

CRAFT BEER CULTURE AND MODERN MEDIEVALISM

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CRAFT BEER CULTURE AND MODERN MEDIEVALISM

BREWING DISSENT

NOËLLE PHILLIPS

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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION: MEDIEVALISM AND CRAFT BEER

IT IS A warm, lazy day in the early summer of 2018; with half an hour to spare, it's the perfect time to hunt for a new craft beer to try. As I scan the labels in the craft beer corner of my neighbourhood liquor store, my eye is caught by bright green rows of bomber bottles at eye level on the centre shelves—they are Driftwood Brewery's Extra Special Bitter, Naughty Hildegard. On the label, the famous twelfth-century abbess is pictured in profile against an emerald green stained glass window, gazing contemplatively at a hop cone in her hand. According to some sources (including the label of this particular beer), Hildegard was one of the first people to recommend hops as a beer preservative and flavouring agent and thus has become somewhat of a legend in beer history. Surveying the surrounding craft beers, I notice the localized nature of their branding; this particular store is on the west coast of British Columbia, Canada, so many of the craft breweries whose products are on display draw upon west coast history, public figures, or wildlife in their marketing strategies. Naughty Hildegard is, like many of the other beers on these shelves, produced in southwestern British Columbia, and yet its branding has no connection to the province. Instead, it is connected to the past—a medieval, Western European past. And this connection is a relatively common one in North America's craft beer industry. The neolocalism that characterizes craft beer in general—its identity as the product of a small and distinct region—manifests itself differently in one segment of the market. Despite the fact that it is actually in ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia that we find the true origins of brewing, the European and medieval replaces the contemporary and local in the narratives woven around a subset of craft beers and breweries in both Canada and the United States.¹ Modern medievalism thus informs, at least in part, the class and cultural identity formation processes at the heart of North America's craft beer industry. It may not be coincidental that medievalism as an object of academic study emerged during the same time period (1978–1979) in which President Carter legalized homebrewing in the United States and the craft beer industry rapidly expanded in both the United States and Canada.

This book examines a growing subgroup of the Canadian and American craft beer industry—medieval-themed breweries and brews—through the stories that craft brewers tell about themselves and their product. As a scholar of literature and book history, my interest is in how texts are transmitted, presented, and interpreted. In this case, the object of my study is how the discourse that has developed in the North American craft beer industry deploys medievalism in order to connect with consumers and to enhance product value. Such analysis reveals less about the craft beer industry itself or the Middle Ages, and more about North American cultural values and how we see ourselves in relation to an increasingly globalized world. Craft beer functions as another form of pop culture, even a strange kind of literature.

¹ To make this project manageable in the space of a short book, the craft beer industry outside the United States and Canada is not included. For ease of reference, I sometimes use “North America” to refer to Canada and the US together, even though this book does not consider the brewing industry in other North American countries.

Craft beer “literature” encapsulates a range of different texts, from images and icons to interviews with brewers to official origin stories to flavour descriptions. It is through such texts that a craft beer identity is shaped, one that is articulated as a heroic foil to the global beer corporations, those behemoth businesses that dominate the market and consume smaller breweries. As these corporations went through mergers and takeovers in the 1980s and 1990s, until finally one company controlled more than 80 percent of the international beer industry, the very concept of craft brewing seemed increasingly important and remains so today. The production and consumption of craft beer has been construed as a way to resist corporate hegemony. It is through discursive connections and embodied experiences, such as tastings/pairings, local fundraisers, and collaborations with local artists and vendors, that craft brewers are doing something different than the beer corporations, who by nature are disembodied and disconnected from local communities. The corporations exist in the market, as a generic term, but not in the community. Jeff Rice highlights the importance of connection and experience when he describes how craft brewers cultivate identity by “bypassing large-scale delivery methods” that would allow them to distribute their product more widely, “opting instead for a networked delivery practice and the usage of Connectors”:

When we retell the story of our first time drinking a beer with our dad on a hot day, we act as Connectors. When we aggregate styles or locations into a network of terroir, we act as Connectors. When I take a photograph of a beer I am drinking and upload it to a social media site, I am acting as a Connector. Connectors are a form of delivery.²

One of the primary Connectors in craft-brewing discourse is neolocalism, which is discussed at length in [Chapter 3](#). However, my specific interest is the role of medievalism as a Connector and the features medievalism shares with neolocalism. Indeed, as I explore in more detail throughout this book, the desire to recreate, return to, or imagine a preindustrial past can evoke the same emotional response in a consumer as neolocalism does. Craft beer texts speak to our desire to belong and to escape—to find a place and an experience through which we feel the world has been righted. The craft beer industry in general invites us to think about purity, resistance, return, and democratic accessibility, and all of these conceptual lynchpins align perfectly with modern medievalism. Such idealism, however, may prevent us from recognizing some of the systemic, often unintentional problems of the industry, such as its heroized version of various histories (both medieval and modern) and the ways in which it subtly gatekeeps participation or inadvertently makes certain groups feel that they do not belong.

Medievalism, as the following section discusses in more detail, refers to post-medieval representations and interpretations of the Middle Ages. It has become a formal subject of academic study in recent decades, but it has been practiced—sometimes self-consciously, oftentimes not—for centuries. It is important to recognize that a study of medievalism, in all its variant practices, is not a study of the medieval era itself. Similarly, this book is not a study of the taste, production, or distribution of craft beer. Rather, it is an analysis of representation: how the craft beer industry represents itself, how it uses

² Rice, *Craft Obsession*, 149.

models of the past to craft that representation, and what these strategies tell us about ourselves. Any kind of storytelling and illustration, whether it is in a children's book, a novel, a cookbook, a news broadcast, or a craft brewery's beer label, is a representation of reality that has been cultivated to evoke a desired response in the reader or viewer, and to invite a specific interpretation of that object, figure, event, or product. It may, to some, seem silly to "analyze" these kinds of texts or discourses, but I disagree. The skill of critical thinking begins with the willingness to read carefully and to interrogate our immediate responses to what we encounter. Craft beer may appear to be a rather flippant choice for analytical engagement, but it is a movement deeply imbricated with our assumptions about purity, revolution, social justice, and equality. I think it's worth our attention.

Medievalism

The term "medievalism," briefly explained above, comes with a plurality of definitions, but most have a shared foundation: the idea that many postmedieval societies have used the Western European vision of "medieval" as a concept through which to understand their own world. Within the cultural products that deploy medievalism, such as films, comic books, slang, fantasy novels, advertisements, common analogies, etc., "medieval" is not so much a chronological period as an ideological category.³ Western leaders regularly label the ISIS as "medieval" or from the "Dark Ages" to illustrate the terrorists' failure to evolve morally or culturally. *Pulp Fiction's* Marsellus Wallace famously used the phrase "get medieval on your ass" to convey the horrors to which he would subject Zed, his rapist.⁴ At the same time, the so-called chivalric values of the Middle Ages and knight and castle metaphors are predominant in various types of storytelling, political commentary, and news media.⁵ In the 2018 trial of the Saskatchewan farmer Gerald Stanley (a Caucasian man) for the murder of Colten Boushie (a Cree teenager), the defense's opening arguments presented Stanley as a man guarding his "castle," thus rendering legitimate his violent response to Boushie.⁶ Countless animated films, from the Disney classics *Sleeping Beauty* and *Cinderella*, to *The Little Mermaid* and *Beauty*

3 Ganim, *Medievalism and Orientalism*, 3.

4 For a thorough discussion of the medievalism of *Pulp Fiction* and this scene in particular, see the final chapter ("Getting Medieval: Pulp Fiction, Foucault, and the Use of the Past") in Carolyn Dinshaw, *Getting Medieval: Sexualities and Communities, Pre- and Postmodern* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999).

5 In his forthcoming book *Black Metaphors*, Cord Whitaker summarizes some modern public appropriations of "medieval" (pages 187–88). My thanks to Prof. Whitaker for allowing me to read portions of this book prior to its release.

6 Gina Starblanket and Dallas Hunt, "How the Death of Colton Boushie Became Recast as the Story of a Knight Protecting His Castle," *The Globe and Mail*, February 13, 2018. www.theglobeandmail.com/opinion/how-the-death-of-colten-boushie-became-recast-as-the-story-of-a-knight-protecting-his-castle/article37958746/. Last accessed July 17, 2019. Lawyer Scott Spencer's exact words to the jury were: "For farm people, your yard is your castle. That's part of the story here."

and the Beast, to the more recent *Tangled*, *Frozen*, and *How to Train Your Dragon*, set their stories in a vaguely medieval land with vaguely medieval clothing and architecture. Medieval historicity is discarded while the medieval aesthetic is embraced; medievalism is, as noted earlier, not equivalent to the medieval itself. Tison Pugh argues that this Disney version of the Middle Ages, in films as well as in Disneyland itself, uses the medieval to reflect and reinforce a sense of childlike innocence, a time and space without the problems of social injustice and class conflict.⁷ That innocence, however, has also been taken as ignorance in other contexts, with “medieval” used both to describe and condemn political foolishness.⁸ Indeed, “medieval” has come to represent a wide range of contradictory ideas and values: origin, romance, brutality, old-fashioned values, faith in God, primitive logic, freedom, and oppression. There is never just one Middle Ages; there is a plethora. Umberto Eco, who identifies ten versions of the Middle Ages in his essay “Dreaming of the Middle Ages,” points out that we have returned to all of these Middle Ages ever since the medieval era itself ended. Because modern Western society is structured by systems inherited from the Middle Ages, the period is seen as a point of origin, as Eco elaborates:

Thus looking at the Middle Ages means looking at our infancy, in the same way that a doctor, to understand our present state of health, asks us about our childhood, or in the same way that the psychoanalyst, to understand our present neuroses, makes a careful investigation of the primal scene.⁹

If the Middle Ages is a cultural origin, then it can be used either as a point of disavowal—our rejection of violence and our primal nature—or as a space of purity to which we can perhaps one day return. These conflicting impulses both to reject and to elevate the medieval are not new; as discussed more fully in the next section of this chapter, they emerged immediately after the medieval period was over (once it was an era officially in the past), but were also prominent during the nineteenth century, when the formal study of medieval history and literature emerged as viable academic subjects as opposed to mere dilettante hobbies.¹⁰ This simultaneous love for and disparagement of “the medieval” continues to this day, as representations of the Middle Ages shift in response to rapid social, technological, and religious changes.

The various Middle Ages represented in modern medievalisms reveal, of course, much more about the society producing the representation than about the medieval

⁷ Pugh, “Introduction,” 3–5.

⁸ Neal Gabler, “George W. Bush’s Medieval Presidency,” *Los Angeles Times*, October 5, 2003, sec. Worldview, <http://articles.latimes.com/2003/oct/05/opinion/op-gabler5>. Last accessed July 17, 2019.

⁹ Eco, “Dreaming of the Middle Ages,” 65.

¹⁰ See the following sources for further information about the introduction of literary studies—particularly medieval literature—into higher education: Alan Bacon, ed., *The Nineteenth-Century History of English Studies* (London: Routledge, 1998); Ian Hunter, *Culture and Government: The Emergence of Literary Education* (London: Palgrave, 1988); Noelle Phillips, “‘Texts with Trousers’: Editing and the Elite Chaucer,” *Review of English Studies* 61 (2010): 331–59.

era itself. However, medievalism as a mediating layer of cultural information has been largely invisible in mainstream academic scholarship until relatively recently. Medieval scholars before the late twentieth century generally did not formally study how postmedieval societies construed the Middle Ages, focusing instead on the Middle Ages themselves, and scholars studying later periods were not particularly interested in how the concept of “medieval” was deployed in postmedieval eras. Leslie Workman is the scholar most often credited with directing formal academic focus to the study of medievalism. In the 1970s, Workman was a young historian teaching undergraduate history courses. The more time he spent introducing medieval history to his young students, the more he realized how much the contemporary understanding of the period—and therefore the general sense of “medieval” overall—was shaped by nineteenth-century historians.¹¹ In pursuit of this realization, he organized a session at the Tenth International Congress on Medieval Studies in Kalamazoo, Michigan, titled “The Idea of the Middle Ages in the Modern World.” With Alice Kenney, one of his cohorts on that panel, he planned more conference sessions over the following year, and launched the academic journal *Studies in Medievalism* in 1979. In his editorial preface to that first issue, Workman proposed a working definition of medievalism that became a cornerstone of this newly recognized field:

Studies in Medievalism is concerned with [...] the study of scholarship which has created the Middle Ages we know, ideas and models derived from the Middle Ages, and the relations between them. In terms of these things medievalism could only begin, not simply when the Middle Ages had ended [...] but when the Middle Ages were perceived to have been something in the past, something it was necessary to revive or desirable to imitate.¹²

Workman’s articulation of medievalism highlights a key feature that remains central to the study of medievalism today: the notion of difference that at once separates and links. Medievalism could not exist until “medieval” as a category existed—until “medieval” was different from “now.” “Medieval” offers a point of reference and a contrast to “now,” whenever that “now” exists. At the same time, “medieval” can also represent an originary space, a time before the changes that transformed the Middle Ages into modern culture. While “medieval” must always mean different, sometimes that difference is one that symbolizes an earlier version of ourselves or our society, a version that is simpler and purer and easier to digest. In a strange form of nostalgia, we want to touch, recreate, and experience this past that is at once drastically different from our present and the ultimate source of it. The academic study of medievalism thus requires a somewhat uncomfortable level of self-awareness, since we are constantly reliant upon and working with postmedieval interpretations and reconstructions of whatever the “true” medieval was.

Workman and Kenney ardently toiled at dragging the concept of medievalism into academic visibility. They called themselves “not only enthusiasts, but crusaders,” thus visualizing themselves as conquering knights and (perhaps ironically) deploying the nostalgic

11 Verduin, “The Founding and the Founder,” 6.

12 Leslie Workman, “Preface,” *Studies in Medievalism* 1 (1979): 1–3 (1).

imaginary that medievalism itself interrogates.¹³ Workman refined his understanding of medievalism during these years, moving beyond the observation that earlier scholars had shaped historical interpretation, and emphasizing the power of historical representation itself upon the expression of sociocultural values. In a 1978 memo—in the midst of conference sessions being organized and the journal being launched—Workman defined medievalism as “the post-medieval study of the Middle Ages and the use of that study in a variety of contexts.”¹⁴ He stated it even more strongly in the eighth issue of *Studies in Medievalism*: “Medieval historiography, the study of the successive recreation of the Middle Ages by different generations, *is* the Middle Ages. And this of course is medievalism.”¹⁵ In other words, one could reasonably understand medievalism as beginning from the moment in which a writer, reader, or editor (the fifteenth-century printer William Caxton and his prefaces come to mind) presented the Middle Ages as a time separate from their own—a separation built into the very terms “Middle Ages” and “medieval.” The academic study of this field can therefore embrace cultural productions as old as Caxton or as recent as the Naughty Hildegard label or the newest *Thor* blockbuster.

I have paid particular attention to Workman because of the extent to which his ideas informed later academic attitudes to medievalism and were conditioned by wider academic discourses at the time. Workman’s definition of medievalism, for example, aligns with Hayden White’s influential work on historiography in the 1970s and 1980s. In his book *The Content of the Form*, White emphasizes that the imposition of narrative on historical events—historiography itself—moralizes those events and creates history; history cannot be disentangled from how we narrate it.¹⁶ Although medievalism and historiography are not the same thing, medievalism nonetheless contributes to the interpretation of history. Indeed, medievalism has been an invisible influence shaping even scholarly understandings of the Middle Ages. In his consideration of both Workman and White, Diebold insists that we must question the “hierarchy of creation over reception” when exploring medievalism, and goes so far as to suggest that the representation of the Middle Ages (medievalism) is all we have; there is no true medieval.¹⁷ Other scholars deploy the term “neomedievalism” to distinguish between those representations of the Middle Ages that attempt to recover some sort of reality, and those that consciously reject such representation in favour of a medievalism based upon temporal and cultural play.¹⁸ Richard Utz connects such “play” to Jean Baudrillard’s idea of the simulacra, noting that medievalism entails the “creat(ion) of pseudo-medieval worlds that playfully obliterate

13 Verduin, “The Founding and the Founder,” 7.

14 Cited in Diebold, “Medievalism,” 249.

15 Leslie Workman, “Preface,” *Studies in Medievalism* 8 (1996): 1–3 (1).

16 Hayden White, *The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987), 1–26.

17 Diebold, “Medievalism,” 249.

18 See the 2010 issue of *Studies in Medievalism* (vol. 19) for a collection of essays focused upon neomedievalism. While I occasionally use the term in this book, I hesitate to claim there is a clear

history [...] with a simulacra of the medieval, employing images that are neither an original nor the copy of an original, but altogether ‘Neo.’”¹⁹ Many pop culture medievalisms, such as video games, the Medieval Times stage show, and Disney films, are more closely aligned with what Utz describes than with historical representations of the Middle Ages (which are still forms of medievalism, as stated earlier). These playful ‘neo’ versions of the medieval offer an emotional experience; they allow us to conceive of the Middle Ages as a time of reassuring simplicity.

This is especially powerful in our current sociopolitical climate, as we see increasing resistance to dissolving boundaries that we have long taken for granted, such as gender identity, gender roles, sexual orientation, and the function and definition of marriage. Pop culture medievalisms give us reassuring Caucasian versions of masculine men and feminine women, nuclear heterosexual families, and easily distinguished heroes and villains. As Amy Kaufman argues, this form of neomedievalism erases difference and distinction (from among decades, centuries, cultures, countries, experiences) of the historical Middle Ages and isolates and combines elements into one “essentialized incarnation of the Western imagination.”²⁰ I describe this phenomenon in [Chapter 6](#) as “white medievalism.” White medievalism allows us to see the Middle Ages as a Platonic form—a pure, original version of nascent Western culture, characterized by assumed yet unspoken whiteness. On the other side of this unspoken whiteness, of course, is medievalism’s racialized (often in the form of orientalism) representation of nonwhite people or activities.

Finally, in pop culture medievalism’s essentializing of the Middle Ages we also often see the era reduced to a space of aggression that can be framed in a range of ways—as frightening, admirable, or funny. This aggression is sometimes cast in positive terms (chivalry, skill, duels, manly men), while in other cases “medieval” becomes synonymous with the brutal and the primal, as suggested earlier. Even when the medieval is romanticized, it is conceptually energized by its ever-present potential to collapse into violence. In some representations that violence is parodied or “gamified,” but the power of the parodic inheres in its reliance upon that initial presence of extreme violence—perhaps so extreme we refuse to take it seriously.²¹ The conflation of aggression and masculinity in medievalism’s construction of the Middle Ages often emerges alongside its narratives of whiteness and heroism, as [Chapter 6](#) explores in more detail.

hermeneutic line drawn between medievalism and neomedievalism, and therefore I do not assume that these two categories are always distinct.

19 Utz, “A Moveable Feast,” v.

20 Kaufman, “Medieval Unmoored,” 8.

21 See just one example of violence made mild and palatable via gamification here: Paul Darvasi, “How Schools Spark Excitement for Learning with Role Playing and Games,” *Mindshift, KQED News*, February 20, 2019. www.kqed.org/mindshift/53071/how-schools-spark-excitement-for-learning-with-role-playing-games. Last accessed July 17, 2019.

Medievalism through the Ages

While medievalism has always been premised upon marking the boundary between the medieval and the current moment, it manifests differently across the centuries, from the mid-sixteenth century until today. Before proceeding to a discussion of the place of beer in medievalism, this chapter briefly elaborates on the various ways in which medievalism has emerged since “medieval” became the past.²² Because this book in general focuses upon the way in which Canadian and American society tends to see the Western European—and in particular British—Middle Ages as emblematic of “the medieval,” the following discussion of medievalism primarily engages with British medievalisms. For similar reasons, and in the interests of space constraints, [Chapter 2](#) primarily engages with British medieval texts. I have no doubt that additional insights will be, and have been, generated by others; work on non-European and non-“Western” medievalism and medieval histories will certainly enrich my limited discussion here.

David Matthews is one of many scholars who have highlighted the significance of the term “middle” in our interpretation of what the Middle Ages was—and is. Matthews points out that “the ‘middleness’ of the Middle Ages could [...] only become evident when the period itself could be thought of as completed.”²³ Correspondingly, medievalism itself could not emerge before the Middle Ages became “middle”; because of the complexity inherent in separating one era from another, there is no single clear point at which medievalism as a cultural practice (not the scholarly study) begins. Stephanie Trigg suggests that incipient medievalism was evident at the end of the Middle Ages with Thomas Malory’s *Le Morte Darthur*. Malory’s *Morte* is, she argues, a nostalgic fantasy of an earlier medieval England that never really existed—a version that has come to encapsulate one of the many Middle Ages that live in the modern imagination.²⁴ Mike Rodman Jones has identified the Elizabethan era as a key moment in the development of medievalism, as writers such as Shakespeare and John Foxe turned the medieval past into a source of fairy tales or childish naïveté.²⁵ Foxe’s 1570 *Actes and Monuments* referred to the “middle age” of the Church, thus suggesting that the Church had since advanced in understanding and reason, but also evoking the idea of “middleness.” Similarly, records from 1469 in Rome reveal the use of the phrase “media tempestas,” or “middle time.”²⁶ Although there is no clear date that we can identify for marking the end of the Middle Ages and the beginning of the medievalism that attempts to recover or reproduce it, the 100 years spanning the late fifteenth to the late sixteenth centuries appear to be when the transition occurs.

22 Given the vast breadth of this field, however, the discussion here is of necessity limited and introductory. For a far more comprehensive interrogation of medievalism, I direct readers to David Matthews’ *Medievalism: A Critical History* and the 2016 collection *A Cambridge Companion to Medievalism*, edited by Louise D’Arcens.

23 Matthews, *Medievalism*, 32.

24 Stephanie Trigg, “Medievalism and Theories of Temporality,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Medievalism*, ed. Louise D’Arcens (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 196–209 (204).

25 Jones, “Early Modern Medievalism,” 93–100.

26 Matthews, *Medievalism*, 20.

One might argue that fifteenth- and sixteenth-century literary engagements with Chaucer—that “auncient” medieval author—are a key example of the early emergence of medievalism. Through his construction as a literary father by late medieval writers such as Hoccleve and Lydgate, Chaucer was seen as an origin point for English literature and culture, coming metonymically to represent the Middle Ages to the next generation of writers and editors. Megan Cook explores how in Robert Greene’s late sixteenth-century account, his dream visitations from Chaucer and Gower embody at once the authority conferred by the past and an “ambivalent nostalgia” about that past.²⁷ In his late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century editions of Geoffrey Chaucer’s works, Thomas Speght prefaced the text with Speed’s full-page illustration of “The Progenie of Geffrey Chaucer” that cast Chaucer as a paternal origin, both literally and symbolically.²⁸ Speght’s editions were the first to refer to Chaucer as “Antient” and “Learned,” and Speght’s prefatory material and textual inclusions also constructed Chaucer as not only an *auctor* like Homer or Virgil, but as a literary courtier—a figure to be respected in Speght’s time.²⁹ Since Chaucer, as Speght’s 1598 preface states, was from “most vnlearned times and greatest ignorance” compared to the seventeenth century “wherein Learning and riper iudgement so much flourisheth,”³⁰ there was anxiety regarding how his medieval origins could be reconciled with his high literary status.³¹ For this reason, Speght’s editions of 1598 and 1602 reinforce Chaucer’s courtly associations, to the extent that he presented Chaucer’s family tree in such a way that aligned Chaucer’s nonaristocratic lineage with the aristocracy. The medieval Chaucer therefore became the figurative root of contemporary nobility, and the reproduction of his oeuvre in the form of printed collections attempts to recover a “complete” Chaucer, a Chaucer whose legacy was fully visible once he was relegated to a past time.

Due in part to these late medieval and early modern adaptations, Chaucer became one of the medieval icons, alongside Gawain and Arthur, around whom later notions of the Middle Ages developed. Late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century artists, writers, and readers, such as Walter Scott, the bibliophiles of the Roxburghe Club, and the pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, dabbled in reproductions of medieval texts and medieval figures for decades before would-be scholars turned the Middle Ages into a subject of academic inquiry in the late nineteenth century. The renewed interest in a romantic Middle Ages at this time may have been, in part at least, a response to the developing fields of scientific inquiry; medievalism had a visual and moral appeal that science

27 Megan Cook, “Nostalgic Temporalities in Greenes Vision,” *Parergon* 33 (2016): 39–56 (43).

28 I refer readers to Megan Cook’s recent discussion of this portrait in her book *The Poet and the Antiquaries: Chaucerian Scholarship and the Rise of Literary History, 1532–1635* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2019), 36–38.

29 Derek Pearsall, “Thomas Speght,” in *Editing Chaucer: The Great Tradition*, ed. Paul Ruggiers (Norman: Pilgrim, 1984), 71–92 (75).

30 Thomas Speght, *The workes of our antient and learned English poet, Geffrey Chaucer*. 1598. STC 5079. *Early English Books Online*.

31 Tim Machan, “Speght’s ‘Works’ and the Invention of Chaucer,” *Text* 8 (1995): 145–70 (159).