

Weber Lecture - Introductory Overview1. Methodology

1. Save main discussion for next time
 1. Forms of knowledge
 2. Theory construction
2. Typologies of Social action
 1. Traditional
 2. Affective
 3. Value Rational (Wertrational)
 4. Instrumentally Rational (Zweckrational)
3. Also - Developmental logics
 1. NB not teleological, but retrospectively logical
4. Exploring emergence of certain forms of rationality
 1. Not just as forms of social action but social (sub)systems
 2. Ethical sphere
 3. Religious sphere
 4. Legal sphere
 5. Political sphere (sphere of domination)
 6. Economic sphere
5. Not all forms of rationality the same, nor compatible in all spheres
 1. Example: substantive vs. formal rationality
 - 1) Esp relevant in legal sphere, but applies to all

2. Religion and Economics

1. Rational religion as against magical religion
 1. Explanations of the world: question of knowledge & cosmology & causation
 2. Monotheism and prophecy
2. Problem of theodicy
 1. Again, explanations of the world: question of justice
 2. Internal and external ethics
 - 1) The religious brotherhood and universalization
3. Ascetic Protestantism: Puritanism
 1. Ascetic in its systematic approach to theodicy
 2. Imperative of working within the world
 - 1) Notion of "calling"
 3. Combined monotheism with "unbrotherly" orientation
 4. Created possibility of a formal rationalism
 5. Created possibility of "world mastery" orientation
4. Market or "rational" capitalism
 1. Depends on formal rather than substantive rationalism
 2. Entails many elements of substantive irrationalism
 - 1) Forgoing consumption
5. Relation between Ascetic Protestantism and Rational Capitalism
 1. In the first place: elective affinity
 2. Weber's causal arguments in "Protestant Ethic"
 - 1) psychological consequences of Puritanism

- 2) impulse to accumulate capital
 - 3) NB these causes evaporated: left purely market compulsion
3. Economic History
1. Religion not the only developmental source of rational capitalism
 2. Citizenship
 1. Important for development of autonomy in face of hierarchy
 2. Freedom of cities
 - 1) Causal sequence military, not economic
 - 2) But NB economic consequences
 - 1) Feudal cities unable to subsist on booty
 - 2) necessity of developing "productive" economy
 - 3) Alliance with absolutist monarchs
 - 4) Parallels Smith's account
 - 5) NB cities not subsumed under empire & thus mercantilism
 - 6) Necessity of alliance between capitalistic cities and absolutist monarchs
 3. The Rational State
 1. Rational Law: calculability
 2. Professional officialdom
 3. But NB that these tend rather toward Mercantile capitalism
 - 1) Problem of finding unique aspects leading to rational capitalism
4. Politics
1. Forms of Domination

1. Traditional
 - 1) Tribal
 - 2) Imperial
 - 3) Feudal
 - 4) Monarchical
2. Legal-Rational
 - 1) NB importance of bureaucracy
 - 2) Modern Democracy also under this form
3. Charismatic
 - 1) Revolutionary eruptions
 - 2) Routinization
2. Developmental paths from one to another
 1. Logic of paths (diagram)
 2. Empirical developmental history
 - Note how combination of legal rationalism combined with decentralized feudal autonomy created possibility for liberalism and Parliamentary democracy. This created a struggle in which no historical actor obtained full hegemony and led to creation of certain legal guarantees, or civil rights. It will be difficult to develop this picture in time available.
3. Weber's own politics
 1. See Wolfgang Mommsen
 - 1) Staatsraison and Imperialism
 - 2) Plebiscitory Parliamentarism
 - 1) In order to carry population along: cf. levee en masse
 - 3) Charismatic leadership and ethic of responsibility
 - 4) Similarity to Schumpeter's critique of democracy

5) Problem of fascism

- 1) But Weber would have disapproved of Hitler
- 2) His leadership principal was more aristocratic

Weber Lecture - Methodology I

1. "Basic Sociological Terms"

1. Sociology

Sociology ... is a science concerning itself with the interpretive understanding of social action and thereby with a causal explanation of its course and consequences. We shall speak of "action" insofar as the acting individual attaches a subjective meaning to his behavior - be it overt or covert, omission or acquiescence. Action is "social" insofar as its subjective meaning takes account of the behavior of others and is thereby oriented in its course. (p. 4)

- a. A science referring to social action (intentional; meaningful)
 - 1) NB not every action is social, only that oriented to others
- b. Interpretive understanding
 - 1) Entails attribution of motive
 - a) (chopping wood)
 - b) "adequate grounds" for action
 - 2) Entails need to understand historical context
 - 3) Comparative sociology needed since experimental generally impossible
- c. Causal explanation "A correct causal interpretation...is arrived at when the overt action and the motives have both been correctly apprehended and at the same time their relation has become meaningfully comprehensible."

2. Ideal Types

- a. Method for reconciling causal and interpretive knowledge
- b. Analytical construct, a "utopia"
- c. Accentuates certain features
- d. Guides imputations of significance
- e. Guides hypotheses of laws
- f. Developmental sequences can also be ideal types

- 1) This creates danger of mixing theory with reality
- g. Ideal types permit successive approximation: growth of knowledge “Its result is the perpetual reconstruction of those concepts through which we seek to comprehend reality.”
- h. Refer mainly to rational action, or what would have been rational
 - 1) This gives it causal significance
 - 2) Does not entail belief in universal human rationality
- i. Sociological “laws”
 - 1) “typical probabilities confirmed by observation”
 - 2) Sociology tries to formulate type concepts
 - a) abstracts from reality & helps us understand it
 - 3) History oriented to causal analysis & explanation
3. Types of Social Action
 - a. Instrumental Rational (Zweckrational): means/ends
 - b. Value Rational (Wertrational)
 - c. Affectual (emotional)
 - d. Traditional
 - 1) A residual type: depends on history
 - e. Non-rational types on the border of the meaningful
4. The issue of a “value-free” or “value-neutral” social science
 - a. Means that research is not biased or partisan
 - b. But all research is value-oriented inasmuch as we choose research topics according to our values
5. Discussion of diagram; successive approximation

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2. "Objectivity' in the Social Sciences"

1. All sciences began with practical considerations
 1. Economics: Value judgements regarding state policy (51)
 - 1) The "is" and the "ought" were combined under this rubric
 2. Economics arose at same time as natural science [cf. Adam Smith] (85)
 - 1) Carried 18th Century faith, like nat sci, of monistic knowledge
 - 2) Implied path to truth
 - 3) Obscured its own basis & real practical orientation
2. Empirical science can never provide guiding norms
 1. Science can inform about means to an end
 - 1) tells acting person how to weigh costs of action
 - 2) also includes costs incurred to other, competing values
 - 1) this becomes a dialectical process (54)
 - 3) can inform about logical consistency
3. Knowledge of even the most certain propositions is product of culture (55)
4. Forms of argument (58)
 1. Regarding ultimate values
 2. Regarding ethics, given ultimate values
 3. Regarding analysis of empirical reality
5. Social-Economic phenomena
 1. Defined (63f)
 - 1) Satisfaction of physical and ideal needs

- 2) Concerned with quantitative limits
 - 3) Requires planful provision
 - 4) Involves struggle with nature and association with others
 - 5) [cf. Marx, German Ideology]
2. Not "objectively" given, but with respect to our cognitive interests (64)
 3. Include "economically conditioned and relevant" phenomena
6. Distinction between nomological knowledge and cultural significance
 1. Wirklichkeitswissenschaft: deals with infinite multiplicity of data (72)
 - 1) Even an historical datum contains an infinitude of detail (78)
 - 2) Causation and Significance both infinite
 - 3) A "question of imputation" (79)
 - 4) [Neo-Kantianism]: we select those aspects which are relevant
 - 5) Social Science does not differ so much from natural in this sense (74)
 - 1) both must make sense of infinitude
 - 2) intersubjectivity is no advantage here
 2. "Objective" scientific analysis of culture, economics, does not exist (72)
 - 1) All science is "one sided" in this respect
 - 2) Depends on our cognitive interest "Life with its irrational reality and its store of possible meanings is inexhaustible. The concrete form in which value-relevance occurs remains perpetually in flux, ever subject to change in the dimly seen future of human culture. The light which emanates from those highest evaluative ideas always falls on an ever changing finite segment of the vast chaotic stream of events, which flows away through time." (111)
 - 1) Our "value-conditioned" interest (76)
 - 3) NB unexplained "residues" [cf. residuals]: escape soc sci laws

3. The two realms are distinct
 - 1) Imputation refers to specific historical data (79)
 - 2) Laws in social science as important as in natural, and just as possible (80)
 - 3) Application of laws to specific events entails "objective possibility" (80)
 - 4) Also, the more general the laws, the more devoid of content (80)
 - 1) And thus, the less valuable in concrete instances
7. Relation of causal laws to cultural interpretation (75f)
 1. Interdependent
 - 1) Discovery of laws depends on historical understanding
 - 2) Historical understanding depends on law-like categories
 2. But no necessary relation with each other (77)
8. Ideal Types
 1. Method for reconciling causal and interpretive knowledge (90f)
 - 1) Value lies in positing connection: a means, not an end (92)
 2. Analytical construct, a "utopia"
 3. Accentuates certain features
 4. Guides imputations of significance
 5. Guides hypotheses of laws
 6. Developmental sequences can also be ideal types (101)
 - 1) This creates danger of mixing theory with reality
 7. Ideal types permit successive approximation: growth of knowledge (105) "Its result is the perpetual reconstruction of those concepts through which we seek to comprehend reality." (105)

8. States Kantian status of ideal types (106)
 - 1) Aids in understanding reality
 - 2) constant refinement of concepts for this purpose

Weber Lecture - Methodology II3. "Critical Studies in the Logic of the Cultural Sciences"

1. Problems of causal explanation and interpretive understanding in History
 1. Separate from ethical concerns or value orientations (122f)
 2. Do not depend on attributing rationality to historical action (124f)
 - 1) Rational in sense of means-ends purposiveness
 3. Can't posit a priori general ("essential") laws underlying concrete (128f)
 - 1) Can't search for "significant" events in causal sequence in this sense Trying to subtract "common qualities" from empirical reality to arrive at underlying essential, significant elements futile since empirical reality is infinite. (130)
2. Distinction between historical understanding and causal science (135)
 1. E.g., Goethe's letters to Frau von Stein (138ff)
 - 1) How one can attribute historical significance to them (141f)
 - 1) As examples of general phenomenon
 - 2) As components of composite phenomenon
 - 3) As causal component of historical nexus (Zusammenhang)
 2. All historical phenomena have to be "interpreted" in 2 senses (143)
 - 1) Two forms of interpretation only distinguishable logically
 - 2) First: "Value interpretation" - possible relation of object to values (143)
 - 3) Second: "Causal interpretation" - historical explanation (149)
 - 4) (Summarized, p. 160)
 - 1) Causal: aids in formation of historical concepts
 - 2) Value content or relatedness: presents task for causal analysis

3. Attribution of value-relatedness depends on analyst's values (150)
 - 1) This is one reason why one speaks of "possible" value-relatedness (151)
 - 2) E.g., Aztecs & Incas (155f)
 - 1) Had little direct causal effect on Western culture
 - 2) But may be "heuristic instrument" for formation of notions of culture
 - 3) E.g., Western Antiquity (156f)
 - 1) Not sufficient causal relation to later development
 - 2) Our "interest" in their culture as parallel to ours more important
 - (1) "Value rapport" (157)
 - 4) Only the future "decides" about causal significance of present (158)
 - 5) Points of view of historical analyst themselves change historically (159)
 - 1) Therefore new "facts" will always be becoming historically important
3. Theory of "Objective Possibility" (166ff)
 1. Relation of historical actor's motives to historical interpretation (165)
 - 1) Historian knows retrospectively which actions led to success
 2. Ask which of infinite number of causes were necessary (169)
 - 1) Cf. juristic theory
 - 2) Possibility of selection among infinitude conditioned by our hist interest
 3. If a change in one (or more) would have caused change in outcome (173)
 - 1) Entails "imaginative constructs" by ignoring certain elements of reality
 - 2) Decompose the "given" into "components" under "empirical rules" (173)
 - 3) E.g., Battle of Marathon (174ff)

4. "Objectively possible:" change in one component would change outcome (175)
 - 1) Under posited empirical rules
 - 2) NB "ontological" collection of relevant facts
 - 3) NB "nomological" governing empirical rules
 - 4) E.g., temperamental young German mother (177ff)
 5. Procedure is largely negative: permits one to rule out certain causes (181)
 - 1) Can prove causal insignificance, not necessarily causal significance
 - 2) Judgement of objective possibility "admits gradations of degree" (181)
 6. "Adequate" causation, as in juristic theory (184) "In order to penetrate to the real causal interrelationships, we construct unreal ones." (185-6)
 - 1) Opposite of "possible" is not "necessary" but "adequate" (185)
4. "Science as a Vocation"
1. The world is "disenchanted" (entzaubert) (139)
 1. Science thought by early Protestants to be path to God
 - 1) no longer believed except by "big children" (142)
 2. Science does not give us answer of how to live (143)
 1. Whether death has a meaning (cf. Tolstoy 139)
 - 1) NB old peasant Abraham: died satiated with life (140)
 2. natural science gives us only technical answers
 3. "Uses" of science (150f)
 1. technology: controlling external objects
 2. methods of thinking

3. gain clarity
4. Primary task of teacher: point out "Inconvenient facts" (147)
 - 1) inconvenient for their party position
4. Stoicism and relativism
 1. one serves one god and offends the other god (151)
 2. science can help him give an account of meaning of own life (152)
 3. Being able to bear this like a man
 - 1) alternative is to return to religion (155)
 4. Individual has to decide what is god and devil for himself (148f) "The ultimately possible attitudes toward life are irreconcilable, and hence their struggle can never be brought to a final conclusion. Thus it is necessary to make a decisive choice." (152)
"We shall set to work and meet the 'demands of the day,' in human relations as well as in our vocation. This, however, is plain and simple, if each finds and obeys the demon who holds the fibers of his very life." (156)
 5. Contrasts the Jews who tarried with the active Protestant ethic (156)

Weber Lecture - The Protestant Ethic

Notes on the text

Introduction

13 Western civilization - science

14 Rational law, art

15 Architecture

16 Political bureaucracy - state

17 Rational capitalism; acquisitive impulse everywhere

17f Definition of capitalism - profit through peaceful exchange; calculation and bookkeeping; money; continuous and regular exchange

19f NB - non-continuous calculation everywhere, adventure and war acquisition, money-lending

21 Only in West - formally free labor; separation of business from household with rational book-keeping (small beginnings elsewhere); rational organization of labor (and socialism)

24f Technical factors - science (math and experiments) - but applied

- law and administration - rationality not of mystical contemplation, but for material ends

27 Religious ideas of economic ethos; rational ethics of ascetic Protestantism - predestination to adopt rational conduct

Chapter I

Economic differences between Catholics and Protestants: Protestants higher class levels

39 NB - Protestants not a minority in Germany (as Jews, Huguenots, etc.)

41 NB - not because Protestants want to live better (or are more acquisitive)

42f NB - not because Protestants were less otherworldly, ascetic, or pious

Chapter II

47 Definition of spirit of capitalism must come at end

48-50 quotes Franklin

51 Ethic or ethos: duty to make money, not for enjoyment

52 This is the spirit of modern Western capitalism

virtues useful - utilitarian

54 Such an ethos becomes "systematic" - requires conformity or ruins nonconformists

55 Thus - explanation is historical, need to explain origins

56 Such an ethos "had to fight its way to supremacy against a whole world of hostile forces" - seen as avarice

57f Unscrupulous, unethical acquisitiveness found elsewhere, was traditional

58f Greatest obstacle is traditionalism - of laborers who only "work to live"

62 (Once capitalism is a system, it can recruit labor easily - no alternative work)

NB - labor as a calling

63f - Traditional entrepreneur: rationality, profit, book-keeping, trade, etc. can have a traditional character, be limited

NB - attitude of mind and organization of enterprise can occur separately

(cf. pp. 74-75; 14th and 15th century Florence vs. 18th backwoods Pa.)

65f Traditional spirit of capitalism

66f NB example of textile industry - picture of change from traditional to modern capitalism - note how traditionalism was destroyed by competition

69 Note ethical strength needed by new entrepreneur to overcome traditional hostility

Sort of men - not dare-devils, but hard calculators; but such men are no longer religious

72 Modern capitalism needed this attitude to get started - no longer needs it

75 "To speak here of a reflection of material conditions in the ideal superstructure would be patent nonsense." (cf. Marx)

76f Rationalization of capitalism does not follow Western rationalization as a whole

e.g. law (Roman law in economically backward countries vs. common law), or philosophy (eg. Voltaire's rationalism or practical rationalism of individual egoism as in Italy and France)

78 Rationalism as such, too broad a concept - must find particular aspects

Chapter III

79 Concept of calling or Beruf exists only for Protestant peoples

80 Concept new with Reformation: "the valuation of the fulfillment of duty in worldly affairs as the highest form which moral activity of the individual could assume" - not to surpass worldly morality in monastic asceticism

80f - cf. Aquinas' Catholic concept - work as morally neutral, like eating and drinking

82 Luther not friendly to capitalism, against usury

83 Traditional attitude: fulfill your given duty

84-5 Began as worldly indifference, but with his worldly experience (conflicts, peasant uprising), Luther became more conservative - given order a manifestation of God's will; obedience to authority

87f Real break from Catholicism came only with Calvinism and Puritanism (compare Dante's Divine Comedy with Milton's Paradise Lost)

89f Methodological comments

Chapter IV

97 Interested in influence of psychological sanctions, originating in religion, on practical conduct

98 A. Calvinism

98f Doctrine of predestination

104 Psychological consequence of the doctrine - "a feeling of unprecedented inner loneliness of the single individual:" in most important thing, eternal salvation, no one could help him - no priest, no sacraments (destiny foreordained), no Church, no God (Christ died only for the elect) - though, must obey

105f Disenchantment of world reached climax here - all ceremony eliminated; no sensuous culture; promoted individualism; no trust in friendship; no confession (NB psychological release) - thus spiritual isolation (cf. Bunyan, Pilgrim's Progress)

108 Explanation of superior Calvinist social organization and destruction of individual's ties to the world

Dogmatically - for glorification of God, carrying out his commandments: requires social organization, labor in calling

109f Personally - answer to the question "Am I one of the elect?" Whether there are signs

111 Practical pastoral work had to deal with personal suffering: (a) duty to reject doubts as work of devil and sign of insufficient faith, and

112 (b) intensive worldly activity (work) recommended to show state of grace.

112f cf. Lutheran's mystical unity with God or other-worldly mysticism

113f Feeling of salvation (a) as vessel of Holy Spirit, or (b) as tool of divine will

- (a) leads to mysticism and emotionalism (Luther), (b) leads to ascetic action (Calvin)

115 Good works: (a) accumulation of credits or points (Catholicism) or (b) systematic and life-long self-control of conduct or be damned (Calvinism)

116 Picture of traditional Catholic and Calvinist system of good works: (a) Catholic non-systematic, non-rational activity - traditional obedience + sin and discharge (relief provided by priest, Church, doctrine); (b) Calvinist - required "life of good works combined with a unified system" - no relief and discharge, world demystified, disenchanting, rationalized

118f cf. Catholic monasticism - (i) part of whole church organization, monastery - life not for everyone, (ii) rejection and transcendence of everyday work and life

120 Calvinists as monks or saints within the world - separated them from ordinary sinners more than monks were: no compassion for human weakness

123f Puritan ethical book-keeping: "The process of sanctifying life could thus almost take on the character of a business enterprise".

124f Christianization/rationalization of all of life

128 Lutheranism lacked psychological sanction of systematic conduct leading to rationalization, because of doctrine of grace; Calvinist doctrine of predestination only one possible motive

128 B. Pietism - also held to doctrine of predestination

129f Invisible church - intensified asceticism and wished for community with God in this life - - more emotional, weakening of inhibitions, led to sort of monasticism

131 But led also to stricter ascetic control of conduct in the calling

137 Weaker than Calvinism

139 Pietism related to official, clerk, worker, domestic, patriarchal employer;

Calvinism related to hard legalism and active enterprise of bourgeois-capitalist entrepreneurs

139 C. Methodism - Anglo-American correspondent to German pietism

143 But emotional, once awakened, redirected to search for perfection

144 D. Baptist Sects - 2nd, independent source of Protestant asceticism besides Calvinism

144f Community of personal believers of the reborn - not a visible church, but a sect

145 Salvation offered to all - remained to wait and not resist Spirit by sinful attachment to the world (adult converts baptized as symbol)

146 Element of avoidance of the world; strict bibliocracy

146f Divine Authority revealed through, but not only through, Bible: all church authority eliminated

148 Gift of grace could not be earned, but came only to one who followed his conscience, and good works were necessary: equivalent in practice to Calvinist doctrine since predestination rejected, psychological basis of Baptist morality was expectant waiting for Spirit to descend - attempt to overcome impulsive and irrational: flesh silent

149 Disenchantment here also led to systematic conduct and worldly ascetic virtues

149f NB Otherworldly monasticism also rejected, following Luther

150 Anti-political, anti-state

151 Promoted capitalistic "honesty is the best policy"

153-4 Recap of chapter; Christian asceticism had regulated the world from monastery, through church, but left economic life alone: it now took on this task as well

Chapter V

157 Puritan strictures against wealth: against enjoyment

159f Calling - must work; psychological consequences

Luther - classes expression of divine will

161 Baxter - calling for systematic work: ascetic

162 - Profitableness sign of usefulness

163 - Wealth bad, work good

165-6 Jews - traditional capitalists; Puritans - modern: organization of labor and capital

170 Responsibility toward acquisitions as trustee of God's gifts

170-1 Sum of above - not against rational acquisition but irrational use of wealth, against traditional ostentation - for bourgeoisie

172 Result - accumulation of capital

175 Wesley - work creates wealth, which corrupts religion

176-7 - Same re/ capitalist

178-9 Effect of asceticism on worker, on businessman

181f Iron Cage

Weber Lecture - Sociology of Religion I

E. Religious behavior

1. can only be understood through subjective view of believer
2. Is, in fact, oriented to this world
 1. relatively rational - religion & magic behavior have economic ends. Irrational from modern point of view: means-ends, causality. Effectiveness or power of practitioner: charisma: inherent or by works (399f)

6. Anthropological Considerations

1. Belief in spirits endowed with volition. Magician's charisma - intoxication (401)
2. Animism - supersensual forces that intervene in the world (402)
3. Soul vs. supernatural powers (gods, demons) (403)
4. stereotyping - "sacred is the uniquely unalterable" - fixes worldly behavior (406)
5. slow transition from analogical thinking to syllogistic (407)

7. Monotheism

1. one god achieves primacy within pantheon
2. priestly hinderance
3. hinderance of need of people for accessible gods

8. Magic and religion

1. Attempt to coerce and influence gods
 - magic transformed from direct manipulation of forces to symbolic activity (403)
 - symbolic becomes more important - all areas of human activity drawn in; among the longest lasting aspects of dogma, even in rationalized religion. Pictorial art originally symbolic (405)
2. Dual aspect to religious evolution (424)

1. systematization & rationalization of god concept & relations to man
2. irrational recession of practical goals in favor of otherworldly
3. Priest vs. Magician (424f)
 1. former entails regular, routinized relations with believers/clients
 - differentiation of priesthood from practitioners of magic. Possible distinctions: influence gods by worship vs. coercion with magic; regular functionaries vs. individual and occasional efforts; association with social organization vs. self-employed [cf. Durkheim]; professionalism (knowledge, doctrine qualifications) vs. personal gifts (charisma) (425f)
 - crucial feature of priesthood: specialization of group in continuous operation of cultic enterprise, permanently associated with particular norms, times and places, and specific social groups - also NB rationalization of metaphysics and ethics (426)
4. Increased ethical demands made on gods parallel social development -
 1. Growing importance of judicial determination, [esp.] cosmological rationalization, regulation by rules, economic reliability of given word: obligations which increase calculability of individuals' conduct (430)
 2. Problem of theodicy (437)
 - With rationalization of magic to religion - from coercion to worship - notion that violation of ethical norms caused gods' displeasure - led to notions of sin and salvation, for individuals and for groups (NB conscience) (437)
9. Prophet - bearer of charisma; proclaims or gives laws
 1. Distinctions with priest (440f)
 - Prophet - bearer of charisma, proclaims religious doctrine or divine commandment (439)
 - personal call: distinction from priest: definite revelations, doctrine or commandment (not magic): distinct from magician. but NB charisma generally required magical authentication (440)
 - but prophet's prophecy is unremunerated, as against magician (441)

2. Mystagogue, ethical, exemplary
3. Prophetic revelation: view of world as meaningful totality
 1. both social and cosmological
 2. man's behavior must be oriented to this view
4. Competition of priest, prophet, intellectual to give metaphysical account

10. Congregation

1. Lay followers outside charismatic circle
2. Preaching and pastoral care - priests' real instrument of power, especially over workaday world (465) [cf. magicians: priestly activity innovative (464)]

11. Problem of Theodicy

1. How to reconcile imperfection of world w/god's power ["incongruity of destiny and merit" in Gerth & Mills, p. 275]
2. Solutions (519ff)
 1. Future revolution in this world; suffering of present generation caused by sins of past.
 2. Notion of world beyond present one - at first magical, including retribution for errors in ritual; later when religion ethicized, gods employ moral considerations - raised questions of relations of gods to this world; cf. day of judgment (520f)
 - 1) Notion arose of ethical chasm between transcendent god and men. Predestination and extreme example of this view (522)
 - 2) ethical behavior would have no effect, but might be a sign of predestination. extreme tendencies to Entzauberung (523)
 3. Dualism - struggle of good and evil, light and dark, in which former purges latter from the world; man participates with forces of light, purges sin (darkness) (523f)
 4. Transmigration of souls - guilt and merit punished and rewarded in next life - each forges his destiny in next life (524f)
 5. NB not all religions salvation religions

3. Types of Salvation (ch. ix-xi, 530-575)

1. through ritual - like magic

4. through good works

1) fate depends on actual achievements - can make an accounting of actions (533)

2) can be symptom of underlying ethical total personality - may be tolerant of isolated deviations (533f)

2. through self-perfection

1) charismatic, magical

2) In non-magical, ethical religion with transcendent god, self-deification cannot be goal - rather to be his instrument or vessel (536)

3) certainty of grace; religious virtuosi

3. asceticism (ch. x, 541ff)

1) "world" as realm of temptations

1) world-rejecting (rejects political, economic, erotic, aesthetic, etc.)

2) inner-worldly - within institutions of world but in opposition to them (as god's instrument) (542)

2) predestination (572ff)

3) Salvation through belief in predestination

1) free, inexplicable gift from transcendent, uninfluenceable god

2) needs signs

3) promotes activity, not fatalism

4) NB affinity for economic activity, hostility to political power

(1) [Speculation: latter a zero-sum game. Grace in economics open in principle to everyone. Political power is restrictive in this respect; not open to all. Contrast Islam, a warrior religion: victory is a sign of grace

(warrior is instrument of God's will), but presumably for group, not individual. Note Islam's contempt for economic activity: at most tolerance.]

4. through mysticism
 - 1) flight from world
 - 2) actually makes one more dependent on world than world-mastery
5. through savior & institutional grace (ch xi, 557ff)
 - 1) Catholic Church
 - 2) results: life not organized systematically
 - 3) threatens to undermine control of priesthood
 - 1) grace always attainable
 - 4) contrast Puritanism & Judaism: no confessional
6. Differences between Oriental and Occidental salvation (551ff)
 - 1) Concept of transcendent, omnipotent god arise in West - road closed to self-defication and possession of god; salvation required ethical justification to god in West - led to activity and "work"
 - 2) Empirical world not abandoned for Oriental intellectual: meaning would be discovered; for Western religion - meaning of world transcendent
 - 3) Legalistic (rational law) orientation of West - man subject to god - Roman legacy
 - 4) Roman-Jewish rejection of ecstasy, etc. in favor of rational-methods
 - 5) Occidental Church organization - uniformly rational, monarchical, centralized - controlled lives of subjects
 - 6) Only in occident was additional step taken - by ascetic Protestant of transferring rational asceticism into life of world - See sketch, page 556

Weber Lecture - Sociology of Religion II12. Sociology of Religious groups (ch. v-vi; 468-492)

1. Peasantry: not traditionally religious
 1. too close to nature
 - Peasantry so tied to nature that it will become carrier of religion only when threatened with proletarianization or enslavement (468). Image of peasantry as religious a modern romantic view (470). City traditionally considered seat of piety (471).
 2. Warrior and Feudal strata: not traditionally religious - no concept of beneficent providence or religious ethics
 1. always faced death
 2. only need protection against magic
 3. against sense of honor
 - Nobility influenced by prophetic or reformist religion (473). Different among standing armies, bureaucratic organizations (475).
 3. Bureaucracy: not traditionally religious
 1. seems irrational
 2. but recognizes its usefulness for control
 4. Commercial classes, Bourgeoisie: not traditionally religious
 1. especially traditional capitalists; showed indifference or skepticism (478)
 2. However, modern rational capitalism has affinity to rational, ethical congregational religion (479f)
 5. Petty bourgeoisie: typical bearers of religion
 1. Petty-Bourgeois strata show religious diversity; ancient and medieval Christianity a religion of artisans (481)

2. Urban middle classes showed affinity to congregational religion (482)
 - 1) substitute for kinship groups
 - 2) less connection to nature
 - 3) less connection with nature (and thus, magic) and more with rational behavior and calculability:
 - 4) need for ethic of compensation
 - 5) Artisans initially attracted to magic: specialized "art" imbued with charisma
6. Slaves and Day laborers: not traditionally religious
7. Modern proletariat: indifference or rejection of religion
 1. modern surrogate is ideology and awareness of dependence on non-individual (rather, social) factors (485f)
 2. but lower levels susceptible to religious missionary enterprise, but not ethical religion; NB needs for salvation religion (486)
8. Intellectuals and religion
 1. At first priesthood carrier of intellectualism through scriptures (500)
 2. High status intellectuals as religious innovators - all Asian religions (502). cf. Greek philosophy (503). Salvation religions emerge when ruling strata have lost political power to a bureaucratic-militaristic unitary state (503). Ruling strata then come to value their intellectual abilities, non-practical (504).
 3. Salvation mass religion - esoteric intellectual doctrine, popular magical savior for masses (505f)
 4. Salvation sought by intellectual based on inner need rather than relief from distress (as masses) - seeks meaning and unity, infinite causuistry, especially as intellectualist Entzauberung proceeds and events lose magical significance (506). Contradictions of search for meaning and empirical world: intellectual's flight from world (506).
 5. NB anti-intellectualism of early Christianity (511f). Primary bearers or propagators of world religions:
 - 1) Confucianism - world-ordering bureaucrat

- 2) Hinduism - world-ordering magician
 - 3) Buddhism - mendicant monk wandering through the world
 - 4) Islam - world-conquering warrior
 - 5) Judaism - wandering trader
 - 6) Christianity - itinerant journeyman (512)
6. Unlikely for new congregational religion to emerge from modern intellectualism. Factors - present religion's utility in controlling masses; intellectuals' indifference to religion (516f). Need of cafe-society intellectuals an unlikely source (517).

13. Tensions of Religion with the World

1. relations to Economy (ch. xii, 576ff)
 1. ethics: systematization of life
 2. usury; problem of dual ethic (583ff)
 - 1) Protestantism vs. Judaism
2. relations to Politics (ch. xiii, 590ff)
 1. brotherly love: rejects violence
 - 1) Congregational religions of subjugated peoples tend toward demilitarization (example of ancient Jews) (591f). In some cases (e.g. early Christianity) this gave rise to ethic of brotherly love; ethic of non-resistance (592).
 2. Inner-worldly asceticism can compromise with political power: aim of transformation of world. But compromise with political power more difficult than with economics, since former, oriented toward lowest common denominator, leads to greater surrender of principles. (593)
 3. Wherever congregational religions reject force, without requiring flight from world, it leads to martyrdom or passive acceptance of regime (594). Some variation on rejection of force if goal of force is to protect religion (595).
 - 1) Ancient and medieval Christian attitudes toward the State: (1) abomination of Roman empire, (2) indifference and passive suffrance, (3) withdrawal from active participation but view that state is God-ordained, (4) positive view of state for social control, given condition of sin. (596f)
 4. General schema by which religion resolves tension between ethics and politics: ethics of vocation, by which given order is God-ordained. Thus, any rebellion is expression

of self-aggrandizement (598). Medieval and Lutheran traditionalist ethics of vocation (and Confucian) assumed that political power had a personalistic character, on model of family. Today, this is rare: power, like economics, depersonalized. Likewise, calling becomes impersonal duty. (600)

14. Great Religions of the World (ch. xv, 607ff)

1. Judaism, Puritanism & Capitalism

1. Jewish double standard, acceptance of wealth

15. Pariah peoples and resentment (492ff)

- Function of Salvation Religion for Higher and Lower Strata: Legitimation vs. Compensation (490f); cf. Jewish religion, modern Chinese, modern proletariat (492).
- Pariah people and Resentment - Judaism vs. Hinduism (492f). Definition of pariah people - hereditary, stateless; socially disprivileged and distinctive economically (493).
- Resentment - inequality caused by sinfulness which God will avenge: desire for vengeance (494). Desire for revenge stirred up by persecutions (496). Absence of resentment among Hindus and Buddhists explained by theodicy of rebirth. Jewish theodicy - concern for own fidelity to law, struggle for sense of own worth. NB saw success in occupation as sign of God's favor, but no sense of Bewährung in calling as inner-worldly asceticism: Jew remained traditional in frank respect for wealth (497)

Weber Lecture - General Economic History I (Part IV)

1. Definition of Capitalism
 1. Appropriation of all means of production
 2. Free market
 3. Rational technology
 4. Calculable law
 5. Formally free labor (under compulsion to work)
 6. Commercialization of economic life
2. Colonial policy
3. Industrial technique
 1. War production
 2. Luxury production
4. Citizenship
 1. Definition and etymology
 1. Class
 2. Culture & national membership
 3. Military aspect (Burg)
 2. The City and War
 1. Oriental City
 - 1) NB Empire
 2. Ancient Occidental City
 - 1) NB economy of conquest
 3. Medieval Occidental City
 - 1) Not militarily dominant; mainly defensive

- 2) Turned to economic production & trading, not conquest
 - 3) Alliance with monarchs
 - 4) Creation of National class of citizens (=Bürgers, capitalists)
5. The State
1. Mercantilism
6. The Spirit of Capitalism
1. Dualistic vs. Unitary religious ethics
 1. Ethical conduct within brotherhood of believers
 2. Unscrupulous conduct outside of brotherhood
 3. Puritan unitary ethic
 2. Theory of Social Status
 1. People of lower social status find it hard to be industrial capitalists.
 2. They risk being attacked by workers or general public; they may not have full protection of the law
 3. If they are attacked (a pogrom, a race riot) and have to flee, they risk losing their investment, because they can't take brick and mortar with them.
 4. They may be safer with a more portable investment, like finance or gemstones.
 5. Weber was arguing here against the theory that Jews started capitalism, a theory that was often slanted in an antisemitic direction

Weber Lecture - General Economic History II (Parts I-III)7. Pre-capitalist agriculture (Part I)

1. Origins of Seigniorial proprietorship; feudalism (ch. iii)
 1. chieftanship
 2. emergence of professional military class
 3. external conquest
 4. voluntary submission of defenseless people to military overlordship
 5. land settlement under feudal terms
 6. leasing
 7. trade: gave rise to towns
 8. fiscal roots: taxation under officialdom of state
 - 1) Oriental feudalism
 - 1) private contractors
 - 2) officials
 - 3) soldiers
 - 2) Western & Japanese feudalism (62ff)
 - 1) delegation of functions to chieftains or landed proprietors
 - 2) in West (Enfoeffment):
 - (1) Fusion of Roman principles of land ownership & Germanic chieftanship
 - (2) Clearing of new land through conquest
 - victorious armies had to be fitted out with land

- (3) Peasant without property unable to fit himself out militarily
 - had to place himself in obsequium to econ more powerful person
- (4) Decisive condition: invasion of Arabs
 - need to outfit opposing army of horsemen
- (5) Also: granting of political & office fiefs (besides land)

2. The Manor

1. Character (ch. iv)

1) Power of Lord

- 1) Landholding: territorial power
- 2) Possession of men: slavery
- 3) Appropriation of political rights through usurpation or enfeoffment
 - (1) Judicial authority most important here
 - became traditionalized (NB methodology: origins of tradition)
- 4) NB Lord not a farmer, but professional soldier

2) NB free peasantry outside lords' power, outside estate

- 1) comparatively rare

3) Economic consequences of Manor system

- 1) Neither peasant nor lord had interest in greater productivity
 - (1) Peasant derived no gain
 - (2) Lord did not produce for market
- 2) State interested in maintaining peasantry for tax purposes
- 3) Attachment of peasant to soil (no mobility)

- (1) because of personal fealty
 - (2) because of tax obligations
 - 4) Rights of peasant in the land became very diversified
 - 5) Appropriation of common land to lords
 - 6) Lord established numerous "socage" rights or banalities
 - (1) e.g., peasant required to use & pay for lord's mill, bakery, etc.
2. Capitalistic development of the Manor (ch. vi)
- 1) Plantation
 - 1) Dependent on slave hunts
 - 2) Not maintainable through procreation of slaves
 - 2) Estate economy
 - 1) Production for the market: stock or tillage
 - 2) Required:
 - (1) Clearing of land (e.g., enclosures) for stock
 - (2) Creation of Renter class of capitalistic large farmers
3. Dissolution (ch. vi, cont.)
- 1) Causes
 - 1) Motivating cause internal & economic
 - (1) Development of market interests of lords & peasants
 - (2) Development of market opportunities
 - 2) But main causes were external
 - (1) Commercial interest of newly established urban bourgeoisie

(2) Feudal relations interfered with rising market interests

- Wanted rural mass consumer base
- Wanted free labor market
- Needed this to circumvent the guilds
- Urban bourgeoisie wanted to buy land for prestige reasons

(3) Also, fiscal interests of the state: wanted higher taxes

3) Abolition of hereditary judicial authority of lords

4) Abolition of socage rights & banalites

5) Abolition of polit & relig feudal restrictions on land

2) Mutual dependence of proprietor & peasant brought about dissolution

3) Forms of liberation of peasantry (92f, 98ff)

1) Expropriation of peasantry, who became free but landless (e.g., England)

2) Expropriation of lord: peasant free landholder (e.g., France, SW Germany)

3) Combination (e.g., Prussia)

4) Consequences of Dissolution - not only economic, but political (109f)

1) Question of creation of landed aristocracy - esp. England, also Prussia

2) NB sociological definition of aristocracy: economic position sets him free for political activity.

(1) This class set free for political activities

(2) Need to have free time & economic independence

(3) (Therefore England better example than Prussia)

8. Pre-capitalist industry

1. Industry becomes of economic interest only when it is extended beyond the household (115)
2. Types of industrial organization (118f)
 1. Skilled craftsman may produce freely for the market, selling as independent enterpriser
 2. Craftsman may work in the service of the consumer: wage-work for a clientele.
 3. Craftsman may be in the service of another as a wage worker or as a worker for an entrepreneur: resulted in downfall of guild system and rise of industrial capitalism (120-1).
3. Development of industry (chap. viii)
4. Craft guilds (chap. ix)
 1. Guilds followed livelihood policy (138)
 2. Measures by which guilds opposed large-scale industry and capitalism (136ff; sum 142)
 3. Emergence of master-apprentice distinctions (142f)
5. Origins (chap. x)
6. Disintegration (chap. xi: 153f)
 1. Because one craftsman rose to become a merchant or capitalist-employer (160f)
 2. One guild might rise at expense of another
 3. Guilds might become dependent on importers
 4. Guilds might become dependent on exporters
7. Development of the factory (chap. xii)
 1. Definition: entrepreneurial production with free labor and fixed capital (163)

2. Economic prerequisites: steady mass demand, money economy, inexpensive technical production process, sufficient supply of free laborers (created in England with enclosures) (163f; 169)
 3. Military and luxury demand economies (170f)
 4. Factors which prevented the emergence of the factory system outside the West (175f)
 - 1) Castes, as in India
 - 2) Clans, as in China
 - 3) Slave capital, as in Western antiquity
 - 4) Scarcity of unfree labor, other opportunities for lower classes than wage labor, or guild laws, as in Western middle ages
 5. Impulse to mechanization came from mining
9. Pre-capitalist commerce
1. Ethnic groups and trading ethics

Weber Lecture - Political Sociology I

1. "The Types of Legitimate Domination"
 1. The concepts of domination and legitimacy
 1. Domination: probability that commands will be accepted
 - 1) From Herrschaft: etymology
 - 2) NB Interest in compliance
 - 3) Necessity of a Staff
 - 1) Form of staff defines form of legitimacy
 2. Legitimacy: acceptance of claims of domination
 - 1) Question: what is sociology of this popular acceptance
 - 2) also NB: Hobbesian subversive democratic element
 - 1) However hierarchical, rule must be accepted
 2. Three Pure types of Authority
 1. Legal/rational, Bureaucratic
 - 1) Modern bureaucracy taken as point of departure
 - 2) NB Legal norms (norms vs. rationality)
 - 3) Characteristics
 - 1) Rule-bound
 - 2) Impersonal
 - 3) Hierarchical
 - 4) Specialized
 - 5) Separated from ownership
 - 6) Career
 - 4) Efficient and powerful

- 1) Contrast to dilettantism
 - 2) Indifference to capitalism or socialism
 - 3) Extremely powerful (but NB later: also brittle)
 - 4) Bureaucracy can only be overthrown by another bureaucratic organization
 - 5) Domination through knowledge, official secrets
2. Traditional
- 1) Sanctity of age-old rules and powers
 - 2) Obedience not to rules but to persons
 - 3) Patriarchalism
 - 4) Patrimonialism - sultanism
 - 5) Estate-type (staendische): feudalism
 - 1) benefices & fiefs
 - 2) judicial & military
 - 6) Effects on economy
 - 1) only certain forms of capitalism possible under empires
3. Charismatic
- 1) Tautological: exists when believed in
 - 2) communism of followers
 - 3) revolutionary with regard to traditionalism
 - 4) foreign to economic considerations
4. Combinations of the pure types (262ff)
- 1) Forms of belief almost always mixed

- 2) Importance of education & culture (265)
- 3) NB comments about the breakdown of bureaucratic authority in Germany, 1918
 - 1) Problem of anarchy: brittleness
3. Routinization of Charisma: General considerations
 1. problem of succession
 2. can be traditionalized or rationalized
 - 1) NB charisma of person or of office
 3. Interests of staff
 4. anti-economic character must be altered to be routinized
4. Routinization of Charisma: Feudalism
 1. NB reciprocity
5. Routinization of Charisma: Democratic direction
 1. a form of rationalization
 2. NB Fuehrerdemokratie: devotion to leader
 3. anti-authoritarianism generally moves in direction of rationality
 4. NB collegiality not necessarily democratic
 5. Only Western collegial bodies capable of expropriating monarch
 - 1) monarch had become dilettante
 6. Separation of powers in West began on estate basis
 7. Parties
 - 1) to secure power
 - 2) patronage, ideological

8. Administration

1) direct democracy (he doubts)

2) administration by notables

1) inadequate on large scale

3) Representation

1) appropriated

2) estate-type

3) instructed

4) free

(1) elections

(2) parties

(3) NB relation of this democracy to capitalism (296f)

- calculable law

- capitalism emerged before extension of franchise

- but also NB undermining of old status groups

5) agents of groups

Weber Lecture - Political Sociology II2. "Class, Status and Party"3. "Bureaucracy"

1. Characteristics

1. most developed in modern state, capitalism
2. hierarchy; monocratically organized
3. specialization
4. general rules
5. vocation
 - 1) impersonal
 - 2) high prestige [NB more appropriate to Europe than U.S.]
 - 3) appointed
 - 4) tenure for life; career
 - 5) fixed monetary salary

2. Examples

1. Egypt
2. Late Rome
3. Catholic Church
4. China
5. European states
6. Modern Capitalist enterprise

3. The power of bureaucracy

1. A question of power & exercise of power
 - 1) Its technical superiority
 - 1) esp. compared to amateur, collegiate, honorific organizations
 - 2) Corresponds to decline or leveling of status honor
2. More dependent on intensiveness of power than extent of power
 - 1) Corresponds to demands for internal pacification (police power)

- 2) Corresponds to demands for social welfare policies
3. Politically, corresponds to level of development
 - 1) U.S. less bureaucratic since extent of state control not fully extensive
 - 2) but U.S. parties are quite bureaucratic
4. Capitalistic market economy
5. Rational law
 - 1) NB this does not correspond to "substantive" justice
4. Some causes, preconditions, and consequences
 1. Presupposes money economy
 2. War
 3. Status honor must recede
 - 1) democratization of bureaucracy
 - 2) Bureaucracy accompanies political mass democracy
 - 1) Not because of demands for reduction of state power (on the contrary)
 - 2) Because of demands for equality before the law
 - 3) Because of horrors of privilege
 - 4) Also because of bureaucratic mass parties
 4. Bureaucracy almost impossible to destroy
 - 1) superior to all other forms of power
 - 2) requires another bureaucracy
 - 3) its destruction entails breakdown of social order
 - 4) easy for any new master to gain control of it

- 1) since it does not rest on personal loyalty
- 2) NB weakness of master vis a vis bureaucracy
 - (1) master is in position of dilettante
 - (2) immaterial whether master is king or "the people"
- 5) Only private, economic bureaucracy can oppose state bureaucracy
 - 1) question of expert knowledge
 - 2) know their own business better than state control agencies
- 6) "revolutions" replaced by "coups d'etat"
5. Indeterminate economic consequences