

Collected Essays in the Sociology of Religion

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Introduction

This paper will analyze the writings of Max Weber in terms of the relationship between the Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism. Reactions to Weber's work by key scholars over the years will be given. Several scholars who make a connection to the development of the Japanese work ethic, as well as the religious ethos in Japan, will also be presented.

This posthumous collection of three volumes in German (*Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Religionssoziologie*) by Max Weber is a comparative study of different religions and their influence on culture and economy.

Weber considers Western Christianity as a whole, and in particular certain varieties of it, to be more favorable to the progress of capitalism than other belief systems. He examines the influence of certain religious ideas on the development of an ethos of the economic system. He does not seek "a psychological determination of economic events."¹ On the contrary, Weber insists on "the fundamental importance of the economic factor."² Weber also urges the necessity of investigating how that attitude itself was in turn influenced in its development and character by the totality of social conditions, especially the economic ones. And then, he emphasizes that he does not intend to substitute for a one-sided "materialistic" interpretation of civilization and history an equally one-sided "spir-

itual" explanation of it³⁾

The principal thesis of Weber's essays is that in modern times the Occident has developed a form of capitalism which has appeared nowhere else: the rational capitalistic organization of (formally) free labor. Only suggestions of it are found elsewhere.⁴⁾ The factors of this unique event are analyzed as follows: the separation of business from the household, rational bookkeeping, organization of labor, the structure of law and administration, the peculiarity of the social structure of the Occident, and technology.⁵⁾ As Weber himself concludes, "It is a question of the specific and peculiar rationalism of Western culture"⁶⁾ which resulted from different forces: philosophical, cultural, economic, and above all religious.⁷⁾ The influence of certain religious ideas on the development of an economic spirit, or the ethos of an economic system, is the rational ethics of ascetic Protestantism. This spirit, Weber asserts, has given shape to the modern capitalism of the Occident.⁸⁾

The Protestant Ethic

The ethos of the economic system comes directly from the rational ethic of ascetic Protestantism. The Protestants, especially certain groups, have shown a special tendency to develop economic rationalism that cannot be observed to the same extent among Catholics. Weber explains that this may be due to the spirit of indifference toward the good things of this world seen in Catholics. This attitude generates a certain withdrawal, or other-worldliness, from economic activity, and makes direct action difficult in capitalist enterprises. On the other hand, Protestants represent the secularization ideal brought about by the Reformation: the positive valuation of routine activity in the world. In their view, worldly

affairs is the highest form that the individual's moral activity could assume. It is the inner-worldliness of Protestantism that gives everyday worldly activity a religious significance. Catholics regard this intensive inner-worldly activity as the materialism that results in the loss of all ideals.⁹⁾ However, Weber claims that it is this "materialism" that gave rise to the Protestant Ethic of capitalism. Later on in his study of world religions he takes on the task of demonstrating that it was only in some Protestant sects (Calvinists and Puritans) that inner-world activity is connected with modern capitalism. No other universal religion can claim such development.

The Spirit of Capitalism

Before giving a definition of what the spirit of capitalism is, Weber chooses to give a provisional description by quoting a document which he considers to be "free from all direct relationship to religion" to avoid preconceptions:

"Remember, that *time* is money. He that can earn ten shillings a day by his labor, and goes abroad, or sits idle, one half of that day, though he spends but sixpence during his diversion or idleness, ought not to reckon that the only expense; he has really spent, or rather thrown away, five shillings besides ...

Remember, that money is of the prolific, generating nature. Money can beget money, and its offspring can beget more, and so on. Five shillings turned is six, turned again it is seven and threepence, and so on, till it becomes a hundred pounds. The more there is of it, the more it produces every turning, so that the profits rise quicker and quicker ...

The most trifling actions that affect a man's credit are to be regarded. The sound of your hammer at five in the morning, or eight at night, heard by a creditor, makes him easy six months longer; but if he sees you at a billiard table, or hears your voice at a tavern, when you should be at work, he sends for his money the next day; demands it, before he can receive it, in a lump ...

He that spends a groat a day idly, spends idly above six pounds a year, which is the price for the use of one hundred pounds ...

He that idly loses five shillings' worth of time, loses five shillings, and might as prudently throw five shillings into the sea.

He that loses five shillings, not only loses that sum, but all the advantage that might be made by turning it in dealing, which by the time that a young man becomes old, will amount to a considerable sum of money."¹⁰⁾

The peculiarity of this philosophy of avarice appears to be the ideal of the honest man of recognized credit, and above all the ideal of a duty of the individual to increase his capital, which is assumed as an end in itself. It is not simply a means of making one's way in the world, nor mere business astuteness, it is an ethos. This ethos belongs only to Western Europe and the United States. Capitalism can also be claimed in China, India, Babylon and other parts of the world, but without the ethos of modern capitalism. The core of this ethos is the Reformation doctrine with its inner-world asceticism and its dogma of predestination specific to the Western European Calvinism, Pietism, Methodism, and the sects growing out of the

Baptist movement.

The doctrine of predestination can be best found in the authoritative words of the Westminster Confession of 1647. Some of the articles are quoted here:

“Chapter IX (of Free Will), No. 3. Man, by his fall into a state of sin, hath wholly lost all ability of will to any spiritual good accompanying salvation ... is not able, by his own strength, to convert himself, or to prepare himself thereunto.

“Chapter III (of God’s Eternal Decree), No. 3. By the decree of God, for the manifestation of His glory, some men and angels are predestinated unto everlasting life, and others foreordained to everlasting death. **No.5.** *Those of mankind that are predestined unto life, God before the foundation of the world was laid, according to His eternal and immutable purpose, and the secret counsel and good pleasure of His will, hath chosen in Christ unto everlasting glory, out of His mere free grace and love, without any foresight of faith or good thing in the creature as conditions, or causes moving Him thereunto, and all to the praise of His glorious grace.*

“Chapter V (of Providence), No. 6. As for those wicked and ungodly men, whom God as a righteous judge, for former sins doth blind and harden, from them He not only withholdeth His grace, whereby they might have been enlightened ... but sometimes also withdraweth the gifts which they had and exposeth them to such objects as their corruption makes occasion of sin: and withal, gives them over to their own lusts, the temptations of the world, and

the power of Satan: whereby it comes to pass that they harden themselves, even under those means, which God useth for the softening of others."¹¹⁾

The consequence of this doctrine is a crisis of faith in the believer. The quest for a sign that one is among the elect becomes vital: a calling to inner-world activity and the accumulation of wealth acquired in a systematic and legal fashion are seen as the certification of the state of grace, the sign of being personally acceptable to God. This inner-worldly asceticism of Protestantism opened the way to a career in business for the most devout and ethically people. Success is considered as the fruit of a rational mode of life. Predestination provides the individual with the highest possible degree of certainty of salvation once he has attained assurance that he belongs to the very limited aristocracy of salvation who are the elect.¹²⁾ Solving the problem of predestination with the "professional ethic," and knowing that one is among the elected makes the believer feel superior to those who do not have the certainty to be one of those. The elected one looks down on the damned to the point of saying that he would hate his own wife or father if he knew that they were among the predestined to everlasting death.¹³⁾ Criticizing this terrible attitude Milton said, "Though I may be sent to hell for it, such a God will never command my respect."¹⁴⁾

But for Calvinism, with all its repudiation of personal merit, good works are not a way of attaining salvation; they are indispensable as a proof that salvation has been attained. The duty of a Christian is to follow the "calling" to glorify God, not by prayer, but by action -- the sanctification of the world by strife and labor. For

Puritans, mundane toil becomes itself a kind of sacrament. Like a man who strives by unrelenting activity to exorcise a haunting demon, the Puritan, in an effort to save his own soul, sets in motion every force in heaven or on the earth beneath to remake the world but conscious only of God, the soul, salvation, and damnation.¹⁵⁾ Works do not save the individual, but done methodically and with asceticism for the glory of God, with the responsibility to continually increase the riches of nature they are the sign of God's blessing that operating in man makes fruitful human toil. It is the guarantee of predestination. But it is necessary that it lasts the whole life. Otherwise, it would not be a sign of salvation but of damnation.

Weber makes an exhaustive and detailed study of this ethos of capitalism, and how it developed in Europe and the USA, with all its characteristics and ramifications of Calvinism and other Protestant sects. This worldly Protestant asceticism acted powerfully against the spontaneous enjoyment of possessions; it restricted consumption, especially of luxuries. On the other hand, it had the psychological effect of freeing the acquisition of goods from the inhibitions of traditionalistic ethics. It broke the bonds of the impulse of acquisition in that it not only legalized it, but looked upon it as directly willed by God. The campaign against the temptations of the flesh was not a struggle against the rational acquisition, but against the irrational use of wealth. This asceticism was the power "which ever seeks the good but ever creates evil."¹⁶⁾ It must have been the most powerful conceivable lever for the expansion of that attitude called the Spirit of Capitalism. When the limitation of consumption is combined with the release of acquisitive activity, the result is accumulation of capital through ascetic compulsion to save. The restraints imposed upon the consumption of wealth naturally

served to increase it by making possible the productive investment of capital. The greater simplicity of life in the more seriously religious circles, in combination with great wealth, led to an excessive propensity to accumulation. And, as John Wesley wrote, "Wherever riches have increased, the essence of religion has decreased in the same proportion."¹⁷

World Religions

Having explained what is the ethos of Western capitalism, the Protestant Ethic, Weber focuses his study on world religions. He tries to find out why the inner-worldly asceticism of the Protestant sects that shaped modern Western capitalism did not develop in them. The world religions he names are the religious Confucian ethic, Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam, and Judaism.

Following his thesis that religion provides one of the most important elements of the economic ethic, Weber asserts that what matters is not the ethical theory but how this affects life. From this angle he tries to analyze Asiatic religious thought and to estimate how it influences the praxis and the way of life. The essence of the Asian Religiosity is presented in its diverse manifestations constituting the tapestry through which Weber can vaguely see the Asiatic ethos that stimulated and led Oriental life and culture through paths totally different from the West.

Only a brief mention of Weber's conclusions is offered here:

(i) Religions in Asia adapt themselves to the many different and separated social strata: they become a philosophical elitist ethic, or a popular soteriology (a doctrine of salvation) for the masses. The same religion offers different types of salvation to different sociological strata and it also demands different ethics from them de-

pending if they are intellectuals, layman, illiterate, etc.

(ii) "Knowledge," literary or mystic, in Asia plays a role of being a path to salvation in this world or the other. It is not a rational knowledge about the things of life and of the world. Thus, the right "knowledge" is equivalent to the right "behavior", and, therefore it can be taught, learned and transmitted.

(iii) The aristocratic, asocial and apolitical character of the Asiatic soteriology represents a withdrawal from the world and its riches. Divine quietness is seen as opposed to hectic activity. The aim of activity is to break the determinism (*Samsara*, *Kharmā*) of destiny. In this context it is not possible to find actions such as those found in Protestantism or Calvinism through which punishment or reward, here or after death, are given by a divine being, or through which signs of *certitudo salutis* can be attained in this world.

(iv) Concerning the belief in a personal or impersonal God, there are no answers because there are no questions. What matters is the "empirical" nature of salvation: for the Chinese intellectuals, absorbed in their thoughts, the important thing was the intellectual soteriology useful to gain power in world matters, without caring for supernatural soteriology. For the Hindu Brahmins, action was important in order to escape subsequent reincarnation in lower castes. These pragmatic consequences mattered very much socially, politically and economically, but with no supernatural dimension or individual method of life that could develop toward modern capitalism.

(v) Evil did not exist, neither the tension between freedom and sin, nor the God-nature dialectic. To Confucius, this world was the best of the possible worlds. The life regulated by principles from within was also lacking. Filial piety, ancestral cult, and magic were

important, but there was no place for something like the Christian prophesy spirit on the liberation of the dispossessed. And in spite of a detailed and daily accountability, a rationalist type commercial method of the kind of modern capitalism did not arise. There was no concept of wealth as God's blessing or as the sign of salvation.¹⁸⁾

Reaction to Max Weber's Thesis: Various Viewpoints

The thesis of a relation between the Protestant Ethic (PE) and the Spirit of Capitalism (SC) has never gone out of fashion since Weber wrote his fascinating articles in the years 1904-1905. It has prompted much criticism, and many have applauded while others have disapproved of it. As a summary, only a few examples of the controversy are given here.

1. PAUL MÜNCH reconstructs what he calls the prehistory of *The Protestant Thesis and the Spirit of Capitalism*. He says that from the onset of the debate, ecclesiastical and theological thinkers participated in this discourse. Then, during the Enlightenment, it became connected with the intellectual discussion about the social function of religion. In the nineteenth century in Germany the discourse hardened into the stereotypes of the German industrious Protestant and the lazy, politically unreliable Catholic.¹⁹⁾

After a thorough analysis of the contradictory picture given by Weber's critics, P. Münch concludes that religion was only one of many possible factors explaining economic productivity. But there was no consensus on its effect and influence.

2. GUY OAKS asserts that MacKinnon's critique of Max Weber,²⁰⁾ though being sound, does not give the whole picture about how the PE links with modern capitalism. MacKinnon's two points are: (i) there was no crisis in the theory of salvation produced by seven-

teenth-century Calvinism because predestination had been thoroughly compromised by the doctrine that the believer can achieve certainty about his salvation;²¹⁾ (ii) the works sanctioned by Calvinist theology were not mundane but spiritual. The believer has no need to ascribe a privileged moral status to the conduct of a life of work and inner-worldly asceticism if what matters is spiritual works.²²⁾

To this, Guy Oaks contends, that as Weber states, the PE is not so much concerned with the doctrine (Calvin's Institutes, the Westminster Confession, etc.) as with its effect on the life of believers of which biographical records, letters, devotional manuals of Puritan businessmen and laity speak.²³⁾ Even if they misunderstood the doctrine, the question is how the effective morality in their lives affected economic practice. Weber can be right in explaining the relation between the PE and the SC, the links among the PE, inner-worldly asceticism, and the spirit of capitalism conceived as constituents of the life of the religious laity even if he is wrong (as MacKinnon asserts) about Calvinism as a theological doctrine.²⁴⁾

3. EFFRAIM FISCHOFF says that Weber's original intention in the PE must be seen against the background of his time. An heir of the historical school and of the Marxist tradition, Weber probed the history of culture to determine the decisive interconnections of economics with the totality of culture. The whole historical work of Weber has ultimately one primary object: the understanding of contemporary European culture, especially modern capitalism. It presses forward to the underlying morale (*Geist*) of capitalism and its pervasive attitude to life; and beyond this, to modern occidental rationalism as such, which he came to regard as the crucial characteristic of the modern world. Against the Marxian doctrine of the

economic determinism of social change, Weber propounded a pluralistic interactional theory of which the influence of religious doctrines on economic behavior was one factor. The essay on the PE was a tentative effort at understanding one of the basic and distinctive aspects of the modern ethos: its professional, specialized character and its sense of calling or vocation.

In Weber's view, modern capitalism was not the automatic product of technological development but of many objective factors, including climate. But he insisted that the religious factor could not be ignored. Weber tried to analyze just this one component, but he rejected all attempts to identify it with the spirit of capitalism or to derive capitalism from it. He was determined to return to the problem and investigate the nonreligious components of the religious ethic. He asserted that capitalism would have arisen without Protestantism -- in fact that it had done so in many culture complexes -- and that it would not come about where objective conditions were not ripe for it. Several other systems of religious ethics have developed approaches to the religious ethic of Reformed Protestantism, but the psychological motivations involved were necessarily different. Then he not only indicated his awareness of the other side but also demonstrated how by an irony of fate the very fulfillment of religious injunctions had induced changes in the economic structure, which in turn engendered the massive irreligiosity of a capitalistic order.²⁵⁾

4. ROBERT N. BELLAH has proceeded to analyze various Asian religious groups to see whether examples of this -- worldly asceticism, the religious significance of work in a calling, have been associated with successful economic activity. Cases in which the association has been claimed include Japan Jodo and Zen Buddhist,

the Hotoku and Shingaku movements; in Java the Santri Moslems; in India the Jains, Parsis, and various merchants castes. But in Weber's opinion, economic growth is not enough if it is not accompanied by rational changes.²⁶⁾ It is not enough to be economically developed if structural transformations and its "underlying value-system" crucial to modern society do not take place. Thus, Bellah concludes that in their economic development it becomes possible for some nations to make a few structural transformations but without the total structure being transformed, as in the cases of Germany and Japan. Looking at economic growth in Japan, the author considers that it is a rather ambiguous success story. And to many Japanese intellectuals, who feel as Weber did, modern Japan has failed to carry through certain structural transformations, and therefore the evaluation of Japan's modern history is very problematic.²⁷⁾

5. RAFAEL LARRAÑETA sees Capitalism as the protagonist of the last process of social, economic and political change. It is the art of extracting wealth out of productive activity in the form of capital. Recognizing that Capitalism cannot renounce profit, "the blood that makes it live,"²⁸⁾ he states that the outcome is a kind of social war because capitalism creates inequalities, quite contrary to Smith's principles: profit is a value created by human work and destined to be proportionally distributed.²⁹⁾

Contemporary capitalism with its system of production and wealth distribution lacks a sound moral base. The type of free market that requires is not backed with ethical codes for freedom. Even more, the contemporary capitalism does neither find sufficient arguments to limit the insatiable avarice nor the manifest inequalities. The alternative to capitalism today is the Welfare State (WS), a

social system inspired in the democratic capitalism that corrects its own excesses and its thirst for power, which brings slavery back.³⁰⁾

Recently, however, this WS is criticized due not only to the fall of the Marxist regimes, but also to the crisis in the most famous countries representative of it, such as Sweden and others. The right accuses the WS of imposing heavy taxes on capital triggering its flight to less demanding markets. The accusation extends to the guarantees given to workers who, thus, lack stimuli for work. But the left also criticizes the WS for being inefficient, repressive and incapable of solving the causes of poverty in spite of wasting lots of money in useless bureaucratic expenses. In spite of this criticism all coincide in recognizing the irreversibility of the WS. Its abolition would mean the end of democracy. Today there is no other alternative to capitalism.³¹⁾

6. SHICHIHEI YAMAMOTO goes back to the Japanese Buddhist and Confucian ethic to trace the origins of the modern Japanese work ethic. He claims that the austere Zen monk Suzuki Shoosan (1579- 1655) is the builder of the foundation of Japanese capitalism.³²⁾ Suzuki considered worldly labor a form of ascetic Zen exercise that can help one attain Buddhahood (salvation). To immerse oneself in work is "the surest and most evident proof of rebirth and genuine faith." Suzuki expanded to other classes (farmers, artisans, and merchants) what was specific to the samurai only: the access to the Zen asceticism to attain Buddhahood by dedicating themselves to their tasks like the samurai to theirs: worldly labor is religious asceticism, and if one pursues a calling -- any calling -- with single-minded devotion, one can become a Buddha. This social ethic permeated all four classes in the Tokugawa regime. Work for the Japanese equals asceticism. It is not purely an economic pursuit, but

a search for spiritual satisfaction.

Yamamoto claims that Japanese modern work ethos is a Tokugawa heritage. During that time Japan developed a truly independent social system that remained largely unchanged for nearly three hundred years. It was not an age of imitation of the West like the Meiji period, or of America in the postwar years, or of China in the classical period. "In a sense it might be called our most original age ... the base on which modern Japanese society was built."³³⁾

7. HISAO OTSUKA, defends the position that the nature of the religious ethos in Japan toward the end of the Tokugawa Era through the Meiji Restoration down to the early Meiji Era commands special attention among the various religious ethoses in Asia. Japan successfully transplanted modern social institutions from the West and, unlike the rest of Asia, witnessed the initial stages of the formation of an "industrial middle stratum" toward the Tokugawa Era. Japan's religious ethos during the 19th Century, therefore, and its potential to liberate people from traditionalism, is certainly a topic worthy of further study.³⁴⁾

Afterword

Nearly a hundred years have passed since Max Weber wrote the Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism. Although at that time the evolution of capitalism was unpredictable, Weber himself foresaw the split between capitalism and its religious factor. Very few people will link today religion with capitalism. On the contrary, both seem to oppose and criticize each other. But religion is not the only questioner confronting capitalism. The number of people to question it is growing every day when they see that the unthinkable wealth created by capitalism is in the hands of a minority that

selfishly control it. The gap between rich and poor keeps widening. The target set by the participants in the UN Millennium Meeting last September to eradicate poverty from our world by the year 2015 raises many questions: why not for 2005? It surely would be possible in a time when words like "Meta-Capitalism," and "Digital Capital" are already predicting a hyper-growth era that will make business more productive and create a more prosperous world. The emerging online business, also called "business webs" of the digital age, are creating a new kind of "intellectual capital" which is boosting productivity and achieving greater profits via Internet.³⁵⁾

The time has come when each one of us vows with strong will to put that wealth at the service of all, especially of those in greatest need.

Notes

- 1) Robertson, H. M., *Aspects of the Rise of Economic Individualism*, Cambridge, 1933, p. xii.
- 2) Weber, Max *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, London, 1930, p.26 (Eng. transl., by Talcott Parsons of *Die Protestantische Ethic und der Geist des Kapitalismus in 'Archiv für Socialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik,'* vols. xx, 1904 and xxi, 1905; later reprinted in *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Religionssoziologie*, 3 vols., Tübingen, 1921).
- 3) *Ibid.*, p. 183.
- 4) *Ibid.*, p. 21.
- 5) Cf. Andreski, S.(ed.), *Max Weber on Capitalism, Bureaucracy and Religion.*, George Allen & Unwin Ltd. London, 1984, pp. 109-110.
- 6) Weber, M., *op. cit.*, p. 26.
- 7) Only in the West does science exist at a stage of development

that we recognize today as valid. Empirical knowledge, reflection on problems of the cosmos and of life, and philosophical and theological wisdom are not confined to the West, though in the case of the last the full development of a systematic theology must be credited to Christianity under the influence of Hellenism. The rational and systematic forms of thought in the West have permeated all spheres of life: art, architecture, music, literature, educational institutions, law, economy and the everyday life of society. This phenomenon belongs only to the Occident, despite all other approaches to it. The same is true of the most significant force in modern life: capitalism. Cf. Andreski, S., *op. cit.*, pp. 21-24.

8) Weber, M., *op. cit.*, p. 27.

9) Cf. Andreski, S., *op. cit.*, p. 135.

10) Weber, M., *op. cit.*, pp. 48-50. Cf. Franklin, B., "The Way to Wealth", 1758, in *The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin & Selections from his Writings*, The Modern Library, New York, 1944, p. 116.

11) Weber, M., *op. cit.*, pp. 99-101.

12) Cf. Weber, M., *The Sociology of Religion*, Beacon Press, Boston, 1963. pp. 202-248.

13) Weber, M., *Ensayos sobre Sociología de la Religión I*, Taurus Ediciones, Madrid, 1987, p. 103.

14) Weber, M., *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, p. 101.

15) Tawney, R.C., *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*, Penguin Books, Australia, 1st ed. 1926. Reprinted by Pelican Books 1938. Printed by Butler & Tanner, London, 1964, 6th ed., pp.117, 199.

16) Weber, M., *op. cit.* pp. 171-172.

- 17) *Ibid.*, p. 175. S. Andreski explains that the religious root of the modern economic outlook is dead; and the concept of a "calling" is a relic in the world today. Ascetic religiosity has been displaced by a pessimistic, though by no means ascetic, view of the world. After the disappearance of the early religious fervor or the sects, the optimism of the Enlightenment which believed in the harmony of interests appeared as the heir of Protestant asceticism in the field of economic ideas, guiding the princes, statesmen, and writers of the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Economic ethics, which arose against the ascetic ideal, has now been stripped of its religious support. *Op. cit.*, p.158.
- 18) Weber. M., *Ensayos sobre Sociología de la Religión II*, pp.330-345. Cf. also Weber, M., *The Sociology of Religion*, pp. 34, 90.
- 19) The lead in productivity of the Protestant states over the Catholic countries was not always seen as solely dependent on the confessional factor differences. The greater number of working days in Protestant countries, for example, was of course an important religious difference, but matters such as anthropology, education, social organization, political constitution, mentality, and local, provincial, or national character were factors that had to be taken into account also. For his detailed analysis, cf. Münch, Paul, "The thesis before Weber: An archaeology" in *Weber's Protestant Ethic. Origins, Evidence, Contexts*. Edited by Hartmut Lehmann and Guenter Roth, German Historical Institute, Washington, D.C., Cambridge University Press, 1993, pp.51-71.
- 20) Cf. MacKinnon, M.H., "The Longevity of the Thesis: A Critique of the Critics", in Hartmut Lehmann and Guenter Roth, *op. cit.*,

pp. 211-243.

- 21) Cf. in The Westminster Confession of Faith (1647), VI., in O'Donovan, Oliver, *On the Thirty nine Articles: A conversation with Tudor Christianity*, Exeter: Published for Latimer House, Oxford by the Paternoster Press, 1986, p. 159-160.
- 22) 42 Articles (1553) and 39 Articles (1571) XI, *Ibid.*, p. 139s.
- 23) The Books of Prayers were vehicles for the dissemination of religious ideas even if they fulfilled the purposes of their original intent of encouraging and providing for the practice of personal piety and spirituality. Cf. Booty, John E. editor; Siegenthaler, D., Wall, J.N., *The Godly Kingdom of Tudor England: Great Books of the English Reformation*, Wilton, Conn., pub., Morehouse-Barlow Co., c1981, p.222. There are examples showing how custom and faithfulness sometimes do not reflect the official doctrine, like in the case of the deep-rooted assumption that each person has "his allotted place and his function in society, with which he should be content and from which he should not expect to move." Cf. Williams, ed., *English Historical Documents 1485-1558*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1967, p. 229. Also, Francis Procter, *A New History of the Book of Common Prayer with a Rationale of its Offices on the Basis of the Former Work*, revised and rewritten by Walter Howard Frere, London: Macmillan, 1901, p. 20.
- 24) Oakes, Guy, "The Things That Would Not Die: Notes on Refutation," in Hartmut Lehmann and Guenter Roth, *op. cit.*, pp. 289-293.
- 25) Fischhoff, Effraim, "The Protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism: The history of a controversy", in Einsenstadt, S.N., editor, *The Protestant Ethic and Modernization. A Comparative view*,

- Basic Books, New York, London, c1968, pp. 72-75.
- 26) Maruyama Masao theorized that the concentration of loyalty in the emperor may have been effective in bringing about social changes contributing to economic growth in Japan, but he asserts that they were far from rational in Weber's sense, and indeed had profoundly irrational consequences in subsequent Japanese development, not the least of which were important economic inefficiencies. Cf. Maruyama, M., *Kokka Gakkai Zasshi, The Journal of the Association of Political and Social Sciences*, Vol. LXXII, No. 4, April 1958, Tokyo.
- 27) Bellah, R.N. "Reflections on the Protestant Ethic Analogy in Asia," in Einsenstadt, S.N., *op. cit.*, pp. 243-249.
- 28) Heilbroner, R.L., *Naturaleza y Lógica del Capitalismo*, Península. Barcelona, 1990, p. 65.
- 29) Smith, A., *Investigación sobre la naturaleza y causas de la riqueza de las naciones*. FCE. México, 1982, pp. 51-52.
- 30) Marcuse, H., *Ética y Revolución*. Taurus. Madrid, 1970, 2nd ed., p. 138.; Cf. Habermas, J., *Ciencia y técnica como 'ideología,'* Tecnos, Madrid, 1986, p. 65.
- 31) Larrañeta, Rafael, "El Capitalismo Actual y la Ética del Beneficio" in *Revista de Filosofía*, 3^a época, vol. VI (1993), núm. 9, pp. 173-188. Editorial Complutense, Madrid.
- 32) "All occupations are Buddhist practice; through work we are able to attain Buddhahood. There is no calling that is not Buddhist. All is for the good of the world. The all-encompassing Buddha-nature manifest in us all works for the world's good: without artisans, such as the blacksmith, there would be no tools; without officials there would be no order in the world; without farmers there would be no food; without merchants we

would suffer inconvenience. All the other occupations as well are for the good of the world. All reveal the blessing of the Buddha." (Suzuki Shoosan, *Shimin Nichiyoo*).

- 33) The social order and system values that took shape in the Tokugawa period are prototypes of Japan's modern pseudo-consanguineous system. In Tokugawa society, loyalty and filial piety were really one and the same; the consanguineous principle of filial piety was extended to cover all institutions. But this was possible to the pseudo-consanguineous system that brought non-consanguineous group together as if they were blood-related, creating fictive, main family-branch family relationship and this is what influenced modern companies to be tied together in a familial relationship in the absence of blood ties or contracts. Yamamoto, Shichihei, *The Spirit of Japanese Capitalism and Selected Essays*, Madison Books, London, 1992, p.56-86.
- 34) Ootsuka, Hisao, *The Spirit of Capitalism. The Max Weber Thesis in an Economic Historical Perspective*, Transl. by Masaaki Kondo, Iwanami Shoten, Tokyo, 1982, p. 171.
- 35) Walker, L., "Books look on the bright side of the e-revolution," *The Japan Times*, July 19, 2000, p. 15.

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