

Max Weber's Comparative Historical Sociology of World Religions: A Sociological Analysis of the Religious Ethics and Social Transformations

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Abstract

Broadly speaking, this theoretical study tries to illustrate and analysis Max Weber's answer to his vital question: to what extent ideas and thoughts as well as technological development could be the determining factors of bringing about the social transformations. To be more specific, this study aims to examine the historical-comparative studies of the world religions and their social transformation in Max Weber's main historical sociology and in his sociology of religion. It is important to emphasis that this study has been done according to a comparative methodology which applied to the fields of sociology of religion and political sociology. The study however, is divided into seven sections. The first section is devoted to the introduction. The second section is related to the methodology in which the study has adopted. The third section is concerned with the literature review, whereas the fourth section tries to show the main vital questions in which Weber raised in regard to his ideas on religion and the development of Western Civilization and shortly deals with both Max Weber and Karl Marx's views on the historical transformations and the way they looked at religion. Section five concentrates on Weber's view on the Calvinist Protestantism and the spirit of Capitalism and how it is related and correlated with each other. The sixth section intended to deal with religious ethics, world religions and social transformations. Section seven is demonstrating the conclusion.

Key Words

Protestantism, Calvinism, Capitalism, World Religions, Social Transformations.

1. Introduction

Max Weber (1864 – 1920) status as a sociologist has significantly increased since his death in 1920. He was acknowledged as the major social theorist of the twentieth century. In fact, The International Sociological Association in 2011 rates Max Weber's works *Economy and Society (1922)* and *The Protestant Ethic and The Spirit of Capitalism (1904-1905)*, numbers one and four in the top ten books of the twentieth century (Begg, 2013: 15).

Among the most valuable aspects of Weber's writings is his historical sociology. Precisely, "Weber's contributions to historical sociology are especially evident in his comparative historical-sociological methodology and it is this particular methodology that has fundamentally contributed to his success as one the major scholar in sociology of religion" (ibid: 41). For the purpose of this study, it would be correct to outline and analyze Weber's main arguments stated in his best-known work on the sociology of religion *The Protestant Ethic and The Spirit of Capitalism* (written in 1904-1905- in this study I have used the 2005 edition) and his other three important books on religion. Indeed, *The Religion of China*, *The Religion of India* and *Ancient Judaism*, in which Weber called it "The Economic Ethics of the World Religions". By world religions he meant those who have attracted a mass or a large number of believers in a central religious idea or morality: Confucianism, Hinduism, Buddhism, Taoism and ancient Judaism. Weber wrote extensively about the impact of Christianity on the history of the West. He did not, however, complete his projected study on Islam (Freund, 1968: 209-210; Bendix, 1962: 257; Giddens, 1979: 169; Giddens, 2001:538). My main question about this study is that; to what extent Max Weber provided a systematic empirical evidence to support his claim that Protestant Ethics actually transformed the economic conduct in Western civilization?

2. Methodology

This study has been done according to a comparative method which applied in the fields of sociology of religion and political sociology. I employed Max Weber's comparative method in this research as a tool in which offers causal and descriptive inference that goes beyond the techniques currently available in mainstream statistical analysis. And this is however the most suitable method for this kind of theoretical research. Basically, this study is relying on two most important primary sources: namely, Weber's own writings in sociology of religion, by trying to analyze Weber's own works and through the interpretation offered here in the context of the existing secondary literature.

3. Literature Review

Several scholars have studied the sociology of religion in Weber's thought and particularly, the protestant ethic and the rise of capitalism. The British political

economist R. H. Tawney (1880 –1962), in his famous book *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism* (1926), reprinted in 1962, addresses the question of how religion has affected social and economic practices. He does this by a relentless tracking down the influence of religious thought on capitalist economy (Tawney, 1962: 28). Tawney explored the relationship between Protestantism and economic development in the 16th and 17th centuries. However, he noticed that Weber treated multi-faceted reformed Christianity as though it was equivalent to late-era English Puritanism, the period from which Weber's most telling quotes were drawn. Tawney observed that the "iron collectivism" of Calvin's Geneva had evolved before Calvinism became harmonious with capitalism (Tawney 1962, 226-7).

The second study on Max Weber has been conducted by the South African Scholar Rashid Begg, (2013), *The Afrikaners, Capitalism and Max Weber's Ghost*, (mentioned in the introduction of this study). Begg employed Weber's ideal types as conceptual tools to better understand Afrikaner's Calvinism and its engagement with different forms of capitalism. The three main ideal types in which he used in his study were: the protestant ethic, bureaucracy and the spirit of capitalism. He also used power and authority selectively within different chapters in his book in order to help him in analyzing the (Boers), later the Afrikaners (Begg, 2013: 52). In case of Afrikaners Calvinism in South Africa Begg examines the period from 1652 to 1910. He tried to show how Weber's ideas offer both a powerful methodology and a rich conceptual framework for understanding Afrikaner case study in relation to Weber thesis in general. In short, Begg intended to show the synergy between Afrikaner Calvinism and modern industrial capitalism, and to understand Afrikaner Calvinism through its unique history of engagement first, with colonial and imperial capitalism and then, after the union of South Africa was formed in 1910, with modern industrial capitalism (ibid: 54-55). It seems that despite contrary forces, Begg presented evidence for the relevance of Weber's argument of the Protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism as ideal types within south African colonial history between 1652 and 1795 (ibid: 57).

The third study has been conducted by the Norwegian Scholar Ola Honningdal Grytten (2013), "The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism: Entrepreneurship of the Norwegian Puritan Leader Hans Nielsen Hauge". Grytten studied Max Weber's hypothesis on the linkage between protestant ethics and the development of capitalism and entrepreneurship. She concentrated on the industrial entrepreneurship the great Norwegian puritan pioneer and leader Hans Nielsen Hauge (1771-1824) in the early nineteenth century. The research tried to map Hans Nielsen Hauge involvement in starting or restarting businesses and to quantify the volumes of financial activities he was engaged in. The study concludes that the industrial activities initiated by Hauge were of a substantial size to the Norwegian economy in the 19th century (ibid: 31). More to the point, Ola stated that Max Weber in his book "The Ethic of Protestantism and the Spirit of Capitalism", (1905) originated as an anthology of essays on possible relations between Christian puritanism and the growth of modern capitalism. His points of departure are what he describes as a fact: protestant countries were the first to become rich, and puritan

groups were in the forefront of capital accumulation, investment, industrialization and economic and social progress. Weber describes how "the spirit of capitalism" developed from protestant ethics emphasizing individual discipline, responsibilities, asceticism, and duties.

He highlights the predestination doctrine according to the Swiss reformist Jean Calvin. The doctrine claims that God saves those he has chosen beforehand. Thus, one has no guarantee of salvation, but has to believe and prove that one is predestined for salvation. Work became an important tool in order to conquer doubt. Secular success and a decent moral life were taken as indications of God's grace. The faithful worked hard and rational without consuming more than necessary. Modesty was considered a fruit of Christian life. Profits were reinvested. Thus, Calvinistic mentality led to rapid industrialization and economic growth. However, the predestination doctrine is not representative for mainstream puritan believe. Thus, Weber also generalizes on the basis of a broader point of departure, as he includes Martin Luther's teaching on God's calling, aspects from pietism, Methodism and baptism. In doing so he stresses the puritan movements' emphasize on a very strong individual responsibility for their theology and way of life (Ibid: 32).

4. What were Weber's vital questions?

Weber once asked: To what extent ideas as well as technological development could be the determining factors of bringing about the social transformations? In order to answer this question, Weber makes a statement in *The Protestant Ethic and Spirits of Capitalism (1930; 2005)*, when he says this study is "a contribution to the understanding of the manner in which ideas become effective force in history" (Weber, 2005: 48). In this and the following sections however, I shall be trying to investigate Weber's analysis of why capitalism developed in the West and not in the East with the major emphasis on his well-known work, *The Protestant Ethic and The Spirit of Capitalism* and the major contrasts will be with *The Religion of China*, and *The Religion of India* and *Ancient Judaism*. Weber carried out his studies of eastern religions with the distinct aim of proving the part that he believed religion played in forming the particular ethics that led to an advanced system of economic organization. Weber stated that "the studies on the Economic Ethics of the World Religions attempt, in the form of a survey of the relations of the most important religions to economic life and to the social stratification of the environment to follow out both causal relationships, so far as it is necessary in order to find points of comparison with the Occidental development (Weber, 2005, Giddens' introduction: xxxix-xi).

In *The Protestant Ethic and The Spirit of Capitalism* Weber began with a sociological problem; namely, how to explain the development of capitalist civilization? What was behind this development? How to explain the correlation between European entrepreneurs and artisans and their allegiance to a Protestant faith? Was the nature of the relationship between this type of faith and modern capitalism causative? Was there any 'elective affinity' between Calvinism and the

development of Western Capitalist society? Generally speaking, Weber intended to understand the relation between religion and society in different civilizations. In tracing this back, he found that the major centers of capitalist development were predominantly protestant. Weber's concentration was not on religion as a stabilizing force but on religion as a source of dynamics of social change. Weber dealt with "Protestantism" as a system of ideas, and its impact on the rise of the "spirit of capitalism" as another system of ideas. He had as Ritzer pointed out "a similar interest in other world religions, looking at how their nature might have obstructed the development of capitalism in their respective societies" (Ritzer, & Goodman, 2004: 28-29). Weber in fact traced the effect of religious ideas about people and challenged the Marxist thesis that people's consciousness is determined by their social class (Bendix, op, cit: 49).

Anthony Giddens thinks that Weber made an argument about the transformative force of certain religious ideas, thus earning the opposition of most contemporary Marxists (Giddens, the introduction in Weber 2005: xix). Weber in fact rejected the view of Karl Marx (1818-1883) and many Marxists, that a change in infrastructure of society would lead to change in the superstructure, including religion. Marx anticipated that when a classless society was established religion would disappear. Thus, Weber was vehemently opposed to what he saw as one-sided materialism (Ritzer, & Goodman, 2004: 28). Weber's own words being; "one side of the causal chain" and "the doctrine of naive historical materialism" (Weber, 2005, Giddens' introduction: xxxix).

5. The Calvinist Protestantism and the Spirit of Capitalism

Weber tried to explain, why and how Calvinist Protestantism was linked to Capitalism? In an attempt to answer this question, he concentrated upon Calvin's beliefs on the sixteenth century which was derived from the French Protestant reformer John Calvin (1509-1564), who led the Protestant reformation of France and Switzerland, and his thought about the distinct group of the 'elect' those they had been chosen by God to go to heaven, even before their birth and those that were not amongst the 'elect' could never gain a place in heaven, irrespective of how well they were to behave on earth. Calvin and his followers applied the doctrine of calling specifically to worldly activities. Calvinist theologian of the seventeenth century equated diligence in one's calling with hard, methodical, continuous occupation. Idleness and time-wasting were the mark of reprobates. Unnecessary leisure or sleep detracted from the glory of God.

The other version of Christianity, which Weber indicated as well, is derived from the German Protestant reformer Martin Luther (1483-1546). Luther's belief however is at least, in one respect differs from Calvinism. Luther held the belief that individuals could affect their chances of reaching heaven on the grounds of their behaviour on earth. According to Lutheranism, all believers are called upon to live a godly life, whatever their standing in society (Weber, 2005: 40-48; Bendix, op, cit: 58 - 60). However Weber concentrated on the Calvinist doctrine of predestination, which contributed to them becoming the first capitalists. He illustrated the 'Protestant Ethic'

through his reading of economic history of Europe, and the Christianity of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and the Reformation period in western civilization. He described that ethic was ascetic, an austere life style and rigorous self-discipline. Using ideal types, Weber identified the spirit of capitalism as “the acquisition of more money, combined with the strict avoidance of all spontaneous enjoyment of life” Weber emphasized that money-making as a calling had been “contrary to the ethical feelings of whole epochs...” (Weber, 2005: 49). Weber’s “spirit of capitalism” was a concept he contrasted with another type of economic activity that he designated as “traditionalism” (Bendix, op,cit: 51).

He argued that the spirit of capitalism could be traced in the ethic of ascetic Protestantism. The latter is a vital influence in the creation and development of the spirit of capitalism and has thus resulted in the accumulation of capital, investment and reinvestment. It produced the early businesses, which expanded to create the capitalist industry in society. Weber drew on the ideas of three men; Richard Baxter (1615-1691) English puritan church leader, poet, hymn-writer, theologian, and controversialist, John Wesley (1703-1791) the British religious founder of Methodism and Benjamin Franklin (1706-1790) the American scientist, diplomat and author. Weber indicated to the Franklin's famous remark that “Remember, that *time* is money.... Remember, that *credit* is money” (Weber, 2005: 14). At the close of eighteenth century John Wesley wrote “For religion must necessarily produce industry and frugality, and these cannot but produce riches”... “We must exhort all Christians to gain all they can, and to save all they can; that is, in effect, to grow rich” (Weber, 2005: 118-119). From Franklin's advises and Wesley's conceptions “which proceeded the expansion of English industry”; Weber produced and illustrated the spirit of capitalism. In this sense, making-money was a concrete indication of success in one's calling, while success in one's calling meant the individual had not lost grace in God's sight, these riches could not be spent on Luxuries and frivolous entertainment but in the glory of God. Indeed, anything that might divert or distract people from their calling was condemned. Weber believed that the ascetic Protestant had an attitude which characteristic of capitalism. He argued that the essence of capitalism is “the pursuit made profit and forever renewed profit” (Bendix, op, cit: 54).

Thus, the Spirit of Capitalism is a way of life, which has ethics and duties, and in this sense is not away of making money. Making money became both a religious and business ethic. He claimed that two major features of capitalist industry (the standardization of production and the specialized division of labour) were encouraged by Protestantism. The ascetic Protestant way of life led to accumulation of capital, investment and reinvestment. It produced the early businesses that expanded to create the capitalist society. More to the point, Weber lists a number of important preconditions for the emergence of rational capitalism, including the development of rational centralised state, the separation of the state and household capital, certain technological advances and system of rational double-entry book keeping. He claimed that sort of rationalism is only related to the western type of capitalism as a unique pattern of rationality (ibid: 55 - 63).

6. Religious Ethics, World Religions and Social Transformations

The main concern for Weber was to explain why the rational modern industrial capitalist was born in the West and nowhere else? And what are the differentiating variables that lead to the failure of industrial capitalism in other civilisations in the eastern parts of the world. Consequently, he tried to demonstrate the same arguments of the Protestant ethic as viable to explain the economic ethic of the world religions.

Weber, in fact, made the important decision to work on a large-scale comparative sociology of world religions that would examine the social foundations of religious beliefs and practices as well as the inner-worldly repercussions of religious doctrine. More to the point, the aim of his studies on *The Religion of China: (Confucianism and Taoism)*, *The Religion of India: (Hinduism and Buddhism)*, and *Ancient Judaism* was not very much different from that of *The Protestant Ethic* —it was to characterize and illustrate the distinguishing characters of different sort of religious belief and to trace the unintended, but nonetheless important, consequences of different theological doctrines for the orientation that people bring to their economic activities. Weber wished to demonstrate, for example, that in Confucianism and Hinduism particular doctrines had had an inhibiting effect on economic rationality, even under circumstances that were generally conducive to capitalist development. By comparing different religious systems, he hoped to achieve a better understanding of what it was about Western religion that had made it a major influence in the development of western industrial capitalism; thus he would strengthen, albeit indirectly, the persuasiveness of his original thesis concerning Protestantism (Giddens, 2003: 260-261).

What Weber studied basically was the influence of religious behaviour on ethics and economics. Without going into details, we should note that Weber was much interested in the issue of theodicy. He believed that the question of theodicy had become central to the monotheistic religions, According to him; there are only two strictly monotheistic religions, Judaism and Islam (Freund, 1968: 185-186). In his studies of China and India his aim was to delineate religious orientations that contrasted sharply with those of the Western capitalized societies (Bendix, op, cit: 268).

The Religion of China intended by Weber to be his first writing in the field of comparative study of religion. Weber from the start analyzed the structure of Chinese society. In order to characterize the more enduring aspects of Chinese society Weber singled out the distinctive feature of Chinese cities, Chinese patrimonialism and officialdom, and Chinese religious organization. He made clear that he had no intention of writing a social and economic history of China. Basically he wanted to focus attentions on those conditions of Chinese society that could be distinguished from analogous conditions in Western Europe (ibid: 98-99). Its scope was not confined to China but extended to other religious parts of the world. Weber was to derive from his comparative study his own set of tools: typological concepts of religions and their elements, which were to be put to use in inquiries concerning socio-economic change and more importantly capitalistic development across the

world. In the *Religion of China*, Weber illustrated the characters of Chinese society and compared them with the same in the western society. He concentrated on Confucianism as an ethical doctrine more than as a theistic religion. On the other hand, he perceived Taoism as a system of negative and conservative values incapable of developing a dynamic social orientation toward capitalism.

Weber concluded that economic policy did not create the economic mentality of capitalism. Thus there was no rationality in money system' in organization of commercial news services. Confucianism acted to direct effort away from economic development, as this came to be understood in the west, emphasising harmony with the world other than promoting active mastery of it. Although China was for a long time the most powerful and culturally most developed civilization in the world. It is the dominant religious values that acted as a brake on a strong commitment to economic development for its own sake (Weber, 2005). Weber concluded his book by drawing a significant comparison between Confucianism and Puritanism. More to the point, he stated that the Chinese religious belief was fundamentally different from the western one, and it was this difference of belief that contributed to rise and shape the capitalist industrial society in the west, and the absence of similar development in China. The differences in the "prevailing mentality" contributed to the Capitalist development in the west and the absence of a similar in traditional China (Bendix: 91 & 141).

According to Weber, modern capitalism failed to develop first in China, because the major belief system of China - Confucianism and Taoism- fostered attitudes to everyday life that were inconsistent with those of the rational capitalist ethic. However, rational capitalism did not develop spontaneously in China. Weber makes clear, that the emerge of rational capitalism was inhibited by a lack of particular mentality due to the existence of normative prescriptions which were rooted in the Chinese "ethos" (Giddens, 1979: 178). Weber argues that the religion of China did not allow the economic rationalism of Occidental character to develop. Chinese Confucianism had a belief in spirits and magic, but it was in some ways more rational and worldly than Protestantism. Nevertheless, this rationalism did not have the effects that one might expect (Weber, 1964: 226). Weber emphasised that the dishonesty and mistrust of the Chinese with each other caused by Confucian belief in magic which led to a distrust even within the family, fueled by a "selfish fear of the spirits"(Weber, 1964:233).

In the case of India, Weber concentrated on the caste system of India, consisting of four main bodies of caste: Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishiyas and Shudras. The central concern of his book, which is considered as the second one in the field of comparative study of religion, *The Religion of India*. Weber outlined this study in a similar way of *The Religion in China*. He first dealt with the social structure of the Indian society, and then he analyzed Hinduism and Buddhism; Hinduism being the largest faith in India (Bendix, 1962: 142; Weber, 1967a: 4). Weber considered the Indian caste system as being backward in its traditional form. However, what Weber failed to realise was that this caste system was based on an equilibrium that distributed power to the four groups on equal basis. For example Brahmins being at

the very top of the hierarchy were endowed with religion knowledge and general education, the Kshatriyas, on the other hand, were the warrior caste also in possession of considerable wealth and consequently power.

This illustrates that Brahmins were not necessarily in a stronger position than the Kshatriyas; it only suggests that the Brahmins were the priests on a religious basis above other castes. Bendix also pointed out that Weber's conclusion of India was in some respects negative. Interestingly, Weber recognized Hinduism as a separate and unique entity in the realm of world religion, Weber called it an other-worldly' religion. Weber states that "Hinduism is cauterized by a dread of the magical evil of innovation" because of the "supreme premium that Hinduism places on caste loyalty" (Weber, 1967a: 122). That is to say that it's the highest values stress escape from the toils of the material world to a higher level of spiritual existence. Since the work was also intended as comparative sociology of religion, he compared the Brahmins with the Chinese and Greek intellectuals (Freund, 1968: 185-186).

Thus, India was like China, because the Indian asceticism never translated itself into the methodical and rational way of life that tended in its effects to undermine traditionalism as Weber indicated that a psychological workable systemization was lacking. Precisely, India and China had technological knowledge, labour to be hired and individuals engaged in making money. What they lacked according to Weber was a religion that encouraged and facilitated the development of capitalism. However, Weber reaches similar conclusions about the role of Buddhism and Hinduism in the Indian society and the state.

In ***Ancient Judaism*** Weber concentrated on the relationship between Yahwism and the social collectivity, their interaction and development on one hand and he examined the social change due to territorial organization and urbanization in the Middle East on the other (Weber, 1967b). Reinhard Bendix argues that Weber's ***Ancient Judaism*** is a study in the sociology of innovation. This should not be understood in the simple sense that the Old Testament prophets broke with the established custom merely by virtue of their unparalleled gifts. Weber's ***Ancient Judaism***, therefore, combines an emphasis upon religious innovators with an analysis of the process by which their unique inspiration became the dominant orientation of the rabbis of post-exilic Judaism of the Jewish people at large (Bendix, op,cit: 265).

Weber treated ancient Judaism in the same way as he did in the case of China and India by illustrating the historical and geographical background of the Jews, as well as the socio-economic behaviour of them, in the Middle East and Eastern Europe. Weber was of the opinion that Judaism differs from other religions, especially polytheistic religions like that of China and India, not so much in the content as in the quality of its religious mentality. The prophet is the prominent religious figure in Weber's understanding of Judaism, as is the case in all monotheistic religions. The basis of his opinion lay in the overt charisma of the prophet. Only Judaism according to Weber, are monotheistic in the strict sense of the term. Reinhard Bendix states that "Ancient Judaism helped create the moral rationalism of Western civilization" (ibid: 256).

7. Conclusion

Clearly, to sum up one can argue that with his ambitious comparative sociological study of religions and economic behaviour, Max Weber wanted to establish the principle that ideas as well as technological development could be the determining factors in bringing about the social transformations. He found that the determining factor in the west was the Protestant Ethic, and when he attempted to examine the same in the eastern traditional societies like China and India, he found that there was at certain periods a significant development of commerce, manufacture and urbanism, but these did not generate the radical patterns of social transformations involved in the rise of industrial capitalism in the West. Hence, the religion somehow was hostile to the development of modern capitalism in China and India.

However, Weber in his comparative studies on religions has provided a useful framework of the influence of ideas and beliefs on the development of society especially when the ***Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*** is read in relation to his studies on China, India and Judaism. Sociologists today are in agreement on view that ideas and beliefs act as forces on social transformations in nation states.

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پوختەى توپژینه‌وه

كۆمەلناسى ميژوويى به‌راوود بۇ ئاينه‌كانى جيهان له ديدى ماكس قە يبه ردا: شيكردنه‌وه يكي
سۆسيۆلۆژيانه‌يه بۇ ئاكارى ئاينى و گۆرانه كۆمەلايه‌تبييه‌كان

ئە م توپژينه‌وه به شيوه يكي گشتى ت توپژينه‌وه يكي تيورييه، تاوتويكردن و شيكردنه‌وه يكيه
بۇ ولامدانه‌وهى پرسياره سهره‌كبييه‌كه ي كۆمەلناسى ئە لمانى به‌ناو بانگ ماكس قە يبه‌ره
(۱۸۶۴ - ۱۹۲۰) كه ده‌لى: ئايا تا چ راده‌يك بيرو پيشكه‌وتنى ته‌كنه‌لۆژى رۆلى سهره‌كبيان
ده‌بيت له گۆرانه كۆمەلاياتبييه‌كاندا؟ با ووردتريلين، ئە م توپژينه‌وه يه شيكردنه‌ويكه بۇ
توپژينه‌وه ميژوويه به‌راووردكاره‌كه‌ى ماكس قە يبه‌ر سه‌باره‌ت به ئاينه‌كانى جيهان كه‌تبييدا
ديدى قە يبه‌ر تاوتوى ده‌كرتت سه‌ باره‌ت به ئاكارى ئاينى و رۆلى له گۆرانه كۆمەلايه‌تبييه
مه‌زنه‌كاندا. ئە م توپژينه‌وه‌يه ده‌كه‌ويته بوارى كۆمەلناسى ئاينى و كۆمەلناسى سياسى. ميتودى
توپژينه‌وه‌كه ميتودى شيكردنه‌وه يى به‌راووردكاربييه، چونكه به‌راوردى ئاينه‌كانى جيهان
ده‌كات به پيى بۆچوون و ديدى سۆسيۆلۆژيانه‌ى ماكس قە يبه‌ره. ئە م توپژينه‌وه يه تيورييه
به‌سه‌ر حه‌ وت ته‌وه‌رو دا دابه‌ش ده‌بيت: ته‌وه‌رى يه‌كه‌م پيشه‌كى توپژينه‌وه‌كه له خۇ
ده‌گريت. ته‌وه‌رى دووه‌م باس له ميتودى ليكۆلينه‌وه‌كه ده‌كات. ته‌وه‌رى سييه‌م ده‌رباره‌ى ئە و
ليكۆلينه‌وانه‌يه كه پيشتر كراوه، ته‌وه‌رى چواره‌م بۆتاوتويكردن پرسياره زور سهره‌كى و
گرنگه‌كه‌ى قە يبه‌ر ته‌رخانكراوه سه‌باره‌ت به نهينى په‌ره‌سه‌ندن و پيشكه‌وتنى سه‌رمايه‌دارى
پيشه‌سازى له رۆژئاوادا كه تبيادا جه‌خت ده‌كرتت سه‌ر بۆچوونى كارل ماركس (1818 -
1883) و ماكس قە يبه‌ر بۇ گۆرانه كۆمەلايه‌تبييه‌كان و په‌يوه‌نديان به ئاين و رۆلى ئاين له م
گۆرانه كۆمەلايه‌تبييه‌ مه‌زنانه‌دا. ته‌وه‌رى پينچهم شيكردنه‌وه‌ى بۆچوون و پروانگه‌ى فه‌يه‌به‌ره بۇ
مه‌زه‌به‌ى پرۆتستانتيزمى كالفيني و په‌يوه‌ندى به رۆحى سه‌رمايه‌داربييه وه. ته‌وه‌رى شه‌شم
شيكردنه‌وه يكه بۇ ئاكارى ئاينى و ئاينه‌كانى جيهان و گۆرانه كۆمەلايه‌تبييه‌كان. ته‌وه‌رى حه
وته‌م دياريكردنى پوختەى ده‌ر ئە نجامه‌كانه. به‌كورتى ئە م توپژينه‌وه شروقه‌كردنى بۆچوونى
ماكس فه‌يه‌به‌ره بۇ ئاين و رۆلى ئاين و به‌تايبه‌تى ئاينى مه‌سيح له گۆرانه كۆمەلاياتبييه‌كاندا له
رۆژئاوا، ئە مه‌ش به شيكردنه‌وه‌ى كتيبه‌ به‌ناوبانگه‌كه‌ى "ئە ئاكارى پرۆتستانتى و رۆحى
سه‌رمايه‌دارى" كه ته‌نيا كتيبه‌ له سه‌رده‌مى ژيانى خوى چاپ كراوه له سالى ۱۹۰۴-۱۹۰۵.
هه‌روه‌ها له م توپژينه‌وه‌ دا هه‌رسى كتيبه‌كانى ترى شروقه‌ ده‌كه‌ين: "ئاين له چين" و "ئاين له
هيندستان" و "ئاينى كۆنى جوله‌كه". ماكس فه‌يه‌به‌ر به‌راوردى ئە م سى ئاينه‌ى له‌گه‌ل ئاينى

مهسيحيهت كرد بهمه بهستي ئه وهى كه بزاني بو چى پوحي سه رمايه داري له م سى ئاينه دا نيه؟ له دهر ئه نجامدا فهيبه ر گه يشته ئه وهى كه ئه ئاكارى ئابوورى پړوتستانتى كه له ئاينى مهسيحيه تدا ههيه و بهرپا دهكريت بوو به فاكته ريكي كاريگه رى سه رهكى بو سه ره له داني پيشه سازى له رۆژئاوا ، ئه و ئاكاره ئابووريبه له ئاينه كاني رۆژه لاتدا بوونى نيبه و ههيج رۆليكي ئه تويزينه وه ريني نه بووه بونه شونما كردن و پيشكه وتنى پيشه سازى له رۆژه لاتدا. ئه وهش له راستيدا هه ولدانيكبوو بو راست كردنه وهى بوچوونه كاني كارل ماركس سه بارهت به ئاين و رۆلى ئاين له كومه لگه دا.

خلاصة البحث

علم الأجتماع التاريخي المقارن لأديان العالم لدى ماكس فيبر: تحليل سوسيولوجي للأخلاق الدينية والتحولات الأجتماعية

تحاول هذه الدراسة النظرية بشكل عام أن تناقش و تشرح ومن ثم تحلل جواب عالم الأجتماع الألماني ماكس فيبر (1864 – 1920) للسؤال الحيوي الذي طرحه الا وهو: الى أي مدى يمكن للأفكار والتطورات التقنية أن تلعب الدور الحاسم في حدوث التغيرات والتحولات الأجتماعية؟ بصيغة أدق فأن هذه الدراسة هي تحليل لدراسة فيبر التاريخية المقارنة لأديان العالم، وتبيّن رؤيته للأخلاق الدينية ودورها في التحولات والتغيرات الأجتماعية الكبرى. وتقع هذه الدراسة ضمن حقل علم الأجتماع الديني و علم الأجتماع السياسي. أما المنهج الذي اتبعته الدراسة فهو المنهج المقارن وذلك لكونها مقارنة لأديان العالم وفقاً لرؤية فيبر السوسيولوجية. تنقسم الدراسة الى سبعة مباحث. يخص المبحث الأول مقدمة للدراسة والمبحث الثاني يطرح منهجية البحث. أما المبحث الثالث فيعرض أهم الدراسات السابقة للموضوع. بينما يناقش المبحث الرابع سؤال فيبر الحيوي في سرّ تطور الحضارة الرأسمالية الغربية وعلاقة ذلك بالديانة المسيحية والمذهب البروستانتى، ويركّز هذا المبحث أيضاً على وجهتي نظر كل من ماكس فيبر و كارل ماركس (1818 – 1883) عن التحولات التاريخية ودور الدين فيها. أما المبحث الخامس ففيه شرح

وتوضيح لوجهة نظر فيبر عن الكالفينية البروتستانتية كمذهب مسيحي وروح الرأسمالية والترابط بينهما. والمبحث السادس يناقش الأخلاق الدينية، أديان العالم والتحويلات الاجتماعية. أما المبحث السابع والأخير فيعرض الاستنتاجات التي توصلت إليها الدراسة. وبأختصار تحاول الدراسة وبتمحص، تحليل آراء فيبر في الدين وخصوصاً في الديانة المسيحية وذلك من خلال كتابه الذائع الصيت والوحيد الذي طبع أثناء حياته (1904-1905) وهو "الأخلاق البروتستانتية وروح الرأسمالية". وتشرح هذه الدراسة أيضاً نظرتة المقارنة لأديان العالم في كتبه الثلاث والتي طبعت بعد مماته. وكتبه الثلاث هي: الدين في الصين، الدين في الهند واليهودية القديمة، ويشير بعض الباحثين الى أنه كان قد خطط لمشروع دراسة الإسلام، الا أن مرضه وموته المبكر حال دون ذلك. كان فيبر يحث على ذلك ويؤكد بأن "مذهب الكالفينية" أكثر النظم ملائمة مع معايير السلوك الأخلاقي والديني الذي ساهم مع العلوم في تكوين السلوك العقلاني الرشيد والحديث. ففي كتابه الأخلاق البروتستانتية وروح الرأسمالية أراد فيبر أن يثبت بأن الأخلاق الاقتصادية في الفكر الكالفييني هي العنصر الثقافي الذي يسمح بتنمية "الأستعداد العملي" لدى الإنسان الحديث والذي يجعله أن يسلك سلوكاً عقلانياً رشيداً في الحياة ، وهذا السلوك هو ما تحتاجه الرأسمالية بالدرجة الأولى. أن فكرة الأخلاق البروتستانتية لدى ماكس فيبر أصبحت نقطة انطلاق لأبحاث أكثر شمولاً الا وهي دراساته المقارنة للأديان الأخرى في الشرق واذي تحاول هذه الدراسة ان تحللها لكون فيبر كان يرى في الدين نسبياً كعامل مستقل ذاتياً يؤثر على التطور الاقتصادي والاجتماعي وكان هدفه من ذلك أيضاً تصحيح لنظرية كارل ماركس في الحتمية الاقتصادية.