

From Rejection to Embracement: The Catholic Perception of Spiritism in Brazil

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The history of the relationship between Spiritism and Catholicism in Brazil can be traced through pivotal moments in the trajectory of the First Republic and the religious field since the 19th century, reflecting Brazil's evolution into a modern, urban, and industrial society. Introduced to Brazil in the 1880s, Spiritism initially faced severe opposition from the Catholic Church, being dismissed as superstition and demon worship due to its engagement with death and spirits. Unlike Christianity, Spiritism denies the divinity of Jesus, the resurrection, and the sanctity of Church sacraments, viewing demons and angels merely as disembodied souls at different spiritual stages. Early perceptions were further complicated by the mixing of Spiritism with African and indigenous rites, which led critics to associate it with madness and mental health threats. However, the relationship between Catholicism and Spiritism in Brazil has evolved positively, particularly following the popularization of Spiritism by figures like Chico Xavier. Modern Brazilian society, characterized by increased education and religious syncretism, has grown more tolerant of diverse practices and beliefs, diminishing historical prejudices against Spiritists. This qualitative study, drawing on scholarly research and first-hand interviews, reveals that Spiritism's acceptance among Brazilian Catholics is due to its convergence with contemporary social values and the evolving profile of the average Catholic. Despite possessing a religion-like character, Spiritism is seen less as a distinct religion and more as a complementary set of practices and beliefs that enhance Catholic faith. This phenomenon mirrors the integration of Agama Hindu practices, reinforcing rather than undermining traditional religious identities.

Keywords: spiritism, Brazilian Catholicism, religious syncretism

Introduction

The history of the relationship between Spiritism and Catholicism can be told taking into account some decisive moments in the trajectory of the First Republic in Brazil and the religious field since the 19th century throughout the emergence of a modern, urban, and industrial Brazil (Lewgoy, 2006, p. 2).

Ostracized by the Catholic Church and its followers when it got to Brazil in the 1880s, Spiritism was previously related to superstitions, scams involving the "flying tables" and even told to be a religion of worshippers of the Devil because of its approach to death and dead people. Spiritism was considered to be the opposite of Christianity because Spiritists are not Christians.

They do not believe that Jesus is God, that He died and rose on the third day after His crucification. They don't believe either that Jesus was the Savior of the world, they do not believe in the Church, in the sacraments,

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in demons. For them, these would be just disembodied souls at a lower stage and, angels, disembodied souls at a higher stage. They don't believe in saints, nor in a prominent place where the saints of God are.

Mixing Spiritism with African and native rites also made sense for those who did not know the doctrine in depth because mediumistic contacts with spirits were common in cures and other rituals of the indigenous and slaves (Schroder, 2020).

If there was another point in common, it was timing: at the same time that Spiritism left the elite to penetrate the popular classes, the spiritualism of the slave quarters was free to circulate through the cities after the end of slavery in 1888. The main critics of Spiritism at the turn of the 20th century saw it as a legacy of African beliefs and classified the cult as a contagious disease, capable of driving adherents to madness (Schroder, 2020).

However, even after a difficult start, the relationship between Catholicism and Spiritism in Brazil keeps getting stronger each day, with the Catholic Church being the main source of converters to Spiritism or "sympathizers", as the people who consider themselves Catholics but accept some of the ideas and engage in some Spiritist rituals call themselves (Rodrigues, 2012, p. 174).

What you see today in Brazil is a Spiritism recognized as a religion, and Rodrigues (2012) states that independent surveys have consistently appointed the growth in the number of Spiritists from 463,400 people in 1940 to 3,848,000 in 2010, increasing perceptually from 1.12% to 2.02% of the total population in the same years (Rodrigues, 2012, p. 17).

In this work, however, I argue that even though Spiritism possesses a religion-like character in Brazil backed by government's recognition, its embracement by the Catholics comes from the fact that it is actually not seen as a religion of its own in Brazil, but a compilation of practices and beliefs that have showed themselves to compliment their faith, in the same way Barraud (2017) describes the Agama Hindu.

Literature Review

Religion

There are many concepts that will be cited in this work. One of them is religion. Geertz (1973) in his work "Religion as a Cultural System", which treats religion as a system of symbols, states that it is a compilation of cultural and belief systems that ends up establishing symbols that relate humanity with spirituality and their own moral values. In this idea, Geertz sees religion as a model for and a model of reality, creating the model the society is built under, but also reflecting how society is and should be.

However, Asad (1983) on "Anthropological Conceptions of Religion: Reflections on Geertz" provides criticism towards Geertz' idea. He states that Geertz not only fails in providing more historical excavation, but also reminds the reader of the power of classification systems (how do we classify what is a religious symbol and what is not?).

Perhaps Asad's greatest contribution in this paper is reminding the reader that Geertz writes with a white, Christian worldview and, even though there is nothing wrong with that, the reader should be aware that this bias is there and make the necessary research.

In the era of colonization that followed the voyages of discovery, more empirical data were gathered from distant lands, which led to the emergence of particular types of "paganism". Over time, "Eastern religions" have been classified as inferior and incomplete versions of Christianity, with their imperfect deities, erroneous scriptures, fraudulent miracles, and superstitious cults. These entities had their birth in the imagination of Western

thinkers, for whom distant and exotic localities came to constitute the scenario on which Europe's parish confessional interests could be projected (Harrison, 2006; Masuwaza, 2005).

Crucially, just as the multiple forms of Christianity were assumed to be mutually exclusive, so were those other "religions". World religions, in this way, were created through the projection of Christian disunity in the world. Its creation in the Western imagination is, according to Smith (1978), recorded on the date that indicates its birth: "Buddhism" made its first appearance in 1821, "Hinduism" and "Taoism" in 1829, and "Confucianism" in 1862 (Smith, 1978, p. 6).

This can be seen as well in Masuzawa's (2005) *The Invention of World Religions, or, How European Universalism Was Preserved in the Language of Pluralism*, where she debunks the Eurocentric view on those religions. This is especially interesting in this study because Spiritism began in Europe in the 1850s, right after the arrival of those eastern religions to Europe (or right after they were discovered by Europeans, actually).

In Chapter 4 of her book she states: "Buddhism was unquestionably foreign and archaic, but also unexpectedly modern and resonant with current conditions (...) its character rigorously philosophical and indulgently ritualistic." (Masuzawa, 2005, p. 121).

Masuzawa (2005) also writes that all the "unchristianlike incrustations and divisions which have marred the original teaching of the Head of our religion exist in spite of Christianity" (p. 130) and that, while Christianity is indeed a religion, Buddhism is no religion at all, but a system of morality and philosophy.

This resonates with Spiritism in a sense that even though Spiritism was heavily criticized not only in Brazil, but also in Europe after it started for going against the Christian religion and being an "atrocity", but at the same held itself in a position that it was contemporary and stated itself as a philosophical doctrine rather than a religion. In this way, the creation of Spiritism has possibly absorbed Buddhist notions.

In this work I build my analysis on the basis that it is all about domination. There is no such thing as a real religion, but social, political, and economic practices and the inclusions and exclusions of those who can or cannot participate in them.

In the case of Catholicism, it is seen as the dominant religion for now in Brazil since it was the State religion until 1890, but its number of adepts has been consistently decreasing, giving more room for atheism and other doctrines and practices with no Christian origin (Ribeiro, 2012).

As we can see in Holt's (2009) *Spirits of the Place: Buddhism and Lao Religious Culture*, the political change in Laos was accompanied by challenges and transformations in religions as well. This happened in Brazil as well with the introduction of the secular state and later in the 20th century the change in the population's view of Spiritism, with its values infused in society on TV shows and books and charity centers. In this way, political ideology comes to legitimate the claim to power, giving here the importance of political history.

Spiritism

Another term that the reader must be familiar with is Spiritism itself, since it originated in France but has suffered considerable changes in Brazil. The Spiritist Doctrine, or Spiritism, or also known in Brazil as Kardecism was founded in 19th century France by Allan Kardec, pseudonym of French pedagogue Hippolyte L éon Denizad Rivail.

In its beginning, this doctrine was never specifically addressed as a religion. His proposal was to understand the world and its relations with the "beyond" in an unusual way, since it was defined as a science of experimentation and a philosophy that comprises moral consequences, or in other words as a science, a philosophy, and a religion at the same time. Brazilian Spiritism, however, is heavily characterized by its religious profile. Also, there are another differences in the relationship between the Spiritists and the disembodied souls they communicate with, having in Brazilian Spiritism an emphasis on familiar spirits, while in French spiritism the communication was with unknown spirits.

There are two groups of authors who talk about the Brazilian singularities of Spiritism, one defending that they are distortions of the principles originally established in France and, on the other hand, there are those who see them as an original reconstruction.

The authors of the first group emphasize the hypothesis that in France Spiritism had a more philosophical and/or more scientific character, unlike Brazilian Spiritism, in which the religious side stands out today (Arribas, 2011).

Sylvia Dam ázio (1994) states that, far from being a simple misrepresentation of the original principles, as the first group of analysts say, Spiritism could not have maintained its "purity", since it had to respond to different social and cultural imperatives.

In this work, I see Spiritism in Brazil as an original reconstruction of the original using Arribas's (2011) argument that Brazilian Spiritism would have undergone a process of reinterpretation when it arrived in Brazil influenced by the Brazilian cultural formation. For her, the differences presented by the same religion in different places are the result of specifically regional social strategies, which seek to resolve the dilemma: adaptation versus preservation of principles (Arribas, 2011, p. 320).

According to her, at least three were the main factors that conditioned and stimulated the process of accentuating the religious character of Spiritism in Brazil, the first factor being the fact that the group of religious profile gained greater prominence within the Spiritist movement, concentrated in the Brazilian Spiritist Federation, an institution that emphasized the Spiritist flag of charity (Arribas, 2011, p. 335). The second factor talks about the transformation of Brazil into a secular country with the Proclamation of the Republic, guaranteeing freedom of worship and creating a legal mean that allowed Spiritism to survive as a religion. And, finally, the approval of the Penal Code—which punished certain practices of healing and Spiritism. This made Spiritists emphasize the religious aspect even more, showing that their works of charity were not for profit, but religious, managing to escape police repression (Arribas, 2011, p. 335). Therefore, we can understand how Spiritism was reconstructed into a very different way from the French Spiritist movement.

Soul

It is important to state also what is the concept of soul discussed here. According to Catholic doctrine, immediately after death, a person suffers the particular judgment in which the destiny of his soul is specified. In this context, she has a soul and her soul, which is neither eternal nor liable to reincarnate, must end in heaven, hell, or purgatory.

Howell's (2016) work on the Chewong, a hunting, gathering, and shifting, cultivating group from Malaysia rainforest, introduces the concept of "ruwai" as a consciousness/soul. Following his ontology and cosmology every thing and living being can be a subject, so the author argues animation of the forest.

According to him, there is a specific identity where there is no separation of the human and everything else, the human plus everything that has ruwai against what doesn't. In this way, the holders of ruwai can wear "cloaks" that allow them to look like something else, as shapeshifters and if they stay for too long out of their cloaks they can forget their human qualities and embrace the characteristics of the group they are in (Howell, 2016).

In Spiritism, however, the concept of soul is the individual himself, the person himself—whether on earth or in the spiritual realm. In the materialist thesis, it is the organic vital force, a kind of purely material electricity, that animates bodies and extinguishes with death. In a practical way, then, we call the incarnated souls (in the case of intelligent beings, human beings, people, and later animals), while we call the disincarnated Spirits, but they keep being the same, eternal, looking to evolve and reincarnate.

The Religious Leader

The profession of priest is recognized by the Ministry of Labor and is part of the Brazilian Classification of Occupations (CBO), the opposite from Spiritist leaders, which are not seen as professionals, just as religious leaders. The social role of this professional (priest) is extremely important. In addition to reproducing teachings of the Christian faith, he provides emotional and spiritual support to the community.

In most cases, priests must be prepared to serve the community at any time or day, live in or near the church, and live on a daily allowance. They have their basic expenses paid and receive an extra amount of money, a kind of salary, proportional to the financial situation of the parish they serve.

The greatest return of the priesthood profession is not financial. This professional is accomplished with the social transformations that he provokes through the teachings of the Christian word. In the Catholic Church, the most expressive religion in Brazil, the priest has the responsibility of listening and guiding the faithful and carrying out the sacraments, which are the sacred rites of this doctrine.

Spiritists leaders are very different from the Catholic priests. Firstly, they can be a man or woman, at any age, and don't need to study Theology to become a leader. They are expected, though, to be more advanced spirits, have a certain medium ability developed, and have studied especially the second book of Spiritism, *The Medium's Book*. They also usually don't dedicate their life to it at all times, they are people with normal jobs who, at night, host Spiritist sessions often in their own homes to help the community in terms of charity and advance their knowledge.

Mauss in *A General Theory of Magic* (1902, republished in 1972) analyses the elements of magic, and he separates them into three categories: the magician, the actions, and the representations of magic. When talking about the magician, Mauss says they are the person who performs the magical rites, someone with extraordinary powers about things. This power comes from gestures, words, how magicians look at things, and even their thoughts are powerful and can influence, in addition to nature, gods, spirits, and men.

For him, people who have something unusual have the vocation to become magicians. It is not whoever wants it who can become a magician, they need to have some qualities, some acquired others that you are born with. The magicians are often intelligent, and these descriptions relate to the Spiritist leader, a medium that is always reading more, asking more, and deepening their knowledge.

The second part told by Mauss is the magic rites themselves, which can trace a parallel to the Spiritist "passe" (laying of hands). They can include common gestures and sophisticated rituals. They can also last for days or hours, and involve the use of different types of materials (stones, hair, food, plants, bones, shells, etc.), other utensils that help the magician to perform them, real magic instruments like wands, knives, mirrors, etc. And they are always expected to be effective in changing the reality of something, they are the art of change. The magic rite is usually not held in public places, such as religious rites.

Of course, not all of Mauss' reflections are true to the Spiritist leader, he says magicians are often nervous, agitated people, sometimes have a physical trait that differentiates them, and are usually mysterious people and

that they are usually away from society, separated, keeping their secrets. These assumptions are all opposed to the profile of the Spiritist leader, but it is essential to see the power of classifications by Asad (1983).

It is also interesting to see how the picture of the magician has changed through time. In the past, these peoples were considered as magicians, being separated from society and with people being even afraid of them. This is what used to happen with Spiritist leaders when the religion was established in Brazil. But nowadays these "magicians" are seen as religious leaders, embraced by society and often very influential and loved by the community.

Methodology

Qualitative Research

Taking as its starting point the objective of this research, it makes use of the qualitative research method, which is considered to be the most appropriate for the kind of analysis intended.

Qualitative research is interpretive, and Tesch (1990, p. 55), points out that, in qualitative research, the researcher gathers information that cannot be fully expressed in numbers. As does the quantitative methodology of research, the qualitative one also has its limitations, which in this case is the possibility of the results being refuted by scholars that make use of other theoretical bases since the conclusions drawn are not entirely prevenient of empirical data.

However, after considering the advantages and disadvantages of using each methodology the qualitative approach has been considered the best one for this purpose and adequate to produce knowledge and contribute to the academic society.

Interviews

This study also makes use of first-hand interviews as well as interviews retrieved from research material that I found during the development of this paper that are clearly referenced in academic format with reference and credits to original owners and authors.

I conducted short interviews with six people about their personal experiences with Spiritism and their thoughts on Spiritist practices and how they relate to other religions in Brazil. In these interviews, I could notice the flexibility of religion in Brazil, being connected to everything that people do on a daily basis even though they don't realize its presence. These interviews also address the multiplicity of religions, cults, beliefs, and religious movements present in the Brazilian scenario.

Religious Syncretism in Brazil

Religious syncretism in Brazil is a complex social phenomenon: it has developed since the arrival of the Portuguese in the country, when different people began to have contact with each other. The existence in Brazil of many cultural and religious traits, initially considered to be incompatible and diversified, became a peculiar form of religious practice over time: the union of different and antagonistic religious and cultural elements in one element (Ribeiro, 2012, p. 17).

In Brazil, Catholicism suffered a lot of resistance from the people it was trying to convert. What is more curious is the fact that the dominant religion itself was also influenced by the dominated cultures over time, mainly in the popular mode of doctrine, practiced on a daily basis in people's homes. This process according to Ribeiro (2012) was very subtle and often indirect, being a slow cultural process which takes generations.

Aborigines and, later, Africans had a great influence, indirectly, on Catholicism itself. They added a level of superstitions and healing practices to popular Catholicism. The fear of the unknown, of the dead, respect for the deceased, all of this was absorbed by both cultures (indigenous and African) (Ribeiro, 2012, p. 18).

This reality in Brazil helps to understand the naturality of the people who consider themselves Catholic and engage in Spiritist practices. Those people don't see Spiritist practices as being invasive of their own religion as they are and have been already embedded in their routines for generations.

Chico Xavier's Impact on Brazilian Spiritism

In the beginning, Bezerra de Menezes, the "doctor of the poor" who, with 30 years of political life, had lost his wife and two children, was responsible for calming spirits and bringing spiritists together in a more cohesive movement. Without material attachment, he started to assist the needy without charging for the service and soon he was poor himself, being a charismatic figure, a man of high morals seen as the best option to assume the presidency of the Spiritist Federation, which he did in 1889, in the height of the dispute between mystics and scientists.

Bezerra de Menezes struggled to end the differences. A scholar of Kardecism, published translations and wrote numerous texts and books, always emphasizing that helping the poor and needy was the greatest spiritist duty. The dedication led him to be called "the Brazilian Kardec". He overcame internal disputes and defined that spiritualism in Brazil would be a religious doctrine and dedicated to social causes, a valid guidance until today.

However, it was Chico Xavier who made Spiritism what it is today in Brazil. Chico had heard voices since childhood. Born into a poor family, he met Spiritism in 1927 when he sought help for a sister and, at 17, he founded a simple spiritist center, in a wooden shed where he began to psychograph texts dictated by spirits (Schroder, 2020).

After posting some writings in newspapers, in 1932 he published the first book, *Parnaso de Al én Túmulo* (*Parnassus beyond the Tomb*, in free translation), an anthology of poems that would have been dictated (psycographed) by dead Portuguese and Brazilian writers, among them Cruz e Sousa, Augusto dos Anjos, Casimiro de Abreu, Artur Azevedo, and Olavo Bilac.

The controversy surrounding the veracity of the work did not prevent Chico from continuing to publish psychographic writings, many with touches of nationalism and all encouraging Christian charity. In 1943, he published his most successful book, *Nosso Lar (Our Home*, in free translation), the first in a series of novels in which he tells, based on the dictation of a spirit, what life is like in the world of the disincarnated (Schroder, 2020).

When he appeared on TV Tupi's Pinga-Fogo program, on July 28th, 1971, Chico Xavier established the largest audience on Brazilian television so far. There, he achieved the rank of greatest religious figure in a country with a Catholic majority, being synonymous with charity, solidarity and kindness, values that were already ingrained in the Brazilian people (Schroder, 2020).

In this way, Chico managed to bring Catholics closer to the Spiritist Doctrine, so close that, in the future, there wouldn't be even a clear distinction between them.

On June 30th, 2002, Chico died. It was two days of funeral, with a lot of commotion and people making lines for kilometers. There were people who waited hours for a few seconds of goodbye. Many people touched the medium's right hand, the one he used to psychograph messages. In the procession to the cemetery, there were more than 30 thousand people (Assumpcao, 2010).

In an interview written by Isabela Assumpcao on March 26, 2010, she collected some testimonials translated here: "A saint who is in heaven, watching over us here on Earth", says retired Ana Maria Paulino de Jesus. "God gave him eternal rest in glory," says housewife Teresa Lopes, at the medium's grave. Assumpcao reflects in her report: "Real rest, maybe Chico will not have it, if he is going to respond to requests that keep coming." (Assumpcao, 2010, p. 1). Assumpcao mentions another testimony, this time on her interview with Isolina Aparecida Silva, who sells flowers in front of the cemetery and claims that the water is powerful and has already cured a headache that she felt. She tells Assumpcao: "For me, it is holy water, sacred water," says Isolina. These testimonies exemplify the clear mix between Catholic and spiritual concepts by Chico's followers.

In an interview by Assumpcao with anthropologist Sandra Stoll, from the Federal University of Paraná (UFPR) and the University of São Paulo (USP), who studied the life of Chico Xavier, she says that what happens in the cemetery is a mixture between Spiritism and Catholicism, typically Brazilian. She states that Chico Xavier was considered a holy man in life, who, for Catholicism, would do miracles.

But Chico Xavier did not work miracles, nor was that his proposal. The anthropologist says in this same interview with Assumpcao that when one goes to the grave of Chico Xavier nowadays in search of a cure, people look for something that is outside the Spiritist field of Chico Xavier (Assumpcao, 2010).

His greatest contribution to Brazilian Spiritism was therefore that, in his words, the religious aspect of doctrine and the value of charity became the norm in Brazil, putting in the background the scientific discussion, which was so interesting to the French and English intellectuals of the 19th century. He was among the ones responsible for bringing Catholicism so close to Spiritism that the Catholic population started to read the Spiritists novels, go to Spiritist centres, and take part in their practices even when they did not convert.

Findings

During my interviews, when I asked my interviewees how familiar they were with the Spiritist doctrine and their beliefs, three of my interviewees said to be extremely familiar with Spiritists beliefs, two of them said they were familiar with it, and one of them said they only knew the basics of it, or as they put it themselves "the important stuff", but interestingly all of them knew who Chico Xavier was and even short stories about his life and the movie about him.

It was interesting to see how six of them said to believe that we have a soul, although there was an interesting experience with the use of the word "have". Spiritists believe we "are" souls, we "are" embodied spirits. And animals have souls, too, in the contrary of what Catholics say. This can be related to Descola's (2013) *Beyond Nature and Culture*, in which he discourses about the importance of ontologies and the ways different people live in the world. In this work, he comes up with a particular ontology that regards Religion as an object, being it not the truth of the way the world really is.

One of my interviewees pointed out that she believes she has a soul, and once she dies her soul will go to heaven or purgatory. But she is not a soul. She is herself as God has created her, with her body that has a soul inside. For Spiritists, we are a soul that currently has a body. This clearly shows how even though she takes part in Spiritist practices nor does her identity nor do her core Catholic beliefs change in regards to that.

I also asked them what made them feel closer to Spiritism, allowing them, if not to convert to it, to keep following it or at least performing its practices. The answers I got were that there are no prohibitions, invasive rules, dogmas that people need to follow and that it is a very free and inclusive religion overall, contrasting with

Catholicism and Neopentecostal Evangelicalism, the two most prominent religions in Brazil, which are notoriously more conservative.

In the same way, Masuwaza (2005) brings a reflection on those during the 19th century who was less certain as to "whether they really needed a religion, (...) traditional to Europe (...) or whether a philosophy with no eternal life attached (and no eternal damnation, for that matter) might not be a good thing after all" (Masuwaza, 2005, p. 131). This feeling can be seen in their answers as well. This wonder about the necessity of a true religion is found in Brazil's Catholic population searching for Spiritist practices overall.

Masuwaza also states that there were also people who suspected the affinity between "the true Buddhism" and the comparable "true Christianity" wasn't superficial, but instead deep (Masuwaza, 2005, p. 131). This can also be seen in the interviews when the interviewees try to do just like Chico Xavier and bring these two closer, stating that they are actually related. They don't feel "less Catholics" for taking part in Spiritist practices because they feel like the true purpose of both "religions" is actually the same.

They also stated that in Spiritism there is no sense of guilt or fear of going to hell, and that it makes more sense to them to treat us like evolving souls. Spiritism was also founded as a way of applying scientific method to explain the beliefs, so it gives them more assurance of what they believe without hurting their faith, giving a continuity, or being more complete than Catholicism in this sense.

Another reason is that Spiritism doesn't require a frequency of going to the centre as people go to Church, so it is a more flexible religion and better suited to modern life.

Conclusion

The embracement of Spiritism in Brazil suffered a long process, being particularly successful after Chico Xavier's rise to popular taste. The prejudice against Spiritists that was previously incited by the Catholic Church has been consistently decreasing as the Brazilian society lives its religious syncretism more freely and starts to have more access to education, becoming more tolerant to other practices and beliefs as well.

Despite Spiritism possessing a religion-like character in Brazil, as seen in the researched material (especially Rodrigues, 2012 on the conversion of other religions to Spiritism) and first-hand interviews, its embracement by the Catholic population comes from the convergence of its practices and beliefs with a more modern depiction of life in society and challenges provided by the 21st century and a different profile of the average catholic follower.

It is therefore observed that Spiritism is not actually seen as a religion of its own in Brazil, but a compilation of practices and beliefs that have shown themselves to compliment the Catholic faith. When drawing the line between one religion and another, the line is not drawn at all. Spiritism in this way acts just like the Agama Hindu cult in Barraud (2017): it doesn't hurt the agat, but it reinforces and complements it.

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