ry, were based on earlier stories and played an important role in the compilation of manuscripts and the formation of Christian liturgy. Given the importance, the misuse of the term signals a lack of familiarity with the manuscript history and reception of martyrdom stories and is, in general, to be avoided.

2. Brox 1961. See also Strathmann 1939; Baumeister 1980, 239–45; and Buschmann 1998, 98–107. All of these scholars maintain the scholarly consensus that the notion of “martyr” emerges in the mid-second century.

3. Van Henten 1997. The identification of the Maccabees as the “original martyrs” is a critical component of W. H. C. Frend’s magisterial Martyrdom and Persecution, in which the Maccabees form the opening chapter. The idea is also prevalent in individual studies of martyrdom accounts. For example, Thomas Heffernan (1988, 201) argues that the thoughts of the Maccabean mother are “echoed” in the diary of Perpetua. The idea pre-dates Frend. See, with respect to Ignatius of Antioch, Othmar Perler 1949.

4. Important studies that nurtured this avenue of exploration in the study of early Christian martyrdom include Peter Brown’s magisterial The Body and Society (1988); Caroline Walker Bynum 1995; and Virginia Burrus 2008.


6. There was a brief period in 362 CE, during the short reign of the emperor Julian “the Apostate,” when Paganism was revived and wealthy and powerful Christians were driven out of the governing classes; but this is not, by and large, included in studies of persecution.

7. On martyrdom among the Donatists see Frend 1952a and his subsequent studies (1952b; 1969; and 1985). For a recent reappraisal of the Circumcellion question see Shaw 2004.

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**When The Hindu-Goddess Moves To Denmark: The Establishment Of A Sakta-Tradition**

Marianne C. Qvortrup Fibiger, Associate Professor, The Study of Religion, Aarhus University

mf@teo.au.dk

In the history of religion, especially in the comparative study of religion, goddess worship is a neglected field of research. General books on the history of religion either emphasize the peripheral role of the goddess as the spouse of a god, or they portray goddess worship in an evolutionary scheme, where it is seen as part of an archaic state of religion, or as a part of a primitive fertility cult, or perhaps discussed in relation to small, isolated, non-patriarchal societies. Moreover, some scholars even attempt to explain the current veneration of goddesses—for example, the Virgin Mary in Christianity—as weak survivals of these earlier stages. The reason behind these tendencies could be that we have not been used to thinking of the god principle as represented by the feminine Jacobsen 2007, 7).

As an exception, Hinduism has had, and still has, a vigorous and diverse goddess mythology, as well as an independent goddess worship. A significant number of regional studies have been conducted in India see a good bibliographical survey in Bose 2010) and survey books on important goddesses within the Hindu tradition have been produced Rose 1986 and Kinsley 1986). Therefore, Hinduism can be seen as an important exploratory field for examining goddess worship in general, especially nowadays, when goddess worship, in different forms, is growing in the West many of which I will argue are either directly or indirectly inspired from the East). This can be explained as part of the so-called “easternisation process” Campbell 2007), where concepts and worldviews from the East are becoming increasingly common in the West, but it can also be due to ethnic Hindus and Buddhists moving to the West as immigrants or refugees. And, whilst the first can be seen in relation to the growing spirituality or alternative religiosity, the latter can be seen in relation to religion as such, where a particular form of religion is moved to the West together with the bearers of the tradition, who wish to retain their tradition in their new environment. This article explores what the adaption process means for a śākta cult goddess cult) coming from Sri Lanka to Denmark. It will argue that the adaption process provides this formerly locally
based tradition with options it would not otherwise have had, if it had not moved to the West; moreover, this article will argue that the adaption process has made the cult attractive to ethnic Danes, who seek alternatives to the established Christian tradition in Denmark and who wish to embrace new perspectives; for example, by taking the female aspect of religion into consideration. I see the presence of śakti-based cults in Denmark, as well as in Europe in general, both as an alternative to the Christian tradition and also as an inspiration to reinvent elements from the Christian tradition. This could be in the form of a holistic monism, known from Christian medieval women mystics Börresen 1995, 247), or it could be achieved by emphasizing the role of the Virgin Mary.

This article will focus primarily on how the adaption process into a Danish environment has provided a local śākta cult from Sri Lanka with a special narrative, and with symbols and text that it, most likely, would not have had if it were still in Sri Lanka. This is important with regards to understanding religion as a dynamic phenomenon, but also in relation to understanding how a tradition not only survives in a new setting but also expands in new environments. After all, the śākta cult in Denmark today is not only known among Sri Lankan Tamil Hindus in Denmark, but among Sri Lankan Tamil Hindus in most of the world, as well as among ethnic Danes. The goddess has not only moved to Denmark, she has achieved notoriety whilst moving. However, in order to remain well known and not disappear into oblivion, she must be given a place of her own in history by narratives, texts, institutions and symbols. Recalling the words of Durkheim from his famous book, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, written in 1912, “[the] flood of day-to-day sensations, they understood as some kind of cultural stakeholders [sic] would eventually disappear into the unconsciousness, unless we found some means of calling them back to consciousness and revitalizing them” Durkheim [1912] 1995, 349).

**The Apirāmi Cult in Denmark**

In Denmark, there are approximately 10,000 Sri Lankan Tamils, little more than 8,500 of whom are Hindus.2 The first Tamils came to Denmark in 1983 because of the escalating conflict in Sri Lanka. They were mostly men and were categorized ipso facto as refugees. Today, these people have married or have been reunited in Denmark with the family they had to leave behind in Sri Lanka.

The existence of two Sri Lankan Tamil Hindu temples, located in two small towns in the middle of Jutland, where most of the Tamils are concentrated, is a public symbol of the Tamils’ integration into Danish society today. The first is a Vinayākar Gaṇeśa) temple in the city of Herning. It is very well organized, with educated Brahmin priests and an eleven-member committee, who considers its most important role as ensuring that, when it comes to pūjā or temple worship, all religious rules are respected. It also organizes all the religious and social gatherings that take place in the temple. The second temple is dedicated to the goddess Apirāmi. Here we find an autodidact laywoman, Lalitha Śripalan hereafter only referred to as Lalitha) functioning as a pūjāri conducting pūjā). Occasionally, and when required, she is believe to be possessed by the śakti energy or becomes śakti, and is then able to perform various kinds of healing for physical and mental conditions. However, she is mostly known for helping childless women to conceive. In the Hindu tradition śakti can be understood both as an energy that all women encompass and, therefore, a resource every woman can learn how to use, or as a female transcendental power that can intervene in the world and as such be worshipped. It is the latter that can be the basis for a specific cult, as seen in the Apirāmi temple in Denmark. In this temple, there are no affiliated Brahmins and there is no temple committee, but there is a group of devotees who help to run the temple; and Lalitha conducts the pūjā according to what she has experienced in her local temple in Jaffna, Sri Lanka, and according to what she continues to learn in Denmark Fibiger 2003).

Today, Lalitha, now only referred to as Amman Mother in Tamil) among her devotees, is, as mentioned above, not only well known among the Tamils in Denmark but also the Tamils abroad. Ethnic Danes also consult her. On the temple consecration days or the Theer, which is a fifteen-day festival held in July, more than 2,500 devotees are assembled in one day, and most of these travel from abroad: Norway, Switzerland, Canada, Germany, and even Sri Lanka. They see their travel to the Apirāmi temple in Denmark as a sort of tīrtha pilgrimage). What is interesting is the change of Lalitha’s role within
the last couple of years; she has moved from being a healer and, it could be said, a bearer of a particular local Sri Lankan cult, to being the focal point around which a specific śaktā cult is created. It could be referred to as a form of guruism, but this article will argue that the shape of this guruism and the understanding of Lalitha as a goddess medium and a healer have to do with 1) the possibilities within śaktism, and 2) the diaspora situation.3

The Possibilities within Śaktism

In my opinion, the key feature of śaktism, taken in its broadest sense, is the depiction of the goddess as having multiple identities and a paradoxical nature. She can be both local and global, she can be independent and dependent, and she can be both a nurturer and a destructor. O’Flaherty differentiates between the mother of tooth and the mother of breast. The goddess of breast embodies maternal virtues, such as motherhood, generosity, and subservience to her husband. The goddess of tooth is in many ways the opposite to the goddess of breast. She is, first and foremost, independent and furious, and she can be both erotic and dangerous (O’Flaherty 1980, 90–91). On the one hand, the goddess is the creator and upholder of life; the nurturer, the devoted wife and mother, representing the ideals for upholding the social world. On the other hand, she is described as the independent, wild and furious demon killer, and bloodthirsty destroyer, symbolising the need to destroy the negative powers in the world, as well as in the individual (Brockington 1981, 123; Samuel 2008, 248). Here it becomes clear that the destructive element can be expressed both as a positive and a negative power.

In Women in the Hindu Tradition Mandakranta Bose (2010, 12–13) differentiates between the goddess’s function as an image of a philosophical/metaphysical and a social archetype, meaning that she can be seen both in relation to an overall soteriology, where she is depicted as Mahā-devī, the great goddess) as an omnipotent power parallel to Brahman see, for example, the Devāśāṃśa purāṇa), and as an entity who intervenes in the world, taking care of and nurturing those who worship her. She is, in other words, both a symbol of a soteriological path and a symbol of the ideal mother and wife, who cares for her husband and children. Bose points to four archetypes, which, in her opinion, the goddess encompasses: 1) mother/nurturer, 2) wielder of power/protector, 3) wife/helper/daughter, and 4) destroyer (Bose 2010, 13).

Therefore, the goddess is believed to not only unite opposite poles within herself (the nurturer and the destroyer), as she is depicted both as the benign Mother Goddess, who creates benevolence in the social world, securing that the śakti energy will manifest itself through a medium such as Lalitha Śripalan; she also stands for a greater cause as being the omnipotent entity through which people may attain mokṣa (liberation from rebirth) (Fibiger 2012).

The paradoxical nature and the multiple identities of the goddess have made it difficult to give a clear definition of śaktism. However, from the perspective of diaspora/cultural adaption, this ambiguity can be one of śaktism’s greatest features. Having multiple identities makes it much easier to adapt both to new surroundings, and also in relation to other traditions it can become a part of.

The Sree Apirami Amman Temple

Until May 2007, the Sree Apirāmi Amman temple was a rebuilt farm, located in Vejlevej 114, on the outskirts of Brande, a town in the middle of Jutland. It was completed and consecrated in 2000. Before that time, worshippers used a temple located in the middle of Brande, which was a rebuilt public house, bought through private means by Lalitha and her husband in 1996. However, due to problems in the neighborhood, Lalitha and the local Tamil community agreed to move out of town. They were quoted in the local newspaper as saying that they “never wanted to cause trouble.” They bought a farm approximately three kilometers from the town of Brande. The Sri Lankan Tamil Hindus even said that the new surroundings gave them more independence. And they also obtained the permission to build a sixteen-meter-tall temple tower (gopuram). The construction of the new temple and its consecration in May 2007 was a particularly important turning point for the development of the śākta cult in Denmark. Lalitha became more aware of her role
as Amman, being the key person around which the cult depended; and from then on she never left the temple premises. The devotees treated her accordingly, helping her to stay unpolluted by, for example, laying out a carpet in front of her when she walked outside, so that she would not touch the polluted soil. Amman’s new status was also represented in the temple, where she was now depicted alongside the mythologically known goddesses, holding the same attributes as they did; an indexical symbolization, where she not only became one of them, but was also shown as having the same abilities. A narrative around her as being śaktā in her own right was slowly coming into being.

I find this development very interesting, because I see the establishment of a cult around this temple as an example of how, on a minimal scale, a religious community with a specific shared tradition is made stable. In other words, it is stored in a collective memory, ensuring that it is remembered by future generations and other interested people. And what I would like to stress in this article is that, in order for this collective memory to grow and to survive in a new setting, it needs not only a charismatic figure such as Lalitha and recurrent rituals, but it also requires texts and indexical symbols, which relate the contemporary cult and involved people to an ahistoric past or sphere. This doesn’t contradict the fact that rituals are the most stable element in religion and that the underlying texts, not least the worshippers’ interpretations of these, can vary. However, the texts as canonical texts, as myths, or songs), with a reference to a mythological, ahistorical past, play an important role not only in legitimating a given cult, but also as a frame in which the ritual can be understood. Quoting Durkheim, “One is more sure in one’s faith when one sees how far into the past it goes and what great things it has inspired. This is the feature of the ceremony that makes it instructive” 1995, 379). And in relation to this social function, Durkheim discusses the importance of memory, which, he argues, only the mythology perpetuates; in other words, without text, there is no collective memory.

The idea of the development of a collective memory is inspired by Jan Assmann 2006). He differentiates between communicative memory and collective memory. Communicative memory occurs in the immediate interaction with other people and doesn’t remember more than three generations back, whereas the collective memory does. The individual’s state of mind or emotional condition plays an important role in the communicative memory, because it helps to store the content of the experience, but it does not help to store a collective memory, which can be transmitted from generation to generation Fibiger 2011).4

The collective memory recalls history, and can be either stored in institutions or in text:

What communication is for communicative memory tradition is for cultural memory.... But they have different temporal structures. If we think of the typical three-generation cycle of communicative memory as a synchronic memory space, then cultural memory, with its tradition reaching far back into the past, forms the diachronic axis. Asmann 2006, 8)

What is of interest in the context of this article is not so much the maintenance of symbolic universes, but the recalling or awareness of these symbolic universes, which can be used in the formation or establishment of a collective memory, which not only remembers back in time but also stabilizes the tradition in such a way that it can be transmitted; in this case, the formation or establishment of a local, personal and lay-oriented tradition to a globally oriented one through the use of symbols and text with an ahistorical and mythological framing. I have followed this process of establishment, and it is obvious how the collective memory has been established through symbols and texts, not only as icons in the temple and songs of praise, composed by the worshippers themselves, but also through a mythological and narrative awareness; for example, by referring to and using the text Apirāmi Anthadi, which depicts Apirāmi as a Mahā-devī, and also by developing a special, mostly self-biographical, narrative around Lalitha. In the following I shall provide a few examples on how this collective memory is reconstructed so that it legitimises the growing śākta cult around Lalitha in a new setting.

I will differentiate between three different periods or phases, which I consider crucial for the understanding of the development of the collective memory around the Apirāmi cult in Denmark.

The Story or Stories Around Lalitha Sripalan

Phase One

The story of Apirāmi coming to Denmark and having a temple dedicated to her is closely related to Lalitha’s own life story. What is of special interest in

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the perspective of this article is how Lalitha presents her life story slightly differently in her first interview with me than she does in her second interview.

According to my first interview in 1997, Lalitha and her husband came to Denmark in 1986. First, they lived in the small town of Grindsted, but neither of them felt happy there. Lalitha, who was also suffering from different forms of illnesses constant headaches, stomach problems etc.), consulted different doctors and experts, but they could not find anything physically wrong with her. Lalitha’s husband simply felt tired. Lalitha’s mother, still living in Jaffna, Sri Lanka, consulted the local priest, who has known Lalitha from when she was a child. He had already noticed her special relation to the goddess Apirāmi, and therefore, he knew what was wrong. Because Lalitha and the goddess Apirāmi were separated, the priest believed that Apirāmi could not communicate or manifest herself through Lalitha, and therefore an important part of Lalitha was disconnected from her. Furthermore, because of the conflict in Sri Lanka, the Apirāmi goddess in her small, local Apirāmi temple in Jaffna was suffering. She did not receive daily offerings and no regular pūjā was conducted there. Consequently, Apirāmi’s śakti medium, Lalitha, was also, according to the priest, feeling the goddess’ sufferings. The Jaffna priest concluded that the two of them had to be reunited. Money was raised and the Apirāmi statue was shipped to Denmark. At around the same time, according to Lalitha, she was told in a dream that she had to move from Grindsted to Brande and to construct a temple to Apirāmi there. Her husband was immediately convinced that they should follow the message of the dream. Therefore, they moved to Brande, where they bought the local public house from the town government. When the statue of Apirāmi arrived at Brande and the temple was consecrated, Lalitha and her husband recovered immediately, and according to Lalitha’s own narrative neither of them has been ill since. From that day, Lalitha began to perform pūjā three times a day and a small community grew around her. She became well-known among most of the Tamils in Denmark when, apparently, the Gaṇeṣa statue in her temple drank a plentiful amount of milk; this was in 1995 and was known as the year of the milk miracle, in which many Gaṇeṣa statues drank milk all around the world.

Phase Two

In my second interview, which was just after Lalitha had moved to the new premises in 2001, new aspects of her life story were emphasized: 1) She emphasized that, when she was a child, she dreamed that she had to move to Denmark and there worship Apirāmi. 2) She mentioned that, when she was a child, she had healing powers and, when she was nine, the first visible sign of her being a śakti medium was shown. She does not remember it herself, but was told about by her parents. 3) Whenever she comes into the temple, she feels different and sees things in a new light. 4) When she heals people, the devotees have told her how they feel heat and experience a sensation as though something is pulled or drawn through them. All these statements told by Lalitha herself in my second interview with her were new to me compared to the first interview, and they demonstrate how her self-understanding has changed, and how her biography is seen in a new light following the growth of the community around her. This dialectic between Lalitha reading her life story in another way, her way of perceiving her surroundings differently, and the growth of the community began a need for building up a collective memory. Thus this particular tradition could be a focal point for a particular ritualization and symbolization—i.e., inscribed in a particular mythological universe and thereby more readily transmitted and preserved.

In the understanding of Lalitha becoming śakti, the Danish New Year’s Eve 1998, the first avatāra day, was crucial. It was during that evening when the first direct and obvious manifestation of a name-given śakti energy became visible through her. She was said to be the manifestation of Pārvatī, the spouse of Śiva, for three days. And I don’t think it was by coincidence that Pārvatī was chosen to be the first śakti manifestation. She incarnates the ideal mother figure in the śaiva tradition and, therefore, also the beginning or foundation of everything. Lalitha told the crowd that she was Pārvatī, and she wore Pārvatī’s special symbols. This event gave birth to a specific and manifest śakti tradition, connected to Lalitha per se, but it was also an important sign for Lalitha herself. It was after this event that she became more aware of her abilities, and it was this event that made her, but also the devotees, interpret different aspects of her life story as being signs, and thereby the basis
for building up a collective memory. It is also of interest that the Danish New Year’s Eve was chosen as the avatāra day, because it can be read as a sign that the former cult was understood in relation to the society it had now become a part of. From this event onwards, Lalitha was only referred to as Amman by her devotees.

Phase Three: The Sakti Cult is being Stored in the Collective Memory

The building of the new temple and its consecration in May 2007 was the beginning of a third phase, and today we find a very well-defined religious calendar in the temple, which both follows the Tamil Hindu religious calendar, integrating a few red-letter days from the Danish Gregorian calendar such as New Year’s Eve), and which also has its own special festivals as the avatāra days, which don’t just fall on New Year’s Eve, but also on Lalitha’s birthday. This is crucial for building up a shared collective memory, though contingent and in flux, perceived as stable supported with references to Hindu mythology and well-known texts and symbols. At the same time it also refers to a new textual underpinning, which signifies that this cult has its life in itself as well. With texts and symbols and the temple being the place of belonging, all the ingredients for the storage of a collective memory are now present. This gives the cult, or part of the cult, the ability to be transmitted to future generations, as well as to other traditions.

Conclusion

What I have tried to show in this article is how a śaktā cult has developed in Denmark; from being a local, tradition-oriented cult that centered on a charismatic person believed to have the ability to heal as a śakti medium), to a globally known cult. I have used Jan Assmann’s theory on collective memory, but emphasized how a collective memory not only remembers back in time, but is also constructed so it can be transmitted in the future.

I appreciate that similar features can be traced in the formation of all kinds of new religions and in guru-ism in general, but I see goddess worship as a new visible trend in the spiritual and religious milieu in the West, perhaps because of its distinctive features. It is difficult to understand exclusively in its own right, because the goddess within Hinduism is multifocal and, therefore, very difficult to encompass in a single belief system alone. Or said in other words, śakti can both be related to a special tradition within the Hindu tradition called the śaktā tradition, where the goddess is understood as Mahā-devī, the great goddess—a parallel to Brahman—and also as an ability that every goddess, regardless of religious affiliation, encompasses. The goddess as such seems, therefore, readily able to be adopted into other belief systems. At the same time, the goddess is depicted as both having an interest in the profane world and being able to change that world, or the individual, when required. She can, therefore, be both local and global.

The belief that śakti is an energy that can come into being in different forms, provides the tradition with the ability to adapt to new surroundings and other traditions, of which it can become a part. Or it gives a new way of interpreting the already existing traditions. This can be noticed in one of the most growing śākta cults in the West having Mātā Amritānandamayī as the central figure. She is known as hugging Amma from Kerala and she is traveling around the world with a message of love, equality, and mutual understanding among all people, irrespective of their origin or religious belief. She is especially known for her healing hugs, and her āśram in Kerala has become a well-known goal for retreats and pilgrimages for Western people with a Christian background. ⁵

In a more minimal scale, the same seems to be the case in relation to the cult around Lalitha in Denmark. Ethnic Danes visit her temple for healing and they appreciate the underlying idea of the caring goddess, who intervenes in the world when needed.⁶

As mentioned in the introduction it seems like the move from Sri Lanka to Denmark has given Lalitha options that she would not have had if she had remained in Sri Lanka. First, the need for establishing the tradition in Denmark has given Lalitha as well as the devotees around which the cult is depending a need of understanding the tradition better. Secondly, the formation or establishment of a collective memory, which not only remembers back in time but also stabilizes the tradition in such a way that it can be transmitted, has been a key factor. At the same time, Lalitha did not have any other established śakti cult to compete with, and the stories about her possible
healing abilities have had a positive effect on the understanding of her as an alternative to other healers on the Danish market. The need of having a place for pilgrimage for Sri Lankan Tamil Hindus living in a diaspora, without having the possibility to travel back to Sri Lanka, has also had a positive effect on her popularity, a popularity that has reached as far as Sri Lanka, from whence Tamils are traveling to the Apiśīmi temple in Denmark to receive healing. The Goddess has moved to Denmark and has now become popular both locally and globally.

References


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Notes

1. Karma, yoga, zen, and mindfulness can be mentioned as important examples, but śakti, understood as the active dynamic female principle, is also becoming an increasingly common feature in the religious landscape. In Denmark, one can find courses on “Finding your inner śakti.”
2. Because Statistics Denmark, which register all newcomers to Denmark, do not take religious but only geographic affiliation into account, it is difficult to give an exact figure when it comes to religious grouping.
3. I have followed the establishment of this śakta cult in Denmark since the mid-1990s and have conducted more than fifty semi-structured interviews with devotees and other people related to the temple. I have interviewed Lalitha Śripalan twice, had a lot of unstructured talks with people in the temple, and observed both festivals and day-to-day pūjās. I would especially like to thank Koushi, who conducts many of the songs of praise used in the temple and who helps to keep the temple running. He has always answered my question sent to him by mail or in person.
4. I have used the same perspective in relation to understanding what is transmitted and negotiated between generations (Fibiger 2011).
5. See www.amritapuri.org.
6. This is explicitly expressed by ethnic Danes visiting the temple.

Facing Rortian Ethics with Levinas and Kierkegaard: A Review of J. Aaron Simmons’s God and the Other: Ethics and Politics after the Theological Turn

Jim Kanaris, Faculty Lecturer, Faculty of Religious Studies, McGill University
jim.kanaris@mcgill.ca

We are quite used to hearing about “turns” nowadays. The noun itself is innocuous, denoting a mere kinetic shift in direction. When preceded by certain adjectives, however, it comes to symbolize the radical significance with which many of us have become familiar: the inductive turn, the subjective turn, the linguistic turn, the ethical turn, the postmodern turn, etc. Richard Rorty’s humorous “posties” may be the only formulaic rival, with a bullet.

The theological turn, heralded in the subtitle of God and the Other, follows on the coattails of the turn to religion in philosophy—more turns to add to the list! Even Radical-Orthodox claims about a “genuine” postmodern past does not detract from the fact that such claims are framed by a philosophic postmodern present rightly or wrongly distancing itself from theology. Nor do the flurry of works that excavate the theological from the philosophical in the postmodern present. Maybe Derrida’s distilled “return” to religion signals a desirable balance? J. Aaron Simmons, in this fine installment in the Indiana Series in the Philosophy of Religion, certainly seems open to the idea. Still, Simmons wants to side with those in the theological turn, such as Richard Kearney and series editor Merold Westphal, who point beyond the religious indeterminacy of Derrida’s universalizable culture of faith, “toward a postmodern ethico-religious subjectivity,” as Simmons puts it, “that allows for still identifying with a determinate religious tradition” (2011, 206; see also 195, 200, 203).

The proposal is laudable and arguably Simmons’s basic position. It fuels his critique of Rorty’s dismissal of Derrida and consequently Levinas whom Rorty charges as trafficking in ethically disengaged perspectives. They—Derrida and Levinas, Derrida especially—may be useful for the “private task of self-creation” (Simmons 2011, 26), but they, a fortiori Levinas, are “useless for attaining public goals” (17), i.e., politics. The book is basically an answer to Rorty’s pragmatist complaint. The Continental tradition is, contrary to appearances, concerned with