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—— 新教伦理与资本主义精神 ——

THE PROTESTANT ETHIC AND THE SPIRIT OF CAPITALISM

[德] 马克斯·韦伯 著

(二)

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(二)

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1. Here, as on some other points, I differ from our honoured master, Lujo Brentano (in his work to be cited later). Chiefly in regard to terminology, but also on questions of fact. It does not seem to me expedient to bring such different things as acquisition of booty and acquisition by management of a factory together under the same category; still less to designate every tendency to the acquisition of money as the spirit of capitalism as against other types of acquisition. The second sacrifices all precision of concepts, and the first the possibility of clarifying the specific difference between Occidental capitalism and other forms. Also in Simmel's *Philosophie des Geldes* money economy and capitalism are too closely identified, to the detriment of his concrete analysis. In the writings of Werner Sombart, above all in the second edition of his most important work, *Der moderne Kapitalismus*, the *differentia specifica* of Occidental capitalism—at least from the view-point of my problem—the rational organization of labour, is strongly overshadowed by genetic factors which have been operative everywhere in the world.

2. Naturally the difference cannot be conceived in absolute terms. The politically oriented capitalism (above all tax-farming) of Mediterranean and Oriental antiquity, and even of China and India, gave rise to rational, continuous enterprises whose book-keeping—though known to us only in pitiful fragments—probably had a rational character. Furthermore, the politically oriented adventurers' capitalism has been closely associated with rational bourgeois capitalism in the development of modern banks, which, including the Bank of England, have for the most part originated in transactions of a political nature, often connected with war. The difference between the characters of Paterson, for instance—a typical promoter—and of the members of the directorate of the Bank who gave the keynote to its permanent policy, and very soon came to be known as the "Puritan u-

注释：

作者导言

①对于此点，还包括另外一些观点，我与我们敬爱的导师布恩塔诺（其观点后面将会引述）有所不同。这不仅是术语的不同，更涉及事实问题。在我看来，将强取豪夺而获利与经营工厂而获利置于同一概念之下的做法并不恰当，而将所有赚取金钱的倾向视为可与其他类型的获利相参照的资本主义精神，更是有问题的。第二种作法将所有的概念混为一谈，而第一种作法则泯灭了西方资本主义和其他形态的资本主义之间的具体差异。西美尔在其《货币哲学》一书中，将货币经济与资本主义几乎视为同一概念，结果损害了他的具体分析。在韦尔纳·桑巴特的著作中，尤其是他最重要的作品《现代资本主义》第二版中，西方资本主义的独特之处，（至少从我探讨的问题来看）即理性的劳动组织，已被在世界各地发挥作用的诸种历史因素极大地遮蔽了。

②当然，不要把这种区别想得那么绝对。地中海和东方古国，甚至中国和印度具有政治导向的资本主义（以包税制最为重要），确曾产生过理性而持续的企业，其簿记方式——尽管我们只能从一些可怜的残章断简中得知——很可能具有了理性的性质。而且，在现代银行的发展过程中，具有政治导向的冒险家的资本主义与理性的资产阶级的资本主义关联紧密。这些银行，包括英国银行，大部分都产生于政治性质的，并且常常是与战争有关的交易中。例如，在帕森特，一个典型的企业创办人与银行董事会成员（他们对银行长期政策提出要旨，并很快以“杂货店厅里的清

urers of Grocers' Hall", is characteristic of it. Similarly, we have the aberration of the policy of this most solid bank at the time of the South Sea Bubble. Thus the two naturally shade off into each other. But the difference is there. The great promoters and financiers have no more created the rational organization of labour than—again in general and with individual exceptions—those other typical representatives of financial and political capitalism, the Jews. That was done, typically, by quite a different set of people.

3. The remains of my knowledge of Hebrew are also quite inadequate.

4. I need hardly point out that this does not apply to attempts like that of Karl Jasper's (in his book *Psychologie der Weltanschauungen*, 1919), nor to Klages's *Charakterologie*, and similar studies which differ from our own in their point of departure. There is no space here for a criticism of them.

5. Some years ago an eminent psychiatrist expressed the same opinion to me.

CHAPTER I

1. From the voluminous literature which has grown up around this essay I cite only the most comprehensive criticisms. (1) F. Rachfahl, "Kalvinismus und Kapitalismus", *Internationale Wochenschrift für Wissenschaft, Kunst und Technik* (1909), Nos. 39-43. In reply, my article: "Antikritisches zum Geist des Kapitalismus," *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik* (Tübingen), XX, 1910. Then Rachfahl's reply to that: "Nochmals Kalvinismus und Kapitalismus", 1910, Nos. 22-25, of the *Internationale Wochenschrift*. Finally my "Antikritisches Schlusswort", *Archiv*, XXXI. (Brentano, in the criticism presently to be referred to, evidently did not know of this last phase of the discussion, as he does not refer to it.) I have not incorporated anything in this edition from the somewhat unfruitful polemics against Rachfahl. He is an author whom I otherwise admire, but who has in this instance ventured into a field which he

教徒高利贷者”而为人所知)之间性质的差异是它的典型表现。类似地,这一最为稳固的银行,在“南太平洋投机计划”时期也出现了政策失常。因此,这二者自然地逐渐相互渗透,而差异依然存在。在创办理性的劳动组织时,大公司创办人和大金融家(只是一般而言,当然有个别例外)并不比那些金融的和政治的资本主义的典型代表即犹太人功劳更大。那是由另一些完全不同的人群很有特色地完成的。

③我目前所掌握的希伯来语知识还很是不足。

④我几乎无需指明,这一点不适用于诸如卡尔·亚斯伯的意图(见其著作《世界观的心理学》,1919),也不适用于克拉格斯的《性格学》,以及在出发点上与我们不同的类似研究。

⑤多年以前,一位杰出的精神病专家向我提到过同样的观点。

第一章 宗教关系与社会分层

①围绕本论文所生发的文献卷帙浩繁,我只列举最为全面的几个批评。(1)F. 拉舍法尔:《加尔文主义与资本主义》,《国际科学、艺术、技术周刊》(1909),第39-43期。我的回应文章:《对资本主义精神的反批评》,《社会科学和社会政治档案》(图宾根)XX,1910。拉舍法尔的答复:《再论加尔文主义与资本主义》,1910,《国际周刊》第22-25期。我最后的答复是:《最后的反批评》,《档案》,XXXI。(在下面将要谈到的批评中,布恩塔诺没有提到此文,显然他不知道这一讨论的最后局面。)在本版中,我并未把我和拉舍法尔某些白费唇舌的论争收入在内。对于他的其他作品,我很是钦佩,但在此他却闯入了一个并不熟悉的领域。

has not thoroughly mastered. I have only added a few supplementary references from my anti - critique, and have attempted, in new passages and footnotes, to make impossible any future misunderstanding. (2) W. Sombart, in his book *Der Bourgeois* (Munich and Leipzig, 1913, also translated into English under the title *The Quintessence of Capitalism*, London, 1915), to which I shall return in footnotes below. Finally (3) Lujo Brentano in Part II of the Appendix to his Munich address (in the Academy of Sciences, 1913) on *Die Anfänge des modernen Kapitalismus*, which was published in 1916. I shall also refer to this criticism in special footnotes in the proper places. I invite anyone who may be interested to convince himself by comparison that I have not in revision left out, changed the meaning of, weakened, or added materially different statements to, a single sentence of my essay which contained any essential point. There was no occasion to do so, and the development of my exposition will convince anyone who still doubts. The two latter writers engaged in a more bitter quarrel with each other than with me. Brentano's criticism of Sombart's book, *Die Juden und das Wirtschaftsleben*, I consider in many points well founded, but often very unjust, even apart from the fact that Brentano does not himself seem to understand the real essence of the problem of the Jews.

From theologians I have received numerous valuable suggestions in connection with this study. Its reception on their part has been in general friendly and impersonal, in spite of wide differences of opinion on particular points. This is the more welcome to me since I should not have wondered at a certain antipathy to the manner in which these matters must necessarily be treated here. What to a theologian is valuable in his religion cannot play a very large part in this study. We are concerned with what, from a religious point of view, are often quite superficial and unrefined aspects of religious life, but which, and precisely because they were superficial and unrefined, have often influenced outward behaviour most profoundly.

Another book which, besides containing many other things, is a very welcome confirmation of and supplement to this essay in so far as it deals with our problem, is the important work of E. Troeltsch, *Die Soziallehren der christlichen Kirchen und Gruppen* (Tübingen,

我依据我的反批评文章,增加了几条补充性参考资料,并增加了新的段落和脚注,以期避免可能的误解。(2)W. 桑巴特的《资产阶级》一书(慕尼黑和莱比锡,1913。其英译本书名为《资本主义的精髓》,伦敦,1915),后面的脚注还会提及。(3)最后还有卢卓·布恩塔诺在慕尼黑的演讲(即在科学院的演讲,1913),题为《资本主义的开端》(出版于1916年)附录的第二部分。我还会在适当的地方用某些脚注论及这一批评。欢迎有兴趣的读者进行甄别,以验证我在修订时并未对文中任何一个重要的语句加以省略或改动,未削减或增添任何完全不同的论述。我毫无必要那样做,因为我相信,随着本文论述的展开,那些心存疑虑的人将会心服口服。后两位作家之间展开了一场论争,这场论争比同我的论争更为激烈。布恩塔诺对桑巴特《犹太人和经济生活》一书的批评,我认为在许多观点上都有建树,但是,布恩塔诺本人似乎并不理解犹太人问题的真正本质,即使我们对此不予考虑,他的批评也常常有失公允。

在研究过程中,我从神学界得到了大量颇具价值的建议,尽管在某些具体问题上存在较大分歧,不过他们的反响总体来说是友好而客观的。对此我尤感欣慰,因为对于我这里必须采用的论述方式,即使引起大家的某种反感,亦在意料之中。对神学家来说,有些事情在其宗教中弥足珍贵,但就本研究而言,这些事情却并不重要。以宗教的眼光来看,我们所关注的东西在宗教生活中常常显得十分粗陋浅薄,然而正因粗陋浅薄,其对世俗行为的影响也往往最为深远。另一本著作,撇开它的其他内容不谈,对我们所研究的问题是一个令人振奋的确证和补充。它就是E. 特罗尔奇的重要著作《基督教教会和宗教团体的社会教育》(图宾根,

1912). It deals with the history of the ethics of Western Christianity from a very comprehensive point of view of its own. I here refer the reader to it for general comparison instead of making repeated references to special points. The author is principally concerned with the doctrines of religion, while I am interested rather in their practical results.

2. The exceptions are explained, not always, but frequently, by the fact that the religious leanings of the labouring force of an industry are naturally, in the first instance, determined by those of the locality in which the industry is situated, or from which its labour is drawn. This circumstance often alters the impression given at first glance by some statistics of religious adherence, for instance in the Rhine provinces. Furthermore, figures can naturally only be conclusive if individual specialized occupations are carefully distinguished in them. Otherwise very large employers may sometimes be grouped together with master craftsmen who work alone, under the category of "proprietors of enterprises". Above all, the fully developed capitalism of the present day, especially so far as the great unskilled lower strata of labour are concerned, has become independent of any influence which religion may have had in the past. I shall return to this point.

3. Compare, for instance, Schell, *Der Katholizismus als Prinzip des Fortschrittes* (Würzburg, 1897), p. 31, and V. Hertling, *Das Prinzip des Katholizismus und die Wissenschaft* (Freiburg, 1899), p. 58.

4. One of my pupils has gone through what is at this time the most complete statistical material we possess on this subject: the religious statistics of Baden. See Martin Offenbacher, "Konfession und soziale Schichtung", *Eine Studie über die wirtschaftliche Lage der Katholiken und Protestanten in Baden* (Tübingen und Leipzig, 1901), Vol. IV, part v, of the *Volkswirtschaftliche Abhandlungen der badischen Hochschulen*. The facts and figures which are used for illustration below are all drawn from this study.

5. For instance, in 1895 in Baden there was taxable capital available for the tax on returns from capital:

Per 1,000 Protestants	954,000 marks
Per 1,000 Catholics	589,000 marks

1912),它以非常全面的观点,研究了西方基督教伦理史。在此,我将此书推荐给读者以作总体比较,下面就具体观点不再进行征引。该书作者主要关注宗教教义,而我的兴趣则在其实际效果。

②例外的情况可用下述事实加以解释:一个工厂劳动力的宗教倾向,首先自然取决于该工厂所在地的宗教倾向,或者取决于劳动力家乡的宗教倾向。这种解释虽非总是奏效,却也常常能够说明问题。这种情况常可改变某些有关宗教信仰的统计数字所带给人的初步印象,如有关莱茵河地区的统计数字。此外,如果将其中的每个专门行业认真地加以区分,统计数字自然具有确定性。否则,特大雇主有时会 and 个体手工业主划归一组,置于“企业主”行当。更重要的是,在资本主义全面发展的今天,特别是对大量没有技术的低层工人来说,宗教对资本主义的影响不像往日,已经不复存在,这一点后面还会论及。

③可参照舍尔《作为进步原则的天主教》(维尔茨堡,1897)第31页和V.赫特林《天主教原则和科学》(弗莱堡,1899)第58页。

④我的一位学生认真检索了巴登的宗教统计资料,这是迄今为止我们所掌握的有关这一主题的最为全面的资料,参见马丁·奥芬巴赫《宗教与阶级》,《对巴登天主教徒和新教徒经济状况的研究》(图宾根和莱比锡,1901)第五卷,《巴登高校政治经济学论文集》第五部分。后面用于解析的事实和数据皆援引该研究。

⑤比如,在1895年的巴登,应征收资本利润税的应征税资本统计如下:

每1000名新教徒……954 000 马克

每1000名天主教徒……589 000 马克

It is true that the Jews, with over four millions per 1,000, were far ahead of the rest. (For details see Offenbacher, *op. cit.*, p. 21.)

6. On this point compare the whole discussion in Offenbacher's study.

7. On this point also Offenbacher brings forward more detailed evidence for Baden in his first two chapters.

8. The population of Baden was composed in 1895 as follows: Protestants, 37.0 per cent.; Catholics, 61.3 per cent.; Jewish, 1.5 per cent. The students of schools beyond the compulsory public school stage were, however, divided as follows (Offenbacher, p. 16):

	Protestant.	Catholic.	Jews.
	Per Cent.	Per Cent.	Per Cent.
<i>Gymnasien</i>	43	46	9.5
<i>Realgymnasien</i>	69	31	9
<i>Oberrealschulen</i>	52	41	7
<i>Realschulen</i>	49	40	11
<i>Höhere Bürgerschulen</i>	51	37	12
Average	48	42	10

The same thing may be observed in Prussia, Bavaria, Würtemberg, Alsace - Lorraine, and Hungary (see figures in Offenbacher, pp. 16 ff.).

9. See the figures in the preceding note, which show that the Catholic attendance at secondary schools, which is regularly less than the Catholic share of the total population by a third, only exceeds this by a few per cent. in the case of the grammar schools (mainly in preparation for theological studies). With reference to the subsequent discussion it may further be noted as characteristic that in Hungary those affiliated with the Reformed Church exceed even the average Protestant record of attendance at secondary schools. (See Offenbacher, p. 19, note.)

确实,犹太人每千人拥有四百多万马克的数量,大大超过了其他人。(具体细节可见上引奥芬巴赫的书,第21页。)

⑥对此,可与奥芬巴赫著作中的整个讨论进行比较。

⑦对此,奥芬巴赫著作的前两章亦提供了关于巴登的更为具体的证据。

⑧1895年巴登的人口构成如下:新教徒,37.0%;天主教徒,61.3%;犹太人,1.5%。然而,除进行义务教育的公立学校之外,其他学校的学生的成分如下表所列:

	新教徒 (%)	天主教徒 (%)	犹太人 (%)
高级文科中学	43	46	9.5
实科中学	69	31	9
理科中学	52	41	7
中学	49	40	11
高级市立中学	51	37	12
平均	48	42	10

同样的情形亦见于普鲁士,巴伐利亚,符腾堡,阿尔萨斯——洛林和匈牙利等地(见奥芬巴赫著中的数字,16页以下)。

⑨参见上注中的数据。这些数据表明,天主教徒进入中学的人数,通常比其占总人口比例少三分之一;读语法学校(主要准备研究神学)的人数仅仅超出这个数字一点点。参考后面的讨论,有一个典型事例应该进一步提请注意,即匈牙利改革派教会教民的中学入学率甚至超过了新教徒的平均值。(参见奥芬巴赫,第19页注)