PSYCHOLOGY AND SPIRITUALITY: MEETING AT THE BOUNDARIES

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OVER THE LAST SEVERAL DECADES many new ideas and insights about the human person have been filtering into spirituality from modern psychology. While there has been some tension between the two fields, on balance the increasing interchange has been quite beneficial to spirituality, enabling it to develop a more sound and integrated foundation than the unembodied and other-worldly stance it had adopted in the early part of this century.

PART ONE: INTRODUCTION

I. *Psychology and Christian spirituality: historical relationship*

More and more today, grace and the life of faith are understood to be lodged in the midst of our normal existence, so that they spread throughout all of our experience as its deepest and most significant dimension. In fact, one could argue that the close attention that psychology gives to the details of ordinary human experience can be very helpful in revealing the wonder and mystery that is so closely interwoven into the texture of our real lives, but which we may not notice if we think that the sacred has to be discovered in some other and special part of our lives.

If one engages in spiritual direction or similar forms of ministry today, it often seems that among many people who take their faith lives very seriously, even those who are actively engaged in the struggle against the terrible injustices and disparity of the world, a great number still feel a disquieting lack of contact with God as a real presence in their lives. This probably reflects the fact that the culture of the developed countries especially does not value or support religious belief as a public reality as much as it used to, so that explicit confirmation and nourishment are less available.

Nevertheless, when talking to these people it often appears to me that the real difficulty is not really God's absence, because their lifestyles are so remarkably filled with the power and giftedness and courage of the Spirit. It is more their need for a more nuanced understanding and appreciation of the sacredness of their lives and of the signs of God's involvement in the realities of the world. Spirituality is partly self-awareness and recognition, as well as search and yearning.

Consequently in the present article I would like to look more closely at the increasing interaction between psychology and spirituality in the hope of continuing to sharpen our grasp of the depths of human existence and of the meanings that surround it. Such a review could be helpful on another front today as well, since spirituality itself is emerging out of the shadow of other branches of theology, and establishing itself as an organized and scientific branch in its own right, with its own body of scholars, subject matter and developing methodology.[1]

Due to the shortness of space I will not try to investigate the many separate areas of psychology from which contributions have been made to spirituality, nor the many specific contributions themselves. Rather I will attempt to illustrate the evolving relationship between the two fields by comparing the developments which have taken place around four main topics which have been of common interest to both of them. These are: the understanding and approach to the human person; the importance of self-awareness and interiority to human growth and spiritual growth; the centrality of the helping or pastoral relationship as it operates in therapy and in Christian ministry; and models of personal transitions in psychology and in spirituality. In doing so in a brief space, I would like to dispense with any extended discussion of the technical similarities and differences between the two fields as sciences, although it will be necessary to give some simple definitions of both spirituality and psychology.

a. *Spirituality*. This word has had a wide usage. In theological discussion, it refers both to the actual living out of a person's faith, and to the study of the principles and patterns of that life in different cultural periods. For the present paper, we can settle on the definition offered by Sandra Schneiders, which is broad enough to cover our discussion, and specific enough to identify the necessary elements.

> Christian spirituality is that particular actualization of the capacity for self-transcendence that is constituted by the substantial gift of the Holy Spirit establishing a lifegiving relationship with God in Christ within the believing community. It is thus trinitarian, christological, and ecclesial religious experience.[2]

Clearly, the central feature of this understanding is that spirituality derives its identity from the human capacity to enter into relationship with God. This explicit acknowledgement of transcendence and of the indwelling of the Holy Spirit forms the basis of its differentiation from psychology. Its second major feature is that it is lived out within a community of believers constituted by belief in Christ and enlivened by the Holy Spirit, which makes it particularly Christian.

b. *Psychology*. Briefly, in the context of our discussion, psychology can be taken simply as the science of human motivation and behaviour. Since there are many different schools of psychology, we will emphasize those branches that are most directly concerned with the understanding and promotion of human growth and maturity, especially those which are at least basically compatible with the Christian understanding of what it means to be human. This would include the humanistic branches, represented by Rollo May or Abraham Maslow; many developmental theorists, such as Fowler, Gilligan, Kegan; and the major therapeutic schools of Freud, Jung, Rogers, Winnicott, etc.

II. *A brief history of the relationship of psychology and spirituality*

For much of its history, and continuing today, certain streams within psychology have been clearly hostile to religion, considering it to be unscientific superstition or an illusory escape from the realities and disappointments of life in the world. Over the last several decades however, a more open and dialogic attitude has gradually evolved, and many psychological principles have been informally accommodated within spirituality.[3]

One reason for the interchange is that psychology has begun to recover from its excessively narrow ideal of science, and to recognize the importance of meaning and symbolism in human life. Carl Jung's work on religion and symbolism as a conveyer of human wholeness makes him a prominent figure here.[4] Despite predictions of its demise, religion has proven to be an extremely persistent and important part of people's lives, as events in Eastern Europe and other areas of the world would confirm.

Secondly, on the part of theology, there has been a marked return to the domain of human experience as a source of its reflection. Life on the globe has become so different from the past that old answers no longer apply, and new questions have to be addressed, even in the area of belief. And as the surge of interest in theology has moved back to the situation of our lives here and now on this earth, the encounter with psychology, as one of the sciences of human living, was bound to expand. With the gradual overcoming of the stratification of grace and nature, psychological insights have become an integral part of the foundation of most contemporary forms of spirituality, just as healthy human development is now understood to be part of an authentic spiritual life.

III. *The development of science as the context of dialogue*

Bernard Lonergan understood scientific method as an entire new paradigm by which we began to understand the universe and our place in it in an entirely new way.[5] Up until the modern period, the sacred world view of medieval European Christendom provided a widely held and uniform understanding of reality. It rested primarily on mythological and religious explanation, whereas with the tremendous impact of the scientific age, now observation, experimentation and human reason became the normal way of understanding the universe around us.

Not intended as a repudiation of religion, the new scientific method nevertheless presented a severe challenge to the faith view of past centuries, and especially to the attitude that life in this world was not really important compared to the eternal life of heaven, and that our task here below was mainly to survive the arrows of fate and fortune with as much patience and fortitude as possible. The world was received complete and unchanging from the Creator and we could not really do very much to alter the conditions of life as they unfolded.

Now people began to see that nature too had laws and that human reason and ingenuity could alter the ancient rhythms of life on earth. Illness, starvation, plagues, wars could be controlled or eliminated, and vast new powers could be harnessed to the goals of human good. Now our task was to accept the responsibility for our own role in establishing the conditions of life around the globe.

Consequently, if there is anything that can be legitimately identified as a modern mentality, it is the belief that we are related to the world and to history as active players. Although today

we are beginning to see the limits of this early self-confidence, nevertheless, the spontaneous assumption underlying much of modern life, as well as much of contemporary spirituality, is that we are creatures of this world, and that wherever else we are to meet God, one of the primary places will be in the world and in our co-responsibility for its structures and fortunes. This is a premise that no viable contemporary spirituality can ignore.

Given the extent of this scientific transformation, it was inevitable that a science such as psychology would appear to investigate the human subject in a secular vein, and that it would be interested in those dimensions of human life and interiority that had previously been the preserve of the sacred. It is time now to turn to a consideration of the topics that will provide an illustration of the fruitful interchange of psychology and spirituality.

PART TWO: AREAS OF INTERCHANGE

Again, the four topics of comparison are: the nature of the human person; the centrality of self-knowledge; the function of the helping relationship; and models of personal transition in psychology and spirituality. All are closely related to the quality of human life, and exemplify the kind of informal interaction that has waxed and waned over the years.

I. *The nature and maturity of the human person*

There is a noticeable difference in the way traditional theological thinking and psychology have approached the nature of the person. It has been argued that the Christian view of the person introduced a new appreciation of the importance of the individual that had been lacking in earlier civilizations, notably compared to the stoicism of ancient Rome.[6]

Yet at the same time, the theological treatment of the nature of the person has been largely speculative and philosophical. Much of the attention was directed to defining the terms 'person' and 'nature' in the effort to clarify what is unique to the persons of the Trinity, or to understand the relationship of nature and person in Christ. While these issues were extremely important from a faith point of view, they lacked the explicit focus on the concrete human individual that is so characteristic of contemporary psychology.

As a result, from a pastoral perspective, the theological rumination has had a certain flatness. There has been a lack of attention to individual experience, as well as the stages of human growth

and development, so that moral matters were applied uniformly to all ages and circumstances. Spirituality tended to rely on the objective application of principles derived from dogmatic positions, without significant dialogue with the particulars of the lived situation. For example, masturbation was equally condemned regardless of age or circumstances.

Even the development of a serious spiritual life was taken to be a fairly uniform process of passing through the classical stages of 'purification', 'enlightenment' and 'union', and the uniqueness of the person tended to be overshadowed by the mystery of union with the Godhead.[7] The contempory awareness of the centrality of personal responsibility was not very well appreciated in novitiates and formation programmes where young religious were often expected to concentrate on surrendering their own will before they had attained a secure and autonomous sense of who they were. Joann Wolski Conn's new book, *Spirituality and personal maturity* provides an excellent example of the close interaction between the insights of psychology and the anthropocentric emphasis in contemporary Christian spirituality which provides a much sounder psychological foundation for the continuous and integrated process of human and spiritual growth.[8]

II. *Self-knowledge and interiority in spirituality and psychology*

For spirituality the interior of the human heart has always been the special domain of the sacred or the demonic. Reflecting the promise of Jesus in John 14,18 that 'you will know that I am in my Father, and you in me, and I in you', and the passage in Genesis 1,26 where God is said to make humankind 'in our own image', the tradition had long understood that God was to be found especially in the stilled silence of the recollected heart where the person came face to face with the inner mystery of their lives. Athanasius, in his classic *Life of Anthony,* depicted Anthony's forty years of solitude in the Egyptian desert as a spiritual odyssey in which the founder of monasticism learned to seek the face of God in the silence of his own heart, and in the process learned of the deceptions of the demons that raged there as well.[9]

He had first to learn a special kind of self-knowledge or inner wisdom, and only then was he able to become one of the legendary spiritual directors of Church history. Centuries later, Ignatius of Loyola also spent many months alone in the cave at Manresa where he claimed to have learned more about the spiritual life than

he did in all his years of schooling. According to St Teresa of Ávila, self-knowledge was one of the lasting necessities on the journey through the rooms of the inner mansion to the centre of the castle where Jesus dwells in the soul.[10]

This rich interiority is the foundation of the great contemplative tradition of Christianity which espouses a special 'knowledge impregnated by love' that comes through quiet dwelling at the 'centre'. Only through such attentive listening, for example, did the saints learn compassion and begin to see others with the 'eyes of the Lord'.[11]

a. *Freud and the advent of psychoanalysis.* However, there are other kinds of self-knowledge entirely, and when Freud arrived on the scene at the beginning of our century, he was motivated by a different spirit altogether. Moved not by the search for the God within, he was urgently trying to understand the human person from a secular and empirical perspective. Representing the new scientific spirit, he was fascinated with a new view of human interiority called the 'unconscious', which he took to be a natural human phenomenon rather than sacred, and which he urged his contemporaries to study 'scientifically' without the superstition of religion or the resistance of entrenched ideas.[12] As we know, Freud was not to find any signs of God in the depths of the psyche, but rather the false and debilitating illusions of religious faith which he was anxious to banish as soon as feasible.[13]

Nevertheless, Freud opened a radical new way of investigating and reflecting on the nature of the human psyche and the dynamics that govern our lives together, and his initiative was to have a tremendous impact on spirituality. Gradually, as the analytic school gained credibility and we entered a 'psychological age', self-knowledge for the average person no longer meant 'the discernment of spirits'. It became a secular and human process. We now seek to understand our natural dynamics, our parental relations, defences and personality profiles, complexes and unconscious desires. It is as though we have found 'laws of nature' that will allow us to achieve control over the subjective world as well as the external one.

b. *Secular and sacred styles of seeking self-awareness.* In attempting to clarify the differences between the traditional contemplative way of seeking self-awareness, and the therapeutic approach, Adrian van Kaam has given them the descriptive names of 'transcendent'

and 'introspective' styles of self-presence.[14] While the word introspective can suggest negative connotations, he does not intend to suggest that either way is superior to the other, but simply different. He argues that the modern method has brought significant advantages to human self-awareness but that the traditional contemplative one also retains great value. Both are needed for healthy spiritual growth in our complex society.

By introspective Van Kaam means the contemporary psychological analysis that seeks to be a reasonable, logical and precise investigation of some particular and natural aspect of our inner experience. It is limited and precise in that it does not concern itself with more general questions about the person's life, notably their faith, or the meaning or ultimate purpose of life.

It functions by separating and analysing segments of the person's self-experience, such as the feelings surrounding an event or relationship. For example, a therapist tries to clarify the exact feelings of a client as opposed to those the person may have learned are appropriate, or that society expects. Its questions are direct, logical, focussed, immensely detailed. Its insights are limited, clear, and frequently liberating. But in being precise, it is also specialized or compartmentalized. It does not look at the whole of the person's commitment to life.

By the way of contrast, the transcendent or contemplative method is not precise or logical, but open and global. As used here, it is a religious viewpoint, and a person entering into a contemplative stance of this kind assumes that they are standing within the relationship and the presence of God. Rather than a particular feeling or crisis occupying the central focus, its fundamental horizon and meaning matrix is the gospel view of the self as a beloved creature standing within the ambience of God's love.

With this kind of 'transcendent self-presence', the person assumes herself to be a member of the community of brothers and sisters of the Kingdom who are loved and supported by providence. Any other issue or personal problem is considered within that framework. Consequently the self-learning that results may not be detailed or precise, but it reaches deeply into the person's experiential sense of who they are. And it relativizes any particular issue that comes up in introspection by holding it up before the wider horizon of God's forgiving love for the person. The person is not left as an isolated ego working on a problem by their own agency alone.

When a person uses analytic reflection as the exclusive approach to self-understanding, they will see themselves in terms of the particular personality problems they are reflecting and working on. They become the person who has this trait, or this challenge. And their worth depends on success in dealing with it.

Nevertheless, Van Kaam argues that the analytic or introspective is quite valuable even within spirituality. As a general tool, it helps a counsellor or minister doing pastoral work to deal more helpfully with people who are caught in symptomatic or avoidance behaviour, or who need to be more exact about what it is that is holding them back. Sometimes a good deal of general spiritual ministry is really an unwitting support of dysfunctional life-styles that is not recognized by either party because the person is actually unable to contemplate, and their efforts at self-understanding are unfocussed, generalized or frankly escapist; whereas some good focussed self-reflection or even sometimes a referral to a professional therapist could quickly bring more clarity and freedom with less misdirection and frustration.

c. *The complementary role of the two styles.* Certainly 'introspective' analysis is not enough. In the context of Christian spiritual growth there must be an openness to the healing and expanding horizon of God's love. Ultimately it is the awareness of God's love and support that underlies the believer's growth, both in coming to terms with their own personal dilemmas, and in moving outwards to the promotion of the Kingdom of love and justice with others. No exclusively analytic self-understanding of one's own individuality is going to do that. There must be a balance which includes the gracious receptivity of an accepting and appreciative openness to the presence of God, as well as the alert and focussed inquiry of modern analysis. Otherwise we have good reason for saying that 'we cannot pray', or that 'God is not in my life'.

More could be said about the complementarity of these two styles of interiority, but a reference to St Augustine's *Confessions* where both styles were implicitly present will have to suffice. In this book of his conversion, Augustine always begins and ends each chapter by addressing God as his lover, listening and attentive. Yet in the body of the chapter he examines his own inner motives and the progress of his conversion with a degree of psychological nuance that has scarcely been surpassed since. The detailed examination takes place within the general awareness of God's abiding presence, even though that is not the focus. There is a natural

balance of contemplative dwelling aided by the inquisitive focus of introspection. At some times in a person's life, both are necessary, but an exclusive reliance on introspection is alienating and inadequate for reaching the life of faith.

As theology has begun once again to 'contemplate' human experience in our times as the source of God's communication with us, we have begun to recognize that the sacred does reside within the everyday realities of our existence. It is in interpersonal relationships, and in our efforts to restructure our social conditions according to the values of the Kingdom of God, that we begin to realize both the interest that God has in our lives and the concrete responsibilities that we bear for our own world as a treasure entrusted to us in love, rather than simply something given to us for our understanding and use. This is a knowledge of love, one that is not reached only through analysis or pragmatism.

III. *Understanding the helping relationship*

Psychological advances. Formal helping relationships where two people meet in a systematic way for the primary purpose of aiding one of the parties to grow in a human and/or spiritual manner are very common in both psychological and ministerial settings. However, they have only been subjected to careful and controlled scrutiny since the advent of modern psychology. Especially within the different theoretical schools, countless observations, hypotheses, and analyses have been directed to understanding the purposes and goals, levels and types of communication and mis-communication, the ambiguities and complexities that arise between the participants, and that variously aid or hinder progress. And while this research has been conducted within the psychological community, the application to pastoral ministry has been obvious.

Up until recently, spiritual directors and ministers of many stripes could wield their craft with scarcely a thought about such complicating factors as transference and counter transference, psychotic denial, selective attention, natural human needs and growth patterns, female and male personality profiles, and a whole litany of psychological complexities that can interfere both with the relationship between the two people and with the beneficial results of the process itself. Obviously these factors were often recognized and dealt with subconsciously in the past, but often they were not, and there is no more clarifying process than shining a flashlight on a dim object and giving it a name.

It is clear that the safeguards of these new discoveries have been of immense value to a wholistic spirituality. Responsible spiritual directors and pastoral counsellors today, for example, will be much more aware of the popular psychological literature on such topics as the art of listening, the need for self-awareness, the dangers of seeking to satisfy hidden personal needs in their ministry, the need for psychological referral, and the responsibility of the person for their own lives.[15]

IV. *Models of transition and conversion according to Freud and John of the Cross*

a. *From the pleasure to the reality principle.* Over and above these general remarks, there is one particular emphasis in Freud's thought that lends itself to an important reflection for spirituality. That is his utilization of the transition from what he called the 'pleasure' to the 'reality principle'.[16] Freud was convinced that the real motives and desires of human beings are often veiled even to themselves, and that a great deal of constant energy is invested in maintaining that state of self-oblivion. And so it is the challenge of therapy to assist a person to overcome this resistance to self-awareness and come to terms with the many levels of themselves in a balanced and reasonable manner. Unfortunately, however, it is much more comforting to remain in the state of ignorance than it is to face the conflict within ourselves, so there is great resistance to the process of therapy.

In Freud's view, the person must learn to overcome a preference for psychic comfort or 'pleasure' and face instead the tension of seeing the truth or the 'reality' of life as it is actually encountered. The client does this by discovering its advantages through the relationship with the therapist who is herself exercising this mode of seeking the truth.

During therapy, the client learns that the therapist is actually interested in the details of their personal lives without preconditions or judgments. This is usually in striking juxtaposition to the client's normal assumption that it is always of primary importance to please the other person or at least avoid unpleasant circumstances, and that this is the one necessity that must precede all other purposes, including the recounting and discovery of one's personal truth. Ernest Becker's book, *The denial of death*, endeavours to show how central this principle is in our own society.[17]

For Freud, this subtle difference between the rules of normal exchange and those of the therapeutic relationship represents an immense shift in the person's ability to pay serious attention to their own attitudes and preferences. It may be the first time that the clients are actually able to scrutinize their own inner life with genuine curiosity, without the instinctive worry about how they should be feeling or how it could appear to others. They then begin to be more factual, insightful and honest about themselves. For the first time in their lives they begin to have accurate data about previously unsuspected areas of their affectivity. They have moved from the pleasure to the reality principle as their spontaneous mode of living and, in Freud's eyes, they have achieved a degree of psychic freedom. There remains the task of transferring this new attitude to the pursuit of daily life.

b. *From self-concern to love in John of the Cross.* There is a great similarity between Freud's thought and that of John of the Cross in his discussion of transitions in the spiritual life and in the experience of the dark night of the spiritual life. John wrote the poem that expresses the dark night while he was unjustly imprisoned for nine months in conditions which nearly took his life. He was hard pressed to remain charitable toward his fellow friars who had imprisoned him, and he was buffeted by the searing temptation to lose faith in his own convictions and admit that he was wrong in his dedication to the reform of his order. Perhaps, as they said, he was prideful and illusionary? The easy or 'pleasurable' resolution would have been to give up his cause and so be released both from prison and from all of this tension. Yet he chose what seemed to him in his conscience to be the right course. And eventually he emerged from this struggle with a deeply purified appreciation of God's love and a tremendous understanding of the spiritual life of others from which he was able to be an immense help to others as a guide and writer.

But it is important to notice that John's experience was open to the transcendent in a way that Freud was not. He was not simply trying to face the truth of his own unconscious dynamics. He understood himself to be trying to live up to the reality of his life before God, to recognize and follow the call of grace within the circumstances of his life in this situation. In other words, his struggle was not primarily a psychological one, but was being played out in the deepest and most ultimate centre of his being. It was a spiritual struggle involving the ultimate relationship of his

life. John was fired by a love that elevates and transposes this struggle in a manner which enabled him to write the greatest mystical and love poetry of the Spanish language, and thrill millions of people who have read his work with the tangible sense of a remarkable intimacy with the God for whom he lived.

Spirituality is greatly abetted and solidified by the findings of solid psychology. Yet spirituality is not simply psychology. And it is in making this distinction, and in meeting people where their need transcends the wisdom of natural science, that poses one of the great challenges of Christian ministry today. Many people in the contemporary Churches have attained a reasonable psychological maturity and realism, yet are searching for some credible way of recognizing the sacred in the midst of their lives. Many are already living a responsible life, even a generous faith life, including volunteer work or heroic dedication to the causes of peace and justice. And many are looking to theology courses, spiritual directors, parish programmes wherever they can be found, in search of an understanding and experience of the signs of God's presence and involvement in their daily lives and in the struggles of the world.

And so today especially, it is not psychology in itself that people need from the Church, but an evolving spirituality that helps us all to recognize the presence of Christ in a world where the sacred is not only less publicly recognized than it was in earlier centuries, but where the challenge and call to create the Kingdom in the world is so much more obvious and compelling.

NOTES

[1] Schneiders, Sandra: 'Theology and spirituality: strangers, rivals or partners?', in *Horizons*, vol 13, no 2 (1986), pp 253–274.

[2] Schneiders, p 266.

[3] Studzinski, Raymond: 'Psychology', in *New dictionary of theology*, ed J. Komonchak, M. Collins, D. Lane (Wilmington, Del: Michael Glazier, Inc., 1988), pp 818-823.

[4] Jung, Carl: *Modern man in search of a soul*, trans W. S. Dell and C. F. Baynes (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1933). See also Jung, C.: *Symbols of transformation*, trans R. F. C. Hull (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976); and Jung, C.: *Psychology and religion* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1938).

[5] Lonergan, Bernard: 'Theology in its new context', in *Theology of renewal*, vol 1, ed. Dorval, P. Q.: (Montreal: Palm Publishers, 1968), p 35.

[6] Tillich, Paul: *The courage to be* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1952), p 170.

[7] A. Poulain's book, *The graces of interior prayer*, trans Leonora Yorke Smith (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd, 1910), is an early example of the attempt to nuance the

movement of the spiritual life with an appeal to the phenomenology of the experience itself, rather than the more traditional dogmatic discussion.

[8] New York: Paulist Press, 1989.

[9] Athanasius: *The life of Anthony and the letter to Marcellinus* (N.Y.: Paulist Press, 1980).

[10] Teresa of Avila: *The interior castle*, in *The complete works of St Teresa*, trans E. A. Peers (London: Sheed and Ward, 1978), pp 187–351.

[11] Ware, Kallistos: 'The spiritual father in Orthodox Christianity', in *Cross currents*, vol 24 nos 2/3 (Summer/Fall 1974), pp 296–313.

[12] Freud, Sigmund: *The origin and development of psychoanalysis* (Chicago, Ill: Henry Regnery Co., 1955).

[13] Freud, Sigmund: 'Obsessive actions and religious practices', in the Standard Edition of *The complete psychological works of Sigmund Freud*, vol 9, ed J. Strachey (London: Hogarth Press, 1959), pp 115–127. Also *The future of an illusion*, trans W. D. Robson-Scott, ed James Strachey (New York: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1964).

[14] Van Kaam, Adrian: 'Introspective and transcendent self-presence', *Cross & Crown*, vol 26, no 3 (September 1974), pp 242–52; and vol 26, no 4 (December 1974), pp 373–82.

[15] Schneiders, Sandra: 'The contemporary ministry of spiritual direction', *Spiritual direction: contemporary readings*, ed Kevin Culligan (Locust Valley, N.Y.: Living Flame Press), pp 41–46. As a contrast article, the early article by Charles Cooper would be a good illustration of changes that have been made since then, notably the obvious clerical viewpoint and the connection with the sacrament: 'Direction, spiritual', *The Catholic Encyclopedia* 5 (1909), pp 24–5.

[16] Freud, Sigmund: *An outline of psychoanalysis*, trans J. Strachey (New York: W. W. Norton Co., Inc., 1949).

[17] Becker, Ernest: *The denial of death* (New York: Free Press, 1973).