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新教伦理与资本主义精神

THE PROTESTANT ETHIC AND THE SPIRIT OF CAPITALISM

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## 图书在版编目(CIP)数据

新教伦理与资本主义精神/(德)韦伯著;李修建,  
张云江译. —北京:九州出版社,2006.11

(西方学术经典文库)

ISBN 7-80195-561-7

I. 新... II. ①韦...②李...③张...

III. 新教—研究—西方国家 IV. B976.3

中国版本图书馆CIP数据核字(2006)第132618号

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责任编辑 郑闯琦

出版发行 九州出版社

地址 北京市西城区阜外大街甲35号(100037)

发行电话 (010)68992190/2/3/5/6

网址 [www.jiuzhoupress.com](http://www.jiuzhoupress.com)

电子信箱 [jiuzhou@jiuzhoupress.com](mailto:jiuzhou@jiuzhoupress.com)

印刷 三河东方印刷厂

开本 630×970mm 1/16

印张 39.25

字数 423千字

版次 2007年1月第1版

印次 2007年1月第1次印刷

书号 ISBN 7-80195-561-7/C·112

定价 78.00元(全二册)

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## 出版说明

在西方学术思想的发展流变中,出现过很多影响深远的经典著作,这些著作穿越时空,为人们长久研读,有的甚至影响了整个人类文明的发展进程。这套《西方学术经典文库》(英汉对照本),精选了其中最具有代表性的一些名著,计划达到一百部,将陆续分批出版直至全部完成。

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九州出版社

The Protestant Ethic And The Spirit Of Capitalism

By *Max Weber*

English Translation By

*Taloot Parsons*

本书根据 Charles Scribner 1958 年版本译出

## Author's Introduction

A product of modern European civilization, studying any problem of universal history, is bound to ask himself to what combination of circumstances the fact should be attributed that in Western civilization, and in Western civilization only, cultural phenomena have appeared which (as we like to think) lie in a line of development having *universal* significance and value.

Only in the West does science exist at a stage of development which we recognize to-day as valid. Empirical knowledge, reflection on problems of the cosmos and of life, philosophical and theological wisdom of the most profound sort, are not confined to it, though in the case of the last the full development of a systematic theology must be credited to Christianity under the influence of Hellenism, since there were only fragments in Islam and in a few Indian sects. In short, knowledge and observation of great refinement have existed elsewhere, above all in India, China, Babylonia, Egypt. But in Babylonia and elsewhere astronomy lacked—which makes its development all the more astounding—the mathematical foundation which it first received from the Greeks. The Indian geometry had no rational proof; that was another product of the Greek intellect, also the creator of mechanics and physics. The Indian natural sciences, though well developed in observation, lacked the method of experiment, which was, apart from begin-

## 作者导言<sup>〔1〕</sup>

作为沐浴着现代欧洲文明而成长的人,在研究任何世界性的历史问题时,都不免会反躬自省:为什么在西方文明之中,而且仅仅在西方文明之中,出现了某些文化现象,这些文化现象(正如我们一厢情愿地认为)存在于一条具有普遍意义和普遍价值的发展线索中,这应当归诸怎样的环境因素呢?

仅仅在西方,科学在今天才处于我们公认的真实有效的发展阶段。经验性知识、对宇宙及人生问题的沉思,以及最为深奥的哲学与神学智慧,都不在科学的范围之内。不过,系统神学的全面发展,却应该仰赖深受希腊文化影响的基督教,因为伊斯兰教和一些印度教派神学只是一些片断,不成系统。简单说来,在其他地方也有精准细密的知识与观察,尤其是在印度、中国、巴比伦和埃及。但是,巴比伦以及其他各地的天文学却缺少最早从古希腊传承而来的数学基础(这使得这些地方天文学后来的发展更为令人惊异)。印度的几何学所没有的理性证明,那是希腊人智慧的另一结晶,它同时也创造了力学和物理学。印度的自然科学尽管长于观察,却没有实验方法。如果不去考虑其古老的

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〔1〕 需要提请注意的是,该导言是韦伯于1920年为其整个宗教社会学研究所写,是理解所有韦伯著作的关键线索。

nings in antiquity, essentially a product of the Renaissance, as was the modern laboratory. Hence medicine, especially in India, though highly developed in empirical technique, lacked a biological and particularly a biochemical foundation. A rational chemistry has been absent from all areas of culture except the West.

The highly developed historical scholarship of China did not have the method of Thucydides. Machiavelli, it is true, had predecessors in India; but all Indian political thought was lacking in a systematic method comparable to that of Aristotle, and, indeed, in the possession of rational concepts. Not all the anticipations in India (School of Mimamsa), nor the extensive codification especially in the Near East, nor all the Indian and other books of law, had the strictly systematic forms of thought, so essential to a rational jurisprudence, of the Roman law and of the Western law under its influence. A structure like the canon law is known only to the West.

源头,后来具有的这种实验方法与现代实验室一样,究其本质是文艺复兴的产物。因此,医学,特别是印度医学,尽管有着高度发达的经验技巧,却缺乏生物学尤其是生物化学的基础。所有西方以外的文化区域都不具有理性的化学。

中国有高度发达的历史学,却没有修昔底德<sup>1)</sup>的方法。印度确曾有过马基雅弗利<sup>2)</sup>的先驱,但印度所有的政治思想都缺乏一种可以与亚里士多德<sup>3)</sup>相提并论的系统方法,而且,也没有理性的概念。在印度(弥曼差派)<sup>4)</sup>的所有预言中,在大量的、尤以近东地域为最的法典编纂中,在印度和其他国家的法律书籍中,都不曾具有严格而系统的思想逻辑形式,这种思想逻辑形式对罗马法及受其影响的西方法这种理性的法学来说,是必不可少的。教会

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[1] 修昔底德(Thucydides,前471~前400),古希腊著名历史学家,他将追求真理的精神和逻辑方法应用于历史研究之中,强调历史研究必须坚持求实的原则、研究者必须坚持理智的和批判的态度,提出了“历史就是当代史”、“历史的内容是刚刚发生过的政治事件”的著史原则,他的巨著《伯罗奔尼撒战争史》奠定了西方史学中政治叙事史传统的基础和基本模式,对此后西方史学二千多年的发展产生了极大的影响,被尊为“史学之父”。

[2] 马基雅弗利(Machiavelli,1469~1527),意大利佛罗伦萨人,其《君主论》成为西方政治思想史上最具影响力的著作之一。书中以理智的计算式的冷静,剖析了君主国的治理之道。另外的代表作还有《论李维》、《战争的艺术》、《佛罗伦萨史》等。

[3] 亚里士多德(Aristotle,前384~前322),古希腊哲学的集大成者。他总结了古希腊哲学发展的结果,首次将哲学和其他科学区别开来,开创了逻辑、伦理学、政治学和生物学等学科的独立研究。他的学术思想对西方文化、科学的发展产生了巨大的影响。

[4] 弥曼差派(School of Mimamsa):古印度六大哲学派别之一,梵语“弥曼差”(Mimamsa)有思维、考察和研究的意思。弥曼差的哲学,可以说是研究婆罗门教义,阐扬吠陀思想的宗教哲学。



A similar statement is true of art. The musical ear of other peoples has probably been even more sensitively developed than our own, certainly not less so. Polyphonic music of various kinds has been widely distributed over the earth. The co-operation of a number of instruments and also the singing of parts have existed elsewhere. All our rational tone intervals have been known and calculated. But rational harmonious music, both counterpoint and harmony, formation of the tone material on the basis of three triads with the harmonic third; our chromatics and enharmonics, not interpreted in terms of space, but, since the Renaissance, of harmony; our orchestra, with its string quartet as a nucleus, and the organization of ensembles of wind instruments; our bass accompaniment; our system of notation, which has made possible the composition and production of modern musical works, and thus their very survival; our sonatas, symphonies, operas; and finally, as means to all these, our fundamental instruments, the organ, piano, violin, etc.; all these things are known only in the Occident, although programme music, tone poetry, alteration of tones and chromatics, have existed in various musical traditions as means of expression.

In architecture, pointed arches have been used elsewhere as a means of decoration, in antiquity and in Asia; presumably the combination of pointed arch and cross-arched vault was not unknown in the Orient. But the rational use of the Gothic vault as a means of distributing pressure and of roofing spaces of all forms, and above all as the constructive principle of great monumental buildings and the foundation of a *style* extending to sculpture and painting, such as that created by our Middle Ages, does not occur elsewhere. The technical basis of our architecture came from the Orient. But the Orient lacked that solution of the problem of the dome and that type of classic rationalization of all art—in painting by the rational utilization of lines and spatial perspective—which the Renaissance created for us. There was printing in China. But a printed literature, designed *only* for

法规的逻辑结构也是仅见于西方。

艺术领域亦如此。其他民族的音乐器官或许进化得比我们更加敏锐,至少不比我们逊色。各式各样的复调音乐遍布世界各地,乐器合奏以及多声部合唱也存在于其他地方。我们所有合理的音程,早就为人所知并进行过推算。但是,理性的和音,包括对位法与和弦;在三和弦、三和声基础上形成的音符组织法;我们的半音和等音(不是依据空间解释的,而是自文艺复兴以来依据和声学解释的那种);我们的以弦乐四重奏为核心的管弦乐队以及管乐合奏的组织形式;我们的低音伴奏;我们的记谱系统——它使现代音乐作品的创作与演出成为可能,并使这些作品得以流传后世;我们的奏鸣曲、交响乐和歌剧;最后,我们作为以上诸般表现手段的基本乐器,如风琴、钢琴、小提琴等等;所有这些都为西方所独有,尽管作为表现手段的标题音乐、音诗、全音和半音的变化,早就存在于各种音乐传统中。

建筑方面,各地早就采用尖顶拱门作为一种装饰手段,这在古代和亚洲都能见到;尖顶拱门和十字型拱形圆顶的组合,东方人对此也并非懵懂无知。但是,合理地运用哥特式拱顶以分散压力,把它作为各种空间构造的屋顶,最重要的是,将之视为宏伟巨大的建筑物的建筑原则,并延伸至雕塑和绘画领域,成为一种艺术风格的基础,可见于我们中世纪的艺术创作,而其他各地都没有出现这些东西。我们建筑学的技术基础得自东方,但是东方却没有解决圆顶问题,同时也缺乏理性化。将所有经典的艺术类型理性化的进程——在绘画中是合理地运用线条和空间透视——这是文艺复兴留给我们的创造。中国早在古代就出现了印刷术,但是只为印刷而设计,并且只有通过印刷大量复制才得

print and only possible through it, and, above all, the Press and periodicals, have appeared only in the Occident. Institutions of higher education of all possible types, even some superficially similar to our universities, or at least academies, have existed (China, Islam). But a rational, systematic, and specialized pursuit of science, with trained and specialized personnel, has only existed in the West in a sense at all approaching its present dominant place in our culture. Above all is this true of the trained official, the pillar of both the modern State and of the economic life of the West. He forms a type of which there have heretofore only been suggestions, which have never remotely approached its present importance for the social order. Of course the official, even the specialized official, is a very old constituent of the most various societies. But no country and no age has ever experienced, in the same sense as the modern Occident, the absolute and complete dependence of its whole existence, of the political, technical, and economic conditions of its life, on a specially trained *organization* of officials. The most important functions of the everyday life of society have come to be in the hands of technically, commercially, and above all legally trained government officials.

Organization of political and social groups in feudal classes has been common. But even the feudal <sup>1</sup> state of *rex et regnum* in the Western sense has only been known to our culture. Even more are parliaments of periodically elected representatives, with government by demagogues and party leaders as ministers responsible to the parliaments, peculiar to us, although there have, of course, been parties, in the sense of organizations for exerting influence and gaining control of political power, all over the world. In fact, the State itself, in the sense of a political association with a rational, written constitution, rationally ordained law, and an administration bound to rational rules or laws, administered by trained officials, is known, in this combination of characteristics, only in the Occident, despite all other approaches to it.

And the same is true of the most fateful force in our modern life, capitalism. The impulse to acquisition, pursuit of gain, of money, of

以产生的那些印刷品(以报纸和杂志最为重要),却仅见于西方。各种各样的高等教育机构已然存在于世界各地(如中国、伊斯兰),有的甚或表面上与我们的大学相类似,至少接近我们的学院。但是,一种理性的、系统的、专业化的科学研究,以及训练有素的专业人才,却仅仅存在于西方,并且在某种意义上,它们已在今天的文化中占据了支配地位。首先,这对训练有素的行政人员很是恰切,他们已经成为现代西方国家和经济生活的支柱。在此之前,这种行政人员只是偶而被提及,人们压根儿不会想到这类人对于现在的社会秩序竟会如此重要。当然,行政人员,即便是专业化的行政人员,也是绝大多数社会形态中一个古老的组成要素。不过,没有哪个国家,也没有哪个时代,有过与现代西方同样的状况,即社会的整体存在,其政治、技术和经济条件,绝对而完全地依赖一个经过专业训练的官吏组织。社会日常生活之中最重要的职能,已经逐渐掌控在那些受过技术、商业、最重要的是法律训练的政府行政人员手中。

封建制度下各阶级的政治和社会群体组织很是普遍。但是,西方意义上的“朕即国家”式的封建制国家却仅见于我们的文化。特别是由定期选举产生的议员组成的议会,由群众领袖和政党领袖担任部长并对议会负责的政府形式,更为我们西方所独有,尽管施加影响并掌控政治权力的政党组织遍布于世界各地。实际上,具有理性的成文宪法,理性地制定而成的法律,以及依据理性的规章或法律,并由训练有素的行政人员进行管理的政府组织,即所有这些要素所组合而成的国家共同体,仅为西方所特有,尽管其他国家的政府组织形式与它极为类似。

影响我们现代生活的最为重大的力量——资本主义,其情形

the greatest possible amount of money, has in itself nothing to do with capitalism. This impulse exists and has existed among waiters, physicians, coachmen, artists, prostitutes, dishonest officials, soldiers, nobles, crusaders, gamblers, and beggars. One may say that it has been common to all sorts and conditions of men at all times and in all countries of the earth, wherever the objective possibility of it is or has been given. It should be taught in the kindergarten of cultural history that this naive idea of capitalism must be given up once and for all. Unlimited greed for gain is not in the least identical with capitalism, and is still less its spirit. Capitalism *may* even be identical with the restraint, or at least a rational tempering, of this irrational impulse. But capitalism is identical with the pursuit of profit, and forever *renewed* profit, by means of continuous, rational, capitalistic enterprise. For it must be so: in a wholly capitalistic order of society, an individual capitalistic enterprise which did not take advantage of its opportunities for profit-making would be doomed to extinction.

Let us now define our terms somewhat more carefully than is generally done. We will define a capitalistic economic action as one which rests on the expectation of profit by the utilization of opportunities for exchange, that is on (formally) peaceful chances of profit. Acquisition by force (formally and actually) follows its own particular laws, and it is not expedient, however little one can forbid this, to place it in the same category with action which is, in the last analysis, oriented to profits from exchange.<sup>1</sup> Where capitalistic acquisition is rationally pursued, the corresponding action is adjusted to calculations in terms of capital. This means that the action is adapted to a systematic utilization of goods or personal services as means of acquisition in such a way that, at the close of a business period, the balance of the enterprise in money assets (or, in the case of a continuous enterprise, the periodically estimated money value of assets) exceeds the capital, i. e. the estimated value of the material means of production used for acquisition in exchange. It makes no difference whether it involves a quantity of goods entrusted *in natural* to a travelling merchant,

亦复如此。获取、逐利、赚钱、尽最大可能的赚钱,这些冲动本身与资本主义毫不相干。它们根深蒂固地存在于所有人的内心,见之于侍者、医生、马车夫、艺术家、娼妓、贪官污吏、士兵、贵族、十字军骑士、赌徒、乞丐等人身上。可以说,所有国家、所有时代和所有境况下的所有人,只要具备了或者曾经具备了客观的可能性,全都具有这种冲动。所以,在文化史的启蒙学教育中就应该告诉人们,一定要彻底放弃这种对于资本主义的幼稚想法。对财富的无限贪欲绝不等同于资本主义,更不等同于资本主义精神。资本主义倒是可以等同为对这种非理性冲动的抑制,或至少是一种理性的调和。不过,资本主义即等同于通过持续的、理性的资本主义企业的经营活动去追求利润,并且永不停歇地获取新的利润的经济行为。因为它必须如此:在一个彻头彻尾资本主义化了的社会秩序中,任何不能利用机会获利的资本主义企业,注定会销声匿迹。

现在来给我们所用的术语做一个比常规做法更为精细的界定。我们可以把资本主义的经济行为定义为:它是一种利用交易机会获取预期利润的行为,它需要依赖(形式上)和平的获利机会。那种(形式上和实际上)通过强取豪夺而获利的方法,遵循其自身所具有的特殊法则,把它纳入与刚才所分析的以交易获利的行为相同的范畴,是不合适的,尽管很少有人能够避免这种做法。<sup>①</sup>在理性地追求资本主义赢利的地方,相应的行为就会根据资本核算加以调节。这表明该行为要系统地利用商品和个人劳务为获利手段,这样,在一个经营周期结束后,企业货币资产的收支差额(在持续经营的情况下,指的是资产的阶段性估算货币价值)应多于资本,即多于在交换中用于获利的物质生产资料的估价。至于是将一定量的商品完全委托给一个旅行商人(其过程可

the proceeds of which may consist in other goods *in natura* acquired by trade, or whether it involves a manufacturing enterprise, the assets of which consist of buildings, machinery, cash, raw materials, partly and wholly manufactured goods, which are balanced against liabilities. The important fact is always that a calculation of capital in terms of money is made, whether by modern book-keeping methods or in any other way, however primitive and crude. Everything is done in terms of balances: at the beginning of the enterprise an initial balance, before every individual decision a calculation to ascertain its probable profitableness, and at the end a final balance to ascertain how much profit has been made. For instance, the initial balance of a *commenda* transaction would determine an agreed money value of the assets put into it (so far as they were not in money form already), and a final balance would form the estimate on which to base the distribution of profit and loss at the end. So far as the transactions are rational, calculation underlies every single action of the partners. That a really accurate calculation or estimate may not exist, that the procedure is pure guess-work, or simply traditional and conventional, happens even to-day in every form of capitalistic enterprise where the circumstances do not demand strict accuracy. But these are points affecting only the *degree* of rationality of capitalistic acquisition.

For the purpose of this conception all that matters is that an actual adaptation of economic action to a comparison of money income with money expenses takes place, no matter how primitive the form. Now

能包括经由贸易全部获得其他商品),还是涉及一个其资产由厂房、机器、现金、原材料,半成品和成品(凡此种种,皆可抵偿债务)组成的制造性企业,都没什么关系。重要的是要以货币形式进行资本核算,不管是用现代簿记方式,还是用其他原始的、粗糙的计算方式。一切都要依据收支差额进行衡量:企业运转之初,有一个初始收支差额;在做出任何决策之前都要进行计算,以确定其大致利润;经营结束后,要计算最终的收支差额,看看得到了多少利润。举例来说,“康曼达”<sup>[1]</sup>交易中的初始收支差额,将决定投入其中的资产的议定货币价值(只要它们不再以货币形式存在),而最终的收支差额将形成一项估价,基于此进行最后的红利分配或损失分担。只要交易是理性的,那么合伙人的每一项行动都要以计算为基础。当然,并不存在真正精确的计算或估价,在不少地方,其方法纯属推断臆测,或是仅以传统的、常规的方式进行,即使在今天,这种情况仍然出现于那些对计算精度要求并不严格的资本主义企业中。不过,影响所有这些的只不过是资本主义获利方式的理性程度而已。

界定这一概念意在表明,经济行为要真正适应货币收入与货币支出二者之间的比较,不论其方式有多么的原始粗陋。

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[1] 康曼达(Commenda)是流行于中世纪的商事合同之一,合作双方中的一方(出借人)提供货物、货币,另一方(借入人)则以之进行海外贸易,也就是一方出钱,另一方出力,作为回报,后者要向前者支付部分利润,同时,由于后者在海上航行中承担着巨大风险,他通常获得1/4的利润作为报酬。后来,这种商业合同由最初的总是康曼达人(出借人)出资发展成为二者都提供资金,由最初的临时性发展成为一种定期或不定期的关系,它孕育了有限合伙制度。



in this sense capitalism and capitalistic enterprises, even with a considerable rationalization of capitalistic calculation, have existed in all civilized countries of the earth, so far as economic documents permit us to judge. In China, India, Babylon, Egypt, Mediterranean antiquity, and the Middle Ages, as well as in modern times. These were not merely isolated ventures, but economic enterprises which were entirely dependent on the continual renewal of capitalistic undertakings, and even continuous operations. However, trade especially was for a long time not continuous like our own, but consisted essentially in a series of individual undertakings. Only gradually did the activities of even the large merchants acquire an inner cohesion (with branch organizations, etc.). In any case, the capitalistic enterprise and the capitalistic entrepreneur, not only as occasional but as regular entrepreneurs, are very old and were very widespread.

Now, however, the Occident has developed capitalism both to a quantitative extent, and (carrying this quantitative development) in types, forms, and directions which have never existed elsewhere. All over the world there have been merchants, wholesale and retail, local and engaged in foreign trade. Loans of all kinds have been made, and there have been banks with the most various functions, at least comparable to ours of, say, the sixteenth century. Sea loans, *commenda*, and transactions and associations similar to the *Kommanditgesellschaft*, have all been widespread, even as continuous businesses. Whenever money finances of public bodies have existed, money-lenders have appeared, as in Babylon, Hellas, India, China, Rome. They have financed wars and piracy, contracts and building operations of all sorts. In overseas policy they have functioned as colonial entrepreneurs, as planters with slaves, or directly or indirectly forced labour, and have farmed domains, offices, and, above all, taxes. They have financed party leaders in elections and *condottieri* in civil wars. And, finally, they have been speculators in chances for pecuniary gain of all kinds. This kind of entrepreneur, the capitalistic adventurer,