

## MONASTIC EXPERIENCES OF THE LITURGY OF THE HOURS

### Empirical Liturgical Theological Explorations<sup>1</sup>

One of the central elements of monastic life is liturgy. Monks *live* liturgy in a twofold way. First, their whole life can be perceived as liturgy “so that in all things God may be glorified,” as Saint Benedict’s Rule from the 6th century states (RB 57, 9).<sup>2</sup> Second, there are focal points of liturgical density, which are constituted by the *opus Dei*, the Divine office: “We believe that the Divine presence is everywhere and that in every place the eyes of the Lord are watching the good and the wicked. But beyond the least doubt we should believe this when we celebrate the Divine office” (RB 19, 1). These two ways of living liturgy presuppose each other in monastic liturgical spirituality. On the one hand, you cannot glorify God in all things without participating regularly in explicit liturgical services, on the other hand those explicit liturgical practices are empty without a liturgical attitude in your life. Liturgical spirituality means to attune ritually your structure of life to a liturgical theological meaning.<sup>3</sup> Theologically speaking, the Mystery of Faith can in a monastic sense become visible in the Liturgy of the Hours, which after Vatican II was once again situated in the midst of the life of the faithful.<sup>4</sup> Unfortunately, only small groups of practicing Christians can rely on a vivid practice of the Liturgy of the Hours, and all too often contemplation has been separated from the liturgy in monasteries,

1. Parts of this study formed the basis for the lecture given at KU Leuven on 5 May 2015 for the opening of the chair for Liturgical and Monastic Spirituality which the author holds. Cf. Thomas Quartier, “Een school voor de dienst aan de Heer: Perspectieven voor liturgische en monastieke spiritualiteit,” in *Tijdschrift voor Theologie* 55 (2015) 219-230.

2. Cf. *The Rule of Saint Benedict*, ed. Timothy Fry osb. Vintage Spiritual Classics (New York: Vintage Books/Random House, 1998).

3. Thomas Quartier, *Liturgische spiritualiteit: Benedictijnse impulsen* (Heeswijk: Bernemedia, 2014).

4. Zusters van Bonheiden, *Christus ontmoeten in het getijdengebed: Spiritualiteit van de liturgie der Getijden*, Schrift en Liturgie 18 (Bonheiden: Abdij Bethlehem, 1993) 19-21.

as though it were something merely personal; a private practice.<sup>5</sup> Therefore it is good to take a closer look at monastic communities where this liturgical repertoire forms the core of life and where the contemplative character of liturgy can be rediscovered, also from the perspective of individual practice and liturgical services in parish churches.<sup>6</sup>

When coming to a monastery as a guest, many people first recognise the structure given to every single day by the monastic schedule: “It is very peaceful how the day is structured by the prayer services. It gives you a sea of time,” a young woman observed to a guest master in a Dutch monastery. He replied: “It’s excellent that you experience the peaceful atmosphere here and have plenty of time for the things you planned, but for us it is exactly the other way around: our day accomplishes prayer, the services are not just giving structure, but are the very core of what we do. We give *all* our time to prayer.” Experiencing the hours of the day liturgically does not imply a time management that helps people to relax or use their working hours effectively. It is also not a means to enter a meditative mode of religious experience. Both would suggest a merely functional understanding of liturgy. The meaning that is sought in monastic Liturgy of the Hours goes a step further: it is a *given* meaning of time, a reality that monks and everyone else who joins them may enter by placing their time in the eternal order of the Divine office.

For guests, this might sound too theological, too mystical and for some even too religious. But it is an interesting question: how can the Divine office be linked to concrete human experience? What can this kind of a lived liturgy mean for individuals and communities taking part in the Liturgy of the Hours today? Is the formalised nature of the services a suitable space for the participants to receive the meaning of faith? And how does the regularity and high sequence of the liturgical moments relate to modern perceptions of time? These questions are important for liturgical spirituality today, however there is not much reflection upon them in view of contemporary praxis.

Two approaches are necessary for possible answers; one empirical and the other theoretical.<sup>7</sup> The theoretical approach is necessarily liturgical, as the Liturgy of the Hours forms the main pillar of what can be perceived as a liturgical life. Within this *theoretical* approach, the *structure* of the liturgy can be viewed from a ritual perspective. The *meaning* can be approached by theological reflections. As for the *empirical* approach, actual

5. Anselm Grün, *Chorgebet und Kontemplation* (Münsterschwarzach: Vier-Türme, 2002) 15.

6. Cf. Achim Budde, *Gemeinsame Tagzeiten: Motivation – Organisation – Gestaltung*, *Praktische Theologie heute* 96 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2013) 14.

7. Thomas Quartier, “Praxis liturgischer Spiritualität: Methode und Theorie im Bereich der Klosterliturgie,” in *Ecclesia orans* 31 (2014) 447-480.

participants are the informants, particularly members of monastic communities. But how can we get access to their experience of structure and meaning? As our questions are intrinsically liturgical theological, and at the same time empirical, we need to conduct *empirical liturgical theological* research. For this we use riturological and theological analyses and at the same time the experiences of monks. What is their experience of the Liturgy of the Hours? And how does this relate to a liturgical theological understanding of this repertoire? In an interdisciplinary sense, the two enterprises (theoretical and empirical) only make sense if they are intrinsically linked in a methodological and theoretical process.

In this article we will present parts of that process, which was developed in research conducted in a Dutch and a German abbey. During fieldwork and study of literature, nineteen interviews with members of the two monasteries were held. In the first part we will describe the *liturgical theological* perspective taken (1) and in the second section the methodological choices selected for what we call *collegial research* (2), followed by the *research settings* (3). In the fourth part the dimension of *structure* will be addressed from a ritual perspective (4). In the fifth part we arrive at liturgical *meaning* in a theological sense (5). In the last section we try to reflect on the process and set out further perspectives (6).

## 1. Perspective: Liturgical Theology

According to the basic assumption of liturgical theology, liturgy shapes theology. It is not only its source or its objective, but a practice that makes the theologian reflect. Therefore it is impossible to neglect liturgical practice when reflecting on liturgy theologically.<sup>8</sup> However, at the same time we can say that it is impossible to neglect the dimension of scholarly reflection. For the Liturgy of the Hours this means that the practitioners of this intense liturgical repertoire *are* liturgical theologians in the first place, but only *fully* if there is a dialogue with those reflecting from historical, systematic or empirical traditions. Of course, the distinction between scholar and practitioner is somewhat artificial and hardly distinct. Many monks are excellent academic theologians, and many academic theologians are practitioners of monastic liturgy. Only an organic interplay between practice and reflection represented by different subjects in interpersonal communication or by one and the same person in an intrapersonal sense reaches the liturgical theological depth of experience. Liturgical theological perspectives on the Liturgy of the Hours come from the *choir*

8. Aidan Kavanagh osb, *On Liturgical Theology* (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1984).

*stalls*, but at the same time from the *library*, particularly if we focus on monastic experiences. It is the task of liturgical theologians to ensure that both sites are visited frequently. Just like monastic theology implies a solid “love of learning” (the library), as dom Jean Leclercq calls it, it needs the horizon of eschatological openness and the “desire for God” (the choir stalls).<sup>9</sup>

A good example of a practicing liturgical scholar is dom Angelus Häußling. He has conducted profound historical research on the reforms of the Liturgy of the Hours, taking into account experiences and formal developments in several historical periods. What has liturgical reform contributed to the liturgical theological view on the Liturgy of the Hours? According to Häußling, the basic characteristics of the repertoire must be kept up to make this liturgy what it should become in its very essence: “a space to exercise faith.” The concept of exercise means exactly what can be understood by our symbolic use of choir stalls and library: the exercising space can only be opened, if *structure* and *meaning* are cultivated. And cultivation implies the “love of learning” of the scholar as much as the “desire for God” of the practitioner. Both aspects, structure and meaning, can be found in Häußling’s diagnosis. For the aspect of structure he points to the necessity that liturgy “is not stylised too strongly, and that it is accepted as living environment.” Regarding the aspect of meaning, the author states that the Liturgy of the Hours offers the possibility to “find a language, and to receive the Word that can acclaim God without the pretention to do so exhaustively, and to ask for his coming and praise him.” For Häußling there is no other kind of liturgy where “silence and speaking are exercised in such an open way.”<sup>10</sup> Related to the questions raised by the contemporary monastic environment, it becomes clear that the structure of the Liturgy of the Hours has, first, what we call an *internal* dimension; how stylised is the liturgy? Next, it has an *external* dimension that relates to the living environment. How does the Liturgy of the Hours relate to the other practices of spirituality exercised by monks? With regard to internal meaning, Häußling’s notion of language can be interpreted in the sense of embodied meaning: in what way does the Liturgy of the Hours touch the embodied faithful words of monks that are recognisable when participating? Externally the question is what liturgical theological notions the experience of praying monks refers to.<sup>11</sup>

9. Jean Leclercq *osb*, *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God: A Study of Monastic Culture* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1982).

10. Angelus Häußling *osb*, *Tagzeitenliturgie in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Historische und theologische Studien*, LQF 100 (Münster: Aschendorff, 2012) 32.

11. Thomas Quartier, “Kloostertijd: Over het monastieke leven van de flexibele mens,” in *Tijdschrift voor theologie* 55 (2015) 18-36.

All these questions regarding the basic features of ritual imply both the perspective of the practitioner *and* that of the scholar.<sup>12</sup> An empirical liturgical theological approach implies that a method is found that integrates both sources of theological knowledge. It is far too simple to say in an empirical sense that the scholar provides the reflection (*love of learning*) and the monk the data (*desire for God*). This distinction does not do justice to the liturgical theological identity of both the monk and the researcher. The relationship between data and reflection becomes complex in our case. What is the data in liturgical theology? Is it just the concrete experience reported by monks in the choir stalls? Or is it also the theological writing about liturgy? And what is the reflection? Is it only systematic analysis using the library? Or is it also the recognition and deepening of this analysis by the act of praying in the Liturgy of the Hours?

Liturgical theology offers an interesting synthesis in this regard, constituted by the continuous interplay between what we can call *theologia prima* and *theologia secunda*.<sup>13</sup> Everyone taking part in empirical liturgical theological research is a liturgical theologian in the full sense of the word, be it in different forms and variations in the interplay between data and reflection.<sup>14</sup> As soon as this theological assumption is formulated, the next question is how it can be elaborated upon methodologically. How is it possible to gather data and analyses on the dimensions of structure and meaning, as we have illustrated with Häußling, without merely reflecting on the experience of others or just reporting your own experience without a solid relationship with the reflective tradition?

## 2. Method: Collegial Interviews

We are looking for a method that helps us develop empirical liturgical theological knowledge that relates to experience and systematic as well as empirical and historical reflection. How can the bridge be built between the historical diagnosis of e.g. Häußling and the experiences formulated in the introduction of this article? First, we have to clarify that we are not looking for systematic or historical methods here. The reason is, of course, not that they are less important than empirical approaches, but that our research question relates to contemporary experiences. This means that the

12. Thomas Quartier, "Ritual Studies: Een antropologische bezinning op de liturgie," in *Tijdschrift voor Liturgie* 91 (2007) 218-229.

13. Julia Knop, *Ecclesia orans: Liturgie als Herausforderung für die Dogmatik* (Freiburg i.Br.: Herder, 2012) 240ff.

14. Cf. David Fagerberg, *Theologia Prima: What Is Liturgical Theology?* (Chicago, IL: Liturgy Training Publications, 2003).

most important technical question of research design is of an anthropological nature. As it is always necessary to choose a paradigm in empirical research, we first choose a qualitative approach. This is because quantitative research is primarily more deductive. The researcher departs from a hypothetical model that is empirically corroborated. Qualitative research is mostly more inductive. Which method is best suited depends on the question you are trying to answer. As there is not much solid theoretical material available on the experience of the Liturgy of the Hours, it is in our case better to look inductively for possible sensitising concepts; always in dialogue with theoretical insights from different types of literature relevant for liturgical theology. Further, the interplay of practice and reflection within liturgical theology can be incorporated more easily in a qualitative approach.

Methodological choices always imply restrictions. Not choosing a theory testing means of research makes it impossible directly to link our findings to a theoretical model. It also implies not to be able to draw any conclusions beyond the setting chosen for the research. In our research this means that the choice for cooperating with monks from two abbeys as informants is the scope we are talking about. Just as the researcher, they can be considered liturgical theologians when asked to report on their insight in *theologia prima* regarding structure and meaning of the Liturgy of the Hours. The researcher brings in insights from *theologia secunda*, and in the conversations these perspectives can change constantly. To conduct interviews in this sense gives a *collegial* nature to the conversation. It is also restricted to a setting where concrete liturgical theology is developed. In social scientific literature this comes close to a *case study*, as Mill, Durepos and Wiebe describe it: "It is important that the setting for research is connected to previous theories, which form a foundation for the analyses and the interpretations in the conclusions. A researcher and a research subject interact constantly with each other in a case study, and maintaining mutual trust is, therefore, a part of the research process."<sup>15</sup> Such a qualitative research design implies a solid knowledge of the body of reflection, which means in our case theological tradition *and* liturgical practice. The element of trust means that the researcher is never only a neutral observant, but someone who relates to both theory and practice in an existential way. Researcher and practitioners are all liturgical theologians and act collegially.

For the researcher this touches on the complex relationship between data and theory. According to Glaser, this question is indeed essential, but is accompanied by the existential question of the researcher's identity:

15. Albert J. Mills, Gabrielle Durepos, and Eiden Wiebe, *Encyclopedia of Case Study Research* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2010) 67.

“What is the relationship between data and theory? Two less frequent questions, though quite important, are: how do we get those, who are afraid of it, into their data; and how do we get those stuck in it, out of their data?”<sup>16</sup> The researcher can on the one hand be existentially afraid of getting involved too deeply in the practices he wants to investigate. Is he a practitioner, then, and is that not prohibited by his claim of objectivity? On the other hand, there can be the existential fear of losing the nature of the practice when entering a more reflective theoretical level. Are you merely a theoretical analyst without substantive understanding? Both fears prohibit the researcher from engaging in a method that is really in collegial dialogue with liturgical practice.

In empirical liturgical theology, the collegial understanding of the research with all participants being liturgical theologians offers a possible escape route from the fears described by Glaser. Once the researcher and the other participants of the research develop this collegial understanding, it is helpful for everyone involved to discover their liturgical theology from an empirical perspective. A comparable idea of collegial research has been called “consultative research” by Ronald Grimes.<sup>17</sup> Grimes’s setting was a little different from what we are confronted with. In consultative research, an expert is asked for his contribution to a particular liturgical setting. This can also be the case with regard to the Liturgy of the Hours in a monastic setting. Often, however, it can be the other way around; the practitioners are asked by the researcher for their contribution. In that case it is more appropriate to speak about collegial research, as is the case with the project we are reporting on here; monks and researcher are colleagues, practitioners and interpreters.

We do not have the pretention here to develop all possible facets of an empirical liturgical theological case study, but just one possible way of data collection and reflection; collegial interviews with key informants. As I already mentioned in the introduction, we interviewed nineteen monks from both a Dutch and a German abbey. If we regard them as key informants this implies methodological advantages, according to Russel Bernard: “Are a few informants really capable of providing adequate information about a culture? The answer is, yes. However, it depends on two things: choosing good informants and asking them things they know about.” Are a few monks enough to tell us something about monastic experience of the Liturgy of the Hours? They are, not only because they have a liturgical ‘competence’ – a key quality for Bernard – but also because they all have

16. Barney G. Glaser, *Theoretical Sensitivity: Advances in the Methodology of Grounded Theory* (Mill Valley, CA: The Sociology Press, 1978) 15-16.

17. Ronald L. Grimes, *Rite Out of Place: Ritual, Media and the Arts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

a reflective formation on the topic and are able “to conceptualise cultural data in the frame of reference employed by the researcher,” which is Bernard’s second criterion.<sup>18</sup> Once we have made these choices, it is the task of the researcher to launch fieldwork in the research setting.

### 3. Setting: A Dutch and a German Benedictine Abbey

We expect a strong experience of the Liturgy of the Hours in a monastic context. As already stated in the introduction, the liturgical life of monks makes the Liturgy of the Hours the centre of their daily schedule. However, in monastic traditions there is great diversity concerning how the Liturgy of the Hours is celebrated. For our choice of appropriate research settings the criterion was that it should be monasteries of a contemplative nature. Therefore, we decided to contact two Benedictine abbeys whose observance in the first instance is focused on liturgical prayer. St Willibrord’s Abbey in Doetinchem in the Netherlands<sup>19</sup> and St Joseph’s Abbey in Gerleve in Germany<sup>20</sup> are both contemplative and follow a Benedictine prayer schedule. The reason for choosing two abbeys rather than only one was for the diversity of liturgical form. At St Willibrord’s the Divine office is sung in Dutch, whereas at St Joseph’s it is partly sung in Latin. Furthermore, there is a stronger stress on silence at St Willibrord’s than there is at St Joseph’s. Thirdly, Sext and None are combined at St Willibrord’s in one service, but not at St Joseph’s. These and other differences were taken into account when we visited the monasteries for participating in the Liturgy of the Hours. They were also part of the frame of reference used in the collegial interviews with the key informants.<sup>21</sup>

The topic of our research is in the first place the experience monks ascribe to the Liturgy of the Hours in their monastery. This means that we

18. H. Russel Bernard, *Research Methods in Anthropology: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*. Revised edition (Walnut Creek, CA: Alta Mira Press, 2011) 165.

19. For further information see: [www.willibrords-abbey.nl](http://www.willibrords-abbey.nl).

20. For further information see: [www.gerleve.de](http://www.gerleve.de).

21. The choice of the research locations, of course, has restrictions. The first important limitation is that we can only reflect on *Benedictine* forms of the Divine Office, not on other traditions that might differ strongly. Second, we chose two *male* communities. So we are not able to say anything about female experiences. Third, both locations are *Western European*. Other cultural surroundings might influence the experience strongly, but cannot be taken into account. We are not looking for any representative insights, but for explorative reflections on liturgical experiences as *theologia prima*. We have to be aware of these limitations, however we can still gain relevant liturgical theological data. As we are also not trying to analyse the locations or individual informants separately, we refer to their experience in general, anonymously. We only refer to significant differences between the two locations if they are theologically relevant. See the appendix for a list of the interviews (the interviewees have not been identified).



tried to interview comparable groups of key informants in both abbeys. The groups consist of eleven monks from St Willibrord's and eight monks from St Joseph's.<sup>22</sup> They were each interviewed for approximately 45 minutes and the interviews were taped. The topics elaborated upon in our conversations were in the first place the dimensions of the Liturgy of the Hours we derived from our field experience (introduction) and the historical analysis of Häußling. The frame of reference of the research was formed by *structure* and *meaning*, both in an *internal* and *external* sense. The monks were invited to reflect upon their personal liturgical experience connected with the liturgy regarding its structure and meaning.

The analysis was performed by coding the interviews and arriving at key quotations by the informants. This implies that we first identified codes in the data by open coding. After this we looked for connections between these concepts and in the end worked with selective coding.<sup>23</sup> This implies that we tried to choose quotes that help us conceptualise the informant's answers and relate these again to our conceptual frame of reference.<sup>24</sup> To handle the information, we restricted ourselves to the conversations and the liturgical elements referred to. Furthermore, we only show the last step of the analysis, which in practical terms meant presenting core quotations from the informants related to the four dimensions that formed the framework of the interviews.<sup>25</sup> For each dimension we selected six core quotations.<sup>26</sup> From these quotations we tried to conceptualise the experience connected to the dimension at stake. In this step of conceptualisation we came to three experiential concepts for each dimension from the theoretical framework (*sensitising concepts*).

In the following sections we will present the sub dimensions taken from the interviews, the core quotations, the respondent who gave the quotation and the experiential concepts in separate tables. By doing this we hope to broaden the liturgical theological content found in monastic experiences of the Liturgy of the Hours. The interviews were collegial, as the theological

22. The dialogue partners were volunteers from both abbeys. At St Willibrord's we interviewed almost the entire population of monks; at St Joseph's approximately 20% of the population was interviewed. This group represents the different age groups and the different degrees of education in the monastery. However, we can only speak about our respondents, not about the monastery of St Joseph's as such. As we will concentrate on major quotations, this was not our aim. Although the diversity of the respondents offers the opportunity of detecting sensitising concepts.

23. Mills, Durepos, and Wiebe, *Encyclopedia of Case Study Research*, 154-159.

24. Glenn A. Bowen, "Grounded Theory and Sensitizing Concepts," in *International Journal of Qualitative Methods* 5, no. 3 (2006) 1-9.

25. The choice of the quotations is illustrative. Comparable quotes can be found by several informants. In what follows, we only refer to the respondent who gave the quotation literally (cf. Informant's No.).

26. Bernard, *Research Methods*, 363.

content was introduced into the conversation, and because the experience was shared in a spirit of trust. Reflection (*theologia secunda*) and experience (*theologia prima*) were in a continuous interplay. Before starting the interviews we provided an open starting question for each of the four dimensions that formed our liturgical theological framework. These are set out in the table below:

Table A: *Research frame*

<b>Dimension</b>	<b>Starting question</b>
<i>Internal structure</i>	How does the structure of the Liturgy of the Hours constitute your liturgical experience?
<i>External structure</i>	How does the structure of your monastic life relate to the Liturgy of the Hours?
<i>Internal meaning</i>	Which elements of the Liturgy of the Hours are intrinsically meaningful in your experience?
<i>External meaning</i>	What is the meaning of the Liturgy of the Hours for your religious life and your theological frame of reference?

#### 4. Structure of the Liturgy of the Hours

The structure of the Liturgy of the Hours is an obvious dimension for all participants, in the sense of its regularity and its strict rhythm. For many groups visiting abbeys in the Netherlands and Germany the first feature of the prayer services noticed is its ‘formalism’. Connected to the experience described in the introduction that the liturgy determines the structure of the day, we found in our interviews with monks that they have a clear experience of the structure the liturgy *has* (internal) and the structure it *provides* (external). Both kinds of structure can make the Liturgy of the Hours a ‘living environment’ in the sense of Häußling. We will explore the major concepts from our collegial interviews with the monks as key informants in the following two sub sections. What does the experience of structure of the Liturgy of the Hours mean from a liturgical theological perspective?

##### 4.1. *Internal Structure: Liminal Moments*

For a newcomer, the formal structure of services in an abbey can sometimes seem narrowing. This is probably what Häußling means when talking about a liturgy that can become “too stylised” (cf. 1). At the same time, the structure of the services can be stimulating, as it gives space and time. A quote often heard is that the Liturgy of the Hours “keeps you engaged like a physical training programme.” The comparison with sports might sound odd, however training is usually only effective if you exercise with strict regularity; within this formal structure, surprising and uplifting mo-

ments can occur, as many sportsmen will attest. It is only possible for active trainees to experience these effects. In the liturgy, there is still another important aspect to consider. We are not only exercising, but also reciting a great deal of texts: psalms, hymns, lessons from Scripture and prayers. Different from sports, there is a content carried in liturgy. Is there still the possibility to participate in the content of the services when the structure is so formalised? From these kinds of observations and questions we distilled three codes that formed the framework for internal structure in the conversations: ‘structure’, ‘anti-structure’ and ‘content’. The next table gives the core quotations, the respondent who offered the quote and the concepts for the three codes:

Table B: *Experiences of internal structure of the Liturgy of the Hours*

Codes	Quotations	No.	Concepts
Structure...	is discovered only by participating regularly only becomes plausible within the rhythm of the day	1	regular
	gives a feeling of safety and trust	19	
	gives objectivity and reliability	7	given
	opens up free space for experience	12	
	makes it unnecessary to constantly make choices	3	liberating
Anti-structure...	contradicts your spontaneous inclinations	4	
	confronts you with your own state of mind requires to continuously find your place within the liturgy	17	alienating
	makes it necessary to go beyond a threshold each time	5	
	makes you see variation in the huge number of services	6	challenging
	helps you accept formalism and transcend it at the same time	16	
Content...	is not perceived exhaustively	18	transcending
	can sometimes be found in one single word or sentence	9	
	cannot be predicted fully from the texts recited	8	Associative
	can also occur in a moment of silence	6	
	opens the actual spiritual experience	10	enacted
	touches emotional layers of your liturgical participation	6	existential

What does the experience we tried to explore say about the theoretical body of knowledge on the internal structure of the liturgy? The first two codes we explored together with the participants (structure and anti-structure) run parallel with the theory of liminality developed by Victor Turner. This anthropologist identified the liminal state of people participating in rites of passage. In a broader sense, his notions of structure and anti-structure apply to many ritual and liturgical settings.<sup>27</sup> Obviously, the internal structure of the Liturgy of the Hours is experienced in the sense of structure and anti-structure by the monks. What is most characteristic for the liminal in-

27. Marcel Barnard, Johan Cilliers, and Cas Wepener, *Worship in the Network Culture: Liturgical, Ritual Studies. Fields and Methods, Concepts and Metaphors* (Leuven: Peeters, 2014).

terplay of the two? According to Turner, the characteristics of the participating subjects are 'ambiguous'.<sup>28</sup> This ambiguity does not mean that the identity is changed each and every time, but that it is formed by entering a ritual environment which evokes ambiguous experiences.

It is interesting that on all the three codes we find ambiguous concepts of experience. Structure is experienced as regular and given. However, in liturgy, for modern participants who are strongly socialised as autonomous and flexible actors, this also seems to be an ambiguous experience. This ambiguity can also be liberating. The same applies to the experience of anti-structure. Its alienating and challenging nature seems to be uncomfortable for practitioners who live in a society that usually places a strong emphasis on comfort. However, according to our informants, in the uncomfortable nature of the Liturgy of the Hours transcendence can be achieved. Finally regarding content, it seems unusual to recite texts not fully perceived in a cognitive sense. The associative and enacted nature of the perception of the context within the internal liturgical structure and anti-structure reminds many outsiders of the formalism they fear. The content becomes existentially relevant, but only in this different way of approaching liturgical texts.

The internal structure of the Liturgy of the Hours is essential for our informants because it makes them liminal subjects on every occasion. They are alienated within the fixed structure, and only in that state can they enter the content of the services liturgically. Interestingly, structure is experienced by monks from both abbeys, whereas the anti-structure is experienced more strongly at St Willibrord's. The reason might be that there is more silence in the services (two full minutes after reciting the psalms). The existential nature of the content is experienced in both abbeys, however some Dutch monks regretted the sometimes too colloquial native language of the psalms, whereas some German monks regretted being unable to fully access the texts in Latin. According to all the informants, the internal structural elements should in each case make clear that participants must give space to God acting within human existence. The strong stress on the word of God is an important element here, as Jo Hermans points out: it offers a structural basis for the "openness for God's word,"<sup>29</sup> which already touches on the dimension of meaning discussed in the next part.

28. Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-structure* (Chicago, IL: Aldine, 1969) 81.

29. Jo Hermans, *Het getijdengebed: Liturgie en spiritualiteit van het getijdenboek* (Oegstgeest: Colombia, 1995) 78.

4.2. External Structure: Ritualising Context

The observation of visitors that monks seem to live liturgically not only applies to the services in the oratory, but also to other moments of the day. Obviously the Liturgy of the Hours sanctifies the day. It provides a structure that is broader than the liturgical schedule. We call this an external structure. But what does that mean in monastic practice? The three pillars of Benedictine life (*ora, lege et labora*) might be an appropriate key to explore the experience of this external structure of the Liturgy of the Hours. How does the liturgical practice relate to reading, work and personal prayer of monks? The following table summarises the codes formed by the practices of reading, work and prayer, the core quotations, the respondents and the concepts.

Table C: *Experiences of external structure of the Liturgy of the Hours*

Codes	Quotations	No.	Concepts
Reading ...	A means of meditating on the psalms	7	deepening
	gives me spiritual background related to the psalms	2	
	can be on different texts than the text in the services	13	different
	sometimes gives another signal than the liturgical lessons	14	
	provides me with impulses I take with me to the services	15	inspiring
	is the basis from which my liturgical prayer emerges	11	
Work ...	surrounds the liturgical services, not vice versa	8	surrounding
	can always be interrupted by the Liturgy of the Hours	19	
	is sometimes too dominant in the daily schedule	14	dominating
	can sometimes overshadow the liturgical service	4	
	can be done peacefully when coming from the service	1	enriching
	is more fruitful when it is inspired by the liturgy	6	
Prayer ...	offers personal uplifting moments	4	personal
	is deeper in a personal way than liturgically	12	
	must be practiced to be able to participate in the liturgy	13	complementary
	is intrinsically linked to the liturgical celebrations	15	
	happens at unexpected moments during the services	3	gracious
	cannot be planned or scheduled in liturgy	5	

How does the structure of life relate to the liturgical structure, how is the relation between liturgy and the three pillars of Benedictine life experienced by monks? It is remarkable that all three practices of reading, work and personal prayer are linked to the Liturgy of the Hours by the informants. Although the relationship can be very different, it leads to a kind of ritual transformation. Inspiring, enriching and gracious moments are to be found in your daily activities, as soon as the Liturgy of the Hours forms the core. This transforming experience indicates that the activities of reading, work and prayer can be seen as ritual acts, as much as the Liturgy of

the Hours.<sup>30</sup> In the words of Ronald Grimes they form a spectrum of ritualising activities that culminate in a condensed way in the rite of the Liturgy of the Hours.<sup>31</sup> If this is the case, the union of the three is not only interesting, but from the perspective of liturgical theology even necessary. What does it mean then that *lectio* can be on something very different than the texts of the services? And that work is sometimes dominant, making it difficult to join the celebration fully? This implies a challenge to everyone living a liturgical life; according to the informants you can too quickly forget that the choir stalls form the centre of all activities. Of course you can be flexible in your choice of texts for the reading, and of course work has a dynamic character that must be taken seriously. However, only in a transformative sense that leads to a full experience of the liturgical structure culminating in the Liturgy of the Hours. Reading, work and personal prayer contribute to the ritualising context of monastic life.

The external structure of the Liturgy of the Hours is experienced in the sense of a schedule of the day which can help monks to participate fully in the different practices belonging to the ritual spectrum. It is important however not to forget the culminating structure of these practices. They find their condensed manifestation in the chapel. This also applies to personal prayer. Of course, it is linked to the gracious moments of monastic life, as we have seen in the quotations. But the relationship with liturgical prayer is experienced very differently. The monks from St Joseph's generally speaking draw a stronger distinction between liturgical and personal prayer. How is that possible? Again the silence at St Willibrord's could be important here; the prayer at St Joseph's simply does not leave much time, whereas at St Willibrord's the oratory is used for a common moment of meditation. Benedictine tradition from its very beginning has embraced both forms of prayer, but insists that every brother should be free to pray individually (RB 52). Combinations of personal and liturgical prayer are obviously different.

We must note here that the observation from our introduction is shared by all the monks we talked to, but at the same time they point to the difficulty of really ensuring that the Liturgy of the Hours forms the centre of the day, and not just some kind of an organisational tool; a sort of time management system. Especially in our society, efficiency dominates the way we gather information (*read*) and the way we organise our practical activities (*work*). The temptation is to let this paradigm overshadow liturgical prayer. That can, according to the monks, happen in a twofold sense.

30. Thomas Quartier, "Liturgische Spiritualität nach der Regel des heiligen Benedikt: Rituelle Konzepte und monastisches Leben," in *Studies in Spirituality* 21 (2011) 123-147.

31. Ronald L. Grimes, *Ritual Criticism: Case Studies in Its Practice, Essays in Its Theory* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1990).

The first is that you forget the observance to fully participate in the liturgy. Discipline is needed to ensure that if possible the whole community takes part in the services. The other danger is that prayer is also measured according to the criterion of efficiency. The temptation of becoming mechanical in the internal structure applies also to the external structure. The services are in danger of becoming just one more point on your agenda. The only way to avoid this temptation of mechanical praying is to focus continuously on its meaning; internally and externally. This is what we will try to explore in the next sections.

## 5. Meaning of the Liturgy of the Hours

The Liturgy of the Hours can be transformative and overarching in a monastic life due to its ritual structure. Although we should keep in mind that we are reflecting with our informants within a liturgical *theological* frame of reference. The ritual structure forms the basis that makes us search for the meaning of faith.<sup>32</sup> This is exactly what happens in liturgical theology: it is an embodied way of receiving meaning and searching for truth, “searching for God” as Saint Benedict calls it (RB 58, 7). According to Häußling, meaning in an internal sense implies to “find a language and receive the Word.” In an external sense it means to “acclaim God and praise Him” (cf. 1). From this intuition, we can distinguish an internal and an external meaning. First, internally speaking, liturgical language never simply forms a cognitive system of codes, but a complex way of liturgical dimensions that carry meaning. What are the dimensions of liturgy that are recognised as meaningful; as language to receive the Word? For the external meaning, the question is how the liturgical meaning indeed refers to the aim of monastic life: to search for God?

### 5.1. Internal Meaning: Embodied Liturgy

The most basic carrier of meaning is the human body. Liturgy is in its very essence a bodily practice. This means that participants are involved with their whole existence, not only partly or for a limited time. If we understand bodies of liturgy as existential carriers of meaning, there are three dimensions that seem to be at stake in a monastic liturgy: first, the individual monk who is not only present in an intellectual sense, but also as a physical, cosmic human being. What does it mean to be a human being and God’s creature in the Liturgy of the Hours? How does one relate to the

32. Robert Taft, *The Liturgy of the Hours in East and West: The Origins of the Divine Office and Its Meaning for Today* (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1986) 338.

cosmos? Second, monastic life in Benedictine tradition is highly determined by the community. It was Benedict's groundbreaking intuition that the individual is a liturgical subject and enacts this graceful state together with others. What is then the social embodiment of the Liturgy of the Hours according to our key informants? Lastly, Benedict provides us with a clear guideline for the shape of the Liturgy of the Hours. The psalms are organised in a particular way, and more than once he refers to monastic tradition as a guideline for liturgical embodiment (cf. RB 18,25). What does the body of tradition mean for the monks we talked to? The following table summarises the codes regarding the dimensions of embodiment, together with the quotations, the respondents and the concepts:

Table D: *Experiences of internal meaning of the Liturgy of the Hours*

Codes	Quotations	No.	Concepts
Cosmic...	The services constitute day and year	6	nature
	It is the virginity of the morning and the peace of the evening	18	
	The services touch you deep in your body	11	body
	Your biorhythm is determined by the services	1	
	In the liturgy you are part of a bigger whole	8	creation
	Liturgical prayer has a non-empirical working for the world	13	
Social...	The community carries you through liturgical prayer	16	community
	The community has to be capable of liturgical prayer	15	
	You have to accept disturbing factors in the community	9	tolerance
	The other participants have to be taken as they are	17	
	The monastic community is part of the Church in the liturgy	10	church
	Monastic communities form a worldwide liturgical network	18	
Traditional...	The traditional meaning is expressed in the liturgical form	7	rule
	Traditional meaning should not be changed quickly	17	
	The basic elements of the services form a stable meaning	11	essentials
	The language of the services provides meaning	9	
	Tradition shapes a way of prayer to receive meaning	2	attitude
	The grace to stand on tradition keeps the prayer open	5	

It is remarkable that all brothers see cosmic embodiment as an important carrier of meaning. The biological cycle of nature and your own body is recognisable to everyone and transcends the boundaries of your existence. This means that it leads to the feeling of being part of a bigger whole. According to Louis Marie Chauvet, your own body unifies three bodies that are a relevant input from *theologia secunda* to the experiences of the monastic *theologia prima* from our table: "Each person's own body is structured by the system of values or symbolic network of the group to which each person belongs and which makes up his or her social or cultural body."<sup>33</sup> Thus it is never justified to separate the physical body from the other dimensions. The social body that determines the cultural meaning

33. Louis Marie Chauvet, *Symbol and Sacrament: A Sacramental Re-interpretation of Christian Existence* (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1995) 150.



and the body of tradition that can for example be found in liturgical tradition. If we follow Chauvet, all three layers of embodiment are experienced within the bodily participation in liturgy. The language to be found and the Word to be received presuppose a meaningful bodily participation in the Liturgy of the Hours in a cosmic, social and traditional sense.

Monastic experience offers some keys to better understand this embodied internal meaning. As we have said, nature and your own physical presence carry meaning which opens participants to transcendence. The same applies to the liturgical community, the social body. The community carries the members through the difficulty of maintaining the bodily participation in liturgy. By being stable, it represents the Church as a liturgical community. Again, we find the idea that the body acting in liturgy transcends itself. Finally, the body of tradition is experienced as a recognisable, stable pattern that opens the individual to be able to 'receive the Word', to use the phrase of Häußling again. The attitude of a receptive participation implies the self-transcending body of every monk, as individual, as part of the community and as carrier of tradition.

The monks from both abbeys point us to the importance of fully participating in the Liturgy of the Hours with your whole existence, and at the same time not to get caught up in your bodily restrictions, social irritations or traditional legalism. All the recognisable realities of the body are potential carriers of meaning. As already stated in the Rule, Benedictine tradition offers openness to the development of all those dimensions. After having dealt with the sequence of the psalm in the Divine Office extensively, Benedict writes: "Above all else we urge that if anyone finds this distribution of the psalms unsatisfactory, he should arrange whatever he judges better, provided that the full complement of one hundred and fifty psalms is by all means carefully maintained every week and that the series begins anew each Sunday at Vigils" (RB 18, 22-23). The aim of Benedict's remark is neither relativism nor a strict fixism. The individual monk has the responsibility to recognise the liturgical body for his own participation in the group and monastic tradition. The psalms, as being a true repertoire in their completeness, represent both the Word you receive and a recognisable language and of course you need to take the responsibility of recognising your own internally meaningful dimensions of embodiment.

### 5.2. External Meaning: Liturgical Theology

Without an anthropological basis the full meaning of the Liturgy of the Hours cannot be sought.<sup>34</sup> The bodily participation constitutes the anthropological roots for liturgical theological meaning that can indeed be sought in the choir stalls. But how does this meaning relate to ideas from monastic theology formed in tradition? Is it possible to find explicit liturgical theological meaning in the experiences of our key informants? Is their *theologia prima* an embodiment of the Word that is also reflected on in the *theologia secunda*? The question underlying these considerations is whether the Liturgy of the Hours is indeed connected with three attributes that are important in liturgical theology, and which describe the reality that every liturgical celebration can touch. The first attribute is *liturgical*. Is the Liturgy of the Hours really seen as a Divine office? Second, one can refer to the *sacramental* character of the Liturgy of the Hours. This should not be restricted to the exclusive meaning of sacraments of course. Still, the gracefulness of liturgical celebrations can open a sacramental dimension in many liturgical settings. The third attribute we referred to in the conversations with our main informants was *mystical*. Is there a dimension of touching a Divine reality in the Liturgy of the Hours? Are there moments that the monks themselves would call mystical? By exploring these topics with our informants collegially, we hoped to identify theological arenas in which *theologia prima* from the choir stalls and *theologia secunda* from the library could once again meet. In the following table we depart from the three attributes liturgical, sacramental and mystical, add the quotations and the respondents and present the concepts we derived.

Table E: *Experiences of external meaning of the Liturgy of the Hours*

Codes	Quotations	No.	Concepts
Liturgical...	The Liturgy of the Hours is a condensation of life	4	personal
	The life of the community is brought to God	3	
	It is not a private affair to take part in the services	5	public
	It is not a question of taste how to participate in the liturgy	12	
	The aim of the services is in the first place to glorify God	15	divine
	It is important that there are people who do the work of God	19	
Sacramental...	Monastic life is directed to God, especially in liturgy	6	rooted
	The core moments of life are marked by the services	14	
	Prescribed daily prayer gives a sacramental dimension to life	16	official
	The sacraments and the office are complementary	4	
	During the services God's mystery is nearby	5	mysterious
	The empty space in the oratory is filled by God	2	

34. Edward Schillebeeckx, "Naar een herontdekking van de christelijke sacramenten: Ritualisering van religieuze momenten in het alledaagse leven," in *Tijdschrift voor Theologie* 40 (2000) 164-187.

Mystical...	The regularity of the ongoing office is mystical	2	rhythm
	The frequency of the services becomes mystical	8	
	Without an open heart the services can become mechanical	3	attentive-
	The mind must be receptive to reach the mystical meaning	15	ness
	There can be mystical enlightenment during the services	9	fulfilment
	By repeating the psalms, mystical meaning can occur	18	

The major levels on which the Liturgy of the Hours can be identified as a true Divine Office (*liturgical*) can indeed be found in the comments from the monks from both abbeys; the personal, the interpersonal and transpersonal.<sup>35</sup> On a personal level, your own life becomes the basis for searching for God. This touches directly on the internal meaning of physical embodiment. What we see here is a liturgical theological perception, an externalisation of meaning. The human person has the liturgical task to search for God and to glorify God.<sup>36</sup> The culmination of the three levels is the holy duty to literally fulfil the Divine office. This is comparable to the openness and transformative process we noticed earlier when talking about the structure of the Liturgy of the Hours. The external meaning of the liturgical character of the services obviously consists of stepping into a human liturgical repertoire which is directed towards God.

Here we already touch the second dimension of external meaning, which we call sacramental. Where the liturgical character of the Liturgy of the Hours means mainly human activity, the sacramental character means Divine activity in the first place. It is important to note that all the monks we talked to did not hesitate to use the word sacramental for this liturgical repertoire, although it is not a sacrament. The Divine presence is experienced strongly in the official way of praying in the Divine office. The participants are opened for the Mystery of God when they enter the liturgical reality. Tobias Benzing has shown that the anthropological activity of leaving the everyday order opens humans for sacramentality.<sup>37</sup> The liturgical theological meaning in this sense is dialogical. Human prayer does find its counterpart in Gods graceful act in Liturgy. The *opus Dei* is an act for God and at the same time, perhaps even more importantly, an act by God.<sup>38</sup>

Finally, we explored the mystical dimension of the Liturgy of the Hours with our key informants. The idea that the Liturgy of the Hours belongs to a mystical path is rather unusual. Often, mysticism is seen as a personal,

35. Thomas Quartier, "Gelebte Liturgie: Rituell-liturgische Explorationen benediktinischer Tradition," in *Jaarboek voor liturgie-onderzoek 27* (2011) 113-137.

36. Thomas Quartier, "Monastische Gütesiegel: Spirituell-liturgische Explorationen zu benediktinischem Stil und Sakralität," in *Jaarboek voor liturgie-onderzoek 28* (2012) 65-79.

37. Tobias Benzing, *Ritual und Sakrament: Liminalität bei Victor Turner*, Würzburger Studien zur Fundamentaltheologie 36 (Frankfurt a.M.: Peter Lang, 2007).

38. Taft, *The Liturgy of the Hours in East and West*, 340.

individualised practice which can occur on the basis of ascetical exercise, but which often does not have a liturgical character. Waaijman has shown, however, that the Liturgy of the Hours can be in the midst of the mystical tradition. The psalms which are recited and meditated upon represent a mystical theology. The Divine presence becomes touchable in tentative poetic ways of relating to your own human, emotional condition. Further, there are traditions, where the Liturgy of the Hours can be seen as an important means to go beyond the formalism and reach openness that is ultimately fulfilled by mystical moments.<sup>39</sup> Liturgical asceticism means to be able to exercise in a liturgical life, as well as in an explicit liturgical repertoire that God is willing to give the human person: exercise to remain in the choir stalls.<sup>40</sup>

In this sense, the idea of Waaijman to locate the Liturgy of the Hours in the midst of a mystical path that is often ascetic makes perfect liturgical theological sense. The rhythm our monks experience as a basis for their uplifting moments, the attentiveness developed in regular liturgical prayer and a glimpse of fulfilment are good equivalents for their *theologia prima*. We arrived at a point where *theologia prima* and *theologia secunda* obviously meet. What have we seen in our explorations? What did the empirical collegial research in the interviews add to the liturgical theological view on monastic experiences of the Liturgy of the Hours? In the last section we will try to reflect on the process and mention further perspectives.

## 6. Empirical Liturgical Theological Perspectives

We started our investigation with the suggestion that liturgical spirituality means to attune your structure of life to a liturgical theological meaning. We have tried to sketch a research design that allows getting access to the experience of the most striking liturgical repertoire for this attunement, the Liturgy of the Hours, in a dialogical way. The idea of interviewing monks as colleagues in liturgical theology forms an attempt to explore empirical liturgical theological perspectives. It turned out that monks are excellent key informants in our research design. The first reason is that they are the ones practicing a *theologia prima* in the choir stalls. The second reason is that they are reflective in their way of reporting their experience. In all the four dimensions of the Liturgy of the Hours, the codes we brought in from

39. Kees Waaijman, *Psalmvieringen: Vorm van getijdengebed* (Nijmegen: TBM, 2014) 41.

40. David Fagerberg, *On Liturgical Asceticism* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2013).

our framework were adequately recognised and led to significant core quotations and challenging sensitising concepts. These were brought into dialogue with central authors from *ritual studies and liturgics*. Of course, we shared this step of reflecting on the sensitising concepts using a *theologia secunda* with our collegial informants.

The two can definitively enrich each other. Let us look at two examples. The relationship between structure and anti-structure regarding regular liturgical patterns with a fixed internal structure is still not well reflected. It is interesting to see from the experience of our informants that it is exactly the element of a regular and continuous structure that leads to liberation, transcendence and existential depth (cf. 4-A). Another example is the external meaning of the Liturgy of the Hours. Here we see the same pattern; the fixed, repetitive meaning gives the openness that is called mystical by our informants (cf. 5-B). These are just two examples of how a liturgical theological inside perspective is developed in a dialogical way. If we would not have given our framework and its codes to the informants, we would have been less part of the collegial process.

We are fully aware that this study is far from complete. It calls for further research. A first field for further steps would be the extension of the qualitative data collection in the field (1). We focused on interviewing, which is just one possible way of getting liturgical experience in the picture. Observation, description, etc. would be important sources of data.<sup>41</sup> In this instance though, the impression from the interviews might offer a fruitful perspective. Second, the liturgical theological perspective could be broadened even more by sharing our findings with a bigger group of participants (2). We have already performed this in the form of a quantitative survey at St Joseph's abbey. On the basis of a liturgical theological framework that has been elaborated in a collegial manner, you can offer the elaborated frame to churchgoers in the form of a questionnaire.<sup>42</sup> Do non-residential participants at the Liturgy of the Hours, for example monastery guests, recognise some of the experiences? How do they relate to the interplay of *theologia prima* and *theologia secunda*? As they will mostly be more incidental participants, they can be seen as respondents, not as collegial key informants, although there will surely be exceptions. In the survey conducted at St Joseph's we found that the most important dimension for guests is the divine presence in the liturgy. This runs parallel with the experience that liturgical participation culminates in openness, divine pres-

41. Ronald L. Grimes, *The Craft of Ritual Studies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

42. Thomas Quartier, "Praxis liturgischer Spiritualität: Methode und Theorie im Bereich der Klosterliturgie," in *Ecclesia orans* 31 (2014) 447-480.

ence and mystical illumination. The dimension of community is less important for guests; they cast doubt on it in our questionnaires.<sup>43</sup> This differs from the huge importance the community has for the monks we spoke to. Here another dialogue could be challenging, broadening the empirical liturgical theological perspective again. Finally, a more practice oriented research in other liturgical settings could be interesting (3). If the Liturgy of the Hours can be seen as ‘the Church’s school of prayer’, as Robert Taft puts it, the monastic experiences from an empirical liturgical theological perspective can offer some valuable ideas. What does it mean in the parish that there needs to be a stable structure, in both a temporal and a social sense?<sup>44</sup> And how can mystical openness remain in parish liturgy? It is beyond the scope of this article to explore these kinds of questions. A hermeneutical pastoral liturgical method is needed here; a challenge for further research.<sup>45</sup>

Generally speaking, we can say that whatever method is used, it is always important to keep the complementary character of methods in mind. In this article we have seen that a liturgical theological methodological design can help to combine *theologia prima* and *theologia secunda*. And this was just one example. Revisiting our impressions at the beginning of the article, liturgy is, indeed, the central element of monastic life and worth exploring from the angle of monastic experience. This might help our understanding of liturgy and theology from the choir stalls and the library. Monastic life is an important source for this, as we touch the core of being Christian when learning from the experiences in a monastic community; one which, as Fagerberg puts it, is “a special form of Christian communion, one that exists in order to witness to the world and minister to the Church.”<sup>46</sup> We conclude with the liturgical theological plea to take the experiences from inside and outside this community as a reliable source for liturgical theology.

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43. Thomas Quartier, “Contemplative Hospitality: Empirical Explorations of Spiritual Experiences among Abbey Visitors,” in *Studies in Spirituality* 24 (2014) 271-289.

44. Thomas Quartier, “Erfahrungen des Stundengebets: Gebetsrhythmus, Gebetsgemeinschaft und Gebetsbotschaft,” in *Gottesdienst. Zeitschrift der Liturgischen Institute Deutschlands, Österreichs und der Schweiz* 49 (2015) 10, 77-79.

45. Budde, *Gemeinsame Tagzeiten*.

46. Fagerberg, *On Liturgical Asceticism*, 133.

**Appendix**  
*Interviews with Key Informants*

<b>Respondent no.</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Abbey</b>	<b>Date of interview</b>
1	68	St Willibrord	8 October 2014
2	55	St Willibrord	8 October 2014
3	62	St Willibrord	9 October 2014
4	76	St Willibrord	9 October 2014
5	52	St Willibrord	10 October 2014
6	70	St Willibrord	10 October 2014
7	60	St Willibrord	17 October 2014
8	75	St Willibrord	17 October 2014
9	60	St Willibrord	18 October 2014
10	52	St Willibrord	18 October 2014
11	70	St Willibrord	22 October 2014
12	60	St Joseph	28 October 2014
13	62	St Joseph	28 October 2014
14	50	St Joseph	28 October 2014
15	68	St Joseph	29 October 2014
16	62	St Joseph	29 October 2014
17	55	St Joseph	29 October 2014
18	60	St Joseph	30 October 2014
19	64	St Joseph	30 October 2014