollenbilder ablehnt. Ihr Porträt bricht aus der Tradition ernster Gesichtsausdrücke im 19. Jahrhundert aus und markiert die Schwelle zwischen Nicht-Lächeln und Lächeln.

Sammlungspräsentationen wie diese helfen uns, die eigenen Werke zu erforschen. Auf der Rückseite von diesem Bild steht mit Bleistift der Name „Hilde Wächler“. Erst im Zuge der Vorbereitungen zu *Smile!* bemerkten wir den Fehler und konnten der Porträtierten ihren wahren Namen zuordnen. 1940 wurde Hilde Seemann-Wechler von den Nationalsozialisten ermordet.

When Hildegard Seemann-Wechler had her portrait taken in Hugo Erfurth's studio in Dresden, she was studying painting with Otto Dix. The strict frontality of this picture, the neutral background, and the direct gaze into the camera are softened by the slight hint of a smile at the corners of the artist's mouth. Hildegard Seemann-Wechler's bob hairstyle identifies her as a New Woman who rejects conservative role models. Her portrait breaks with the tradition of serious facial expressions in the 19th century and marks the threshold between not smiling and smiling.

*Collection presentations like this help us to explore our own works. On the back of this picture, the name "Hilde Wächler" is written in pencil. It was only during the preparations for *Smile!* that we noticed the mistake and were able to assign the person portrayed to her real name. In 1940, Hilde Seemann-Wechler was murdered by the Nazis.*

FOTOGRAF*IN UNBEKANNT

Fotoatelier auf dem Dach, 1845, Illustration aus Erich Stenger: Siegeszug der Photographie in Kultur, Wissenschaft, Technik, 1950
[Photo studio on the roof, 1845, illustration from Erich Stenger: Siegeszug der Photographie in Kultur, Wissenschaft, Technik]

Archiv Museum Ludwig, Köln

Je mehr Licht vorhanden ist, desto kürzer die Belichtungszeit beim Fotografieren. Darum wurden Fotoateliers im 19. Jahrhundert oft im Dachgeschoss eingerichtet, mit großen Fenstern. Bei gutem Wetter wurde mitunter auch direkt auf dem Dach fotografiert. Dennoch sehen wir hier noch jene Nackenstütze, die die porträtierte Person für die Dauer der Aufnahme bewegungslos machte und half, dass das Bild scharf wurde. Solche Nackenstützen gehörten zur notwendigen Ausstattung eines Fotoateliers und führten sicher nicht zur Entspannung der Porträtierten. So beobachtete der Fotograf Josef Janssen 1878: „[...] schon die Zwangslage allein, in welcher sich die Person im Augenblicke der Aufnahme befindet, genügt, sie an der freien Entfaltung ihrer Individualität zu hindern. Sie soll, an den vielgehassten und gefürchteten und doch unentbehrlichen Kopfhalter gelehnt, unbeweglich und unverwandt eine Zeitlang nach einem bestimmten Punkt hinsehen, der dem Auge gewöhnlich nichts zu betrachten bietet. Was anders kann die Folge davon sein, als Starrheit und Leblosigkeit?“

The more light there is, the shorter the exposure time when taking photographs. That is why photo studios in the 19th century were often set up in attics with large windows. In good weather, photographs were sometimes taken directly on the roof. Nevertheless, we can still see the head support that kept the person being photographed motionless for the duration of the shot and helped to ensure that the image was sharp. Such head supports were part of the necessary equipment of a photo studio and certainly did not help the subject to relax. In 1878, photographer Josef Janssen observed: "[...] the predicament in which the person finds themselves at the moment of the shot is enough to prevent them from freely expressing their individuality. Leaning against the much-hated and feared, yet indispensable head support, they are supposed to remain motionless and stare intently for a while at a certain point that usually offers nothing for the eye to look at. What else can be the result of this but rigidity and lifelessness?"

Großstadtschmetterling, 1928/1929
[Pavement Butterfly]

Stummfilm

Regie: Richard Eichberg

Darsteller:in: Anna May Wong, Alexander Granach

Ausschnitt

In *Pourquoi sourit-on dans la photographie?* (Warum lächelt man auf Fotografien?) beschreibt der Fotohistoriker André Gunthert den Stummfilm als einen Wendepunkt in der Geschichte der Fotolächelns. Denn im Stummfilm wird die Geschichte über Gestik und Mimik der Schauspieler*innen erzählt. Und das bedeutete, dass die Kamera das Gesicht immer mehr in den Fokus rückte. Parallel lässt sich in der Porträtfotografie ein Wandel vom Ganzkörperbildnis zur Nahaufnahme beobachten – und nicht selten eine Imitation von Schauspieler*innenporträts.

In *Pourquoi sourit-on dans la photographie?* (Why do people smile in photographs?), photo historian André Gunthert describes silent film as a turning point in the history of smiling for photos. This is because silent films tell their stories through the gestures and facial expressions of the actors. And that meant that the camera increasingly focused on the face. At the same time, portrait photography underwent a shift from full-body portraits to close-ups—often imitating portraits of actors.

ADOLF HENGELER

1863 Kempten

1927 München

Beim Photographen, reproduziert in: *Fliegende Blätter*, 1893

[*At the Photographer's*, reproduced in: *Fliegende Blätter*]

Druckgrafik

Ankauf Sammlung Agfa 2005

FH 00243

„So, mein Fräulein, bitte jetzt recht lieb und freundlich!...Ein, zwei, drei!... So, ich danke! Nun können sie wieder ihr natürliches Gesicht annehmen!“ So lautete der Text zur Karikatur, als sie 1893 in der Zeitschrift *Fliegende Blätter* veröffentlicht wurde. Dass die Porträtierte mit Clownsmaske wiedergegeben ist zeigt, zum Einen, dass die Menschen schon Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts lächelnde „Fotografiergesichter“ kannten. Auch lernen wir, dass die porträtierten Frauen durch ihr Lächeln „lieb“ und „freundlich“ wirken sollten. Denn dass es noch weitere Arten des Lächelns gibt, stand schon in Grimms Wörterbuch von 1885 zu lesen, etwa froh, heiter, schalkhaft, verstohlen, schüchtern, boshaft, bitter, höhnisch, spöttisch und gezwungen. 2020 beschrieb Carolita Johnson in ihrem Artikel „I don't have to smile if I don't feel like it!': Covid freed me from politeness and unwanted touching“ in der Zeitung *The Guardian*, wie das Tragen von Atemschutzmasken während der Coronapandemie sie vom Druck befreite, die Maske der lieb lächelnden Frau tragen zu müssen.

“Now, young lady, please make a nice and friendly!...One, two, three!... That's it, thank you! Now you can go back to your natural expression!” This was the caption accompanying the caricature when it was published in the magazine Fliegende Blätter in 1893. The fact that the subject is depicted wearing a clown mask shows, on the one hand, that people were already familiar with smiling “photography faces” at the end of the 19th century and, on the other hand, that the women portrayed were supposed to appear ‘nice’ and ‘friendly’ through their smiles. The fact that there are other types of smiles was already mentioned in Grimm's dictionary from 1885, such as happy, cheerful, mischievous, furtive, shy, malicious, bitter, scornful, mocking, and forced. In 2020, Carolita Johnson described in her article “I don't have to smile if I don't feel like it!': Covid freed me from politeness and unwanted touching” in The Guardian how wearing face masks during the coronavirus pandemic freed her from the pressure of having to wear the mask of the friendly smiling woman.

FOTOGRAF*IN UNBEKANNT

Klassenfotografien, 1923 und 1963 *[class photos]*

Gelatinesilberpapier

Archiv Museum Ludwig, Köln

Eine vergleichende Untersuchung von Schulfotografien in den USA konnte belegen, dass sich die Mundwinkel in den Porträts seit 1900 stetig höher ziehen. Der Vergleich zweier Klassenfotos aus dem Archiv der Museum Ludwig, die im Abstand von vierzig Jahren entstanden, bestätigt dies: Wo 1923 noch ernste Miene gemacht wurde, findet man 1963 lachende Gesichter. Die Studie aus den USA konnte aber auch zeigen, dass Mädchen und Frauen wesentlich mehr lächeln als Jungen und Männer. „Fotografiertes Gesichter“, ob sie lächeln oder nicht, sind kulturell geprägte Gesichter.

A comparative study of school photographs in the USA showed that the corners of the mouth have been rising steadily in portraits since 1900. A comparison of two class photos from the Museum Ludwig archive, taken forty years apart, confirms this: whereas in 1923 the expressions were still serious, in 1963 there are smiling faces. However, the US study also showed that girls and women smile significantly more than boys and men. "Photography faces," whether they smile or not, are culturally formed faces.

PASSBILDER

*Porträts aus dem Fotoautomaten, Kaufhof, Köln,
1920er Jahre*

[Portraits from the photo booth, Kaufhof, Cologne]

Gelatinesilberpapier

Archiv Museum Ludwig, Köln

Dass Porträts mit der Einführung des Fotoautomaten in den 1920er Jahren kostengünstig und von Fotograf*innen unbeobachtet aufgenommen werden konnten, förderte die Lust am Sich-Ausprobieren, wie wir es in diesem Teststreifen sehen, der in einem Kölner Kaufhaus entstand.

The introduction of photo booths in the 1920s meant that portraits could be taken cheaply and without being observed by photographers, which encouraged people to experiment, as we can see in this test strip taken in a Cologne department store.

MAN RAY

1890 Philadelphia (Pennsylvania)

1976 Paris

Lippen (Lee Miller), 1930, Abzug 1960er Jahre
[Lips (Lee Miller)]

Gelatinesilberpapier

Ankauf Gruber mit Unterstützung der Kulturstiftung der Länder und der Kunststiftung NRW 2012
ML/F 2017/0027

Von Lee Millers geschlossenen Lippen lässt sich kaum eine Gefühlsregung ablesen. Und doch kommuniziert jede Mimik etwas über die Zeit und die Umstände, in denen ein Porträt entstand. Online finden wir auch heute Moden in der Lippenstellung, wenn eine Person fotografiert wird – etwa die geschürzten Lippen beim „Duckface“ oder die leichte Öffnung des Mundes beim „Fish Gape“. Die Entwicklung der Zahnpflege ist sicher nur einer der Gründe, weshalb wir heute beim Fotografiertwerden häufiger Zähne zeigen als vor hundert Jahren und „Cheese“ zu sagen unser Gesicht in die fotogenste Form bringen soll.

Lee Miller's closed lips reveal hardly any emotion. And yet every facial expression communicates something about the time and circumstances in which a portrait was taken. Even today, we find fashions in lip positioning when a person is photographed—such as pursed lips in the “duckface” or the slight opening of the mouth in the “fish gape.” The development of dental care is certainly only one of the reasons why we statistically show more teeth when being photographed today than we did a hundred years ago, and why saying “cheese” is supposed to make our faces look their most photogenic.

THOMAS STRUTH

1954 Geldern (Kreis Kleve)

The Schäfer Family, Meerbusch 1990, 1990

[Die Familie Schäfer, Meerbusch 1990]

C-Print

Erworben mit Mitteln der Peter und Irene Ludwig Stiftung 2012

ML/F 2012/0014

Thomas Struth fotografiert seit den 1980er Jahren immer wieder Familien aus seinem Umfeld in ihrer vertrauten Umgebung. Während die Menschen auf seinen Bildern Kleidung, Gesten und Blicke selbst wählen, bittet er sie, kein Kamera-lächeln aufzusetzen. In einem Interview in der *Süddeutschen Zeitung* erklärte der Fotograf dies wie folgt: „Es heißt oft, wenn alle lächeln, sehen alle gleich aus. Aber es können doch auch nicht alle verschieden schauen. Meiner Meinung nach gibt es genug Fotos, auf denen Leute lachen.“ Ann Katrin Harfensteller-Rufenach ergänzt in ihrem Buch *Dazwischen-Sein. Familienporträts von Thomas Struth und jüngere Positionen in der Fotokunst in Deutschland*: „Aber wohl auch die ungewöhnliche Größe des Apparates dürfte faszinieren, einen ansprechenden Gesichtsausdruck gefördert haben“. Tatsächlich fotografierte Thomas Struth dieses Bild mit einer Großformatkamera auf Stativ, ähnlich wie die Fotograf:innen des 19. Jahrhunderts.

Since the 1980s, Thomas Struth has been photographing families from his circle in their familiar surroundings. While the people in his pictures choose their own clothing, gestures, and looks, he asks them not to smile for the camera. In an interview with the Süddeutsche Zeitung, the photographer explained this as follows: "It is often said that when everyone smiles, they all look the same. But they can't all look different either. In my opinion, there are enough photos of people laughing." Ann Katrin Harfensteller-Rufenach adds in her book Dazwischen-Sein. Familienporträts von Thomas Struth und jüngere Positionen in der Fotokunst in Deutschland (Being in Between: Family Portraits by Thomas Struth and Recent Positions in Photographic Art in Germany): "But the unusual size of the camera may also have been fascinating and encouraged an appealing facial expression." In fact, Thomas Struth photographed this image with a large-format camera on a tripod, similar to the photographers of the 19th century.

Triangle of Sadness, 2022
[Komödie/Drama]

Regie und Drehbuch: Ruben Östlund
Ausschnitt

Aus dem Off ruft ein Fotograf „Balenciaga! H&M!“ und die Models nehmen eine für die entsprechende Werbung gewünschte Mimik ein: Coolness für das Luxuslabel Balenciaga, ausgelassenes Lächeln für H&M. Was dieser Ausschnitt des Spielfilms *Triangle of Sadness* auf den Punkt bringt, ist, dass Lächeln und Lachen „Teil einer schichtenspezifischen Pose“ sind, wie Katharina Sykora im Begleitheft zu dieser Präsentation schreibt. Schon in der Porträtmalerei des Barock findet man lachende Gesichter meist bei Betrunkenen, Frivolen oder niederen Schichten, während repräsentative Porträts einen würdevollen Ernst ausstrahlen sollten.

A photographer calls out from off-screen, "Balenciaga! H&M!" and the models strike the facial expressions required for the respective advertisement: coolness for the luxury label Balenciaga, exuberant smiles for H&M. What this excerpt from the feature film Triangle of Sadness sums up is that smiling and laughing are "part of a class-specific pose," as Katharina Sykora writes in the accompanying booklet to this presentation. Already in Baroque portrait painting, smiling faces are usually found among drunkards, frivolous people, or the lower classes, while representative portraits were supposed to radiate dignified seriousness.

ANDY WARHOL

1928 Pittsburgh (Pennsylvania)

1987 New York

Warhol, Andy, 1972, aus: Album 4 (Andy Warhol), 1972

[Warhol, Andy, 1972, from: Album 4 (Andy Warhol)]

Polaroids

Schenkung 2015

ML/F 2015/0029, ML/F 2015/0030

Andy Warhol experimentierte früh mit der Polaroid Sofortbildkamera. Er fotografierte sich selbst wie auch Besucher*innen seines Ateliers The Factory im New York der 1970er Jahre. In mehreren Fotoalben versammelte er die Schnappschüsse, deren Spontaneität sich darin zeigt, dass sie oft fehlerhaft wirken, sei es, weil nur die Stirn im Bild zu sehen ist oder das Gesicht der porträtierten Person eben noch kein standardisiertes „Fotografiertes Gesicht“ ist.

Andy Warhol experimented early on with the Polaroid instant camera. He photographed himself as well as visitors to his studio, The Factory, in New York in the 1970s. He collected the snapshots in several photo albums. Their spontaneity is evident in the fact that they often appear flawed, whether because only the forehead is visible in the picture or because the face of the person portrayed is not yet a standard “photography face.”

Publication text

Katharina Sykora

Smiling: A Photographic Balancing Act between Seriousness and Laughter

Between spontaneity and strategy: smiling as an indicator of emotion

In everyday life, a smile immediately inspires feelings of happiness. While today we experience smiling as a spontaneous expression of affection, our understanding of smiling as a legible, socially acceptable facial gesture is the result of centuries of debate. It was often viewed as an expression that sat midway between seriousness and laughter. Discussions around the nature of the smile gained in intensity in the nineteenth century with the invention of photography, which saw many in the aristocracy and the upwardly-mobile bourgeoisie discovering themselves anew in portrait studios. *Meyers Encyclopedia* (1865) describes smiling as a weaker version of laughing because “it lacks the intermittent exhalation,”¹ while in his remarks on *The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals* (1872), Charles Darwin describes laughter as “the full development of a smile or . . . a gentle smile as the last trace of a habit, firmly fixed during many generations, of laughing.”² In both cases, smiling is cast not as an emotion in its own right but as a relative form derived from a strong, joyful feeling. This contrasts with the expressive range of smiles allowed for by the Brothers Grimm: “Smiling,” they write in their *German Dictionary* (1885) “may be friendly, happy, cheerful, affectionate, gentle, mischievous, furtive, shy, even malevolent, bitter, mocking, scornful, or forced.”³

This highlights the long-standing controversy that has historically accompanied discussions around smiling and that continues today. On the one hand, a smile is evaluated based on where it is perceived to sit on a spectrum between seriousness and laughter and—depending on its proximity to either extreme—subjected to positive or negative moral, societal, or aesthetic judgements. On the other hand, because the spectrum between seriousness and laughter contains many nuances, smiling is perceived as a versatile expression that can attest to a variety of different feelings and communicate a broad range of meanings in social interactions depending on the sociohistorical context. The first perspective tends to view smiling within normative parameters, while the second situates it within a kaleidoscope of micro-sociological observations.

An important question running through historical and historiographical discussions of seriousness, smiling, and laughter asks whether these are expressions of inner emotion or learned facial gestures and behavior patterns. In other words, whether laughing and smiling are anthropological constants common to all humans as immediate expressions of emotion, or whether they are a strategic means of communication used to one's own advantage in specific situations.

In the mid-nineteenth century, photography played a prominent role in this debate. In his book *The Mechanism of Human Facial Expression*, published in 1862 and containing a hundred photographs,⁴ the doctor and physiologist Guillaume-Benjamin-Armand Duchenne de Boulogne presented an experiment in which he used targeted electric shocks to trigger a wide range of expressions on a test person whose facial nerves lacked sensation. One of these included a homogenous smile involving all of his features that resembled the kind of facial expression observed in everyday settings. But Duchenne was also able to trigger paradoxical facial expressions that could only be induced by electric shocks, such as a smiling mouth combined with eyes and forehead contorted by pain. Through such experiments, Duchenne sought a systematic "orthography of a supposedly universal language"⁵ of human physiognomy in order to render it more legible. Paradoxically, he disconnected inner affects from their outer manifestations while connecting them all the more strongly in terms of their meaning, as when, by analogy with the laughing muscle, he describes the nasalis (nose) muscle as a "muscle of aggression" or the frontalis muscle (that moves the eyebrows) as a "muscle of suffering."⁶

One far-reaching side effect of Duchenne's test setup was the realization that manifestations of human emotion can be manufactured without necessarily corresponding to a felt equivalent. By twinning electrophysical and photographic procedures, Duchenne proved in the field of science what had long been commonplace in the world of the theater—where professional actors routinely simulate emotions—and everyday life—where individuals control their expressions when interacting with others. In this way, Duchenne contributed his "theater of science"⁷ to the list of "production sites" for the decoupling of facial expression from emotion, where it joined the theatrical stage and milieus of social interaction.

At the same time, Duchenne's use of electric shocks to produce expressions revealed their dual social function: Anyone could use them as a systematic means of portraying

emotion detached from any corresponding internal feeling, and they could be decoded just as systematically by others as “artificial” rather than “natural” displays of sentiment. This benefitted another site invested in the social coding of emotions: the increasingly numerous photographic studios where the middle classes were now able to have portraits made of themselves, creating a specific repertoire of facial expressions as part of a class-specific pose.

What these theatrical, scientific, and photographic settings all demonstrate is that seriousness, smiling, and laughter can be performed in a way that is legible. They are part of a social act that always involves two or more people.⁸ With Duchenne’s contribution to the visual ordering and classification of seriousness, smiling, and laughter, photography advanced over the course of the nineteenth century to become the primary medium for the representation, communication, and standardization of emotions. It became a platform for self-portrayal, for the negotiation of social hierarchies and values, and for the establishment and reinforcement of universal forms of emotional expression.

Looking back: a brief discursive and visual history of smiling

The history of smiling, as traced through past discourses and visual representations, reflects the shifts in society’s acceptance of the portrayal of specific emotions and the influence this has had on photographic (self-)presentations of people since the nineteenth century.

What immediately becomes clear is that smiling has not always been understood as the midpoint between seriousness and laughter but situated somewhere closer to the latter. Even more surprisingly from today’s perspective, laughter and especially smiling historically occupied no place at all in social behaviors and visual representations, and when they did appear, their initial connotations were largely negative.

“Before the twelfth century,” writes the art historian Monika E. Müller, “one can expect to find almost no illustrations of emotion in the form of facial expressions.”⁹ The reason for this was the dominance of Christian morals, which opposed the portrayal of strong emotions in general. The Greek and Roman Church Fathers shared a negative view of laughter, considering it antithetical to the ideal of a God-fearing person leading a life of humility and atonement. As a result, books of monastic precepts banned laughter as sinful behavior.¹⁰

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, grinning devils increasingly appeared in portrayals of the Apocalypse, there were chortling henchmen along Christ's route to Calvary, and there were grotesque heads guffawing on the capitals of cathedrals or in the margins of illuminated manuscripts. These polarizing counter-figures were depicted as bystanders, relegated to the edges of the sacred realm. Here, laughter was not an expression of cheerfulness but a sign of vice and evil.

In the thirteenth century, smiling made its first appearance as a positive trait in Christian iconography but was reserved for Mary, the Christ Child, angels, and those souls resurrected into a state of heavenly bliss. Here, too, exceptions gradually emerged: In the portal of the Last Judgement at Strasbourg Cathedral, for example, we find the Prince of this World (ca. 1280) flashing a mischievous grin in the direction of a Foolish Virgin with a flirtatiously simpering smile. This erotically charged tête-à-tête takes on a negative tone, however, once one notices that the Prince's back is being devoured by snakes and vermin. Moreover, the coquette is shown to be doubly foolish—distracted by her “sinful” fleshly desire for a figure whose true nature is hidden from her, unlike the lamenting Wise Virgins, she has unwittingly dropped the oil lamp that was meant to remain lit in anticipation of Christ's arrival. In this way, depictions of smiling joined those of laughter in Christian iconography, where their differentiation into the beatific and the seductive supported theological morals.

Once smiling began to feature in secular imagery—as in the statue of Margravine Regelinda in the west choir at Naumburg Cathedral (ca. 1250)—the binary Christian model underwent a fundamental reevaluation. In the thirteenth century, a tradition of courtly politeness emerged in which smiling carried positive connotations, signaling friendly attentiveness guided by self-restraint. Books on courtly etiquette established gestural moderation as the norm. Smiling was courtly in a double sense: It bound the nobility together through a shared code of conduct while also distinguishing them from the “uncouth” populous.

As the modern age progressed, further differentiation took place. Courtiers amused each other by engaging in witty repartee. Eliciting a subtle smile that acknowledged one's skill while remaining shielded from ridicule behind a noncommittal smile of one's own was the basis of an amicable but increasingly competitive court culture. Smiling became an instrument with which to perpetually renegotiate one's position within the court hierarchy.

As a result, the rules governing seriousness, laughter, and smiling became ever more rigid and complex, so that only a select few courtiers ever mastered the art of it. This in turn created gender and aesthetic norms: Young girls and high-ranking ladies were expected to wholly avoid displays of loud laughter, as they pointed to a lack of self-control in the “weaker sex,” and its distortion of the facial features was considered inappropriate for the “fairer sex.”

In the Renaissance, these norms were applied to portraits of the wealthy burghers of the urban centers. Here, the hint of a smile was considered acceptable, while open laughter was viewed as the hallmark of courtesans, marginal figures at court who, together with the fool or jester, broke with the rules of politeness through displays of untamed conduct while simultaneously affirming them.

A similarly paradoxical relationship emerged in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries with the rise in popularity of genre paintings, which often depicted members of the lower classes boisterously laughing during exuberant scenes of eating and drinking and were often filled with erotic allusions. These paintings, mostly by Dutch artists, both challenged and affirmed the cultural conventions around laughter, often involving the viewer by establishing direct eye contact, creating a sense of complicity and shared amusement.

By contrast, in the eighteenth century, the aspiring bourgeoisie increasingly set itself apart, imposing stricter limits on exuberant laughter. With reference to the aristocratic norm of disciplined facial expressions, it adopted smiling as its hallmark. At the same time, it distanced itself from the courtly performance of smiling. Since those at court were all trying to functionalize their facial expressions and tame their emotions, it was no longer possible to trust their smiles.¹¹ From the viewpoint of the bourgeoisie, courtly smiling was now considered unnatural. This reflected changes in affect theory, as Johann Caspar Lavater’s physiognomy and Georg Christoph Lichtenberg’s pathognomy now postulated congruency between facial expressions and inner emotions.¹² The “forced” smiles of the aristocrats at court were contrasted with the “genuine,” “heartfelt” bourgeois laughter that did not hurt anyone or assume superiority. However, such amiable laughter among equals was not part of public displays of bourgeois identity. In public and in official portraits, the bourgeoisie presented themselves with a seriousness that matched their social aspirations. The network-building, convivial laughter of bourgeois men and the smiles of bourgeois women were reserved for smaller, more intimate formats such as drawings or miniatures. In other words, such displays of emotion were privatized, confined to salons and the home.

Photography and the smile: a tense relationship

At the end of the 1830s, during this transitional phase when bourgeois culture was still navigating between seriousness and smiling, photography emerged as a new medium for recording and representation. Its specific qualities allowed facial expressions to be captured with great precision while also imposing limits on the expression of emotions such as smiling and laughter.

The indexicality of photography—namely, the fact that the subject must have been present while their likeness was being transferred onto the image—meant that photographs were like a second skin. Just as it was assumed that one's facial expression was a direct translation of one's emotion, it was also believed that this emotion was directly imprinted onto the photograph. The indexical promise of photography thus suggested that one was looking directly—through a kind of double, transparent membrane—into the soul of the sitter. For the bourgeoisie, with its imperative of natural, uncontrived expression of emotions, photography thus served as proof of the authenticity of the emotions on display.

It is all the more surprising, then, that it was well into the twentieth century before smiles began to appear on the faces of the bourgeoisie in studio photographs. For bourgeois men in particular, the expression of seriousness that prevailed in this context was a strategy that allowed them to present themselves as level-headed, stabilizing members of society. The resulting contradiction remained a blind spot in their self-image: Photography as an apparatus for capturing an indexical authentication of “genuine feelings” turned into its opposite as demonstrative seriousness became part of a bourgeois pose that was legitimated as “real” by the medium's promise of truth.

Just as important as indexicality is another specific quality of the photographic medium: the way it cuts through space and time. Since laughing and smiling are “fleeting signs of an emotion as expressive *movement*,”¹³ the moment in which a photograph is taken, fixing a single instant in the flow of living time, is especially precarious. While it is easy to maintain a serious expression for a long exposure time, laughter is comparatively brief and consists of a sequence of different expressions. Capturing a laugh at the peak of its crescendo requires a short exposure time, as well as technical skill and psychological foresight on the part of the photographer; they must be able to quickly intuit when to press

the shutter in order to capture the laugh on the sitter's face, in turn underscoring the photographer's ultimate control over the image compared to that of the subject. In temporal terms, photographs of laughter thus tend to be "stolen" images, a quality that can be compensated for by the consenting gaze of the sitter. The belated arrival of laughter as a viable photographic motif in the 1920s was, on the one hand, due to technical developments that allowed for shorter exposure times and, on the other, the result of a renegotiation of the power dynamics between the photographer and their subject.

Photographing a smile is different to capturing laughter. A smile can be maintained for considerably longer than a laugh, though not as long as a serious expression. Since smiling is a fluid movement of the mouth and the corners of the eyes, the way a photograph severs the sequence of a smile is both all the more obvious and all the more arbitrary. In the twentieth century, the request to "smile please" performed a function similar to that of "don't move" in the studio photography of the previous century. It directed the subject to "freeze" their smile, thus detaching it from any emotion that might have prompted it and setting it into a pose. As a stabilized facial expression, smiling complied with the technical parameters of photography at the time. On a cultural level, however, it was precisely this compatibility that led to the smiling photo face becoming the norm—as witnessed in the monotony of smiles from family photographs after World War II to the selfies of the 2000s.

How the smiling photo face came to be

"Why do we smile in photographs?" asks the art historian André Gunthert,¹⁴ who suggests that this phenomenon may be due to the coincidence of two important developments: the evolving concept of the individual and its self-portrayal in the Western world and the emergence of visual mass media—first illustrated newspapers, then photography, and finally film. These developments influenced each other and continue to do so today: Thanks to mass media, images are propagated at an increasingly rapid speed, reaching ever greater numbers of people, who model their behavior on them. Photography, as a genuinely reproducible medium, has been foundational to these developments. As a result, the spread of the smile in photographs is closely linked to the medium's technical developments and its growing accessibility. It wasn't until the 1890s that cameras fell into the hands of amateur photographers, a transition made possible by the roll-film camera developed in 1888 by

George Eastman. This was followed by ever more lightweight, user-friendly cameras, such as the first Leica made for small-format negatives, prototyped in 1913 and mass produced from 1925, or the Ermanox, designed in 1924, which played a crucial role in photojournalism, enabling images to be taken in low-light conditions. The studios, where the standards of bourgeois seriousness were still largely upheld, now found themselves in competition with amateur photographers.

This shift altered the relationship between photographers and their subjects. The intimacy of the family or circle of friends made it possible to capture forms of coexistence that were not bound to the strict rules of public image. In such familiar settings, private “snapshots” of laughing or smiling people no longer risked being viewed as “stolen images” that would be exposed to an unpredictable public response. Instead, the pictures remained private, with viewing sessions and the exchange of prints strengthening ties among friends and family members. As an agent of social cohesion, smiling demonstrated the sitter’s consent to being photographed and was just as important as the shared private enjoyment the resulting pictures generated. From this time, family albums began to contain more and more images of people smiling and laughing. Even in these private photographs, smiles often varied depending on the gender of the subject; bourgeois women and children of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were still confined primarily to the private sphere, with smiling the “natural,” morally acceptable, and aesthetically appropriate mode of expression in this domain. A broad smile while looking directly into the camera continued to be associated more with the lower classes and those on the fringes of society, such as demimondaines, sex workers, and stage performers.

For a long time, studio photography clung to the tradition of a public image based on serious expressions and rigid poses, but it was unable to entirely prevent the new tendency toward smiling from creeping in. The studios countered this with biting satires that ridiculed smiling as improper and “false.” Spontaneous, private expressions of emotion did not make the transition to the studios, where smiling remained a mask assumed only for the time it took to take a picture.

This changed over the course of the 1920s and 1930s. In 1932, the photographer Gilbert de Chambertrand declared the old form of studio photography obsolete. It treated people like statues, he argued, whereas modern portrait photography focused on people influenced by outdoor pursuits, sports, and the cinema whose faces expressed lively

emotions.¹⁵ Shifts in society, such as the rise of the urban middle classes (the “salaried masses”) and the emancipation of women (the “New Woman”), led to a greater variety of facial expressions in photographic portraits, and an aesthetic shaped by the motion pictures contributed to a greater expressivity.¹⁶ With its extreme close-ups, bold cropping, and shifts in perspective, the New Vision movement was characterized by a formal dynamism that amplified the dynamism of the facial expressions it captured. And the role models multiplied, too: In studio portraits of the 1920s and 1930s, elegant women gaze out at us bearing smiles copied from photographs of famous actresses and sporty young girls laugh warmly at the person behind the camera. In extreme cases, a smile may even appear without a face, in a close-up shot of a mouth with lipstick. As its range expanded, smiling became the norm, fostered by its dissemination via the mass media of magazines and movies through which it eventually conquered the public sphere and official portrait photography.

After World War II, this development intensified, especially in the West, beginning in the United States where the commercialization of amateur photography had opened up a huge market. An analysis of high school yearbook photographs over several decades shows the gradual trend toward smiling.¹⁷ By the 1950s at the latest, “social smiles” that marked those photographed as friendly members of the community had become mandatory. Spontaneous smiles, which engaged the eye muscles, increasingly gave way to a mere upward curve of the mouth. In public, this more restrained smile became a compulsory sign of polite distance when encountering strangers, as an overly serious expression risked being misconstrued as aggression.¹⁸ Pervasive advertising, movies, and later television increasingly blended private and public spheres, ultimately elevating the once-private smile to the status of an omnipresent social norm.

In the United States in particular, this was accompanied by an upgrading of the kind of smile required by photographers, as “please smile” was replaced by calls to “say cheese,” prompting the sitter to smile broadly, showing their teeth. Different reasons have been given for this “cheesy grin”: the need for nonconfrontational interactions in times of increasing social insecurity or the desire to display one’s wealth and radiant state of good health. (In the past, possessing a perfect set of teeth could not be taken for granted and often involved considerable costs.) This time, the media role models were Hollywood stars,¹⁹ pin-up models, and the happy families depicted in advertisements.²⁰ In this way, a flourishing post-war

America spread its broad smile not only across its own country but across the whole of the Western world.

Since the 1990s, if not before, we have witnessed a strong counter-movement to the dominance of the smile. The concept of “coolness” categorically refuses the call to smile, demonstratively playing with the latent aggression associated with a serious expression, from which it derives the power of its image and gaze. The subject of a “cool” portrait is most often young, versed in street culture and involved in the worlds of music and fashion and their advertising campaigns. The straight face of cool has become the new photo face. Or has it turned back into the old one? What distinguishes the serious expression of the “cool guy” from that of the bourgeois man in nineteenth-century studio photography? The underlying model of masculinity is comparable, a display of self-confidence, self-control, and defensiveness. The difference lies in the casual pose, the informal clothing, and the overt display of a fit physique, all set against an urban setting or edgy studio backdrop. But it is above all its contrast to the typical cheesy grin that makes not smiling such a surefire fashion statement. A scene in the movie *Triangle of Sadness* (2022) offers a striking illustration of this: At a casting session, a number of young male models are asked to pose for the camera. To test their range of facial expressions, instead of asking for “cool” or “cheese,” the photographer alternately calls out “Balenciaga!” and “H&M!” Here, seriousness and smiling have undergone another shift in function and meaning: No longer manifestations of emotion or masks, they have become brands.

¹ *Neues Konversations-Lexikon, ein Wörterbuch des allgemeinen Wissens*, ed. Hermann J. Meyer, (Hildburgshausen: Bibliographisches Institut, 1865), 10: 474, under “Lachen,” quoted in Timm Starl, “Vom Lächeln: Erörterungen zu einer seltenen fotografischen Erscheinung des 19. Jahrhunderts,” in *Fotografische Leidenschaften*, ed. Katharina Sykora et al. (Marburg: Jonas, 2006), 34.

² Charles Darwin, *The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals* (New York: Appleton, 1872), 209.

³ Jacob Grimm and Wilhelm Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, vol. 6 (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1885; rep., Munich: dtv, 1984), 14–15, quoted in Starl, “Vom Lächeln,” 33.

⁴ Guillaume-Benjamin-Armand Duchenne de Boulogne, *Mécanisme de la physiognomie humaine ou analyse électrophysiologique de l'expression des passions* (Paris: Asselin, 1862).

⁵ Petra Löffler, “Fabrikation der Affekte: Fotografien zwischen Wissenschaft und Ästhetik,” in *Fotografische Leidenschaften*, 43.

⁶ Duchenne de Boulogne, quoted in Petra Löffler, *Affektbilder: Eine Mediengeschichte der Mimik* (Bielefeld: transcript, 2004), 123.

⁷ Gunnar Schmidt, *Das Gesicht: Eine Mediengeschichte* (Munich: Fink, 2003), 51–75.

⁸ See Beatrix Müller-Kampel, “Komik und das Komische: Kriterien und Kategorien,” in *Lithes, Zeitschrift für Literatur- und Theatersoziologie* 7 (2012): 22. See also Werner Rocke and Hans Rudolf Velten, “Einleitung,” in *Lachgemeinschaften: Kulturelle Inszenierungen und soziale Wirkungen von Gelächter im Mittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2005), 13: 22.

⁹ Monika E. Müller, “Das Lachen ist dem Menschen eigen . . . Seine Darstellung in der Kunst des Mittelalters,” in *Seliges Lächeln und höfisches Gelächter*, exh. cat., Dom- und Diözesanmuseum Mainz (Regensburg: Schnell &

Steiner, 2012), 71. The way strong emotions and passions were portrayed in antiquity, as in the statue of the Laocoön Group or Aristotle's remarks on the link between affect and physical-facial expressions of emotion, only gained importance later.

¹⁰ Müller, "Das Lachen ist dem Menschen eigen," 72.

¹¹ See Adolph Freiherr von Knigge, *Über den Umgang mit Menschen*, 5th ed. (Hanover: Schmidtsche Buchhandlung, 1796).

¹² See Johann Caspar Lavater, *Essays on Physiognomy, Designed to Promote the Knowledge and the Love of Mankind*. Online: <https://archive.org/details/04851455.5902.emory.edu>. Georg Christoph Lichtenberg, "On Physiognomy: Against the Physiognomists" (1778). Online: <https://germanhistory-intersections.org/en/knowledge-and-education/ghis:document-19>.

¹³ Löffler, *Affektbilder*, 164.

¹⁴ André Gunthert, *Pourquoi sourit-on en photographie?* (Lyon: 205, 2023).

¹⁵ See Gilbert de Chambertrand, *Le Portrait et l'Amateur* (Paris: Paul Montel, 1937), 5, quoted in Gunthert, *Pourquoi sourit-on en photographie?*, 36.

¹⁶ In the first half of the twentieth century, Expressionist and Soviet films in particular helped expand the vocabulary of facial expressions seen in modern individuals and their photographic portraits. See Gunthert, *Pourquoi sourit-on en photographie?*, 36–39.

¹⁷ See Shiry Ginosar et al., "A Century of Portraits: A Visual Historical Record of American Highschool Yearbooks," in *IEEE Transactions on Computational Imaging* 3, no.3 (2017): 421–31, quoted in Gunthert, *Pourquoi sourit-on en photographie?*, 15, fn. 7.

¹⁸ Maria A. Arapova has shown that in the Soviet Union, in contrast to countries influenced by the United States, smiling in public was not customary, reserved instead for the private sphere. See Maria A. Arapova, "Cultural Differences in Russian and Western Smiling," *Russian Journal of Communication* 9 (2017): 34–52, quoted in Gunthert, *Pourquoi sourit-on en photographie?*, 47, fn. 30.

¹⁹ See Angus Tumble, *A Brief History of the Smile* (New York: Basic Books, 2004), quoted in Gunthert, *Pourquoi sourit-on en photographie?*, 12, fn. 2.

²⁰ See Christina Kotchemidova, "Why We Say 'Cheese': Producing the Smile in Snapshot Photography," *Critical Studies in Media Communication* 22, no. 1 (March 2005), quoted in Gunthert, *Pourquoi sourit-on en photographie?*, 14, fn. 6.