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# Not Just Sex That Sells: Religious Rhetoric and References in Contemporary Beer Branding

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*Abstract:* Although explicit references to religion are rare in the marketplace, pictorial representations and rhetoric evocative of religious figures and concepts manifest a unique strategy in contemporary American beer branding. By reflecting societal views, prejudices, and preferences, advertising provides an enclosed narrative of how people think and in turn illustrates the way in which society is structured. This phenomenon discredits the assumption of a strict separation between the secular and the sacred. Beers with religious connotations do not monopolize the market but they do constitute a significant phenomenon in the modern beer industry. Religious references in beer branding often participate in the commodified authentic and cultivate an image of a nostalgic past through idyllic portrayals of monastic brewing. Alternately, beer branding via religion may employ irreverent, blasphemous, or offensive representations. Both the idealized and the indicting representations acknowledge a disparity between the real and the ideal in society. Alcohol's association with Bacchanalian abandonment of social strictures enables recognition of the contradictions in the professed social order. Yet, in *Constructive Drinking*, Mary Douglas identifies "drinking as a medium for constructing the actual world"<sup>1</sup> and an exercise in asserting a society's classificatory schema. The promotional material for beer vividly illustrates the way in which alcohol dually serves to shatter and renew the system and social order. Scrutiny of the two poles of religious representations described reveals that both reassert a hierarchy of humanity and regenerate the reigning social order despite popular recognition of its inconsistencies and its flaws.

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<sup>1</sup> Douglas, *Constructive Drinking*, 9.

## Not Just Sex that Sells: Religious Rhetoric and References in Contemporary Beer Branding

*drinking customs, running from the sacred to the profane, from silly to serious, have long reflected our values, our beliefs, and the trends in our societies. Beer is as old as civilization*<sup>2</sup>

As a marketed commodity, beer uses advertising to influence consumers' beliefs. Branding aims to bolster the individual's opinion of a beer. In the United States, most beer is purchased in bottles. A large percentage of the cost of a bottle of beer is invested in marketing and promotion.<sup>3</sup> Bamforth and other researchers have also found individuals' professed preferences for Budweiser, Miller, or Coors are determined more by their product perceptions based on labeling than by discernible differences in taste. Similarly, Bamforth's foam perception studies illustrate that an individual's evaluation of a beer is not dependent upon his or her palate: "[p]eople drink with their eyes."<sup>4</sup> Because the techniques employed in beer branding are so influential in determining consumer behavior and attitude, they warrant academic attention.

Aside from advertisements borrowing transcendent imagery in order to imbue "an object with an aura of sacramentality"<sup>5</sup> to persuade the potential consumer, the domain of religion seems wholly separate from that of the marketplace. Seemingly, "most marketers realize they wouldn't have a prayer if they made overt religious references in their advertising."<sup>6</sup> Like the separation of Church and State, the rituals and taboos of American capitalism seem to necessitate a separation of commerce and church. Mary Douglas's statement that modern rituals "create[s] a lot of little sub-worlds, unrelated"<sup>7</sup> suggests that religion in the marketplace would be "matter out of place" within the presiding conceptualization of purity and pollution. Yet incidents of religious iconography and symbolism in beer branding surface: Buddha's Brew, Rye-Zen-Shine, True Believer Tripel, Purgatory Pilsner, Herkules IPA, and A Mash Made in Heaven are all brews that are currently marketed. Such branding infers that alternate motives motivate these depictions beyond mere appropriation of religious rhetoric.

For European beers, one may conjecture that this phenomenon derives from a historical connection: many once religious breweries that were later secularized may retain traditional nomenclature in order to cultivate an affiliation with local history and retain branding consistency. However, the use of religious iconography also emerges in the United States despite a lack of monastic history. Many denominations that arose in the United States ban or hold significantly negative attitudes toward alcohol. This attitudinal orientation in Mormonism, the Seventh Day Adventist Church, and Christian Science makes connections to Christian imagery and rhetoric in contemporary American beer branding seem perplexing. To investigate the underlying reasons for these allusions requires perceiving how they are developed and portrayed.

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<sup>2</sup> Protz, Roger. "Drinking Customs." Ed. Oliver, Garrett. *The Oxford Companion to Beer* (New York: Oxford UP, 2012), 299-302. 299.

<sup>3</sup> Bamforth, Charles. *Beer Is Proof God Loves Us: Reaching for the Soul of Beer and Brewing* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: FT Press, 2011), 22.

Bamforth, Charles. *Beer: Tap Into the Art and Science of Brewing* (New York: Plenum, 1998), 5-6.

<sup>4</sup> Bamforth, Charles. *Beer Is Proof God Loves Us: Reaching for the Soul of Beer and Brewing* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: FT Press, 2011), 72.

<sup>5</sup> Sheffield, Tricia. *The Religious Dimensions of Advertising* (New York: Palgrave-Macmillan, 2006), 3.

<sup>6</sup> Kryhul, Angela. "Hold the Angels: Despite an Increased Interest in the Supreme Being, Overtly Religious Ads Don't Have a Prayer." *Marketing Magazine* 105.9 (Mar 2000): 9.

<sup>7</sup> Douglas, Mary. *Purity and Danger* (New York: Routledge, 2002. Rpt. 1966), 85.

Invocations of religious references in beer branding frequently entail mythologizing intimations of the past. As an antithesis, beer branding may also project an irreverent portrayal. From the premise that advertising reflects societal values and dynamics, one may infer that these images convey societal attitudes about religion just as advertisements reflect social conceptualizations of gender roles. Religious allusions in beer branding delineate an understanding of society, its past, its place, and its future. Two different motifs emerge regarding Christian religious references, which are particularly prevalent in beer branding. Discerning the import of these motifs requires consultation of the allusions developed in beer branding as well as brewing history and food theory. In *Constructive Drinking*, Douglas declares “drinks [in addition to serving as temporal markers] perform the other task of ritual. They make an intelligible, bearable world which is much more how an ideal world should be.”<sup>8</sup> Each perspective exhibits dissatisfied sentiments regarding the social order but similarly reveal an impetus to emulate and venerate positions of status; these expressions do not appear to culminate in an overthrow of the existent social structure. The imagery in this promotional material—in both satirized and romanticized depictions—reasserts a hierarchy of humanity.

### **Happy Hour, Miller Time: Contextualizing Beer in Social Symbology and Food Theory**

Compounded with probing of how advertising reveals underlying social attitudes, a preliminary but cursory evaluation of alcohol’s relationship in society assists one’s understanding of the tenets conveyed via the food item, alcohol. Rather than being a passive participant in biological mechanisms, food signals a message towards the world. Mary Douglas states that food symbols function on a higher plane than those from other categories (such as dress) that can serve as signifiers of social structure. Because it is digestible, food is not simply a metaphor but can represent an actual transference of one thing’s properties to fundamentally change the state of the individual. Other scholars have agreed with this understanding. Michael Dietler further elaborates upon “the transformative process of ingestion into the human body. Hence, it [food] has an unusually close relationship to the person and to both the inculcation and the symbolization of concepts of identity and difference in the constructions of the self.”<sup>9</sup> Roland Barthes also conveys this point in “Toward a Psychosociology of Contemporary Food Consumption,”<sup>10</sup> in which he shows how, within a cultural context, “superabundant [food] substances are also institutions. And these institutions necessarily imply a set of images, dreams, tastes, choices, and values [...] Sugar is a time, a category of the world.”<sup>11</sup>

In this way, food performs a preparatory role in “‘if-then’ entailments.”<sup>12</sup> From the presence of food (sugar), one can infer the social expectations in the setting. “Miller Time” and “Happy Hour” provide particular temporal guidelines that instruct an individual’s response and behavior; alcohol decodes and promotes the expectations and purpose of the setting. Joseph Gusfield presents a theory of alcohol’s message in modernized, industrial society. Alcohol is associated with ‘play’ [the spontaneous activity during ‘leisure’ time] which is starkly segregated

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<sup>8</sup> Ed. Douglas, Mary. *Constructive Drinking: Perspectives on Drink from Anthropology* (New York: Cambridge, UP 1989), 11.

<sup>9</sup> Dietler, Michael. “Alcohol: Anthropological/Archaeological Perspectives.” *Annual Review of Anthropology* 35 (2006): 229-249. Web. Accessed 3 June 2013. JSTOR, 232.

<sup>10</sup> Barthes, Roland. “Toward a Psychosociology of Contemporary Food Consumption.” *Food and Drink In History: Selections from the Annales of Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 5. Ed. Robert Forster and Orest Ranum. Trans. Elborg Forster and Patricia M. Ranum (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979): 166-173.

<sup>11</sup> Barthes, 167.

<sup>12</sup> Douglas, Mary, “Standard Social Uses of Food: Introduction, 1-39. Ed. Douglas, Mary. *Food as Social Order* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1984), 22.

from settings of ‘work’ today.<sup>13</sup> The end of the workday corresponds with a change in mood and a transition into modes of comportment different from work behavior. Alcohol serves as a “social lubricant” fosters social solidarity and cohesion.

Contemporaneously, alcohol allows individuals to say what they think: *in vino veritas*—Bacchus and Bacchanalian rituals typify alcohol’s common connection with relaxed social conventions—yet Mary Douglas points out that the “social order cannot stand too much *veritas*.”<sup>14</sup> Acceptance of alcohol in many societies may be ascribed to the malleability of its effects. Compared to the pharmacological effects of entheogens and other psychoactive substances, alcohol intoxication upon consumers seems to be more subject to manipulation by psychosocial forces than intoxication via other substances. The pharmacological effects of ethanol are not strictly biological but partially depend on specific cultural understandings of drunken comportment: that is, what people do/how people act when intoxicated.<sup>15</sup> Alcohol is socially sanctioned because its effects are more pliable to cultural prescriptions and proscriptions for drunken comportment and consequently more compliant/amenable to existent social order. Other psychoactive substances are more unpredictable and uncontrollable and thus present a greater threat to the social order; alcohol and allowed deviance from the social order enables the social order to remain otherwise stable and continuous. Alcohol consumption provides the freedom to deviate from the abiding social structure in a way that is still socially acceptable.

### **The Nostalgic Past: Idealization in the Commodified Authentic**

In accordance with the high incidence of vivid visual imagery within nostalgic past advertising,<sup>16</sup> references to saints, monks, and other religious figures or concepts often paint idyllic images of a bygone era. Tasting books such as *Heavenly Beer: A Taster’s Guide to Monastery Tradition Ales and Lagers* appeal to this type of nostalgia.<sup>17</sup> In *Yearning for Yesterday: A Sociology of Nostalgia*, Fred Davis illustrates how nostalgic images of the past characterize particular views of the present.<sup>18</sup> Romanticized images of the past demonstrate dissatisfaction with modernity. Nostalgia “juxtaposes the uncertainties and anxieties of the present with presumed verities and comforts of the lived past.”<sup>19</sup> Invocations of the nostalgic past frequently dwell upon early associations between religion and beer. Ninkasi, the Sumerian goddess affiliated with beer brewing, has inspired the nomenclature of a brewery from Oregon owned by women. Historical Belgian custom to name strong ales after the devil and tripels after saints inspired the name “Saint Satan” which was drawn from these conventions. Several breweries market a seasonal beer described as a traditional Lenten beer, and the “Craft Brewing Company” in California prominently features a monk on each of their labels. These connections may be overlooked as sheerly incidental: religion is incorporated into beer branding because there *is* an intrinsic link historically. The religious rituals of the Sumerians, Babylonians, and

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<sup>13</sup> Gusfield, Joseph R. “Passage to Play: Rituals of Drinking Time in American Society,” *Constructive Drinking*, 73-90.

<sup>14</sup> Douglas, *Purity and Danger*, 83.

<sup>15</sup> Health, *Constructive Drinking* 28-40.

<sup>16</sup> Muehling, Darrel D. And Sprott, David E. “The Power of Reflection: An Empirical Examination of Nostalgia Advertising.” *Journal of Advertising* 33.3 (2004): 107-122. 111. Web. Accessed 25 June 2013.

<sup>17</sup> Protz, Roger. *Heavenly Beer: A Taster’s Guide to Monastery Tradition Ales and Lagers* (London: Carroll & Brown Limited, 2002).

<sup>18</sup> Davis, Fred. *Yearning for Yesterday: A Sociology of Nostalgia* (New York: Free Press, 1979).

<sup>19</sup> Davis, 141.

Egyptians and “the longstanding tradition of monasteries as centers of beer production”<sup>20</sup> all offer interesting stories to pique consumer interest (a boon in advertising) and serve as fruitful fodder for linking one’s product with quality. But this dismissal undermines the significance embedded within the representations and their link to history, the product, and the consumer.

Branding that invokes “St. Something” insinuates fastidious attention and heedfulness which culminates in a superior product. In her discussion of the Benedictine motto *ora et labora* (‘Pray and work’), Deborah Vess succinctly encapsulates the modern perceived connection between quality control and monastic care. “[W]ork is a form of prayer, so Benedictines treat everything as if it were Christ himself. Whatever one touched should be transformed into a holy vessel for God’s work.”<sup>21</sup> The imagery of medieval monasteries thus evokes a powerful, effective, and motivating message. This narrative of monastic craftsmanship does hold some validity. Monastic life freed its members from some of the stressors of medieval life such as food insecurity, pursuit of personal property, and individual obligations to reigning leaders. Ability to devote time to brewing, greater security in maintaining adequate supplies, and a subsequent higher capacity to experiment with brewing techniques and recipes made monasteries well-renowned for their brews compared to those produced by their non-monastic contemporaries. Even the unreligious or the apathetically religious may reflect upon the monks as those who invested their product with devotion and care that was consistent with their preoccupation with Higher Things.

Religious references in branding implicitly assert the transcendence of these brews above the overly-industrialized yields of mass-producing breweries. These allusions to religious brewing correspond with a narrative abasing the industrialization of beer in subsequent periods of history. These quality-evaluations juxtapose the “self-product” from the “Other-product”: the beer distributed by “big *beer*hemoths.”<sup>22</sup> The rhetoric sets up an antagonistic dichotomy of the “Corporate Pig-Dogs vs. Enlightened Beer Drinkers.”<sup>23</sup> Branding that invokes the nostalgic past makes monastic origin equivalent with brewing acme. The large national breweries’ beer that holds significant shares of the market is implicitly represented as inferior product manufactured for profit rather than deriving from a passionate objective to express craftsmanship. References to beer’s religious heritage goes back to a period before “the ‘big guys,’ who seem to be, for some folks, *the devil incarnate*.”<sup>24</sup> The takeover of brewing by entrepreneurial spirits in the succeeding ages of ale houses, saloons, and taverns is associated with greater amounts of additives, adjuncts, and adulterants added to beers. The dichotomous depiction of the beer industry (dividing breweries along lines of “big” and “micro”) asserts an identification of capitalism’s preoccupation with profit. Whereas ‘big beer’ concerns itself with profit, microbreweries devote themselves to craftsmanship. Since larger breweries cater to a wider audience, they are also less likely to invoke explicit religious references and more likely to “play it safe” with more conventional branding techniques, so religious allusions are used to differentiate from big beer. Moreover, depictions of medieval Europe, an exemplar of hierarchical status politics, insinuate that it is ‘natural’ to have individuals to look up to (and for

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<sup>20</sup> Dietler, Michael. “Alcohol: Anthropological/Archaeological Perspectives.” *Annual Review of Anthropology* 35 (2006): 229-249. Web. Accessed 3 June 2013. JSTOR. 241.

<sup>21</sup> Vess, Deborah, “Monastic Moonshine: Alcohol in the Middle Ages,” Ed. Robinson, CK. *Religion and Alcohol: Sobering Thoughts* (New York: Peter Lang, 2004), 152-153.

<sup>22</sup> O’Brien, Christopher Mark. *Fermenting Revolution: How to Drink Beer and Save the World* (Gabriola Island: New Society, 2006), 82.

<sup>23</sup> O’Brien, 108.

<sup>24</sup> Bamforth, C. *Beer is Proof God Loves Us*, 63.

them to be wealthier and more well versed than one's self, who desires to emulate them). Consistent with other endeavors to define one's self and one's inclusion in a group based on food consumption, the imbibement of nostalgia-inducing beers differentiates the self from the "Other" who consumes mass-produced beer. Here, one aligns one's self with quality. Advertising implies that the products' attributes transfer to the consumer, and thus drinking quality beverages signals taste and membership in a prestigious group of connoisseurs and gastronomes. The nostalgic past portrays religious figures (monks particularly) as knowledgeable informants to consult; their opinion is esteemed in determining which beverages are more gourmet. The process of obtaining Westvleteren XII, one of the most esteemed and sought beers in the world, through the brewery's highly regulated phone lottery system and vehicle verification during pick up furthers an elitist dimension in contemporary beer branding. To imbibe superior beer is to elevate one's status in the hierarchy of humanity and the echelons of the craft beer movement.

Utilization of the nostalgic past frequently incorporates instructions regarding correct consumption of the beer purchased. Many beers that market themselves by quality include a recommended serving temperature on their labels. Other beers may not have a label that is prominently featured: bottles of Westvleteren XII do not have a label at all, and many brewery websites picture their beer in appropriate glassware. Branding by *not* branding asserts a defiant opposition to modernized means of selling products primarily through persuasive advertising. Contrasted with the prominence of bottle labeling in many depictions, an unidentifiable beer in a bottle proclaims that the beer's taste is superior. This message is particularly poignant for craft beer enthusiasts who disdain drinking from the bottle as an inferior experience; thus, to present the product in appropriate glassware is to assert that one is knowledgeable and proficient in beer brewing.

The development of the Trappist appellation, indicative of a beer's origin, also exemplifies this nostalgic technique. The label 'Authentic Trappist Product' becomes exclusionary and thus bespeaks for a possession of quality beyond that attained by other beers. The Trappist appellation seemingly appears to restrict abuse of nostalgic past, but it develops a link between the current product and tradition that is not entirely accurate. Outka and Jhally also explore the phenomenon of commodifying "traditional" brewing practices and the relationship between the commodified product and authenticity.<sup>25</sup> Contemporary Trappist brewing recipes differ from traditional medieval recipes. Achel, for instance, has a higher alcohol content than medieval Trappist beers. This divergence reveals a tension with the historical past and the breweries' propagation of a nostalgic image that, while not accurate, fulfills the purposes of the brewery.

As with all nostalgia, this propagation of the nostalgic past is selective in its memory. Branding dependent upon the nostalgic past may wander into the realm of fabrication in order to present a more compelling narrative. The popularity of the inaccurate English IPA origin story<sup>26</sup> exemplifies the persuasiveness of mythologizing. Romanticized representations of religiosity ignore contemporary political strife and also overlook bureaucratic elements of monastic life: centralized structure; bulls, statutes, and ordinances; and standardized mandates and

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<sup>25</sup> Outka, Elizabeth. *Consuming Traditions: Modernity, Modernism, and the Commodified Authentic* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2009).

Jhally, Sut. *The Spectacle of Accumulation: Essays in Culture, Media, and Politics* (New York: P. Lang, 2006).

<sup>26</sup> Jones, Kendall. "Happy IPA Day! Here's a Blast from the Past." *Washington Beer Blog*. Web. Published 1 Aug 2013. Accessed 1 Aug 2013.

Brown, Pete. "India Pale Ale" Ed. Oliver, Garrett. *The Oxford Companion to Beer* (New York: Oxford UP, 2012), 482-486.

prescriptions for individuals' behavior.<sup>27</sup> Nostalgic allusions to monasteries deny the corporate and corporeal aspects of medieval monastic realities, especially the scabrous aspects. As articulated by Henry Taylor in *The Medieval Mind*, “[p]ractice always drops below the ethical standards of a period.”<sup>28</sup> Elements of the rapacious, profiteering medieval Church are excluded from the accounts insinuated by beer branding.

One of the more remarkable outlying aspects of this marketing technique is its neglect of the monastic attitude towards beer. The Rule of Benedict, written in the sixth century, provides general guidelines for the operation and management of monastic communities. Chapter 31 (“What Kind of Man the Cellarer of the Monastery Should Be”) bespeaks to the importance of the position and its duties within the monastic life. However, later chapters reveal that beer was often accepted only as an *inferior* drink to wine and was drunken in its stead *primarily* in its absence. Chapter 40 (“On the Measure of Drink”) in the Rule of Benedict explains that monks would ideally abstain from wine altogether but allows for limited consumption:

wine is by no means a drink for monastics;  
but since the monastics of our day cannot be persuaded of this  
let us at least agree to drink sparingly and not to satiety,  
because ‘wine makes even the wise fall away’ (Eccles. 19:2).<sup>29</sup>

Corroborated by other sources such as monastic histories, this chapter reveals that medieval monks demonstrated a consumptive preference for wine: beer was rather a beverage to be consumed begrudgingly if wine was not available. This beverage preference is consistent with food's function as a signifier of status and membership in the community. Wine was affiliated with wealthy individuals, and this beverage preference amongst monks (many of whom were drawn from the nobility) demonstrated their desire to be continually associated with the class of their birth.

This explanation does not appear to be widely utilized, a trend that attests to Douglas' observation that “[c]omparative religion has always been bedeviled by medical materialism.”<sup>30</sup> Likewise, the materialist explanation for high rates of beer consumption during the medieval period [tells about modernity] while fallaciously attributing materialist explanations for historical incidents and preferences. Many scholars assert that medieval beer drinking emerged because water was unhygienic and likely threatened disease such as typhus and cholera. Although lacking scientific accounts for *why*, medieval people are credited with noting the pathological risks of water consumption were negating when it was brewed into beer. Due to boiling, which kills germs, beer was immune to spreading these contagions and thus was deemed safe to drink. However, other reports of water's use in beverages discredits this narrative. Breweries at the time often expressed particular interest in obtaining supplies of *clean* water.<sup>31</sup> Thus, even if medieval society did not have knowledge of pathogenicity and the causative agents (bacteriological contaminants in water) inducing sickness and death, they had enough sense and empirical observation to deduce that “dirty” water—deemed by proximity to industrialized villages or businesses dumping its waste, characteristics of cloudiness, rather than in quantitative measurements of *ppm* of germs and bacteria—was to be avoided. Water was often used to dilute

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<sup>27</sup> Lawrence, 156.

<sup>28</sup> Taylor, Henry Osborn. *The Medieval Mind: A History of the Development of Thought and Emotion in the Middle Ages*. Fourth Edition (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1959), 369.

<sup>29</sup> *Regula Benedicti (RB)*. Web. Accessed 11 June 2013.

<sup>30</sup> Douglas, Mary. *Purity and Danger* 36.

<sup>31</sup> Unger, *Beer in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 5.



(or ‘baptise’) wine even amongst the highest echelons of society. ‘Diluting’ was hence not a means of being frugal or prolonging the supplies.<sup>32</sup> Other sources describe other monastic practices including water consumption. Carthusians consumed ‘bread and water’ on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays<sup>33</sup> and Irish St. Servanus’ mid-fifth century text is known to say ‘For drink they [that is, the monks] shall have plain water and sometimes mixed with milk, since wine and beer will be unknown to them.’<sup>34</sup> Medieval penitentials also often mandated a diet of bread and water,<sup>35</sup> which demonstrates that water was still consumed by itself, but in a manner that lowered the status of the drinker. This explanation also reflects a different understanding of water in modernity. Water purity was likely not as significant of an issue until later industrialization, just as it would not have been an issue for the Puritans when they came to America, although they insisted upon building a brewery soon after arrival that corroborates how entrenched individuals are within the taste preferences of a cultural context.

Drinking beer *rather than water* instead expresses a particular status. In the medieval period, beer was, roughly, a sign of prestige — a statement that conveyed one earned enough income and could afford the nutritional benefits of beer and did not *have* to drink water. The constituents in beer including “B vitamins, magnesium, potassium, folic acid, selenium, and polyphenols (a potent and common class of antioxidants)”<sup>36</sup> evidence the nutritional value of beer and its ability to sustain individuals. In medieval Europe, having grass was a status symbol (for only the truly rich could afford to have land that was not in production for food); similarly, being able to drink beer expressed that one was not poor. The poor agricultural yields of the medieval period further substantiate this hypothesis. The ability to enhance water by brewing shows one’s ability to afford this treatment, for the ingredients for brewing may have been difficult to obtain. The lowest peasants likely were not able to afford or keep the necessary supplies for brewing, especially after tithing and taxation relieved them of a significant portion of their produce. Beer in the medieval period may be likened to the contemporary prevalence of soft drinks, fruit juices, water flavorings, and even bottled water. Although the implied social norm has lessened due to individual agency instituting attitudinal changes, water (especially tap water) is often still considered inferior. The ability to transcend tap water expresses individuals’ surpassing of a certain socioeconomic threshold wherein they can afford drinking behavior that posits water as *beneath* them. This hypothesis demonstrates one of the misleading messages presented by the commodified authentic. This understanding is not commonly reached within scholarly or popular discourse but should be acknowledged as a poignant disparity between the real and the ideal regarding beer’s history and the contemporary connection drawn through the church.

Notably, the majority of the omissions in the nostalgic presentation of medieval monks are the aspects that seem most similar to modern society: bureaucracy, ordinances, and political strife. Davis succinctly describes how images of nostalgia signify dissatisfaction with one’s present circumstance:

nostalgia’s special relationship to the past has to do with the relatively sharp contrast that the experience casts on present circumstances and conditions, which, compared to the

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<sup>32</sup> Martin, A. Lynn. “The Baptism of Wine.” *Gastronomica* Fall 2003 3.4 (21-31).

<sup>33</sup> Lawrence, C.H. *Medieval Monasticism: Forms of Religious Life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages* (London: Longman, 1984), 135.

<sup>34</sup> Nelson, Max. *The Barbarian’s Beverage: A History of Beer in Ancient Europe* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 93.

<sup>35</sup> Martin.

<sup>36</sup> Bamforth, *Tap into the Art and Science of Brewing*, 70.

past, are invariably felt to be, and often *reasoned* to be as well, more bleak, grim, wretched, ugly, deprivational, unfulfilling, frightening, and so forth.<sup>37</sup>

The David-and-Goliath narrative in beer ironically posits the “Dark Ages” as ‘the good old days.’ This characterization typifies popular perception(s) of modernity, specifically conveying qualities of malaise and discontent towards industrialization. As quoted previously, nostalgia “juxtaposes the uncertainties and anxieties of the present with presumed verities and comforts of the lived past.”<sup>38</sup> The constructed, romanticized version of historical reality does not prompt deconstructive inquiry into the factuality of this account. Most individuals do not know much about the medieval period nor do they particularly wish to enlighten themselves. Whether the medieval period is actually a preferable mode of social organization is not to debate. This idealized portrayal does not propose that medieval social, political, or economic organization is preferable: the narrative merely expresses a viewpoint that is agreeable to some individuals. With the sentiment of discontentment present, individuals can lament labyrinthine corporate structure; they can idealize how much better or easier life *would* be in a historic period under alternate economic, political, and social structures. Nostalgia is not accompanied by a true desire to return to the period; indeed, it is often marked by a recognition that this former state/experience will not be attained again—the feeling is merely to be lived as sentiment before a return to ordinary life is signaled.

The apocalyptic perception that ‘Modernity is the period most wrought with issues’ pairs with nostalgia of yesteryears. Nostalgia promotes social cohesion that cements the existent structure. Images of nostalgia enable positive commemoration of desired aspects of historic life. Simultaneously, these depictions absolve the self and society of fault for contemporary failings. Nostalgic images may seem to relieve anxieties about the changes from the past but renew people’s commitment to the present. Products that invoke nostalgia delicately maneuver the presentation of a traditional image “with just enough contemporaneity thrown in” so popular social demands that products are “sanitary, efficient, and immensely profitable”<sup>39</sup> can be simultaneously fulfilled. Nostalgia enables yearning for aspects of history that are deemed desirable but allows one to retain the comforts provided by modernity.

### **The Simultaneous Inversion and Solidification of Social Structure: Irreverence**

Irreverent, blasphemous, or offensive views of religion or the religious in beer branding emerge in seeming opposition to the romanticized images. Brews named “Cardinal Sin,” “Stumbling Monk,” or “Grumpy Monk” (depicted as grumpy because his beer stein is empty) typify this irreverence.

At times, branding within this classification seemingly poses a threat to the social order. Critical evaluations of monastic indulgence may appear to present a modern *95 Theses* reminiscent of Martin Luther’s critique of the degenerated church and assertion that the church has no unconditional authority. The specific social, ritual, and symbolic uses of alcohol explain why this medium is to express this sentiment. “Alcohol is to social science what dye is to microscopy. . . . What this dye does is show up certain kinds of fundamental features of the structures of the cell, and I suppose that we can probably use alcohol the same way to penetrate the structure of social life.”<sup>40</sup> In accordance with the adage *in vino veritas*, alcohol consumption in times of play allows individuals to release their frustrations with the contradictions of the

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<sup>37</sup> Davis, Fred. *Yearning for Yesterday: A Sociology of Nostalgia* (New York: Free Press, 1979), 15.

<sup>38</sup> Davis, 141.

<sup>39</sup> Davis, 119.

<sup>40</sup> Heath, 336: qtd. Duster (1983, 326).

reigning social order, which is always portrayed as absolute but is ultimately always recognized as arbitrary and resultant of a mental classificatory differentiation of reality. The permittance of Dionysian behavior and thought allows for temporary abandonment of the overarching social structure and strictures. By dissolving the distinctions between the saintly and the sinners, alcohol enables critiques of the devout that in other contexts would be inappropriate.

It may seem that alcohol “frees” us of nagging insecurity, uncertainty, and fear due to recognition of the contradictions embedded within a social structure. Alcohol’s preeminence in the ‘play’ realm enables it to serve as the messenger regarding the tenuous nature of social construction. The glorification of blasphemy and heresy insinuated in branding such as Sound Brewery’s “Tradition Liberated” tagline appears to promote a dismantling of the current system. Likewise, the Cambridge Brewing Company sells a Belgian-style strong ale brewed with “an authentic Trappist yeast strain” named “OFF-(trap)PISTE Belgian-style Grand Cru.” An explanation for the name’s derivation is provided. The term ‘off-piste’ meaning “existing or taking place on snow that has not been compacted into tracks;” that is, the brewery is *breaking new ground* with this brew. This image of breaking new ground is tied with the brewer’s enjoyment that he is breaking from tradition and social rules. The brewer Will admits that “It is illegal to use the moniker trappist in production of a secular product” but provides the following justification:

My use of the word trappist is meant to let the consumer know that this is a Belgian-style ale, however, as it is parenthetical, the ‘trap’ is silent. This’ll probably offend some beer purists, which is exactly the sort of thing I enjoy doing.<sup>41</sup>

This rhetoric parallels the appropriation of religious rhetoric of transcendence. Perhaps due to the mood associated with beer, religious references used to differentiate from other beers assume heretical status in order to differ from the big breweries. For instance, Dan Weyerbacher’s description of the brewery’s quadruple demonstrates a joking use of religious terminology.

When they first suggested we age our QUAD in bourbon barrels, I said, ‘THAT’S BLASPHEMY!’ ...and so it is!<sup>42</sup>

The intent to cleverly and humorously use the concept of blasphemy is interesting. References invoking dissidence, heresy, and an *A-hop-calypse* challenge the presiding corporate beer moguls and in doing so garner consumer support that also sees itself as Other-ed from the big beer industry. Hence, the same dichotomization occurs as is the nostalgic imaging of the Self/Other.

Presumably omitted from this narrative is the conjecture of breweries’ response to hypothetical opportunity to expand into these positions. While this rhetoric does propose some reorganization of the brewing industry (namely for the currently marginalized company to gain prominence), this technique does not pose revolutionary reform of the brewing industry to a prior period or creation of a wholly new system. Willingness and endeavors to expand show that breweries do not ultimately profess against the hierarchy within the beer industry. Thus, although seemingly revolutionary, this phenomenon also reinforces contemporary practices and social order. The rhetoric developed by Apocalypse Brew Works and other breweries prophesying an *A-hop-calypse* does not condone social reform and ‘the end of the world as we know it.’

The modes and particular linkages made in irreverent branding demonstrate how this phenomenon contributes to the current social order. For instance, some labels mock fundamental elements of religion or a religious denomination: the Mormon Coffee Stout, for instance,

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<sup>41</sup> Beer Archive: Off-(trap)PISTE Belgian-style Grand Cru. Cambridge Brewing Company. Web.

<sup>42</sup> Blasphemy. Weyerbacher. Web.

pokingly mentions two substances that are forbidden within the tradition of the Latter Day Saints. This type of representation can function to further marginalize non-mainstream religious communities that hold values different from the mainstream society.

Studying portrayals of religious figures in modern cinema, Blyth articulates that “alcohol is a statement about the character using the substance”<sup>43</sup> and a monk/priest’s abusive relationship with alcohol is used to comment upon the status, stability, and utility of traditional religious institutions today. However, the mockery present in beer branding should not be viewed as an emergent phenomenon indicative of modernity’s attitude towards religion and prophetic of future obsolescence. Literature and popular songs, rhymes, and compositions have caricatured, decried, or merely observed indulgence and religious in-adherence among the ‘devout’ for centuries. The image of the drunk monk is one that resonates after centuries of being told. In *Gargantua and Pantagruel*, a legend of a Benedictine’s quest for the Oracle of the Divine Bottle, the attachment of the character Friar John to wine “makes him ‘a true monk if every there has been one since the monking world monked its first monkery.”<sup>44</sup> Additionally, medieval *exempla*, such as one which “described the fate of a friar who loved wine so much that he refused to dilute it with water: he was tortured in purgatory,”<sup>45</sup> *parodia sacra*,<sup>46</sup> and “many other Latin parodies of the Middle Ages [which] are nothing but a selection of all the degrading, earthy details taken from the Bible, the Gospels, and other sacred texts”<sup>47</sup> and contextualize modern images derived from a precedent legitimizing critical representations. Vess insists that “the drunk monk was likely much more difficult to come by than these stories would suggest.”<sup>48</sup> However, even if constituting unfair misrepresentations of religious figures, these caricatures can still convey popular public perception of the group.

As outlined in the initial part of this section, irreverent depictions break down culturally constructed barriers. “[H]is drinking will convince us that he is thoroughly flawed and human, just like us.”<sup>49</sup> They—the *they* of ascendancy and superior status—are in fact “like us” and subject to the same limitations and shortcomings of human nature. One may observe that alcohol and the ‘play’ realm beyond (regular) social structures is comparable to the tabloids, which allay feelings of inferiority produced by comparison to the lives of the rich and famous. Conversely, the comparison to popular infatuation with celebrity scandals, affairs, and mishaps also presents an antithetical interpretation. Celebrities epitomize capitalist success and the attainment of wealth, fame, and beauty. Our want of these characteristics engenders our interest in them and their lives. We revel in their pitfalls and shame, but we do so *because* we believe them to be ‘higher’ than ourselves, and the irreverent beer branding reasserts their prominence over us. In *Priests*, James Fischer notes that the media ‘use priests and monks and nuns because they are instantly identifiable with certain values the public either thinks it embraces or wishes it could.’<sup>50</sup> Although the scandalization seems to ‘bring them down a peg,’ continuous allusions to their impropriety demonstrate a constant interest in their affairs. To state it plainly, if we did not

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<sup>43</sup> Blyth, Teresa, “The Collar and the Bottle: Film Portrayals of Drinking Clergy,” 79-93. Ed. Robinson, CK. *Religion and Alcohol: Sobering Thoughts* (New York: Peter Lang, 2004).79.

<sup>44</sup> Vess, 148.

<sup>45</sup> Martin, 26.

<sup>46</sup> Bakhtin, 15.

<sup>47</sup> Bakhtin, 20.

<sup>48</sup> Vess, 149.

<sup>49</sup> Blyth, 79.

<sup>50</sup> Blyth, 83.

consider them better than us (if they were normal, average people), we would not care about the details of their lives.

Determining which piece possesses explanatory value is futile, and likely, it is both. In *Rabelais and His World*, Bakhtin discusses the medieval worldview and the disparity in behavior between the official/unofficial realms that coincide with divisions in roles. In the ‘unofficial’ realm, “it is difficult to say where praise ends and where condemnation starts.” Irreverent branding in alcohol exemplifies speech combining praise-abuse in the unofficial realm.

In his discussion and theorization of the *carnavalesque*, Bakhtin identifies a division of the human body into higher and lower strata. In this framework, the lower stratum consists primarily of animalistic behaviors and physical functions: digestion, defecation, and copulation. The higher stratum refers to the more refined qualities and endeavors considered to differentiate man from other species: cognition, rationale, and spirituality. Mikhail Bakhtin proposes that these divisions correspond with directional signifiers (‘up’ and ‘down’) in medieval and Renaissance society and literature that symbolize heavenly or earthly realms, respectively. In the carnivalesque and with depictions of the grotesque body, the earthly lower stratum of the animal body is used to comment upon the upper realm. This observation is echoed in the idea that alcohol is used as the means to communicate “a comment on the structures of our faith.” The inversion of the lower-upper strata by the carnivalesque compels acknowledgment of the disparity between the *real* and *ideal* (or the *is* and the *should*). One must admit that the existent social order does not in fact entirely embody the values and dynamics that it proclaims to esteem. Furthermore, this inversion fosters the expression of the feeling that there is “something amiss” in the seemingly clear-cut categorizations.

This conceptualization of animal processes as base explains why irreverent representations in beer branding depicting religious figures frequently depict them engaging in physical acts especially sexual activity and gastronomic indulgence and less commonly show their exhibition of other faults such as sloth, anger, and greed. These unflattering portrayals frequently show the unorthodox expressed in corporeal terms. Sexual implications seem most prevalent and are exemplified in names like “Monk’s Mistress,” “Monk’s Indiscretion,” and Evil Twin’s “Wet Dream,” the label of which incorporates the words ‘The Trappist’ above the brew’s name. This dual incorporation of religion and sex asserts interesting notions about the nature of advertising and its relationship to society’s continuation. Bakhtin explains that the carnivalesque and the grotesque body assert the “dual-bodied world of becoming”<sup>51</sup> and thereby insinuate reflective components prophetic of the future. Additionally, alcohol, like the grotesque body, like sex, necessitates acknowledgement of the orifices and interorientations that disillusion the conceptualization of fixed boundaries between the self and the other.

According to Douglas, these rituals that acknowledge contradictions serve to perpetuate the system. Rather than solely protestations of the wrongs in contemporary society, they can solder and fortify the contemporary classificatory schema employed. The temporary collapse of hierarchical distinctions is not to dissolve these institutions but to allow for their continuation. Douglas’ careful choice of the title *Constructive Drinking* exemplifies drinking is not merely destructive (Dionysian); it is also *constructive*. As previously explored, alcohol is not likely to directly lead to revolution and threats of actual social disruption correspond with escalating constraints of alcohol consumption. Alcohol consumption is therefore bound in social rules that limit the risk of societal disintegration. For instance, colonial and imperialist settings throughout history have yielded greater constraints on the drinking (and other drug habits) of subjugated

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<sup>51</sup> Bakhtin, 420.

peoples when there was a fear or threat that the natives would uprising and supplant the ruling social order.<sup>52</sup> American Prohibition has also been seen as an endeavor to curtail the risk of changing the society. In response to the influx of European immigrants with radically different cultural customs through the Industrial Revolution into the 1920's threatened to change the current reigning social order, generational Americans resisted the drinking habits of immigrants, especially Irish, German, and Jewish individuals who were rapidly changing the demographic landscape of America. Curtailing alcohol consumption of these peoples was to prompt their assimilation into American society.

For Bakhtin, the grotesque “discloses the potentiality of an entirely different world, of another order, another way of life. It leads men out of the confines of the apparent (false) unity, of the indisputable and stable. Born of folk humor, it always represents in one form or another, though these or other means, the return of Saturn's golden age to earth—the living possibility of its return.” Contemporary beer branding does not seem to instigate and ferment social revolution. In its modes and the characterization of its representations, irreverent beer branding is not inherently satire aimed to point to social flaws to catalyze social reform. Bakhtin's commentary about the grotesque highlights that the grotesque is notably not burlesque. The grotesque fulfills particular social purposes and functions. Although he seems to insinuate the unofficial inversion asserts a contesting Weltanschauung, Bakhtin continues to explain that in the Romantic grotesque, “[t]he world is destroyed so that it may be regenerated and renewed.”<sup>53</sup> Alcohol's link with social cohesion shows how it cements social order. In a sense, it assures that everyone is on the same page about where we are today, and, perhaps, then, where we are going as well. The carnivalesque and the unofficial realm holds the power to generate and destroy just as sex possesses the simultaneous powers to preserve and sustain society or cause it to disintegrate.

### **Conclusion**

This examination of contemporary beer branding particularly applying food theory demonstrates how the branding of beer relates to the existent social structure. Significantly, alcohol is connected to particular modes of comportment and excuses behavior lapses that would generally be considered abominable. However, its affiliation with Dionysian contexts does not prove its inherent antagonism to Apollonian tendencies of classification and construction. This essay demonstrates that consumption choices are not arbitrary decisions regarding an edible substance for assimilation into the body. *You are what you eat*: the ideas of the world are ingested alongside the physical nutritive parts of the food item. Alcohol's capacity to promulgate society while also laying as its greatest risk shares this property with sex, the pervasively acknowledged technique of modern advertising. The tension between eros and thanatos, however, in beer branding is balanced to solidify the order. Despite alcohol's affiliation with the unofficial and 'play' realm, beer branding reinforces views of society and its structure. Depictions of religious figures, concepts, and signs frequently render one of two images: idealization or mockery. Cultivating a nostalgic past image in beer branding creates a salient image that aligns the product with quality. The nostalgic past corresponds a desire to be aligned with the esteemed religious figures who are depicted as knowledgeable. Mimicry and mockery manifested in beer branding asserts similar claims about society as the idealization of the religious past. The investigation of advertising reveals that "you imbibe the image along with the

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<sup>52</sup> Dietler, Michael. “Alcohol: Anthropological/Archaeological Perspectives.” *Annual Review of Anthropology* 35 (2006): 229-249. Web. Accessed 3 June 2013. JSTOR. 240.

Heath, Dwight. “Anthropology and Alcohol Studies: Current Issues” *Annual Review of Anthropology*.

<sup>53</sup> Bakhtin, 48.

brew.’<sup>54</sup> The objective to look at the American beer culture broadly and construe how religious references in beer branding function in the larger societal context, particularly regarding social stratification and the perceived appropriate relationship between religion and society reveals that alcohol breaks down walls, makes networks visible, and makes the constructed-ness of society transparent. However, alcohol and its branding does not dismantle the walls, it reminds the laity/layperson/consumer and the clergy/priest that the self is nonexistent without the other. The walls are refortified.

I caution against the overuse and overgeneralization of the theories expounded by Mary Douglas, Mikhail Bakhtin, and other prominent scholars mentioned herein. Although elaborated upon herein, these theories should not be taken to comprehensively explain every aspect of this technique of branding. In dwelling upon the message embedded in nostalgic and irreverent portrayals, I have not fully explained the phenomenon of religious rhetoric in contemporary beer branding; I have merely gestured towards an underlying and unacknowledged component and delivered an application of food theory regarding a previously unscrutinized topic. Moreover, I have drawn my analysis primarily from Christian references, and there is much to be gained from study of other religious references. The topic in question can be likened to a “complex set of Chinese boxes, each sub-system having little sub-systems of its own, and so on indefinitely for as far as we care to apply the analysis.”<sup>55</sup> For the reader’s reference, I have provided a preliminary and cursory outline of some different outlets for further inquiry in Appendix A.

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<sup>54</sup> Ogle, Maureen. *Ambitious Brew: The Story of American Beer* (Orlando: Harcourt, 2006), 249.

<sup>55</sup> Douglas, *Purity and Danger*, 172.

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## Appendix A – Annotations Regarding Additional Research

With any worthy research topic, one remains curious about the remaining unturned stones even as one concludes one's analysis. In acknowledgement of the Sisyphean nature of research, this appendix gestures towards some of the additional work that could be done.

Several enthusiast websites for currently marketed beer— BeerAdvocate, Pintley, RateBeer, to name a few—theoretically and ideally would comprehensively and completely catalogue all brews available at one time; however, these sites do not always have everything upon them and thus serve as incomplete databases. Itemizing all American breweries until its publication, *American Breweries II* begins with a dedication page that venerates Robert Gottschalk, who more-than-assisted with the text's reworking and publication by "pouring through every reference known to man to come up with the most accurate assemblage of data humanly possible." However, despite the fastidious and admirably conscientious nature of its composition, this text is also relatively old at this point (from 1995, before the emergence of many of the breweries in existence today) and therefore would not serve as an adequate guide for quantitatively discerning trends that have been discussed and measuring their prevalence within the industry. Further academic pursuits would benefit from additional endeavors such as this one, for updating the list of comprehensive database of breweries would assist future scholarship.

A comparable and connected database would ideally be developed in reference to the beers brewed to provide additional data for analysis. This collection would ideally include accompanying notations on the attributes of beer (Style? ABV?), duration on the market (Seasonal? Limited edition? Tried but unsuccessful? Been on the market for several years?), packaging (Draft? Can? Bottle? All/none of the above?), and branding techniques used. The latter objective would necessarily be a collaborative project with several coders to ensure intercoder reliability, and an itemization of branding techniques would be prerequisite as well.

These two databases together would enable greater analysis of religious references in contemporary beer branding. For instance, this data would have to be compiled in order to ascertain accurately the proportion of currently commercially sold beers that use Christian symbolism. However, it is crucial to recall that "data never speak unless spoken to properly."<sup>56</sup> Statistical analysis of rhetoric and collocation of words would also prove an interesting approach. The word "naughty" is used with some prevalence in brew names, but it is not always a religious reference. Similarly, "Adam" "Apple" [especially 'Fallen Apple'], and "Grace" do not always connect to an element of religious significance. "Black Friday" may be religious, or may refer to sales on the day after Thanksgiving. Beers with the word "Bad" in them never seem to invoke religious allusions; but beers with the word "Good" sometimes have religious connotation, such as in Short's Brewing Company "Good Samaritan." It would be useful to analyze the frequency of diction collocated with the word "monk." It is used with words like 'mistress' and 'indiscretion,' 'lazy,' or 'craft' and 'quality?'

One may further quantify the degree to which breweries subscribe to using religious symbolism. More intensive studies on the motivations of brewers, with an examination of their background and own religious beliefs, also promise rich contributions. An endeavor to compile comprehensive data would also enable discernment of state or regional differences in the ratio of breweries that

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<sup>56</sup> Stark, Rodney and William Sims Bainbridge, "Drugs and Alcohol," *Religion, Deviance, and Social Control* (New York: Routledge, 1996) 81-99. 99.

select religious iconography or allusions. The Pacific Northwest has the highest rate of individuals that express no religious identification, whereas Mississippi and the South overall have the highest population percentage of individuals who consider themselves highly religious. Does the local religious setting affect how local breweries will market their beers? At the Washington Craft Beer Fest in Redmond, the people that I interviewed unanimously stated that they did not see an association or connection between religion and beer at all. In the words of one respondent, beer is a “hobby” and religion is “something entirely different.” Measuring public perception of a religious symbol on a beer constitutes another possible approach. Does the symbol make the product enticing? Is it alienating? Business and trade journals seemingly have ignored this religious connection so far. Likewise, one may examine historical trends regarding this marketing approach’s employment in the beer industry: is the ratio of this technique being utilized more often? Is it declining?

Female brewers, such as those at Ninkasi may choose to use to employ this religious imagery with perhaps greater frequency, although I am unable to corroborate or disprove this hypothesis due to the paucity and gaps in data regarding breweries. Females’ greater religiosity compared to males throughout history (Newport) as well as the marginalization of females, craft beer, and religion in the commercial economy may make religious allusions even more appealing. Personally, I doubt a connection, but despite my personal opinion (and bias?), I mention it as a possibility. Female brewers may also be employing a particular mode of the nostalgic past advertising technique by harkening back to prior periods in history when females did hold a primacy in beer brewing. At different stages in history, beer brewing was viewed as the quasi-exclusive domain of women. The medieval monastic period may be viewed to expunge the influence and place of women in beer (as could the later developments) in brewing history, so this re-assertion of the feminine goes back to a period when religion and religious ritual *was/were* closely associated with beer and beer brewing—because it coincides with the period when females had a greater role in the tradition.

One could conduct historiographic research on scholarship that dwells primarily upon Christianity’s inverse or antagonistic relationship with alcohol. It would further be interesting to consider whether any other brands or products use religious references in their marketing campaigns (Ezekiel Bread, Dirt Devil, and companies with kosher/halal certification come to mind).

Although not even touched upon in the paper, the phenomena of Seattle Beer Church, pub theology, and “What Would Jesus Brew?” ministries are also deserving of attention, and I would have loved to be able to discuss them here if not for the constraints of this paper and the parameters confining my ability to construct a cohesive, logical, or intelligible line of thought without dragging in too many other pieces.

## Appendix B – Domestic Beer Branding Using Religious References

In the aim of contributing to the development of a more comprehensive database, I have compiled two preliminary databases of different breweries that use religious symbolism. The first (Appendix B) includes domestic beer branding, while Appendix C lists some foreign breweries that invoke religious rhetoric and symbolism for the reader's interest. Because this data is preliminary, I have not included any analysis of it. Included is the name of the brewery, its state [or country], beers that invoke religious symbolism, and their style. A key has been provided that provides some additional information about particular brews such as whether they are seasonal or retired/limited. Seasonal beers are denoted with the symbol (#), and retired/limited brews are denoted with the sign (\*\*). The symbol (^) is also used when a brewery has developed a cohesive imagery that evokes religion in some fashion.

As a rule, I have utilized the beer style designations on the brewery's own websites, but when these labels are more likely to mystify the reader, I have utilized the general designations from BeerAdvocate or RateBeer. In order to evaluate the significance of beer style, it is important to remember the following statement. "Beer styles evolve out of many things: culture, technology, taxation, location, and consumer preferences."<sup>57</sup> After Michael Jackson's book *The World of Beer*, beer styles have increasingly been subject to interest and curiosity. Fred Eckhardt's *Essentials of Beer Style*<sup>58</sup> identifies 'Pale,' 'Amber,' 'Dark,' and 'Wheat and Unique Specialty' as beer genera that encompass style categorizations. A plethora of beer enthusiast websites as well as the *Oxford Companion to Beer* provide more updated abstracts about each beer style as well as other significant aspects of beer and brewing. Sub-styles have frequently emerged, of which nationality is often a differentiating factor. The American IPA and English IPA are characterized by different hop ratios and tasters' perceptions of hop-forwardness, and the American lager from the German lager, wherein the former is more highly carbonated, lighter, and typically uses six-row barley instead of two-row barley. American lager has a lighter taste derived from using different hops, corn and rice adjuncts, and (The modern American lager is said to have been developed in the post-Prohibition years, in which breweries were struggling to recapture the American populace that had grown accustomed to drinking soda in beer's stead).

The Great American Beer Festival currently holds competition for 84 styles of beer; the Brewers Association Style Guidelines currently itemizes more than 142 styles that are structured by their country of origin. Lists of beer style should be used more as guides than as hard-and-fast rules because—like many classificatory systems—the boundaries designating different beer styles occasionally disintegrate. Brewers often push the boundaries in their development of new brews—experimentation and brewer innovation often supersede adherence to the particularity of a single style. A recent example is Stone Brewing's 17<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Götterdämmerung IPA, which endeavors to combine "West Coast IPA sensibilities" with German lager ingredients: to make "a super pilsner hopped like an IPA." (They warn that it "might destroy some of your preconceived notions of what an IPA can be.")<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> Markowski, Phil. *Farmhouse Ales: Culture and Craftsmanship in the Belgian Tradition* (Boulder: Brewers Publications, 2004), 23.

<sup>58</sup> Eckhardt, Fred. *Essentials of Beer Style: A Catalog of Classic Beer Styles for Brewers and Beer Enthusiasts* (Portland: Fred Eckhardt Communications, 1993).

<sup>59</sup> Hernández. "Say What? Stone 17<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Götterdämmerung. *Stone Blog*. Web. <http://blog.stonebrew.com/index.php/17thipa/>. Accessed 15 August 2013.

Stone Brewing. <http://www.stonebrewing.com/anniv/ale/>. Web.

<b>Brewery</b>	<b>State</b>	<b>Beer</b>	<b>Beer Style</b>
7 Seas	WA	Hop Prophet#	American Pale Ale
21st Amendment Brewery	CA	Churchyard#	ESB
		Devil's Friend	Am Brown Ale
		Drunken Monk Ale	Belgian Strong Dark Ale
Abbey Brewing Company^	FL	Abbey Dubbel**	Dubbel
		Brother Aaron's Quadrupel	Quad
		Brother Dan's Double	Dubbel
		Father Franks Bock	Bock
		Father Theodore's Imperial Stout	Russian Imp Stout
		Immaculate IPA	Am IPA
The Alchemist	VT	Beelzebub**	Am Stout
		Heathen**	Am IPA
		HellBrook**	Am Double Red Ale
		Holy Cow IPA**	Am IPA
		Mortal Sin **	IPA
		Rapture**	Am IIPA
		Heretic**	Barleywine
AleSmith Brewing Company	CA	Horny Devil	Belgian Strong Pale Ale
Anchorage Brewing Company (AK)		A Deal With The Devil	Am Barleywine
		Bitter Monk	Belgian IPA
Anderson Valley	CA	Brother David's Belgian-style Double Ale	Dubbel
		Brother David's Belgian-style Triple Abbey Style Ale	Tripel
Anheuser-Busch (MO)		Demon's Hop Yard IPA**	Am IPA
Apocalypse Ale Works (VA)		Hoppocalypse	Am Amber / Red Ale
		Sixth Seal Stout	Am Stout
Apocalypse Brew Works	KY	Baby Jesus	Am IPA
		Tu-pocalypse Stout	Am Stout
		St. Christopher	Abbey Tripel
Appalachian Brewing Co	KY	Batch 666**	Winter Warmer
Arbor Brewing Compnay	MI	Fat Abbot Trippel**	Tripel

		Holy Heifer!**	Am Pale Wheat Ale
		Sacred Cow IPA	IPA
		Phat Abbot Belgian Abbey Normal	Belgian Pale Ale
		Phat Abbot Belgian Dubbel	Dubbel
		Phat Abbot Belgian Trippel	Trippel
		St. Pat's Stout	Stout
Atlantic Brewing Company	ME	Brother Adam's Bragget Ale	Braggot
Avery Brewing Company	CO	The Beast Grand Cru	Belgian Strong Dark Ale
		Piglet Purgatory	Am IPA
		The Reverend	Quad
		Sacrilicious**	Belgian Strong Dark Ale
		Salvation	Belgian Strong Pale Ale
Bear Republic Brewing Company	CA	Old Saint Chango#	Winter Warmer
Bee Creek Brewery	IN	Happy Jesus Double IPA**	IIPA
		Angry Berry	Fruit Beer
Bethlehem Brew Works	PN	Black Friday**	Scotch Ale / Wee Heavy
		Bitter Brother	ESB
		Devi's Hearth# %	Belgian Pale Ale
		Pagan Ritual IPA	Am IPA
		Stumbling Monk**	Belgian Pale Ale
		Twisted Monk**	Belgian Dark Ale
Big Boss Brewing	NC	Angry Angel	Kolsch
		Blanco Diablo	Witbier
		Hell's Belle	Belgian Pale Ale
Big Sky Brewing Company	MT	All Souls Ale 2012**	Tripel
		Buckin' Monk Tripel Ale	Tripel
Black Bear Microbrew	ME	Black Bear Demon Stout**	Am Stout
		Tree Tugger Barley Wine	Barleywine
Block 15 Brewery	OR	St. Macarius**	Belgian Dark Ale
		Ol' Saint Nick#	Am Strong Ale
		The Demon's Farm	Saison / Farmhouse Ale
		Trubbeled Monk**	Dubbel
Boom Island Brewing Company	MN	Brimstone	Tripel

Boston Beer Company (Sam Adam's)	MA	Witness	Witbier
BridgePort Brewing Company	OR	Grumpy Monk#	Belgian IPA
The Bruery (CA)		Fallen Friar**	Tripel**
		Saison De Lente#	Seasonal
		Mischief	Belgian-Style Golden Strong Ale
		Black Tuesday#	Imp Stout
		Confession**	Am Wild Ale
Burnt Hickory Brewery	GA	Die Kreuzen#	Am Porter
		The Bloody Bishop**	Belgian Trippel
		The Fighting Bishop	Belgian Trippel
Bullfrog Brewery		Diabolique	Belgian Strong Pale Ale
		Friar Frog Dubbel	Dubbel
		Friar Frog Dubbel Gone Wild**	Dubbel
		El Diablo	Belgian Strong Pale Ale
		Portergeist	Herbed / Spiced Beer
		Saint Satan	Belgian Strong Pale Ale
Cambridge Brewing Company	MA	Abbey Normal (Dubbel)	Dubbel
		Bad Knees**	Old Ale
		Benevolence**	Experimental
		Fire and Brimstone**	Pumpkin Ale
		Off-(trap)PISTE Belgian-style Grand Cru	Grand Cru
		Om	Belgian Strong Pale Ale
		RED GOD	Am Amber / Red Ale
		St. Alphonso	Belgian Pale Ale
		Stout at the Devil	Herbed / Spiced Beer
	NC	To Hell N'Bock**	Bock
Carolina Brewery		To Hell N' Bock	Doppelbock
		Funky Monk Ale**	Am Dark Wheat Ale
		Funky Monk Ale (8.5%)**	Belgian Pale Ale
Cathedral Square Brewery	MO	Belgian-Style Abbey Ale	Belgian Dark Ale
		Belgian-Style White Ale	Witbier
		Forbidden Fruit Apple Ale**	Fruit / Vegetable Beer
		Hail Mary Belgian-Style IPA	Belgian IPA

		Holy Moly	Russian Imp Stout
		Iglesia Agave Ale	Herbed / Spiced Beer
		Repent Rye	Am Barleywine
CB's Brewing Company	NY	Inferno Pod Ale**	Am IPA
Christian Moerlein Lagers & Ales	OH	Christkindl#	Winter Warmer
Church Street Brewing Company	IL	Brimstone IPA	Am IPA
		Heavenly Helles	Munich Helles Lager
Clown Shoes Beer	MA	Brown Angel	Brown IPA
		Let My People Go!	English Pale Ale
Conquest Brewing Company	SC	Artemis Blonde	Blond Ale
		Sacred Heart IPA	IPA
		Sacred Heartier**	IIPA
Cornerstone Brewing Company	OH	Benedictine's Order	Belgian Dark Ale
		Blind Faith	Belgian Pale Ale
		Cardinal Sin	Dubbel
		Devil's Advocate	Am Barleywine
		Eden	Belgian Pale Ale
		Esoteric Ale	Belgian Pale Ale
		Pleasurable Demise	Am Pale Ale
Coronado Brewing Company	CA	Burnt Friar Smoked Porter	Am Porter
		Red Devil	Am Strong Ale
Craft Brewing Company ^	CA	Fallen Angel Blonde	Am Blonde Ale
		Friar Bob's Raspberry Wheat	Fruit / Vegetable Beer
		Jebus Belgian Tripel	Tripel
Dark Horse Brewing Company	MI	Perkulator Coffee Dopplebock	Doppelbock
		Sapient Trip Ale#	Trippel
		Scary Jesus Rockstar**	APA
Devils Backbone Brewing	VA	Dark Abby	Dubbel
		Five Apostles Saison	Saison / Farmhouse Ale
Devil's Canyon Brewing Company	CA	Hades Habenero	Chile Beer
		Lager Diabla	Am Pale Lager
Der Blokken Brewery	WA	Sacred Hop	Am IPA
Dock Street Brewery	PN	Devil's Double IPA**	Am IIPA



		Hop Angel Brauhaus Angel Fuel**	Am Black Ale
		Trappist IPA	Am IPA
Dogfish Head Brewery	DE	Immort Ale	English Strong Ale
		Nordicthern Europe	Fruit/Vegetable Beer
Dragonmead Microbrewery	MI	Armageddon Grand Cru	Grand Cru
		Crusader Dark Mild Ale	Eng Dark Mild Ale
		Dead Monk Abbey Ale	Belgian Strong Pale Ale
		Dragonmead Bishop Bob's Holy Smoke	Smoked Beer
		Final Absolution Tripel	Tripel
		Inquisition Pale Ale	Eng IPA
		Rev. Fred's Oatmeal Stout	Oatmeal Stout
		Ring of Fire	Chile Beer
		Sin Eater Belgian Dark	Belgian Strong Dark Ale
		Squire Pilsen	German Pilsner
		St. Nicole's Weizenbock	Weizenbock
Drunk Monkey Brew Werks	PN	Buddha's Blood	Am IIPA
DryHop Brewers	IL	The Devil Jumped Up!**	Belgian IPA
DuClaw Brewing Company	MD	Bourbon Barrel Aged Devil's Milk	Am Barleywine
		Consecration	Am Brown Ale
		Devil's Milk	Am Barleywine
		Devil's Milk Aged in Jack Daniel's Barrels	Am Barleywine
		Divine Retribution	Am Strong Ale
		Divine Retribution No. 2	Am Strong Ale
		Hellrazer	Am IPA
		Mad Bishop	Märzen / Oktoberfest
		Mysterium	Herbed / Spiced Beer
		Repent	Belgian Strong Dark Ale
		Retribution	Am Double / Imperial Stout
		Soul Jacker	Am Strong Ale
		Sweet Baby Jesus	Am Porter
Dust Bowl Brewing	CA	Soul Crusher#	Brown Ale
Earth Bread + Brewery	PN	God Put His Tired Hands In Our Tired Hands**	Baltic Porter
		Guided By Vices**	Irish Dry Stout

Elysian Brewing Company	WA	Akhathen**	Fruit / Vegetable Beer
		Ambrosia Maibock	Maibock / Helles Bock
		Elysian Fields Pale Ale	APA
		The Immortal IPA	Am IPA
		Omen Belgian Raspberry Stout (Apocalypse) **	Am Stout
		Pandora's Bock	Bock
		Prometeus IPA	Am IPA
		Rapture Heather Ale**	Scottish Gruit / Ancient Herbed Ale
		Rosemary's Baby**	Am IPA
		Saison of the Witch#	Saison / Farmhouse Ale
		Zephyrus Pilsner	German Pilsner
Epic Brewing Company	UT	Big Bad Baptist	Am Double / Imp Stout
		Elder Brett**	Saison / Farmhouse Ale
		Jack Mormon Coffee Stout**	Double Stout
		Unsacred Brewing Priesthood Pale Ale#	APA
		Unsacred Brewing Rimando's Wit Beer#	Witbier
		Unsacred Brewing Unfaithful IPA	Am IPA
		Unsacred Brewing The Vision Lager	Am Pale Lager
Everybody's Brewing	WA	Daily Bread Common Ale	California Common / Steam Beer
Evil Genius Beer Company	PN	Doomsday	Dunkelweizen
		Formidable	Dubbel
		Forsaken**	Am Amber / Red Ale
		Good 'n Evil	Kölsch
		Pure Evil	Oatmeal Stout
Fat Heads Brewery & Saloon	OH	#1 Abbey Ale	Belgian Strong Pale Ale
		Collaborative Evil	Belgian Strong Pale Ale
		Head Trip	Trippel
		Lucifer's Lunacy**	Wheatwine
		Poisedon's Punishment	Belgian Strong Pale Ale
		St. Fatty's irish Red Ale#	Irish Red Ale
		Zeus Juice	Belgian Strong Pale Ale
Fitger's Brewhouse	MN	Hair O' The Monk (Oak Aged)**	Tripel
		Hercules	Am Strong Ale

		Hoppelujah	Am IPA
		Saint Stephen's Abbey Ale	Dubbel
Flat Branch Brewery	MO	Brother Paul's Abbey Ale	Belgian Pale Ale
		Brother Paul's Radical Razz	Fruit / Vegetable Beer
Franklin's Restaurant & Brewery	MD	Blasphemous**	Am Wild Ale
		Guardian Angel	Bière de Garde
		Hammer of the Gods	Baltic Porter
		Hop E Soul	Am IIPA
		Hop Zen	Am Strong Ale
		Purgatoire	Am Wild Ale
		Tripel Bliss	Tripel
Free Will Brewing Company	PN	Black Friday	Belgian Strong Dark Ale
		Destiny's Wit	Witbier
Furthermore Beer	WI	Fallen Apple	Cream Ale
G.G. Brewers**	PN	R. Bishop**	Am Brown Ale
		Naughty Boy Stout**	Oatmeal Stout
Gigantic Brewing Company	OR	Axes of Evil	EPA
		Black Friday	Am Black Ale
		High Fidelity Beer	Am Pale Ale
Goose Island Beer Company	IL	Adoration Pale Ale**	Am Pale Ale
		Athena**	Am Wild Ale
		Ceres**	Am Wheat Pale Ale
		Devlin**	Saison / Farmhouse Ale
		Dishonest Stout**	Am Stout
		Extremely Naughty Goose**	Am Brown Ale
		Golden Goddess	Kölsch
		Heaven's Gate**	Am IPA
		Inferno Pepper IPA**	Am IPA
		Lazarus**	Am Double / Imp Stout
		Naughty Goose	Eng Brown Ale
		Willow St. Wit**	Witbier
Granite City Food & Brewery	MN	Brother Benedict's Bock	Bock
Great Lakes Brewing Company	OH	Abbey Ave. Dubbel** %	Dubbel

Half Acre Beer Company		Great Lakes Holy Moses# % Ambrosia** Anicca IPA** Quakerbridge	Witbier Am Pale Wheat Ale Am IPA Am Barleywine
Harvest Moon Brewery & Café	NJ	Sky Devil Saison** Ahab's Brother Mumbling Monk** Paddy's Irish Stout# Trappist Dubbel** Trappist Triple	Saison / Farmhouse Ale Am IIPA Tripel Irish Dry Stout Dubbel Tripel
Haymarket Pub & Brewery	IL	Angel's Envy Port Barrel Aged Acrimonious** A Mash Made in Heaven IV** <a href="#">A Mash Made In Heaven V - American Wheat**</a> A Mash Made in Heaven VI - White Peach Wit** Devil in the Wit City** Herkules IPA Mother Jones Abbey Style Dubbel Original Sin Hard Cider Rosemary's Red Devil White Chapel Wit	Am Double / Imp Stout Witbier Am Pale Wheat Ale Belgian White Ale/Witbier Witbier Am IPA Dubbel Apple Cider Belgian Red Ale Witbier
Holy Brew Brewing Company ^	VA	Heavenly Light Purgatory Pilsner	Czech Pilsener Czech Pilsener
Holy City Brewing^	SC	Holy City Slam	Am Pale Ale
Hoppin' Frog Brewery	OH	Hop Heathen Hop Master's Abbey Belgian-Style Double IPA Hoppin' To Heaven IPA	Am Black Ale Belgian IPA Am IPA
Iron Hill Brewery		Abbey Dubbel Abbot I** Abby's Fault# Aka-Oni (The Red Devil)** Apocalypso Forbidden Fruit** Nor'Easter IPA	Dubbel Belgian Pale Ale Belgin Strong Pale Ale APA Am IIPA Belgian Strong Dark Ale Am IPA

		Rye-Zen-Shine	Am Amber / Red Ale
		St. Bethardus Abt 8#	Dubbel
		St. Boomerang**	Belgian Pale Ale
		St. Hildegard Pils	German Pilsener
		St. Modestus	Weizenbock
		The Grand Inquisitor**	Russian Imp Stout
		True Believer Tripel	Tripel
Jack Russell's Steak House**	ME	Eden Porter**	Am Porter
Jester King Craft Brewery	TX	Buddha's Brew**	Am Wild Ale
		Drink'in The Sunbelt	Am Pale Wheat Ale
		Wytchmaker**	Am IPA
John Harvard's Brewery & Ale House	MA	Abbey De Dunster#	Belgian Pale Ale
		Abbey Gold Ale**	Belgian Pale Ale
		Abbey Dubbel	Dubbel
		Abockalypse Now**	Bock
		Aphrodite Gold	Am Blonde Ale
		Arch Angel**	Am Strong Ale
		Cold As Helles Lager**	Munch Helles Lager
		Demon DPA	Am IIPA
		Friar Lawrence's Potion**	Am Double / Imp Stout
		Holy SIP**	California Common / Steam Beer
		Holy Smoke**	Smoked Beer
		Mad Bishop Ale**	Am Amber / Red Ale
		Red Devil**	Am Amber / Red Ale
		Saint Raphael IPA	Am IPA
		St. Drogo Belgian Ale# **	Belgian Dark Ale
		Steamin' Demon	California Common / Steam Beer
Kuhnenn Brewing Company		Ambrosiaweiss**	Hefeweizen
		Brothers Gold**	Kölsch
		Dark Abbey# **	Belgian Strong Dark Ale
		Dark Heathen Triple Bock	Doppelbock
		Devil's Horn**	Fruit / Vegetable Beer
		Diablo**	Tripel

Lake Louie Brewing	WI	Duvel In Ms Jones Ale Weiss Teufel (White Devil) Apricot Goddess# Brother Tim's Triple	Belgian Strong Pale Ale Weizenbock Fruit / Vegetable Beer Tripel
Lakefront Brewery	WI	Fat Abbey	Belgian Strong Dark Ale
Lawson's Finest Liquids	VT	Paradise Ale Paradise Pale Ale Peril	Am Amber / Red APA Am IIPA
Lazy Monk Brewing ^	WI	--	
Left Hand Brewing Company	CO	St. Vrain #	Tripel
Listermann Brewing Supply & Mfg	OH	Friar Bacon Smoked Bock**	Rauchbier
The Lost Abbey	CA	10 Commandments Amazing Graze Ale Angel's Share Grand Cru** Bat Out of Hell** Deliverance Devil Went Down to Georgia The Devil Inside** Devotion Ale Gift of the Magi Kriek** Heaven & Hell** Hell's Bells** Highway To Hell** Inferno Ale Judgment Day Knockin' On Heaven's Door** Lost & Found Abbey Ale Mayan Apocalypse Judgment Day** Number of the Beast** Runnin' With The Devil** Saint's Devotion Saints' Red Barn Serpent's Stout#	Belgian Strong Dark Ale Am Wild Ale Am Strong Ale Am Double / Imp Stout Am Strong Ale Am Barleywine Am Wild Ale Belgian Pale Ale Bière de Garde Am Wild Ale Am Wild Ale Am Strong Ale Belgian Strong Pale Ale Quad Am Wild Ale Dubbel Quad Quad Am Wild Ale Belgian Pale Ale Saison / Farmhouse Ale Am Double / Imp Stout

		Shout At the Devil**	Am Wild Ale
		Stairway to Heaven**	Am Wild Ale
		Sympathy for the Devil**	Am Strong Ale
		Witche's Wit	Witbier
The Lucky Monk^	IL	Bishop's Brown Ale	Am Brown Ale
		Black Trappist Moon**	Tripel
		Cardinal Sin	Czech Pilsener
		CollaBEERation #1: Monk & Moon**	Tripel
		Fallen Angel	Vienna Lager
		Gr'ale	American Amber / Red Ale
		Higher Power	Am Strong Ale
		Lucky Monk/Lunar Wolfsbane	Am Black Ale
		Monk's Choice#	Am Gold Ale
		Priory Rye Brown Ale	Am Brown Ale
		Resurrection Red#	Am Amber / Red Ale
		Reverence Rye Brown Ale	Rye Beer
		Solitude Stout	Oatmeal Stout
		Tritica Wheat Ale	Hefeweizen
Martha's Exchange	NH	Abbot's Habit Tripel	Tripel
		Naked Magi	Belgian Dark Ale
		Magi Winter Warmer# **	Winter Warmer
		St. Sohmbudey's Babblale	Belgian Strong Pale Ale
		Will's Fault Wicked Good Beah	Am Amber / Red Ale
Mickey Finn's Brewery	IL	Merry Monk Dubbel	Dubbel
Max Lager's American Grill & Brewery	GA	Cold Soul**	Euro Strong Lager
		Demon D'or	Belgian Strong Pale Ale
		Max Abbey	Dubbel
		St. Mungo 90 Schilling Scotch Ale	Scotch Ale / Wee Heavy
Maui Brewing Company	HI	Father Damien**	Belgian Strong Dark Ale
		Heaven & Hell Barleywine**	Am Barleywine
		Lucifer's Angel**	Am Barleywine
MonkSouth (Thirsty Monk South) ^	GA	--	
Moon River Brewing Company	GA	Goin' Monk	Belgian Pale Ale

Mother Earth Brew Company	CA	The Crucible Kismet Righteously Hopped Red Ale Sin-Tax Sinister Prime Minister** Siren St. Elmo's	Imp Black IPA Am IPA Am Amber / Red Ale Imp Stout Am IPA Am Pale Lager Imp IPA
Mountain State Brewing Company	WV	Almost Heaven Amber Ale	Am Amber / Red Ale
Mt. Angel Brewing Company**	OR	Mt. Angel Angel Ale Mt. Angel Holy grALE	Am Amber / Red Ale Porter
Mt. Pleasant Brewing Company	MI	Sacred Gruit Ale EOS Hefeweizen	Scottish Gruit / Ancient Herbed Ale Hefeweizen
Nebraska Brewing Company	NE	Hop God Infinite Wit	Belgian IPA
New Belgium Brewing	CO	Abbey Belgian Style Ale Lips of Faith – Brett Beer 668 Chardonneighbor of the Beast	Witbier Dubbel Am Wild Ale
New England Brewing Company	CT	668 Neighbor of the Beast Friar's Quad	Am Wild Ale Belgian Style Golden Ale
New Holland Brewing Company	MI	Full Circle	Kölsch
New Old Lompoc Brewery	OR	8 Malty Nights Flower of the Gods** Heaven's Helles#	Quad Am Porter Am IPA
Night Shift Brewing	MA	Elxir Fallen Apple Paradiso	Munich Helles Lager Wheatwine Fruit / Vegetable Beer
NINE G Brewing Company**	IN	Infidel Imperial IPA**	Am Wild Ale
Ninkasi ^	OR	Babylon Believer Helles Belles Ninkasi Goddess**	IIPA Am IIPA Word Reference Munich Helles Lager
Northwest Brewing Company	WA	Infidel Lime IPA	Herbed / Spiced Beer



		Infidel	Am Pale Ale
		Laughing Buddha	Am Pale Ale
Odell Brewing Company	CO	St. Lupulin	APA
		Wayward Soul**	Am Brown Ale
Paradise Creek Brewery	WA	Hopocalypse Imperial Black IPA #	Am IIPA
		Sacred Cow Coffee Milk Stout#	Am Stout
Pinglehead Brewing Co (FL)		Ambitious Monk	Tripel
Pratt Street Ale House	MD	Oliver's Bishop's Breakfast	Oatmeal Stout
		Oliver's Black Friar Stout**	Am Stout
		Coventry Cream Ale#	Cream Ale
		Oliver's Godgifu**	English Brown Ale
		Oliver's Mad Monk	English Dark Mild Ale
		Oliver's Merry Ole (Christmas) Ale	Scottish Ale
		Olver's Old Habit	English Brown Ale
		Oliver's Pagan Porter	Am Porter
		Oliver's Sign of the Southern Cross**	Am Black Ale
		Oliver's The Bishop's Indulgence	Russian Imperial Stout
		Oliver's The Darkness#	English Mild Ale
Pretty Beer	MA	Confounded Mr. Sisyphus**	Belgian Pale Ale
		Lovely Saint Winefride **	Euro Dark Lager
		Saint Botolph's Town	English Brown Ale
The Prodigal Son Brewery	OR	Fatted Calf Sacrificial Stout	Am Stout
The Prodigal Brewery	NH	Brother Mutt's Smoked Marzenbier#	Rauchbier
		Prodigal Oktoberfest#	Märzen / Oktoberfest
		Reverend Potter's Baltic Porter	Baltic Porter
		the Necromancer**	Doppelbock
Ramapo Valley Brewery	NY	Demon Fuel Ale**	Am Strong Ale
		Divine Lite Lager**	Light Lager
		Passover Honey Beer#	Herbed / Spiced Beer
Redfish New Orleans Brewhouse**	CO	Angry Monk Ale**	Am Amber / Red Ale
Renegade Brewing Company	CO	Absconder Belgian Quad	Belgian Quad
		Cherub Rock# **	Pumpkin Ale
		Sunday Morning	Am Strong Ale

Right Brain Brewery	MI	Almost Holy Alter of Heaven Ginger IPA ** Resurrection The Second Coming Wicked Garden Wheat Willpower Pale Ale	Belgian IPA Am IPA Am Stout Am IIPA Am Dark Wheat Ale English Pale Ale
Rock Bottom Restaurant & Brewery	Multistate	Demon Sweat** Devil's Back Stout Devil's Stump** Devil's Thumb# Diabolical Dubbel** Diablo Pica Heaven And Hop** Fallen Angel Trappist Ale Heaven Hill Fest Heaven Hill Stout Hot as Helles Impious Stout Modern Monk Dubbel St. Nick's Fix#	Am Amber / Red Ale Am Stout ESB Belgian Strong Pale Ale Dubbel Fruit / Veg Beer Belgian IPA Belgian Pale Ale Altbier Am Stout Munich Helles Lager Russian Imperial Stout Dubbel Am Amber / Red Ale
Rockyard Brewing Company	CO	Buddha Nuvo**	Am Wild Ale
Rogue Ales	OR	Dry Hopped St. Rogue Red Ale	Red Ale
Russian River	CA	Beatification Benediction Consecration Damnation Redemption Salvation Sanctification Supplication Temptation	Am Wild Ale Dubble Am Wild Ale Belgian Strong Pale Ale Belgian Pale Ale Belgian Strong Dark Ale Am Wild Ale Am Wild Ale Am Wild Ale
Saint Arnold Brewing Company ^	TX	Bishop's Barrel 1 Bishop's Barrel 2	Russian Imperial Stout Old Ale

		Bishop's Barrel 3	Russian Imperial Stout
		Saint Arnold Christmas Ale#	Winter Warmer
		Saint Arnold Divine Reserve (1-14)**	Misc.
		Saint Arnold Icon Series - Amarillo Hefe	Hefeweizen
		Saint Arnold Icon Series - Bière de Saison	Bière de Saison
		Saint Arnold Icon Series - Cascadian Dark Ale	Cascadian Dark Ale
Saint Francis Brewing Company	WI	Greed	Kölsch
		Lust	Hefeweizen
		Wrath	Amber Ale
		Envy	Eng IPA
		Sloth	Brown Ale
Salmon Creek Brewery	WA	Brother Larry's Belgian	Dubbel
St. Boniface Craft Brewing Company	PA	Epiphany	Dubbel
		Libation	Am IIPA
St. Cloud Ale	UNK	St. Cloud	Belgian White Wheat Ale
Samson Craft Beer ^	NJ	--	--
San Diego Brewing Company	CA	Friar IPA	Am IPA
		Hop Goddess**	Am Strong Ale
Sante Adairius Rustic Ales	CA	Last Friday**	Am IPA
Selkirk Abbey Brewing Company	ID	Afterlife#	Belgian IPA
		Chapel	Witbier
		Deacon	Belgian Pale Ale
		Infidel	Belgian IPA
		Deacon	Belgian Pale Ale
		St. Augustine Rye Saison	Saison / Farmhouse Ale
		St. Joseph	Saison / Farmhouse Ale
		Saint Stephen#	Saison / Farmhouse Ale
		St. Thomas Black Saison#	Saison / Farmhouse Ale
Shmaltz Brewing Company	NY	"He'Brew" Series^	
		— Aged Messiah	Am Brown Ale
		— Bittersweet Lenny's RIPA	Am IIPA
		— Bittersweet Lenny's RIPA on Rye	Am IIPA
		— David's Slingshot Hoppy Summer Lager	Am Pale lager

		—Funky Jewbelation	Am Stong Ale
		— Genesis Ale	Am Amber / Red Ale
		—Hop Manna	Am IPA
		— Origin Pomegranate	Am Strong Ale
		— Rejewvenator Dubbel Doppel	Dubbel
Short's Brewing Company	MI	Ale La Reverend	Am IPA
		Beard of Zeus**	Am Pale Lager
		Dr. Zeus	English IPA
		Evil Urges**	Belgian Dark Ale
		Good Humans	Double Brown Ale
		The Good Samaritan**	Fruit / Vegetable Beer
		The Golden Rule	English IPA
		Pandemonium Pale Ale	Pale Ale
		Raisin Apollo	IIPA
		Stray Cat Street Fighting for the Devil	Old Ale
		Sustenance	Schwartz Beer
Silverado Brewing Company**	CA	St. Lucifer's Potion**	Tripel
Sixpoint Brewery (NY)		Righteous Ale	Rye Beer
		Apollo#	Bavarian Wheat
Snake River Brewing	WY	Devil's Teat**	Am Barleywine
		Le Serpent	Flanders Oud Bruin
		See You In Helles	Munich Helles Lager
		St. Alfonzo's Dubbel	Dubbel
		St. Marty's Choice	Scotch Ale / Wee Heavy
Spiteful Brewing	IL	Malevolence	Russian Imp Stout
St. Cloud Ale	UNK	St. Cloud	Belgian White Wheat Ale
Stewart's Brewing Company	DE	Stumblin' Monk Abbey Trippel	Tripel
Stone Brewing Company^	CA	Arrogant Bastard Ale	Am Strong Ale
		Götterdämmerung**	Experimental
		Levitation Ale	Am Amber / Red Ale
		Punishment	Am Strong Ale
		Ruinatation	IIPA
		Sublimely Self-Righteous Ale	Am Black Ale

Straight to Ale	AL	Brother Joseph's Belgian Dubbel Hell Or Rye Water Rye Pale Ale Hellfire Belgian Strong Ale	Dubbell Rye Beer Quad
Sun King Brewing Company	IN	Abbey Normal Batch 111 Aka The Golden Slumber Batch 666: Sympathy For the Devil** Batch 777: Touched By An Angel Chaka Eternal Promise of Spring**# Isis Osiris Pale Ale	Belgian Pale Ale Belgian Strong Pale Ale Am Black Ale Tripel Belgian Strong Pale Ale Belgian Pale Ale Am IIPA Am Pale Ale
Surly Brewing Company	MN	CynicAle Damien Diminished SeVIIIn Fiery Hell Hell Jesus Juice (Pinot Barrel Aged Three) Pentagram SeVIIIn	Saison / Farmhouse Ale Am Black Ale Belgian Pale Ale Munich Helles Lager Muich Helles Lager Braggot Am Wild Ale Belgian Strong Pale Ale
Three Floyds Brewery	IN	Apocalypse Cow Drunk Monk Hefeweizen Evil Power Formorian Priestess** In the Name of Suffering Masonic Rite** Moloko# Topless Wytch Zes Zes Zes **	Am IIPA Hefeweizen Am Double / Imp Pilsner Smoked Beer Am Black Ale Witbier Milk / Sweet Stout Baltic Porter Saison / Farmhouse Ale
Toppling Goliath Brewing Company	IA	Naughty Temple Pompeii IIPA Sosus**	Am IPA IPA IIPA
Uncle Billy's Brew & Que		Black Jesus** Black Jesus with Bugs**	Belgian Strong Dark Ale Belgian Strong Dark Ale

		Hell in Keller	Keller Bier / Zwickel Bier
		Triumph ESB	Extra Special / Strong Bitter (ESB)
Union Station Brewery	RI	Friar Brown	English Brown Ale
Vermont Pub and Brewery	VT	Forbidden Fruit	Fruit / Vegetable Beer
		Spuyten Duyvil	Am Wild Ale
Vertigo Brewing	OR	Friar Mike's IPA	Eng IPA
Weyerbacher Brewing Co (PN)		Blasphemy#	Quadrupel (Quad)
		Decadence**	Am Strong Ale
		Heresy	Russian Imperial Stout
		Merry Monks' Ale	Tripel
		Old Heathen**	Stout
		Prophecy**	Tripel
		Rapture **	Sour Red
		Sunday Morning Stout**	Am Double / Imp Stout
		Verboten	Belgian Style Pale Ale
Wicked Weed Brewing	NC	Dissident	Am IPA
		Friar Blonde	Saison / Farmhouse Ale
		Genesis Blonde Sour	Am Wild Ale
		Infidel Porter	Am Porter
		Lil' Heresy Brown Ale**	Am Brown Ale
		Oh Be Wicked Wet Hop Ale	Am Black IPA
		Oh My Quad**	Quad
		The Beets Within**	Am IPA
		Transcendence 100% Bretta Wild**	Am Wild Ale
		Zealot IPA	Am IPA
Wild Duck Brewery**	OR	Lucifer's Angel**	
Wild Heaven Craft Beers (GA)		Eschaton	Quad
		Invocation	Belgian Strong Pale Ale
		Let There Be Light	English Pale Mild Ale
		Ode to Mercy	Am Brown Ale
Wormtown Brewing Company	MA	Buddha Juice** #	Am IIPA

## Appendix C — Foreign Beer Branding With Religious References

<b>Brewery</b>	<b>Country</b>	<b>Beer</b>	<b>Beer Style</b>
Amsterdam Brewing Company	Canada	Black Friday**	Am Black Ale
Bières de Chimay^	Belgium	Chimay Tripel (White)	Tripel
		Chimay Grande Réserve (Blue)	Belgian Strong Dark Ale
		Chimay Preemiére (Red)	Dubbel
		Chimay Spéciale Cent Cinquante	Tripel
		Dorée	Belgian Pale Ale
Brasserie Cantillon	Belgium	Cantillon Zqanze 2013 / Abbaye de Cureghem **	Belgian Abbey Style
		Monk's Café Cuvee De Monk's Gueuze	Gueuze
Brasserie d'Orval	Belgium	Orval	Belgian Pale Ale
Brasserie de Rochefort	Belgium	Rochefort 6	Dubbel
		Rochefort 8	Belgian Strong Dark Ale
		Rochefort 10	Quad
Brasserie Dieu Du Ciel	Canada	Péché Mortel [Mortal Sin: French]	Am Double / Imp Stout
		Corne du diable (Horn of the Devil)	
		Chaman (Chaman)	Imp Pale Ale
		Elixir céleste (Celestial elixir)	Bohemian lager
		<i>Aphrodisiaque (Aphrodite)</i>	<i>Cocoa and vanilla stout</i>
		La Paienna (Pagan)	Blond ale
		Blanche du Paradis (Paradise white)	
Brauerei Schloss Egenberg	Austria	Samichlaus Hell 2012 Milles	Obergärige Biere / Ale
		Samichlaus Classic Bier#	Doppelbock
Brewsters Brewing Company	Canada	Blue Monk	Am Barleywine
		Hail Mary Chipotle Ale	Herbed / Spiced Beer
		End of Days	Am Strong Ale
Brouwerij Bosteels	Belgium	DeuS (Brut de Flandres)	Bière de Champagne
Brouwerij Duvel Moortgat NV	Belgium	Tripel Karmeliet	Tripel
		Duvel	Belgian Strong Pale Ale
		Maredsous 6 – Blonde	Belgian Pale Ale
		Maredsous 8 – Brune	Dubbel
		Maredsous 10 – Triple	Tripel
Brouwerij de Koningshoeven	Netherlands	La Trappe Blond	Belgian Pale Ale
		La Trappe Bockbier	Bock
		La Trappe Dubbel	Dubbel

		La Trappe Enkel	Belgian Pale Ale
		La Trappe Isid'or	Belgian Strong Pale Ale
		La Trappe Puur	Belgian Pale Ale
		La Trappe Quadrupel	Quad
		La Trappe Tripel	Tripel
		La Trappe Witte Trappist	Witbier
		Moreeke	Belgian Pale Ale
Brouwerij der Sint-Benedictusabdij de Achelse Kluis	Belgium	Achel Extra Blond	Tripel
		Achel Trappist Extra	Belgian Strong Dark Ale
		Trappist Achel 5° Blond	Belgian Pale Ale
		Trappist Achel 5° Bruin	Belgian Dark Ale
		Trappist Achel 8° Blond	Tripel
		Trappist Achel 8° Bruin	Dubbel
Brouwerij Van Steenberge NV	Belgium	Monk's Café Flemish Sou Ale	Flanders Oud Bruin
Brouwerij Westmalle	Belgium	Westmalle Trappist Tripel	Tripel
		Westmalle Trappist Dubbel	Dubbel
		Westmalle Trappist Extra	Belgian Pale Ale
Brouwerij Westvleteren	Belgium	Trappist Westvleteren Blonde	Belgian Pale Ale
		Trappist Westvleteren 8 (VIII)	Dubbel
		Trappist Westvleteren 12 (XII)	Quad
Companhia Cervejaria Brahma	Brazil	Brahma	Am Adjunct Lager
Crannóg Ales	Canada	Back Hand of God Stout	Irish Dry Stout
De Struise Brouwers	Belgium	Struise Tsjeeses	Belgian Strong Pale Ale
		Aardmonnik – Earth Monk	Flanders Oud Bruin
		St. Amatus 12	Quad
		Black Damnation	Russian Imp Stout
De Struise Brouwers	Belgium	Aardmonnik – Earth Monk	Flanders Oud Bruin
		Black Damnation	Russian Imp Stout
		Struise Tsjeeses	Belgian Strong Pale Ale
Durham Brewery	UK	Archangel	OldAle
		Benedictus	Am Barleywine
		Bede's Chalice	English Strong Ale
		Cloister	Eng Bitter
		Diabolus	Am Wild Ale
		Redemption	Old Ale



Evil Twin Brewing	Denmark	Temptation	Russian Imp Stout
		St Cuthbert / Magnificat	Am IPA
		Wenceslas	Czech Pilsner
		White Bishop**	ESB
		Evil Twin AÚn Más Jesús	Am Double / Imp Stout
		Evil Twin AÚn Más Café Jesús	Am Double / Imp Stout
		Burkini	IIPA
		Evil Twin Auld Yin	Am Double / Imp Stout
		Evil Twin Monk Suffers Serious Sugar Rush on Barbados	Belgian Strong Dark Ale
		Evil Twin Wet Dream	Am Brown Ale
		Evil Twin Yang	Am Double / Imp IPA
		Evil Twin Yin	Am Double / Imp Stout
		Evil Twin Yin & Yang	Black & Tan
		Bishop's Best Bitter	ESB
Golden Lion Brewing Company	Canada	Abbot Ale	English Pale Ale
Greene King / Morland Brewery	UK	Hell's Gate Genuine Pale Ale	Amerian Pale Ale
Hell's Gate Brewing Company	Canada	Hell's Gate Premium Lager	Am Pale Lager
Invercargill Brewery	New Zealand	Smokin' Bishop**	Smoked Beer
Le Saint-Back	Canada	Apocalypse	Am Black Ale
		Black Jesus	Am Wild Ale
		Chérubin	<b>Black IPA</b>
		Croisade	Witbier
		La Tabernacle	Am Porter
		Malédiction	English IIPA
		Pénitente	Milk / Sweet Stout
		Redemption	Witbier
Murray's Craft Brewing Company	Australia	Murray's Punk Monk	Scotch Ale / Wee Heavy
Oakham Ales	UK	Bishop's Farewell	Belgian Strong Pale Ale
		Green Devil IPA	ESB
		Inferno	Am IPA
		Preacher	Eng Pale Ale
Omnipolla	Sweden	Agammenon	Eng Bitter
		Nebuchadnezzar	Am Double / Imp Stout
Phoenix Trading Company	Denmark	Phoenix Lente#	Am IIPA
			Lenten Bier

Sapporo Beer Company	Japan	Yebisu (Premium)	Dortmunder / Export
		Yebisu Black Beer	Lager
			Euro Dark Lager
			Dortmunder / Export
			Lager
			Schwarzbier
Shepherd Neame Ltd	UK	Yebisu Cho-choki-jukusei	Am Amber / Red Ale
		Yebisu Creamy Top Stout	German Pilsner
		Yebisu Kohaku	Czech Pilsner
		Yebisu Silk Yebisu	English Bitter
		Yebisu The Hop	ESB
		Bishop's Arms House	English Bitter
Stift Engelszell/Gregorius	Austria	Bishops Finger	Eng Pale Ale
		Bishops Finger (3.5% Version)	Saison / Farmhouse Ale
		Canterbury Jack	Belgian Strong Dark Ale
		Benno	
		Gregorius	
St. Eriks Bryggeri ^	Sweden	--	--
St. Peters Brewery ^	UK	--	--
St. Peters Brewery ^	Australia	--	--
St Stephanus ^	UK	--	--
Unibroue	Canada	La Fin Du Monde	Tripel
		Don De Dieu	Belgian Strong Pale Ale
		Éphemère	Framboise
		Jerry Christmas	Belgian Strong Dark Ale
		Maudite	Belgian Strong Dark Ale
			ESB
Van Dieman	Tasmania	Little Hell	
Wadforth and Company Ltd	UK	Bishop's Tipple	Eng Bitter
		St. George and the Dragon#	Am / Red Ale
White Rabbit Brewing	Australia	White Rabbit White Ale	White Ale