Intangible Heritage and Its Associative Objects as Exemplified by the Materiality of the Portable Material Culture of German Christmas Markets

Dirk H. R. Spennemann

Gulbali Institute, Charles Sturt University, P.O. Box 789, Albury, NSW 2640, Australia; dspennemann@csu.edu.au

Abstract: Many aspects of intangible cultural heritage have associated objects of material culture that augment or enable aspects of intangible heritage to be exercised or emphasized. Christmas markets have been publicized as the quintessential event in Germany leading up to Christmas, with the over 2000 locations attracting large numbers of local, domestic, and international visitors. From their origins as mercantile venues during the medieval period, Christmas markets have evolved into multisensory social and experiential events, where the acquisition of Christmas decorations or gifts has been supplanted by the consumption of mulled wine in a social setting. Christmas markets represent intangible cultural heritage staged in ephemeral surroundings. While the abundance of material culture in Christmas markets is widely understood, this focuses on the objects offered for sale at the markets, rather than the objects that characterize a Christmas market and enable its functioning. This paper provides the first comprehensive assessment of the portable material culture associated with the German Christmas markets, covering objects as diverse as payment tokens, lapel pins, special postmarks, beer mats, and commemorative cups issued for the consumption of mulled wine. These objects, as well as numerous other manifestations of material culture, are discussed in the wider framing of the materiality of the markets, examining their ontological qualities within the multiple spheres in which these objects attain meaning (i.e., personal, event, social, and public spheres). It demonstrates that the wide range of alienable material culture associated with German Christmas markets has different manifestations of materiality, depending on the viewpoint of the user (i.e., participant, vendor, organizer), and these manifestations have different expressions of representativeness. On this foundation, this paper examines the various groups of portable and alienable material culture and discusses them in terms of their authenticity and to what extent these are representative of German Christmas markets. While all items have a connection with Christmas markets and function as symbolic shorthand souvenirs, commemorative cups issued for the consumption of hot drinks as well as the deposit tokens associated with these are both genuine and authentic and are also representative of the conceptual, social, and experiential dimensions of the event.

Keywords: materiality; postcards; drinking vessels; exonumia; philately; telephone cards; heritage futures

1. Introduction

In a wider context, cultural heritage derives from the interactions of people, among themselves, with the environment they have created and with the natural environment in which this is embedded. The outcomes of these interactions can manifest themselves in a range of forms. Peoples’ physical interaction with the environment manifests itself in tangible form, such as the built and constructed environment, cultural modifications to landscapes, and refuse and resource extraction sites. Intangible cultural heritage is the result of peoples’ interactions with each other as well as with the environment in which they live, and finds its expression, for example, in skills, language, folklore, practices, and
customs [1–5]. What differentiates these interactions as heritage worth preserving are the cultural values that a community attaches to these [6,7], with the desire to maintain these tangible and intangible manifestations for the benefit of the present and future communities [8–12].

Items of moveable heritage are tangible objects and artefacts of varied functions, sizes, and materials. Many of these are used as tools to enable human existence and comfort, or to construct the human environment and to modify the natural environment. Items of moveable heritage can also bridge into intangible heritage, as implements that enable aspects of intangible heritage to be exercised (e.g., musical instruments) [13–15], as paraphernalia that emphasize the expression of intangible heritage (e.g., dance paddles) [16,17], and as mnemonic devices that allow teaching of knowledge (e.g., stick charts) [18,19].

1.1. The Materiality of Markets, Festivals and Events

As noted by several authors, items of material culture play a crucial role during cultural community festivals inasmuch as they not only provide evidence of process [20] but often serve as tangible embodiments of community lore, belief systems, and values. These objects function as symbols that contribute to the collective identity of the community, reinforcing shared traditions and narratives [21,22].

Using objects of material culture linked to a company or an event can be read as a form of credentialing, an ostentation of the user’s inclusion in an institution or group of like-minded individuals and thereby signalling an acceptance of and conformance with its values, behaviours, and purposes [23]. Yet, historians writing institutional histories have concerned themselves little with the personal relevance of such objects [23].

Attendees of festivals and special events tend to accrue social capital both among their immediate social network due to cognizance of their participation, and among the wider community through ostentation of items of material culture that were available only to attendees or participants. An examination of material culture associated with fandoms, for example, highlighted that the possession and display of merchandise reinforces a person’s individual’s identity as a member of that fan community and affords them social status within that community [21] and the community at large. Extensive merchandising beyond the venues and the globalization of offerings via online shopping has begun to reduce the return in social capital that possession of such items entails.

While objects acquired at such festivals that are associated with fandom are imbued with ontological qualities that exceed the qualities associated with “mere” souvenirs, many festivals and events do not involve a fan-based following, but by their nature may attract an audience drawn from a wide cross-section of society. Souvenirs, which carry “special and symbolic trip memories” [22], are tangible mnemonic devices that allow individuals to recall a specific time, experience, and location, and, by doing so, to move from the present condition into a semi-nostalgic reminiscence, and emotional reliving, of a past experience. As the same time, through ostentation to others, the souvenirs accrue social capital to their owners [24]. While their roots go back as far as the Middle Ages when the faithful obtained devotional objects during pilgrimages [25,26], the increased volume of tourism during the nineteenth and twentieth century has seen a proliferation of “proof of presence” and “tangible memory” items such as picture postcards and souvenirs [27,28].

1.2. German Christmas Markets

With their Medieval origins, as well as settings in historic spaces (Figure 1), Christmas markets have been publicized as the quintessential event in Germany leading up to Christmas, with the over 2000 locations [29] attracting large numbers of local, domestic, and international visitors [30–34]. Given the increasingly experiential nature of Christmas markets at the expense of their mercantile origins [35] and given their seasonal presentation, it is apposite to consider these as social and community events. Christmas markets are primarily intangible cultural constructs where visitors are exposed to a multitude of sensory stimuli and social interactions that coalesce into an experiential episode [31,35,36]. Visitors
of Christmas markets as community events are transitional, and often trans-communal, transnational, and even transcultural consumers in terms of services, discretionary foods, and drinks, as well as material objects exchanged in that space [30–32,37–39].

![Figure 1](https://example.com/image1.jpg)

**Figure 1.** Settings of selected German Christmas markets. (A) Weihnachtsmarkt Frankfurt; (B) Weihnachtsmarkt Mainz; (C) Weihnachtsmarkt Bamberg; (D) Striezelmarkt Dresden (photos: DHRS 2023).

In terms of materiality, we can consider the ontological dimensions of the Christmas markets as locales of process, performance, and interaction. While Christmas markets are events hosted in a set space and for a set period of time, their delivery relies on tangible infrastructure (e.g., the stalls) and tangible objects both as transactional items (i.e., the cups used for mulled wine) and consumables (e.g., food and beverages). We can conceptualize a Christmas market as a universe that comprises (i) intangible aspects, primarily an experiential dimension, comprising sensory experiences and social components; (ii) of the topography (e.g., place, street) and setting of the markets (e.g., backdrop of historic buildings, Figure 1); (iii) the layout and inalienable infrastructure of the market itself (e.g., stalls, attractions); and (iv) the portable material culture that is sold at the markets, which enables and characterizes a Christmas market, and that can also be alienated by a visitor.

While a considerable body of work has been carried out on history of Christmas markets [35,40], as well as [41] the sensory components of these markets [31,35,36,42], little work exists on the material culture and materiality of these markets. An exception is Benke’s commentary on the role of souvenirs [43], which is embedded in the wider literature on souvenirs. In the context of Christmas markets, this focuses on the objects sold at the markets. As shown further below, none of the items sold at the markets are unique to the market but can also be obtained in other shops or even online.

While the abundance of material culture in Christmas markets is widely understood, the main conceptualization, explicitly and implicitly, focuses on the objects offered for sale at the markets, rather than the objects that enable and characterize a Christmas market.
The aim of this paper is twofold. The first aim is to provide a comprehensive survey and examination of the nature and types of portable material culture associated with German Christmas markets.

Based on this, the second aim is to discuss these items of portable material culture in the wider framing of the materiality of markets, festivals, and events and, more broadly, in the materiality of portable material culture associated with intangible culture. In the final section, this paper will examine various groups of portable and alienable material culture and will discuss them in terms of authenticity and to what extent these are representative of German Christmas markets. This paper will show that a wide range of alienable material culture that is associated with German Christmas markets has different manifestations of materiality, depending on the viewpoint of the user (i.e., participant, vendor, organizer), and these manifestations have different expressions of representativeness.

2. Materials and Methods

The examples that form the basis of this paper were sourced through object and image search methodologies that follow the “Protocol for the systematic compilation of items of material culture held in private hands” (see there for detailed description) [44]. Sourcing entailed systematic online searches using text-based searches in German on the general World-Wide Web; at online auction houses such as eBay and Delcampe, at sales platforms such as Amazon, Etsy, and GumTree; and the use of auction image aggregator sites such as PicClick. Further examples were located via reverse image searches in Google and Bing. The search was carried out in late March 2024. The underlying search logic considered the German terms for “object” and “souvenir” (“Objekt”, “Souvenir”, “Mitbringsel”) in conjunction with “Christmas market” (“Christkindlmarkt”, “Weihnachtsmarkt”). This was followed by snowballing in the form of systematic searches for classes of items that had been identified in the initial searches, such as telephone cards or beer mats.

All identified objects were placed into functional classes (e.g., cups, beer mats, tokens, etc.) which, in turn, were grouped into four main categories, circumscribed in their ability to explain heritage aspects of the markets, i.e., the portable material culture “of”, “for sale”, “about”, and “enabling” Christmas markets.

The ontological dimensions of each class of objects are discussed in terms of their role in four spheres: personal, event, social (beyond the event), and public. In terms of the personal sphere, objects are discussed in terms of the relationships between the participant, the vendor, and the market organizer (host).

3. Results—The Objects of Material Culture Associated with Christmas Markets

The items of portable material culture associated with the German Christmas markets can be grouped into four main categories, which will be addressed in turn: (i) the portable material culture of Christmas markets; (ii) portable material culture for sale at Christmas markets; (iii) portable material culture about Christmas markets; and (iv) portable material culture enabling Christmas markets. The latter category, which comprises the nature of stalls and feature elements, such as nativity scenes or merry-go-rounds, is defined by the market organizers. Moreover, none of the material culture enabling Christmas markets can be alienated by the visitor, and, thus, is outside the scope of this paper.

3.1. The Portable Material Culture of Christmas Markets

The portable material culture of Christmas markets is defined as that universe of objects that perform transactional or enabling functions in a market, but that can be alienated by a participant and taken home as a souvenir. These include commemorative cups, beer mats, tokens, posters, adhesive decals, and lapel pins.

3.1.1. Commemorative Cups

In order to reduce the waste associated with single-use cups for Glühwein or spiced hot cider (“heißer Apfelwein”), the city of Frankfurt pioneered in 1975 the use of reusable
cups “Weihnachtsmarkttasse”, with handle) for which a deposit was levied (Figure 2A) [45]. These beakers (“Weihnachtsmarktbecher”, without a handle) were made from grey glazed stoneware with an image of one of the sights of Frankfurt (Figure 2A) that varied from year to year. As this was not met with universal appeal at the time, the initiative was abandoned in 1983. In 1990, the Christmas markets of Nürnberg and München picked up on the idea in order to reduce Styrofoam waste [46,47], producing well-decorated commemorative versions of such cups (“Weihnachtsmarkttasse”, with handle). With the markets of Heidelberg, Kiel, Osnabrück, Rothenburg ob der Tauber, Saarbrücken, and Schwabing (München) following suit in 1991, a trend was born. In addition to Christmas markets in Germany, these Weihnachtsmarkttassen were also produced for markets in the United Kingdom, such as Birmingham [48].

Figure 2. Weihnachtsmarkttassen produced for the Frankfurt Christmas market. All vessels have a 200 mL capacity. (A) 1981, glazed stoneware beaker with transfer printed motif, height 115 mm, orifice diameter 60 mm; (B) 1994, terracotta beaker, unglazed exterior with impressed motif, glazed interior, height 100 mm, orifice diameter 80 mm; (C) 2004, glazed cup in the shape of a boot with printed motif, height 100 mm, orifice diameter 70 mm; (D) 2012, glazed cup in the shape of a cider jar (“Bembel”), with transfer printed motif, height 110 mm, orifice diameter 70 mm; (E) 2013, cup with transfer printed motif, height 85 mm, orifice diameter 73 mm.

These cups and beakers could be customized by the communities not only in terms of their decoration, but also in overall shape (Figure 2). Some communities ensure public engagement by calling for annual competitions both in terms of pictorial design and also overall form of the cups [49]. While the majority of such beakers are produced by the
market organizers, private storekeepers may design and supply their own beakers, either generic, or dated.

The popularity of the concept is illustrated in Figure 3, which shows the rapid rise in popularity of the concept of Weihnachtsmarkttassen in the 1990s. The practice somewhat stalled in 2020, caused by the cancellation of markets due to the COVID-19 pandemic (although many cups with 2020 dates had already been produced) and 2021. The quantity of cups produced for each of these annual editions is staggering, as are the numbers of cups that are taken home as souvenirs. Figures for the Osnabrück Christmas market, which had offered annual cups since 1991, show that 25,000 cups were produced for the 2011 market [50], 35,000 for the 2018 market [51], and 40,000 for the 2023 market [52]. A large quantity of these is taken home as souvenirs. Data for the 2019 Christmas market of Chemnitz, for example, showed that approximately 25,000 cups (of some 50,000) were taken home [53]. Visitors of the Leipzig Christmas market “souvenired” 40,000 cups (of 55,000) in 2015 and 60,000 cups (of 80,000) in 2016 [54]. At the (larger) Dresden Striezelmarkt, visitors took home some 56,000 cups in 2022 and 79,000 cups in 2023 [55].

Not surprisingly, these items soon became desirable collectible items [45]. There are virtual exhibits of these annual beakers hosted by the communities of the local media, such as Frankfurt [56] and Nürnberg [57]. Websites published by collectors [48,58,59] provide a dataset (augmented by systematic searches to find evidence for examples in observed data gaps) which allows for the development of a chronology of these commemorative beakers (Figure 4).

### 3.1.2. Beer Mats

Beer mats or coasters made from wood pulp, although originally solely associated with breweries and beer advertising [60,61], have long been used, with mixed success, as part of public education campaigns [62,63]. Not surprisingly, a number of beer mats have been produced that carry references to Christmas markets. On record are examples produced by organizers, such as of beer mats issued in 2017 for the Weihnachtsmarkt Ulm (Figure 5A), or those issued in 2018 for the Weihnachtsmarkt Friedrichsdorf (Figure 5A), and by the local breweries themselves (Figure 5C, D).
Figure 4. Chronology of selected commemorative Weihnachtsmarkttassen. P: private issue; X: documented; blank but shaded: existence inferred.
3.1.2. Beer Mats

Beer mats or coasters made from wood pulp, although usually discarded, some will be taken by patrons as souvenirs. These objects are provided for free by those vendors of alcoholic beverages that also offer opportunities to gather and consume their product in a relaxed setting. While it is assumed that most beer mats will remain on site until they are damaged and subsequently discarded, some will be taken by patrons as souvenirs.

3.1.3. Exonumia (Tokens)

While commemorative coins are pieces of legal tender that are struck for a specific occasion, exonumia are coin-like objects that are produced as medals or as tokens. The latter are privately issued redemption currency with an agreed-upon exchange value between the issuer (i.e., the vendor on the Christmas market) and a prospective user. Like medals, which are issued as commemorative objects celebrating events or occasions, tokens have become collectible items.

Christmas market tokens were produced for a number of communities and actually used at the markets themselves. The tokens issued for the Christmas market of Wiesmoor (Niedersachsen) show designed motif on the recto, while the verso displayed the year of validity in plain cyphers (Figure 6A). A variant are the Dresden Strietzeltaler, which were introduced on occasion of the 580th anniversary of the Strietzelmarkt in 2014 (Figure 6B), issued as a market-wide redemption currency with the value of EUR 1 (but sold in batches of 11 for EUR 10). Since their introduction, Strietzeltaler have been produced annually, with the 2023 Taler issued in gold colour. As the Strietzelalter retain their value, they can be used at successive markets [64]. A plastic token as redemption currency specific for a cup of mulled wine was issued in 2012 for the Christmas market at Hamburg-Bergdorf [65]. In addition to marketwide tokens, some companies produced their own “currency”, such as the “Eu-Glüh” brass tokens struck for the mulled wine merchants Marcel Schmitz (Aachen market since 2003) (Figure 6C) [66,67] and Matthias Keth (Karlsruhe market since 2004) (Figure 6D) [68]. Plastic tokens were issued by the mulled wine merchants Jochen Großmann for the Köln market [69], and Thomas Fischer for the Würzburg market [70], as well as Feuerzangenbowle merchant Bruch who had plastic tokens issued for the Christmas market at Ratingen [71].
A variation are tokens which are issued by some Glühwein and Feuerzangenbowle vendors as temporary receipts for the deposit levied on cups and glasses. These tokens are commonly made from hard plastic and resemble casino chips (albeit thinner), such as a token issued by the mulled wine merchant. An example with specific Christmas market markings is on record from the market at München-Neuhausen [72].

3.1.4. Posters

Prior to the advent of social media such as Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter (“X”), posters were the main means of advertising events. In Germany, these followed standard paper sizes (DIN A0 or A1). Not surprisingly, a number of such posters had been produced, primarily for smaller communities (Figure 7). In the context of Christmas markets, the available dataset is small, primarily because, unlike other paraphernalia, posters, once affixed, cannot be reused, also, as their primary function is one of display, usually where they are exposed to environmental degradation (primarily UV).

3.1.5. Adhesive Decals

Since their introduction in the 1940s, adhesive decals or stickers have been widely used for advertising of products, events, locales, and ideas. While they have been used to “mark” territory and express political views on lamp posts and other urban “furniture” [73,74], adhesive decals have found most widespread use as “bumper sticker”, signalling a user’s values and interests [75]. As with posters, the available dataset of adhesive decals is small, primarily because stickers, unlike other paraphernalia, cannot be reused, and because their primary function is one of display, usually on vehicles where they are exposed to environmental decay (primarily UV).

3.1.6. Lapel Pins

The stickers advertise the presence of a Christmas market and, by implication, the fact that the person displaying the sticker has been there. The stickers range in visual complexity from simple, clean designs (Figure 8A) to convoluted complex affairs that require close scrutiny and that cannot be read from a distance (Figure 8D). At the time
of writing, nothing is known as to how these stickers were distributed at the markets or whether they merely formed part of promotional packs.

Figure 7. Posters issued for Christmas markets. (A) Peißenberg 1984, 594 × 841 mm (DIN A1); (B) Krefeld 1986, 841 × 1189 mm (DIN A0).

Figure 8. Adhesive decals issued for Christmas markets. (A) Gelsenkirchen, ø 120mm; (B) Köln, ca 1980s, ø 120mm; (C) Hochdahl 1981, 97 × 150 mm; (D) Stuttgart 120 × 165 mm.
Ephemera such as stickers can provide historic data that are otherwise obscured. The Christmas market in Hochdahl, a suburb of Erkrath (Nordrhein-Westfalen), for example, reputedly officially started in 2000 [76], yet the bumper sticker shown in Figure 8C provides evidence for the existence of a Christmas market in 1981. A number of lapel or advertising pins are on record, but, again, relatively little is known about their background. On record are pins for Bochum, Dortmund, Essen, Köln, Münster, and Saarbrücken (Figure 9), which, with the exception of the pins for Dortmund (1998–2007) and a pin for Münster (2000), are undated. It appears that the Dortmund pins originated from a vendor of mulled wine with the pins for 1998, 1999 and 2000 carrying an identifying inscription (“Burghard’s Altes Glüh-Weinhaus Anno 1945”). The pin for Münster also shows a Glühwein stall with the name of another mulled wine supplier (Franz Höhle) (Figure 9L). The issuers of the other pins remain unknown at the time of writing.

**Figure 9.** Lapel pins. (A) Dortmund, 1998, 27 × 37 mm; (B) Dortmund, 1999, 63 × 72 mm; (C) Dortmund, 2000; (D) Dortmund, 2001, 71 × 72 mm; (E) Dortmund, 2002, 54 × 66 mm; (F) Dortmund, 2003, 53 × 68 mm; (G) Dortmund, 2005, 48 × 66 mm; (H) Saarbrücken, undated, 70 × 72 mm; (I) Essen, undated; (J) Bochum, 1999; (K) Köln, undated; (L) Münster, 2000.

### 3.2. Portable Material Culture for Sale at the Christmas Markets

While Christmas markets have increasingly been marketed as experiential and social events, with 54% of stalls offering cooked food, beverages (such as mulled wine), or sweets [77], some mercantile underpinnings remain. While the general perception appears to be that Christmas markets focus on the retail of Christmas-related products such as
figurines, ornaments, and candles (Figure 10A–D), the majority of offerings are artisanal in nature, with a range of mainstream products that that range from gifts (Figure 10G) to standard household items (Figure 10I) [77]. While the range of items for sale at the markets varies from market to market there are, as far as can be ascertained, no items of moveable cultural heritage that can be identified that are unique to Christmas markets and are obtainable only there and not also in other shops or even online.

![Image](https://example.com/image1.png)

**Figure 10.** “Traditional” gifts and household items for sale at the Christmas markets. (A) Figurines made from prunes, Weihnachtsmarkt Frankfurt; (B) lumps of marzipan, Weihnachtsmarkt Würzburg; (C) gingerbread and other sweets, Striezelmarkt Dresden; (D) wooden angels produced in the Erzgebirge, Striezelmarkt Dresden; (E) snowflakes made from Plauen lace, Striezelmarkt Dresden; (F) beeswax candles, Weihnachtsmarkt Bamberg; (G) decorative metal objects, Weihnachtsmarkt Würzburg; (H) leather goods, Weihnachtsmarkt Würzburg; (I) cooking utensils, Weihnachtsmarkt Würzburg (Photos DHRS 2023).
3.3. Material Culture about Christmas Markets

In addition to objects of material culture used and sold on Christmas markets, there is a range of items of material culture about Christmas markets, such as postcards, special postmarks, stamps, exonumia (medals), telephone cards, and other items such as collector’s cards and souvenir coin sets.

3.3.1. Postcards

Prior to electronic mail as well as digital photography and social media becoming ubiquitous in the early 2000s, picture postcards sent from a location were not only a means of authenticating the sender’s presence there, but, due to the open transportation (being viewable and readable by everybody handling it on the way), allowed both the sender and the recipient to accrue social credit [27].

Art postcards with motifs of specific Christmas markets were issued both in the 1930s (Berlin 1936, Figure 11A) and in the 1940s (Dresden 1946 Figure 11B; Konstanz 1946, 1947 but were few. In the 1980s, art postcards were also issued by Stadt Hof (Bayern) (1986 Figure 11C). The vast majority of postcards on record with Christmas market motifs are printed picture postcards (Figure 12D–F) from the 1930s onwards, as well as real photo postcards (Figure 12C) printed by photographers on a demand basis [78]. While late nineteenth century and pre-World War I lithographic postcards with Christmas market motifs exist, both as chromolithographic (Alsace, Figure 12A; Frankfurt) and as hand-coloured (Hamburg, Figure 12B) productions [79], these are very uncommon, reflecting that Christmas markets were not a tourist attraction that warranted their production. While most postcards were produced by local publishers or the photographers themselves, in some instances, the organizers of the Christmas markets published their own promotional postcard, as in the case of Trier (Rheinland-Pfalz) (Figure 12E).

**Figure 11.** Printed art postcards related to German Christmas markets. (A) Weihnachtsmarkt Berlin, 1936 (publisher not stated); (B) Dresdner Weihnachtsmesse 1946 (publisher not stated); (C) Weihnachtsmarkt Hof 1986 (publisher not stated).
Figure 12. Printed postcards showing German Christmas markets. (A) Christmas market in the Alsace, 1890s (Berger-Levraix & Cie, Paris); (B) Weihnachtsmarkt Hamburg 1890s (postmarked 17 December 1904) (W. Bade, Hamburg); (C) Weihnachtsmarkt Berlin 1937 (Kuno von Schwanewede, Berlin); (D) Weihnachtsmarkt Schneeberg (Thüringen) in the early 1960s (postmarked December 1963) (VEB Heimat, Reichenbach); (E) Christmas market in Münster, early 1990s (postcard postmarked 1992) (Verlag Papeterie, Bremen); (F) Weihnachtsmarkt Trier in the 1980s (Verlag Arbeitsgemeinschaft Trierer Weihnachtsmarkt).
3.3.2. Special Postmarks and Pictorial Roller Cancellations

As Christmas markets represented special events, the German Postal Service (Deutsche Reichspost (–1945), Allied postal authorities (1945–1947), and Deutsche Bundespost (1947–)) arranged for the creation of special or commemorative cancels for some communities. Common to these is that the centre of the cancel carries a pictorial image that is thematically aligned with the event. The revival of the Berlin Christmas market in the mid-1930s was accompanied by such commemorative cancels in 1936, 1937, and 1938 (Figure 13A–C). The central motifs chosen were a Christmas tree with candles (1936), a prancing bear (the symbol of the City of Berlin) between two Christmas trees (1937), and Father Christmas holding a Christmas tree (1938). A commemorative cancel was also produced for the Nürnberg Christmas market in 1938 (Figure 13D). As far as can be ascertained, these are the only pre-World War II special cancellations with Christmas markets as a motif.

Figure 13. Special postal cancels commemorating Christmas markets of the immediate pre- and post-World War II era. (A) Berlin 1936; (B) Berlin 1937; (C) Berlin 1938; (D) Nürnberg 1938; (E) Konstanz 1946; (F) Mannheim 1948; (G) Düsseldorf 1948; (H) Dresden 1946; (I) Stuttgart 1947; (J) München 1949; (K) Berlin (West) 1949; (L) Berlin (East) 1950.
For the immediate post-World War II era, such cancellations exist for Berlin (West) 1949 (Figure 13K), Berlin (East) 1950, Dresden 1946–1949 (Figure 13H), Düsseldorf 1948 (Figure 13G) and 1949, Konstanz 1946 (Figure 13E,F) and 1947, Mannheim 1948 (Figure 13F) and 1949, München 1949 (Figure 13J), and Stuttgart 1947 (Figure 13I) [80,81]. Given the strong philatelic interest in the pre-e-mail era [82], such commemorative cancels proliferated during the period of rapid expansion of Christmas markets in the 1970s to 1990s [40]. While many communities issued such cancels occasionally, some communities, such as Schwarzenberg in Saxony, did so on an annual basis.

Given that the special postmarks carry the years, they also form datable evidence for the existence of a Christmas market and may provide historic data that are otherwise obscured. According to accepted knowledge, for example, the Düsseldorf Christmas market only commenced in 1973, before which, during the 1960s, there were only a few isolated stalls in some streets [83]. Yet the special postal cancels for 1948 (Figure 13G) and 1949 show that formal Christmas markets existed in those years and that they were significant enough to warrant the production of these special postal cancels. The same applies to Mannheim, which officially commenced in 1972 [84], yet for which special postal cancels dating to both 1948 and 1949 show the contemporary importance of the event (Figure 13F).

Common to special postal cancels is the fact that they were either only available to be affixed to mail posted at the Christmas market via a temporary sub-post office or via special mailboxes on the market. Post offices at the market would also stamp enveloped and postcards that were not posted but taken home by the collector (“cancelled-to-order”). Moreover, these cancels were only used during the duration of the Christmas market. A different, related element are pictorial roller cancels that promoted events or products. These were used for a set period, usually 8–12 weeks beforehand, as well as during the duration of the event. Examples for these are the roller cancels promoting the 1938 Christmas markets in Mainz and Nürnberg (Figure 14).

![Figure 14. Pictorial roller cancellations promoting Christmas markets, 1938. (A) Mainz; (B) Nürnberg.](image)

**3.3.3. Stamps**

While the Federal German Postal Service (Deutsche Bundespost) issued annual Christmas stamps with a charity surcharge, none of the motifs highlighted the Christmas markets. After the mail service monopoly of the Deutsche Bundespost was terminated and the service privatized in 1995, numerous smaller, local, and regional courier companies started to offer postal services. They produced stamps for their needs, some of which featured local Christmas markets (Figure 15). At least one such company, Nordkurier, issued miniature sheets aimed at the philatelic market (Figure 15C).

While these stamps were proof of payment for the conveyance of a mail item, Cinderella stamps are gummed labels with stamp-like serrations, designed to accompany stamps on envelopes, to be affixed akin to envelope seals. One such Cinderella stamp is on record, issued in 1947 for the second “Weihnachtsmarkt am Bodensee” in Konstanz (Figure 16).
3.3.4. Exonumia (Medals)

As noted earlier, exonumia are coin-like objects that are produced as medals or as tokens. Medals were produced for a number of communities, some with motifs of or specifically for Christmas markets, while other communities had annual “Weihnachtstaler” struck in silver or cupronickel (Figure 17A), which draw on the mediaeval tradition of handing out celebrative coinage to servants or the populace at large.
The medals produced specifically for Christmas markets range from those struck for single occasions to those offered as annual productions. In the case of Nürnberg, such medals were produced for a range of years with a changing motif on both recto and verso sides (Figure 17B,C). In the case of the annual medals issued by Pfarrkirchen, the verso remained the same (the coat of arms of the town), while the recto changed each year (Figure 17I–K). In addition to Nürnberg and Pfarrkirchen, Christmas market medals are on record for Ansbach (Figure 17H), Berlin-Spandau, Bernkastel–Kues, Bochum (Figure 17F), Düsseldorf, Eberstadt, Freudenberg, Friedrichshafen (Figure 17I), Herzebrock, Ingolstadt, Limburg (Figure 17A), Mainz (Figure 17E), Quickborn, and Untertürkheim.

A unique case are the medals issued by the Rheingauer Volksbank for the Christmas market of Geisenheim (Hessen) (Figure 17D). While documentation is based on eyewitness history, it appears that these medals, which carry the bank’s name and logo on the verso, were minted on the market at a promotional stall hosted by the Volksbank. Produced on demand, they were either given away or sold at a token price for a charitable purpose [85].

More unusual pieces of exonumia are medals made from porcelain and glass. An undated medal made from porcelain was produced by the Meißen porcelain manufactory for the Dresden Streitzelmarkt (Figure 18A,B). During the period of the German Democratic Republic, the manufactory had a long record of making commemorative medals from biscuit porcelain [86–89]. Between 1996 and 2016, the city of Ulm (Baden-Württemberg) in collaboration with the glassmaker Hans-Joachim Ittig (Wertheimer Glaskunst) issued annual Christmas market medals made from glass (“Ulmer Weihnachtsmarkt Taler”) (Figure 18C,D).

3.3.5. Telephone Cards

Between 1988 and 2008, effectively spanning two decades, the German Postal Service (Deutsche Bundespost Telekom; Deutsche Telekom from 1996) distributed prepaid telephone cards for use in public phone booths. These credit-card-sized plastic cards, which contained a simple chip storing the remaining balance of phone units, were available in the denominations of DEM 6 (equivalent to 20 telephone units), DEM 12 (40 units), and DEM 50 (200 units). According to the telephone card database on Colnect [90], the peak years for card issuance were from 1992 to 1998, with 1993 to 1995 being the most prolific. With the increasing popularity and accessibility of mobile phones, however, the number of telephone booths declined, ultimately leading to the discontinuation of the system. While it persisted, commercial entities made use of the advertising potential that both the face and the reverse of card offered, distributing such cards as promotional items or as tokens of appreciation to staff [91]. While these cards soon attracted a following of collectors, the intergenerational
shifting baseline of people who used such cards, coupled with the relatively short period of their usage and their subsequent technological obsolescence, implied that few of these cards would have entered the curated universe of material culture [82].

Figure 17. Exonumia issued for Christmas markets: medals. (A) Limburg Weihnachtstaler, recto and verso, cupronickel, ø 29 mm; (B) Nürnberg, medal 1975, recto and verso, ø 45.2 mm, silver 41.6 g; (C) Nürnberg, medal 1980, recto and verso, silver-plated cupronickel, ø 36.1 mm, 17 g; (D) Geisenheim, token ca. 1980, recto and verso, ø 26.5 mm, copper 7.1 g; (E) Mainz, medal 1991, recto and verso, bronzed cupronickel, ø 31 mm, 8.1 g; (F) Bochum, medal 1994, recto and verso, cupronickel, ø 30 mm, 9 g; (G) Friedrichshafen, medal 1992, recto and verso, ø 35 mm, bronze; (H) Ansbach, medal 1993, recto and verso, ø 35 mm, bronze; (I) Pfarrkirchen, medal 2005, recto and verso, ø 30 mm, brass; (J) Pfarrkirchen, medal 2010, recto, ø 30 mm, brass; (K) Pfarrkirchen, medal 2011, recto, ø 30 mm, brass.
Several telephone cards were issued with motifs of German Christmas markets. On record are cards for markets in Berlin-Spandau (Figure 19E), Chemnitz (Figure 19A), Erfurt [92], Freiburg [93], Hammelburg (Figure 19G), Hannover (Figure 19C), and München [94]. Most common are motifs with the Christkindlmarkt in Nürnberg, for which nine different cards were issued between 1990 and 1998 [95–103]. The production run for each of the cards ranged between 2000 and 5000 units. Importantly, not all cards were issued by the local communities organizing the markets. While this was the case for the cards issued for Chemnitz (Figure 19A), Freiburg [93], Hammelburg (Figure 19G), and possibly also for Erfurt [92], as well as several cards produced with the Nürnberg Christkindlmarkt market as a theme, there are cards produced by commercial entities. Among these are the cards produced for the German Red Cross (Figure 19C), the (community) working group for Old Spandau (Figure 19E), and the conference ISTCAT ’90 [97].

3.3.6. Other Items of Material Culture

There are a number of other, more peripheral items of material culture about Christmas markets. Among these are coin sets produced with Christmas market imagery, as well as toys and model kits. Excluded in this discussion, as no longer being produced, are nineteenth and early twentieth century trading cards as well as etchings, either as art pieces or as illustrations in nineteenth century newspapers and magazines [104].

In 2003, the company “Deutsche Münze Berlin” (not affiliated with the German mint) issued collector’s packs comprising a full set of eight German coins then in circulation (EUR 0.01, 0.02, 0.05, 0.1, 0.2, 0.5, 1, and 2), which were mounted in a clear plastic blister pack with a photographic background of the Christmas markets in Dresden, Frankfurt, Rothenburg, or Nürnberg (Figure 20). These coin sets were issued in quantities of 500 and aimed at the, primarily, international tourist market. It appears that these offerings were confined to 2003.
Figure 19. Telephone cards: (A,B) Weihnachtsmarkt Chemnitz. Recto and verso of a card issued by KPN–Chip Cards & L&G Cards with a nominal value of DEM 2/ANG [93]; (C,D) Weihnachtsmarkt Deutsches Rotes Kreuz Hannover. Recto and verso of a card issued in November 1993 by Deutsche Telekom with a nominal value of DEM 6 [105]; (E,F) Weihnachtsmarkt Berlin-Spandau. Recto and verso of a card issued on 1 May 1995 by Deutsche Telekom with a nominal value of DEM 6 [106]; (G,H) Weihnachtsmarkt Hammelburg. Recto and verso of a card issued on 1 October 1993 by Deutsche Telekom with a nominal value of DEM 6 [107].
There are a number of other, more peripheral items of material culture about Christmas markets. Among these are coin sets produced with Christmas market imagery, as well as toys and model kits. Excluded in this discussion, as no longer being produced, are nineteenth and early twentieth century trading cards as well as etchings, either as art pieces or as illustrations in nineteenth century newspapers and magazines [104].

In 2003, the company “Deutsche Münze Berlin” (not affiliated with the German mint) issued collector’s packs comprising a full set of eight German coins then in circulation (EUR 0.01, 0.02, 0.05, 0.1, 0.2, 0.5, 1, and 2), which were mounted in a clear plastic blister pack with a photographic background of the Christmas markets in Dresden, Frankfurt, Rothenburg, or Nürnberg (Figure 20). These coin sets were issued in quantities of 500 and aimed at the, primarily, international tourist market. It appears that these offerings were confined to 2003.

Christmas markets were sufficiently popular that they entered the toy sphere. In 2011, the German toy maker Geobra Brandstätter, selling Playmobil toy sets, added the set “Weihnachtsmarkt” to its offerings, comprising two stalls with associated figurines and paraphernalia (Figure 21A) [108]. The Danish toy maker LEGO followed suit in 2023, issuing the set “Winter Market Stall” (Figure 21B) [109]. These play sets were preceded in 1998 by three mini figure model kits with a Christmas market theme (“Auf dem Weihnachtsmarkt”) issued by the chocolate manufacturer Ferrero as gifts contained within its Kinder Surprise series [110–112]. When assembled, these figures could double as Christmas ornaments (Figure 21C–E). In addition, several manufacturers offered scale model kits of Christmas market stalls for trainsets of HO scale (Figure 21F,G).
When assembled, these figures could double as Christmas ornaments (Figure 21C–E). In addition, several manufacturers offered scale model kits of Christmas market stalls for trainsets of HO scale (Figure 21F–G).

Figure 21. Play sets. (A) Playmobil set 4891; (B) Lego set 40602 issued in 2023; (C) Ferrero Kinder Surprise model kit “Christbaum Schmuck auf dem Weihnachtsmarkt” (type 618 551), 60 × 80 mm; (D) Ferrero Kinder Surprise model kit “Spielzeugbude auf dem Weihnachtsmarkt” (type 618 675), 60 × 75 mm; (E) Ferrero Kinder Surprise model kit “Kindertheater auf dem Weihnachtsmarkt” (type 618 594), 60 × 75 mm; (F) Model kit for a Christmas market stall (“Auf dem Weihnachtsmarkt”), scale HO, Noch 65610; (G) Model kit for a Christmas market stall (“Glühweinstand”), scale HO, Noch 14393.

4. Discussion—The Materiality of the Objects Associated with Christmas Markets

The range of items of portable material culture related to Christmas markets that was surveyed and summarized in the preceding section represents a heterogenous array of objects. These are imbued with various levels of meaning in terms of the participant, the
event in which they are used and sourced, and the participant’s social network and the community at large. It is these levels of meaning that tie these objects into the intangible heritage of the Christmas markets. The following paragraphs will discuss the items in terms of their materiality and to what extent they typify Christmas markets.

4.1. The Materiality of the Various Items of Material Culture

Although they have been issued for over 30 years (Figure 4), *Weihnachtsmarktassen* and *Weihnachtsmarkttbecher* have not seen any serious attention in the academic literature, with the exception of studies on waste management at markets and festivals, which comment on the reusable nature of the cups [113]. The cups and beakers are objects that are functional, transactional, and symbolic in nature and that are tied into a triangular relationship between the vendors, the hosts (organizers) of the markets, and the participants that, in turn, is embedded in expanding spheres of the personal, the event, the social network beyond the event, and the community at large (Figure 22). For the vendors, the ontological materiality of the cups is purely transactional as they function as vessels for the conveyance of liquid consumables, such as mulled wine, spiced hot cider, and other alcoholic drinks served to the participant. By being forced by the market organizers to use these cups, the vendors submit to a collective identity and thus forego the opportunity of individual branding of their own offerings.

For the organizers, the issuance of such cups on an annual basis allows them to brand and market the respective annual incarnation of the event and to generate a group or event identity despite the variability in offerings and the appearance of the stalls. By issuing such cups with annually changing themes, the host organization both establishes a tradition but also generates objects that feed into the collecting and/or hoarding nature of the populace, thereby ensuring a level of permanence beyond the spatial and temporal bounds of the event itself. Another level of ontological dimension is the very existence of these cups. By virtue of their reusability, as opposed to recyclability, these cups are demonstrative tangible evidence for the social consciousness of the organizers as they assuage their guilt about the environmental footprint of the event. In some instances, the organizer’s corporate social responsibility is further enhanced by the design being decided by a public design competition.
On a symbolic level, on markets where such cups are issued, they generate a (temporal) community and group identity among the participants as everyone drinks their hot alcoholic drinks beverages from an identical type of vessel. By virtue of being served hot, the consumption of mulled wine occurs in the form of near ritualistic sipping, subliminally expanding the experience. While the cups can be returned to the vendor (who also issues a token to ensure that deposit is only returned for cups initially served by them), the low deposit cost of the cup (EUR 3 to EUR 4) and their commemorative nature entice many participants to take their cup home as a souvenir.

Beer mats are being used in the same micro-topographical space as the Weihnachtsmarkttassen, with the difference that the former, by virtue of their function, are primarily stationary objects, whereas Weihnachtsmarkttassen, at least in theory, allow the consumption of the beverage while perambulating over the market. While beer mats have become collectibles [60,114,115] with associated terminology (“tegestology”) and catalogues [116,117], surprisingly little work has been carried out on their role in historic studies [118] or marketing [119]. The materiality of beer mats has so far not been considered. Functionally, beer mats made from wood pulp [61] are designed to prevent drips of beer or other beverages coming into contact with the table surface. Beer mats, therefore, are consumables to be discarded when spoiled, defaced, or damaged. With the pictorial or textual advertising content, beer mats issued for a Christmas market can serve to generate corporate and event identity if a uniform design applies to all vendors, or a supplier-focused identity where it is up to the vendors to choose their own design. Depending on the messaging, beer mats can be used to advertise the duration of the market (Figure 5) or special events at the market to which the “publishers” of the beer mats may wish to draw a participant’s attention. From the perspective of the participant, the beer mat is a transactional entity as a coaster that may, depending on design and locale, create a group identity to the collective use of an exclusive item. For some participants, beer mats are objects to be taken home as a souvenir imbued with symbolic memory of the participation in the market and the social and experiential event that this represented. Finally, for some participants, beer mats are collectible and tradeable items detached from and independent of the Christmas market as an event (Figure 23).

Figure 23. Ontological relationships of beer mats with Christmas market motifs.
Among exonumia, tokens have been commonly conceptualized as collectibles, i.e., in the form of catalogues [120], and discussed in terms of their motifs that reflect the name or locale, are allegoric in nature or that mimic genuine currency [121,122]. An exception is Zalot, who discussed exonumia in terms of technological change when examining the displacement of gaming tokens by digital means [123]. Zalot argued that the use of such game tokens, which were created as localized privately issued redemption currency, represented a symbolic and social interaction with these venues and that, in their manifestation as retained and collected items tokens, reflect an atemporal relationship with that venue [123].

Zalot’s points apply to the tokens used at Christmas markets (Figure 6), which were issued by the market organizers, or by individual vendors, as a form of event-specific redeemable currency (Figure 24). Like game tokens, they “circulate” between vendors and participants until such time that the event finishes and the tokens thereby lose their validity and value. An exception to this is the marketwide redemption currency “Strietzeltaler” in Dresden (Figure 6C) and the annually reusable Eu-Glüh as a private venture (Figure 6C,D). Some tokens are taken out of circulation by participants, either unintentionally, i.e., accidentally not redeemed, or intentionally, i.e., taken home as a souvenir.

Figure 24. Ontological relationships of tokens used at Christmas markets.

During the time of circulation, the collective use of the tokens generates a level of group identity on the market that, by virtue of using special currency, sets this group apart from others. Those tokens that were taken home as souvenirs are imbued with symbolic memory akin to that discussed above in the case of the Weihnachtsmarkttausen. The fact that the tokens represent less multisensory memory than the cups will be offset for some owners by their smaller size and easier retention/storage. Those tokens unintentionally taken home, as well as the tokens no longer desired once their symbolic memory has been re-evaluated, will be discarded or traded to collectors.

Medals have been issued to individuals in recognition of prowess (e.g., Olympic gold medals), achievements (e.g., medals awarded at a trade exhibition), or actions deemed commendable (e.g., military medals). In addition, medals were struck to commemorate specific events, such as a coronation or the anniversary of a notable event. Medals issued for Christmas markets fall into the latter category.

There is only limited research on the materiality of medals. Setting aside their ontic dimensions, which can be expressed in terms of shape, size, weight, and material, it is the ontological dimensions that are of interest. In this, we need to consider the dimensions
as perceived or projected by the issuer and vendor, the dimensions as projected by the purchaser, and the dimensions by the community at large. Exonumia have not seen much formal attention by academia. Commemorative medals are not addressed in terms of their materiality except as evidence for historic events [124,125] or persons [126]. Assessments of devotional medals, which often depict symbols that are imbued with spiritual meaning and value, have highlighted that this meaning can be transferred to the wearer or owner of the item [127,128].

If medals were received as gifts, then the ontological, symbolic qualities of the medal rest in the event for which the medal was given and the event/ceremony associated with the gifting, which includes the locale and the person presenting the medal to the recipient. In addition, the deep historic connotations of awarding or gifting medals on specific occasions affords a modern medal a sense of gravitas that a metal token or a metal pin does not possess. The material of the medal, for example, silver as opposed to cupronickel, may add both economic (raw material) and symbolic value (associated with silver as a “precious” metal). In the case of purchase of the medal, as a commemorative or collectible item, that entire ontological space is absent. Setting aside acquisitions for purely speculative and commercial gain, the perceived value of the medal rests for the purchaser in the association of the medal with the event for which it was issued and the perceived importance of that event to the purchaser as well as the extent to which the symbolism of the motif captures the event and its perceived significance.

For an organizer, the minting of annual commemorative medals adds to the advertising of the event’s long-term continuity. Moreover, the issue of commemorative medals, which are imbued with historic gravitas, add to the credibility of the event’s organizer. For the purchaser, the medal has either symbolic memory value related to the event, or “mere” collection value where material and (artificial) rarity are the key criteria (Figure 25).

![Ontological relationships of medals with Christmas market motifs.](image)

Figure 25. Ontological relationships of medals with Christmas market motifs.

Medals associated with Christmas markets are issued, sold, and distributed outside the market space. While they may be available on the markets themselves, this is uncommon, as a survey of offerings on 110 German markets did not identify stalls that specialized in such memorabilia [77]. In consequence, medals are paraphernalia that are associated with, but not representative of, a Christmas market.

A unique manifestation are the medals by the Rheingauer Volksbank which were minted on the Christmas market of Geisenheim (Hessen) (Figure 17D) and which have
ontological dimensions that extend beyond those discussed for medals in general. The participant acquired the medal on site, to be taken home as a souvenir that was imbued with symbolic memory of the participation in the market generally and the social and experiential event that this represented. Being able to observe the minting of the medal close up represented a unique experiential event in terms of the minting process as well as the context and setting where it occurred. The resulting souvenir, therefore, has a deeper meaning than other souvenirs that could have been acquired on the market. For the bank as the issuer/producer of these medals, the onsite minting generates advertising benefits with increased visitation of their promotional stall, and recurrent advertising benefits among those handling these medals both in the participant’s social setting and the community at large. In addition to the advertising benefit, the bank accrues social credit in the community for hosting such an unusual and innovative event (Figure 26).

Figure 26. Ontological relationships of the Geisenheim medals.

Under the collective term of “lapel pins”, we need to consider objects that are displayed on clothing and range from brooch-like badges and buttons to units resembling a tiepin (Figure 27). Common to all is that they convey a message in the form of a text, logo, or image. Examples of forced display in authoritarian regimes notwithstanding [129,130], by virtue of their voluntary ostentation and public display, such pins signal the wearer’s inclusion in an institution or group of like-minded individuals [23]. Several studies have examined the role of lapel pins in organizational culture where they signal achievement [23,131], as ideological positioning statements in political campaigns [132], or as devices to signal a “safe” ethnic identity, as in the case of citizens of Chinese (as opposed to Japanese) descent in the USA during World War II [133].

In the context of Christmas markets, the lapel pins were not issued as political or ideological statements, or as a rewards system with a company, but to commemorate an event. As the examples from Dortmund and Münster show (Figure 9), at least some of the pins were issued by vendors of mulled wine that would accrue advertising benefits from the display of their pins. The annually changing design would have appealed to collectors and would have ensured return patronage across the years. For the participants, the pins signalled a group identity in their collective use on the market, while offsite, they fulfilled the role as a souvenir imbued with symbolic memory or as gift received from people who had visited the Christmas market. Some of these badges were treated as collectibles and
were (and still are) being traded as such. While the percentage of customers accepting and wearing these pins during the visit is unknown, it can be posited that it is unlikely that these pins would have been worn on subsequent days within or outside the event setting. As objects that could only be acquired during the events at the event locations, these badges are paraphernalia that are not only associated with, but also are representative of sections of a Christmas market.

![Ontological relationships of lapel pins with Christmas market motifs.](image)

**Figure 27.** Ontological relationships of lapel pins with Christmas market motifs.

Functionally, stamps serve as visual evidence of payment for the carriage of items through a mail service. As they are issued by the mail service, that service also exercises control over the motifs depicted on the stamps. Thus, stamps featuring Christmas market motifs benefit the event organizer by advertising the existence of the event, without the organizer having any direct control over a stamp’s appearance or the length of its offering. By its actual or implied association with the event, the issuing entity leverages social credit from the recognition of the depicted Christmas market. For the users, a stamp may possess merely transactional value with its motif being entirely irrelevant, or, given a choice of stamps with multiple motifs, the motif may be imbued with additional affective value which makes the user choose such a stamp in preference of others (Figure 28).

It is important to highlight that stamps featuring motifs of Christmas markets have been produced independently from the market organizers. Given that they are being utilized in daily life unrelated to the actual event and sit outside the spatial and temporal context, the association with the depicted Christmas markets is tenuous. A direct association can be determined if and when stamps were exclusively distributed at the event itself and not made available for sale or distribution externally which, of course, defeats the purpose of the product. An intermediate association develops where a postal service provides an outlet/post office at the Christmas market where specific stamps are sold [134] and where mail is cancelled with special cancels that are only used at that specific post office. In those instances, the user may post items to people in their social circle known to value or collect stamps and also take home some stamps (or cancelled envelopes) as items imbued with symbolic memory.
Some work has been carried out on the messaging and geographies of adhesive decals and, in particular, protest stickers [74,135–137]. Stickers, applied singly or layered, not only represent the personal expression of values but also “can . . . be read as participating in or constructing the commodification of identity” [138], “signalling the owner’s membership in a brand community” [139]. In the context of Christmas markets, the stickers are reflective of the organizer advertising the event through indirect and diffuse means, drawing on a participant’s emotive connection with the Christmas markets and relying on their willingness to identify with the market and promote its existence by adding the sticker to their vehicle. On the one hand, doing so provides a tangible expression of their personal values, but also acts as a public verification of participation at the event. As these stickers are not part of the personal and social experience of the market itself, they need to be regarded as advertising paraphernalia that are associated with, but not representative of, a Christmas market (Figure 29).

While posters are also advertising elements, they lack the dimension of personal involvement in their use and display. In the pre-social media age, posters were the mainstay of public advertising on advertising hoardings, lamp posts, and in the windows and doors of supportive businesses. The engagement of Christmas market participants was limited to involvement in their use and display. In the pre-social media age, posters were the mainstay of public advertising on advertising hoardings, lamp posts, and in the windows and doors of supportive businesses. The engagement of Christmas market participants was limited to involvement in their use and display. In the pre-social media age, posters were the mainstay of public advertising on advertising hoardings, lamp posts, and in the windows and doors of supportive businesses. The engagement of Christmas market participants was limited to involvement in their use and display. In the pre-social media age, posters were the mainstay of public advertising on advertising hoardings, lamp posts, and in the windows and doors of supportive businesses. The engagement of Christmas market participants was limited to involvement in their use and display. In the pre-social media age, posters were the mainstay of public advertising on advertising hoardings, lamp posts, and in the windows and doors of supportive businesses. The engagement of Christmas market participants was limited to involvement in their use and display. In the pre-social media age, posters were the mainstay of public advertising on advertising hoardings, lamp posts, and in the windows and doors of supportive businesses. The engagement of Christmas market participants was limited to involvement in their use and display. In the pre-social media age, posters were the mainstay of public advertising on advertising hoardings, lamp posts, and in the windows and doors of supportive businesses. The engagement of Christmas market participants was limited to involvement in their use and display. In the pre-social media age, posters were the mainstay of public advertising on advertising hoardings, lamp posts, and in the windows and doors of supportive businesses. The engagement of Christmas market participants was limited to involvement in their use and display. In the pre-social media age, posters were the mainstay of public advertising on advertising hoardings, lamp posts, and in the windows and doors of supportive businesses. The engagement of Christmas market participants was limited to involvement in their use and display. In the pre-social media age, posters were the mainstay of public advertising on advertising hoardings, lamp posts, and in the windows and doors of supportive businesses. The engagement of Christmas market participants was limited to involvement in their use and display. In the pre-social media age, posters were the mainstay of public advertising on advertising hoardings, lamp posts, and in the windows and doors of supportive businesses. The engagement of Christmas market participants was limited to involvement in their use and display. In the pre-social media age, posters were the mainstay of public advertising on advertising hoardings, lamp posts, and in the windows and doors of supportive businesses. The engagement of Christmas market participants was limited to involvement in their use and display. In the pre-social media age, posters were the mainstay of public advertising on advertising hoardings, lamp posts, and in the windows and doors of supportive businesses. The engagement of Christmas market participants was limited to involvement in their use and display. In the pre-social media age, posters were the mainstay of personal involvement in their use and display. In the pre-social media age, posters were the mainstay of public advertising on advertising hoardings, lamp posts, and in the windows and doors of supportive businesses. The engagement of Christmas market participants was limited to involvement in their use and display. In the pre-social media age, posters were the mainstay of public advertising on advertising hoardings, lamp posts, and in the windows and doors of supportive businesses. The engagement of Christmas market participants was limited to involvement in their use and display. In the pre-social media age, posters were the mainstay of public advertising on advertising hoardings, lamp posts, and in the windows and doors of supportive businesses. The engagement of Christmas market participants was limited to involvement in their use and display. In the pre-social media age, posters were the mainstay of public advertising on advertising hoardings, lamp posts, and in the windows and doors of supportive businesses. The engagement of Christmas market participants was limited to involvement in their use and display. In the pre-social media age, posters were the mainstay of public advertising on advertising hoardings, lamp posts, and in the windows and doors of supportive businesses. The engagement of Christmas market participants was limited to involvement in their use and display. In the pre-social media age, posters were the mainstay of public advertising on advertising hoardings, lamp posts, and in the windows and doors of supportive businesses. The engagement of Christmas market participants was limited to involvement in their use and display. In the pre-social media age, posters were the mainstay of public advertising on advertising hoardings, lamp posts, and in the windows and doors of supportive businesses. The engagement of Christmas market participants was limited to involvement in their use and display. In the pre-social media age, posters were the mainstay of public advertising on advertising hoardings, lamp posts, and in the windows and doors of supportive businesses. The engagement of Christmas market participants was limited to involvement in their use and display. In the pre-social media age, posters were the mainstay of public advertising on advertising hoardings, lamp posts, and in the windows and doors of supportive businesses. The engagement of Christmas market participants was limited to involvement in their use and display. In the pre-social media age, posters were the mainstay of public advertising on advertising hoardings, lamp posts, and in the windows and doors of supportive businesses. The engagement of Christmas market participants was limited to involvement in their use and display. In the pre-social media age, posters were the mainstay of public advertising on advertising hoardings, lamp posts, and in the windows and doors of supportive businesses. The engagement of Christmas market participants was limited to involvement in their use and display. In the pre-social media age, posters were the mainstay of public advertising on advertising hoardings, lamp posts, and in the windows and doors of supportive businesses. The engagement of Christmas market participants was limited to involvement in their use and display. In the pre-social media age, posters were the mainstay of public advertising on advertising hoardings, lamp posts, and in the windows and doors of supportive businesses. The engagement of Christmas market participants was limited to involvement in their use and display. In the pre-social media age, posters were the mainstay of public advertising on advertising hoardings, lamp posts, and in the windows and doors of supportive businesses. The engagement of Christmas market participants was limited to involvement in their use and display. In the pre-social media age, posters were the mainstay of public advertising on advertising hoardings, lamp posts, and in the windows and doors of supportive businesses. The engagement of Christmas market participants was limited to involvement in their use and display. In the pre-social media age, posters were the mainstay of public advertising on advertising hoardings, lamp posts, and in the windows and doors of supportive businesses. The engagement of Christmas market participants was limited to involvement in their use and display. In the pre-social media age, posters were the mainstay of public advertising on advertising hoardings, lamp posts, and in the windows and doors of supportive businesses. The engagement of Christmas market participants was limited to involvement in their use and display. In the pre-social media age, posters were the mainstay of public advertising on advertising hoardings, lamp posts, and in the windows and doors of supportive businesses. The engagement of Christmas market participants was limited to involvement in their use and display. In the pre-social media age, posters were the mainstay of public advertising on advertising hoardings, lamp posts, and in the windows and doors of supportive businesses. The engagement of Christmas market participants was limited to involvement in their use and display. In the pre-social media age, posters were the mainstay of public advertising on advertising hoardings, lamp posts, and in the windows and doors of supportive businesses. The engagement of Christmas market participants was limited to involvement in their use and display. In the pre-social media age, posters were the mainstay of public advertising on advertising hoardings, lamp posts, and in the windows and doors of supportive businesses. The engagement of Christmas market participants was limited to involvement in their use and display. In the pre-social media age, posters were the mainstay of public advertising on advertising hoardings, lamp posts, and in the windows and doors of supportive businesses. The engagement of Christmas market participants was limited to involvement in their use and display. In the pre-social media age, posters were the mainstay of public advertising on advertising hoardings, lamp posts, and in the windows and doors of supportive businesses. The engagement of Christmas market participants was limited to involvement in their use and display. In the pre-social media age, posters were the mainstay of public advertising on advertising hoardings, lamp posts, and in the windows and doors of supportive businesses. The engagement of Christmas market participants was limited to involvement in their use and display. In the pre-social media age, posters were the mainstay of 

There is a considerable body of literature that discusses the nature of postcards as souvenirs which deconstructs the imagery shown on the picture postcards [140–142]. Fundamentally, however, a postcard production represents a relationship between the publisher and the consumer and between the consumer and the recipient [27]. The image selection and framing of postcards, through their stereotyping of landscapes, points of view, infrastructure, and developments, conveys political messages to the viewer, messages the audience would have well understood [143–145]. Rogan classified photographic picture cards as topographical cards and differentiates between local cards and tourist cards [146]. The former “depicted various themes of special interest or immediate importance to local consumers, i.e., the inhabitants of a region, a town, or a village”, with typical motifs being “buildings, streets, markets and fairs, shops, or even the interiors of shops”.

Figure 28. Ontological relationships of stamps with Christmas market motifs.
While posters are also advertising elements, they lack the dimension of personal involvement in their use and display. In the pre-social media age, posters were the mainstay of public advertising on advertising hoardings, lamp posts, and in the windows and doors of supportive businesses. The engagement of Christmas market participants was limited to general awareness of the event as well as, possibly, some sense of community identity (Figure 30). Ontologically, posters are not imbued with any symbolic meaning.

There is a considerable body of literature that discusses the nature of postcards as souvenirs which deconstructs the imagery shown on the picture postcards [140–142]. Fundamentally, however, a postcard production represents a relationship between the publisher and the consumer and between the consumer and the recipient [27]. The image selection and framing of postcards, through their stereotyping of landscapes, points of view, infrastructure, and developments, conveys political messages to the viewer, messages the audience would have well understood [143–145]. Rogan classified photographic picture cards as topographical cards and differentiates between local cards and tourist cards [146]. The former “depicted various themes of special interest or immediate importance to local consumers, i.e., the inhabitants of a region, a town, or a village”, with typical motifs being “buildings, streets, markets and fairs, shops, or even the interiors of shops”.

Typical motifs on tourist cards, according to Rogan, were “landscape views, snowy mountains, waterfalls, fjords, glaciers, churches, cathedrals, castles, hotels and passenger ships, as well as folkloric themes like national costumes, folk dance scenes, peasants harvesting, etc.” [146]. Setting aside overt and covert messaging in industry-sponsored cards [147], postcards are a good indicator of a visitor’s interest, as the sending of a postcard image requires an active selection of the image by the tourist [145,148–153]. For the event organizer of Christmas markets, the publication of such cards provided free advertising of the event’s existence (Figure 31).
Figure 30. Ontological relationships of posters advertising Christmas markets.

Typical motifs on tourist cards, according to Rogan, were “landscape views, snowy mountains, waterfalls, fjords, glaciers, churches, cathedrals, castles, hotels and passenger ships, as well as folkloric themes like national costumes, folk dance scenes, peasants harvesting, etc.” [146]. Setting aside overt and covert messaging in industry-sponsored cards [147], postcards are a good indicator of a visitor’s interest, as the sending of a postcard image requires an active selection of the image by the tourist [145,148–153]. For the event organizer of Christmas markets, the publication of such cards provided free advertising of the event’s existence (Figure 31).

Figure 31. Ontological relationships of postcards with imagery of Christmas markets.

The open transportation of postcards by mail not only facilitated communication but also played a significant role in social dynamics. Since the content of postcards was visible (and readable) to postal employees, the sender (if locally known) and especially the receiver, publicly accrued social credit. Additionally, once received, postcards often became a form of parlour entertainment, shared within social circles. This practice further enhanced the social standing of both the sender and the recipient, as the postcards were displayed and discussed among friends and family, showcasing connections and experiences.

What differentiates the special postmarks from other paraphernalia from and about Christmas markets is that they were authorized by the Government-owned postal service and not merely by the local community or the event organizers. Some of the special cancels were applied to stamps affixed on black envelopes of postcards (cancelled to order), while others were affixed to standard items sent through the mail. From the perspective of the host, these represent advertising of the event and its continuity. By virtue of a special postal cancel being issued for that event, the event attains greater significance—a fact that at the time would not have been lost as most people would have been past or present stamp collectors. For the participants, mail posted or cancelled-to-order at the market and cancelled with the special cancel provided proof of presence at the venue, resulting in associated social credit (Figure 32).

To date, telephone cards have seen little attention in the academic literature as objects of material culture that are worthy of enquiry. The leading scholarship into phonecards comes from Brazil, where phonecard collecting as a hobby has seen a revival in recent years [154]. While in some instances comparisons are made with other materials such as stamps [155,156], the emphasis is on highly descriptive commentary, focusing on the motifs such as insects [157]. Some authors comment in passing on the specific and intentional use of telephone cards as educational materials in public education [158] and teaching [156]. Surprisingly, however, there is only little work on the role of such objects in advertising and marketing, with few authors in that discipline area only referencing the use of such cards with an analysis of their efficacy [158,159] or examining the imagery of the cards as a tool to understand the imagery as being reflective of cultural and societal conditions at the time of their creation [160–162]. There is a complete absence of an investigation into the underlying aspects of materiality.
4.2. The Alienable Material Culture of Christmas Markets as Souvenirs

Souvenirs fulfil an important role in a visitor’s experience of a location. They can be grouped into several discrete classes. Setting aside the class of sampled objects (e.g., a picked-up rock), the other classes of souvenirs can be representative of Christmas markets: pictorial images of the location or event (i.e., postcards, snapshots), symbolic shorthand souvenirs (i.e., functional and nonfunctional manufactured objects that reflect the location or event), markers (everyday items that assume the role of mementos through inscriptions indicating their place of origin), and local products (merchandise and local crafts products typical of the market) [163,164]. Common to all is that souvenirs are objects acquired on location that possess a wide range of ontological characteristics that are projected onto the object by either the acquirer or by the receiver (where the souvenir is purchased as a gift [165–167]. What type of souvenirs visitors select depends on a diversity of factors ranging from the personal, such as taste, to economic, such price and availability, to contextual, such as familiarity with the location, and the mundane, such as portability and weight [167].
As noted earlier, there are no commercially sold items of moveable cultural heritage that can be identified as being unique to Christmas markets. None of the items sold on the markets are obtainable only there and not also in other shops or even online. Thus, any item purchased at one of the stalls will act as a souvenir, but its symbolic value will be attached to the fact that it was purchased during the market visit. To what extent these items are local products depends entirely on the nature of the product and how the term “local” is defined. For example, while wood-carved Christmas ornaments are typical of German Christmas markets (Figure 10D) and can be found on almost all markets, they come from the Erzgebirge, a small region in Sachsen [168,169]—unless they are mass-produced items imported from China (but not marked as such). Items from the Erzgebirge would classify as “local products” if seen through the lens of German Christmas markets as whole, but not as “local” when focusing on a market such as Frankfurt or Nürnberg.

Considering the various items of alienable material culture of Christmas markets, as discussed on the preceding pages, all groups of objects can act, to a varying degree, as symbolic shorthand souvenirs, i.e., functional and nonfunctional manufactured objects that reflect the location or event. Several of these groups of objects also act as “markers”, i.e., everyday items, such as Glühweintassen, that assume the role of mementos through inscriptions of the Christmas markets indicating their place of origin (Table 1).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object Groups</th>
<th>Pictorial Images</th>
<th>Symbolic Shorthand</th>
<th>Markers</th>
<th>Local Products</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adhesive decals</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beer mats</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coin sets</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commemorative cups</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓✓✓</td>
<td>✓✓✓</td>
<td>✓✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exonumia (medals)</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓✓✓</td>
<td>✓✓✓</td>
<td>✓✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exonumia (tokens)</td>
<td>✓✓✓</td>
<td>✓✓✓</td>
<td>✓✓✓</td>
<td>✓✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Items for sale at stalls</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lapel pins</td>
<td>✓✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1. Classification of the alienable material culture of Christmas market as souvenirs.
An additional important element in the discussion is the question of authenticity. As noted by numerous authors, visitors attach great significance to the “authenticity” of the objects they acquire as mementos, souvenirs, and gifts [170–172]. The age of globalization and mass-produced imported objects has only accentuated this trend.

In the realm of local products, the terms “genuine” and “authentic” are often intermingled and used interchangeably [171]. When considering the material culture of Christmas markets, all items of material culture, with the possible exception of Chinese-made Christmas ornaments, are genuine items. These objects genuinely reflect a Christmas market in question. That is, they are true to their nature and not counterfeit or fake. Items are authentic if they are not only genuine but are also verified and validated as true or real. This applies to those objects that can only be obtained at the Christmas market, items that require the physical presence of a person at a specific place and point(s) in time. These objects retain their authenticity even if they are later gifted or traded (Table 2).

In terms of the intangible heritage manifestations of German Christmas markets, we can frame these in terms of their experiential, social, and conceptual dimensions [31,35,36]. While essentially intangible and ephemeral, each of these dimensions are mediated, symbolized, or exemplified by objects of material culture (Figure 34). The full participation in the experiential dimension of a German Christmas market rather than its mere observation, for example, requires the existence and use of mediatory items of material culture, such as the Glühweintassen and tokens. The social dimension can be exemplified by the same items, but also by other symbolic objects such as lapel pins or adhesive stickers. The conceptual dimension deals with the existence value of Christmas markets, the knowledge that they exist, and what they represent, even if the individual may not visit a market and participate. The material culture associated with this dimension encompasses pictorial objects such as postcards, telephone cards, and stamps, as well as medals and posters (Table 2).

Table 2. Authenticity of alienable items of material culture and their representativeness of Christmas markets.
Table 2. Cont.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Genuine</th>
<th>Authentic</th>
<th>Conceptual</th>
<th>Social</th>
<th>Experiential</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Postcards</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Posters</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special postmarks</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stamps</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telephone cards</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toy sets</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Beyond “genuine” and “authentic”, we also need to consider the concept of “representativeness”. Items of material culture can be regarded as representative of a given Christmas market if they capture the “essence” and significance of a market. As with all attributions of cultural heritage values, this concept is highly subjective and informed by the epistemological foundations of the valuer [173,174]. In consequence, the representativeness will be subject to whether the visitor primarily perceives the visit of a Christmas market as a mercantile, a social, or an experiential event. The various ontological dimensions of materiality of the objects inform whether objects are representative of specific markets (Table 2).

5. Conclusions

Having lost their mercantile relevance in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, German Christmas markets saw a resurgence in public interest as part of the “Nostagiewelle” of the late 1970s. Since the 1990s, and certainly since the early 2000s, German Christmas markets have morphed into multisensory social and experiential events where the purchase of Christmas decorations and Christmas gifts has given way to the consumption of mulled wine and other hot alcoholic beverages, as well as other gastro-
nomic products. Christmas markets are marketed as event attractions for domestic and international visitors.

This study surveyed the nature and extent of items of portable material culture that are associated with German Christmas markets. It has identified a wide range of items, which conceptually can be grouped into objects of material culture of Christmas markets, about Christmas markets, and for sale at Christmas markets. These objects range from the practical, such as Glühweintassen, which allow the consumption of hot beverages and mediatory objects such as tokens for payment for goods or as proof of payment for a cup deposit, to commemorative medals and postcards, as well as associative objects such as telephone cards and stamps, with imagery of Christmas markets. Many of these objects are not only location-specific but, like the Glühweintassen, are also issued in annual editions, thereby creating a “brand loyalty”, while at the same time they feed into the collector market.

Not surprisingly, the ontological qualities of the materiality of these items vary widely depending on the viewpoint of the user, i.e., the participant, the vendor, or the organizer of the Christmas market. These ontological qualities vary further depending on the spheres in which these objects attain meaning (personal, event, social, and public spheres). While all items discussed are genuine, and the majority are authentic, i.e., objects that can only be obtained at the Christmas market, few can be regarded as representative of the social dimensions of the Christmas markets. Only two types of objects, the Glühweintassen and the tokens for payment for mulled wine or as proof of payment for a cup deposit, can be regarded as items of material culture that are authentic and specifically associated with the experiential nature of the Christmas market.

On a wider scale, what this paper demonstrates is that while many items of material culture may be directly associated with an intangible heritage practice, and while many items may possess a high level of authenticity, not all items have the same level of representativeness. A close examination of the materiality of the items of material culture will allow us to identify those that can be regarded as representative. This has obvious implications for documentation, retention, and collection by cultural institutions.

**Funding:** This research received no external funding.

**Data Availability Statement:** The data presented in this study are available on request from the author.

**Conflicts of Interest:** The author declares no conflicts of interest.

**References**

6. de la Torre, M. Values and heritage conservation. *Herit. Soc.* 2013, 6, 155–166. [CrossRef]
8. Spennemann, D.H.R. The Nexus between Cultural Heritage Management and the Mental Health of Urban Communities. *Land* 2022, 11, 304. [CrossRef]
13. Howard, K. Musical instruments as tangible cultural heritage and as/for intangible cultural heritage. *Int. J. Cult. Prop.* 2022, 29, 23–44. [CrossRef]
25. Blick, S. Bringing pilgrimage home: The production, iconography, and domestic use of late-medieval devotional objects by ordinary people. Religions 2019, 10, 392. [CrossRef]
27. Spennemann, D.H.R. “Your’s truly”: The creation and consumption of commercial tourist portraits. Heritage 2021, 4, 3257–3287. [CrossRef]
28. Spennemann, D.H.R. Production of German Picture Postcards at the Western Front 1915–1916 as exemplified by the imagery of the church bell of Marquillies (Département du Nord, France). Heritage 2023, 6, 3324–3352. [CrossRef]
32. Brida, J.G.; Tokarchuk, O. Keeping mental budgets: Visitors’ spending at a Christmas market. Tour. Econ. 2015, 21, 67–82. [CrossRef]
38. Brida, J.G.; Tokarchuk, O. Tourists’ spending and adherence to shopping plans: The case of the christmas market in Merano, Italy. Tour. Manag. 2017, 61, 55–62. [CrossRef]


74. Awcock, H. Stickin’ it to the man: The geographies of protest stickers. Area 2021, 53, 522–530. [CrossRef]

75. Baker, W. Soapbox for the automobile: Bumper sticker history, identification, and preservation. Collections 2011, 7, 251–270. [CrossRef]


78. Spennemann, D.H.R. The Public Imagery and Iconography of the Berlin Christmas Markets During the Third Reich; School of Agricultural, Environmental and Veterinary Sciences; Charles Sturt University: Albury, Australia, 2024.


Heritage 2024, 7


115. Wetzig, R. Von Bierdeckeln und vom Bierdeckelsammeln. In Bayerisches Bier aus West Alln: Zur Geschichte Westfälischen Brauereien. [CrossRef]


120. Vacketta, O.H. Trade Tokens of Illinois; World Exonumia: Westville, IL, USA, 1983.


124. Cierpisz, S. Form of the Past. References to the Middle Ages in Early Modern Exonumia. In [CrossRef]


140. Auerbach, K. The image of insects on telephone cards: Considerations on a small collection. *Heritage* 2024, 157. [CrossRef]
143. Wehbe, R. Understanding the relationship between tourism destination imagery and tourist photography. *J. Travel Res.* 2009, 47, 346–358. [CrossRef]
149. Decrop, A.; Masset, J. ‘This is a piece of coral received from captain Bob’: Meanings and functions of tourist souvenirs. *Int. J. Cult. Tour. Hosp. Res.* 2014, 8, 22–34. [CrossRef]
152.de Souza Tavares, W. Revival of phonecard collection as a hobby in Brazil. *Rev. Bras. De História Da Mídia* 2022, 11.
154. Decrop, A.; Masset, J. “This is a piece of coral received from captain Bob”: Meanings and functions of tourist souvenirs. *Int. J. Cult. Tour. Hosp. Res.* 2014, 8, 22–34. [CrossRef]
155. Decrop, A.; Masset, J. “This is a piece of coral received from captain Bob”: Meanings and functions of tourist souvenirs. *Int. J. Cult. Tour. Hosp. Res.* 2014, 8, 22–34. [CrossRef]
163. Decrop, A.; Masset, J. “This is a piece of coral received from captain Bob”: Meanings and functions of tourist souvenirs. *Int. J. Cult. Tour. Hosp. Res.* 2014, 8, 22–34. [CrossRef]
164. Decrop, A.; Masset, J. “This is a piece of coral received from captain Bob”: Meanings and functions of tourist souvenirs. *Int. J. Cult. Tour. Hosp. Res.* 2014, 8, 22–34. [CrossRef]
165. Decrop, A.; Masset, J. “This is a piece of coral received from captain Bob”: Meanings and functions of tourist souvenirs. *Int. J. Cult. Tour. Hosp. Res.* 2014, 8, 22–34. [CrossRef]
166. Decrop, A.; Masset, J. “This is a piece of coral received from captain Bob”: Meanings and functions of tourist souvenirs. *Int. J. Cult. Tour. Hosp. Res.* 2014, 8, 22–34. [CrossRef]


**Disclaimer/Publisher’s Note:** The statements, opinions and data contained in all publications are solely those of the individual author(s) and contributor(s) and not of MDPI and/or the editor(s). MDPI and/or the editor(s) disclaim responsibility for any injury to people or property resulting from any ideas, methods, instructions or products referred to in the content.