# WEBER'S STUDY OF THE HINDU ETHIC AND THE CASTE SYSTEM

## I. Weber's Position and Method

Reinhard Bendix's *Max Weber: An Intellectual Portrait* gives an excellent account of Weber's position and method in his study of world religions.  He says that Weber's primary concern was to explain the secular ethic that each religion gives its followers as guidance in their worldly activities.  Whether implicit or explicit, this economic ethic paints a picture of the believer's relationship to such things as the rational use of time, the attitude towards work, and the accumulation of wealth and property.[1]  Weber attempted to comprehend the nature of the Hindu ethic by reading the Hindu scriptures and by discerning the effects of the religious beliefs on the social and economic relations of the Indian people.  In order to penetrate into the psychology of the people, Weber conducted a careful study of the cultural and social environment, while employing an introspective empathy with his subject.  His incorporation of both textual and contextual approaches, thereby bridged the ever-present gap between theology, sociology, and economics.[2]

Bendix describes Weber's main themes as 1. "To examine the effect of religious ideas on economic activities 2. To analyze the relation between social stratification and religious ideas.  And, 3. To ascertain and explain the distinguishing characteristics of Western civilization."[3]

Weber observed that though the rudiments of capitalism had long existed in countries dominated by the Asian religions, there had been no development toward modern capitalism.  These religions, themselves, were still of the type existent in western antiquity and the Middle Ages.  None of the Asian religions had been able to develop a "capitalist spirit" like that promoted by ascetic Protestantism.  And the economic rationalism, which they did import from the West, was obstructed by "rigid traditions" that were founded in religious principles.  These traditions in which the people were enmeshed seemed to be the forces preventing progress rather than any inherent insufficiency of ability or will among the people.  Weber was thus prompted to search within the "domain of religion" for the factors that impeded economic development while also recognizing that the political power structure might too be responsible.[4]

Weber's study in *The Religion of India* was an attempt to isolate the religious variable thus defining the Hindu ethic and the social relations and institutions it engendered, and compare the social-economic atmosphere which it fostered with that prevalent in Europe before the industrial revolution.

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[1] Reinhard Bendix, *Max Weber - An Intellectual Portrait*  (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Co., 1960), 265.

[2] Milton Singer, review of *The Religion of India*: *The Sociology of Hinduism and Buddhism*, by Max Weber, In *American Anthropogist* 63(No.1 1961), 144.

[3] Bendix, *Max Weber - An Intellectual Portrait*, 266.

[4] Max Weber, *The Sociology of Religion*, trans. By Ephraim Fischoff (Boston: Beacon Press, 1963), 269.

Singer notes that after the original study: "Weber was so confident that he had isolated the 'anti-capitalistic spirit' of Hinduism, that he took seriously the possibility that the industrial institutions brought into India under British influences and the Indian national movements, would probably collapse with the withdrawal of that influence."[5] Even India's nationalist movement and modern reform movements were viewed by Weber as appealing only to the European-educated intellectual elite and basically "foreign to the basic character of historical Hinduism."[6]

Weber also recognized that: "The relatively low social status and correspondingly low standard of living of the Hindu masses has, to some extent, religious causes. Child marriage, female infanticide, the prohibition of the remarriage of widows, led to the reduction in the number of children and the high mortality of the women of the upper castes; nutritional difficulties due to food taboos during bad harvest have been important among the lower strata."[7]

His final conclusion was that India, guided by an otherworldly irrational ethic, and encumbered by a rigid traditional caste system could never have been the scene of the origination of capitalism.

## II. The Range of Alternative Views

Most social scientists, when viewing the effect of religion on social and economic progress, have regarded it as a negative factor. This is in contradistinction with those who accept the Weberian thesis of the "Protestant ethic." Weber saw this legitimating ethic as a precondition to the development of modern capitalism in Europe and the United States.

However, in the case of India where Hinduism and the "Hindu ethic" predominated, Weber agreed with the argument that religion had a negative bearing on the economic progress of the nation.

This brings us to consider the four opposing views of the part that Hinduism would play in the modernization process. They each propose an answer to the question: Will continued urbanization, industrialization, science, and modern education completely transform the constitution and organization of Sanskritic Hinduism?[8]

1. Max Weber and those other nineteenth century observers who held to the conception of the dichotomy of "traditional" and "progressive" societies, were of the opinion that a transformation of Indian society would not take place because the traditional beliefs and traditions would prove too formidable an obstacle to modernization.

2. Modernization would bring about a complete secularization: transforming the joint family into the nuclear family, the caste into class, and religious beliefs into scientific ideologies.

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[5] Singer, review of *The Religion of India*, 144.

[6] Singer, review of *The Religion of India*, 144.

[7] Max Weber, *The Religion of India: The Sociology of Hinduism and Buddhism*. (New York: The Free Press, 1958), 5-6.

[8] Milton Singer, *When a Great Tradition Modernizes*, (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1972), 245.

3. The position, which attempts to reconcile these first two positions, asserts that traditional societies such as India will not modernize until they have eliminated their traditional institutions, beliefs, and values; Gunnar Myrdal's *Asian Drama* argues this compromise view.

4. The recognition that India's cultural tradition would continue to coexist with modernity and would adapt itself to it.[9]

As proponents of this final view, which we could call the "Adaptive View" many Indian scholars regard Weber's classifications of "this-worldly" and "otherworldly" spirituality as to rigid. It conceals the fact that both of these types of spirituality have long co-existed within the Indian tradition.[10]

This final position is, also, that taken by Milton Singer in his book *When a Great Tradition Modernizes*. It is the argument, which this paper will present in analyzing Weber's study of religion in India. Singer asserts: "... Indians may be modernizing without necessarily abandoning their traditional institutions, beliefs, and values," but rather by "traditionalizing innovations."[11] A redefining of the Hindu ethic and social organization seems to be allowing modernization with little secularization.

## III. Weber's View of the Hindu Ethic

To Weber, the worldview of Hinduism was seen as almost diametrically opposite that of ascetic Protestantism.

### Ascetic Protestantism

a. Completely eliminated magic and the supernatural quest for salvation.
b. Created the religious motivations for seeking salvation.
c. Sought to rationally and methodically control life.[12]

### Hinduism

a. Sought salvation through "... ritualistic, idolatrous, or sacramental procedures."[13]
b. Possessed a "strongly traditionalistic concept of vacations."
c. "Hindu piety, in particular, maintained the strongest possible power of tradition, since the presuppositions of Hinduism constituted the most consistent religious expression of the organic view of society. The existing order of the world was provided absolutely unconditional justification, in terms of the mechanical operation of a proportional retribution in the distribution of power and happiness to individuals on the basis of their merits and failures in their earlier existences."[14]

The very crux of Weber's argument lies in one statement: "None of these mass religions of Asia, however, provided the motives or orientations for a rationalized ethical patterning of the creaturely world in accordance with divine commandments. Rather, they all accepted this world as eternally given, and so the best of all possible

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[9] Singer, *When a Great Tradition Modernizes*, 245.

[10] Singer, *When a Great Tradition Modernizes*, 32.

[11] Singer, *When a Great Tradition Modernizes*, 246.

[12] Weber, *The Sociology of Religion*, 270.

[13] Weber, *The Sociology of Religion*, 270.

[14] Weber, *The Sociology of Religion*, 268.

worlds."[15]  In other words, the Hindu ethic does not engender in people the feeling of the need or propensity to change their world.  The Hindu history is cyclical, not linear; the ideas of progress and ultimate destination are not predominant in the worldview.

The Hindu ethic, according to Weber, "... represents the most consistent theodicy ever produced by history."  Its four main tenets are the doctrines of *karma* (moral retribution), *dharma* (social duty), *samsara* (cycle of rebirth), and *moksa* (liberation).  These are universally accepted by Hindus and together they seemed, to Weber, to lock the Hindu into a passive acceptance of his lot in life.  The cycle is easy to follow: first, karma from a former lifetime has determined the situation of everyone's life today; second, accepting one's position and performing one's social duty will determine the next birth's condition; third, the soul of the person leaves this physical world but returns depending upon the performance of one's social duty; and fourth, the soul can finally be liberated from this cycle of rebirths.  This is the ideological framework of the Hindu social caste system.  Weber found the entire system to be extremely burdensome on the conduct of the individual. and prohibitive of social freedom, change, and progress.  He concludes: "No community dominated by inner powers of this sort could out of its substance arrive at the 'spirit of capitalism'-- or even be able to take over and develop industrialism as an imported "artifact."[17]

Concerning practical attitudes toward work, savings, and time, he found a traditional mind-set to be prevalent throughout India.  The Indian laborer appeared undisciplined and a "mere casual" worker.  It seems that an increase in wage would not be an incentive to work more but rather to take more time off.  The traditional values portrayed by the Indian workers were similar to those that Weber would have expected from workers in Europe at the earliest period of capitalism.[18]

A more recent commentator on Indian society, Bangalore Kuppuswamy, is also critical of the Indian attitude toward labor.  He has compiled a long list of the shortcomings of the Indian laborer, which shed some light on the conditions Weber was commenting upon.

1. Indians have an aversion to both "complicated techniques" and "technological innovation".
2. They have a "short-sightedness" and a "desire for quick returns."
3. They desire "security and certainty" (especially found in government service jobs), with the accompanying "aversion to risks."
4. They need "a willingness to work with other people" not only those belonging to the same caste or religious sect.
5. They need "to observe certain rules and regulations", not as fear of punishment but because of an "inner discipline."
6. They need "a respect for time" including a limitation of holidays.[19]

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[15] Weber, *The Sociology of Religion*, 269.

[17] Weber, *The Religion of India*, 325.

[18] Max Weber, *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, trans. By H.H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1958), 414.

[19] Bangalore Kuppuswamy, *Social Change in India*, (India: Vikas Publications, 1972), 80-81.

Other observers are equally as derisive toward the Indian practice of spending savings on religious purposes rather than on "investment for productive activities."[20]

There are, though, several exceptions within Hindu society to these generalizations, which Weber does discuss.  "Among the Jains, the Lingayats, and the Madhwas, (he) does find a this-worldly asceticism with a positive relation to economic motivation, either fully developed, or, as in the Lingayat case, abortive Weber sees a close analogy between these sects and the puritan sects of the Protestant Ethic.  The latter also included well-to-do middle class groups."[21]

It seems that these exceptions call into question Weber's general conclusion that the Hindu ethic will prevent modernization from taking root and flourishing in India.  They illustrate that the Hindu ethic can be modified to suit the needs of the people in this industrial age without becoming secularized.

## IV.    Weber's View of the Caste System
## A. A Definition of Terms

The caste system ("Caste" is also called "varna" which is Sanskrit meaning color.) developed, according to Weber, because of the color line established by the Aryans, who had disdain for intermarrying with the native peoples, following their invasion of India.  They, thus, differentiated tasks and tax collection from the natives.  Tribes would enter into a process of "Hinduization" where depending upon their varied occupations and amount of wealth, would attain to a certain social ranking within the Hindu society.[22]  Weber saw the caste as the "fundamental institution of Hinduism" and called it "a system
of particularly rigid and exclusive hereditary estates." "It is basically social rank as determined by one's social distance from the Brahman caste which holds the central position."[23]  The census of India (1901), which Weber used as a resource, accounted for 2000 to 3000 castes.[24]

In order to better understand the characteristics of caste, Weber contrasts it with the concept of a "tribe."

| Tribe | Caste |
|---|---|
| 1. A fixed territory and obligatory "blood revenge". | 1. No fixed territory nor obligatory "blood revenge" but caste has a   strictly limited number of kinds of occupations. |
| 2. A tribe have every social rank. | 2. A caste has sub-castes with different social ranks.  The name maintains the social ranking. |

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[20] Fred R. Von der Mehden,  *Religion and Modernization in Southeast Asia*, (Syracuse University Press, 1986), 102.
[21] Singer, review of *The Religion of India*, 147.
[22] S.N. Eisenstadt, "The Implications of Weber's Sociology of Religion for Understanding Processes of Change in Contemporary Non-European Societies and Civilizations," included in *Beyond the Classics?  Essays in the Scientific Study of Religion*, edited by Charles Y. Glock and Philip E. Hammond, (New York: Harper and Row, 1973), 134.
[23] Weber, *The Religion of India*, 4.
[24] Weber, *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, 398-399.

3. A tribe is either:
    a. an independent association
    b. a part of a tribal league
    c. part of a political association
      with political, fiscal, and
      liturgical obligations,

3. A caste is never a political association but is rather a social and possibly an occupational association.

4. A tribe has exogamy (i.e. marriage outside of the group).

4. A caste has rules of endogamy plus dietary rules and rules of commensality (i.e. to share a meal or accept food from another person).[25]

In the history of India, guilds of merchants, craftsmen, and traders had organized, but they came into opposition with the powerful princes who ruled the land. The Brahmin priests who supported the princes were able to replace the guilds with castes.  As "occupational associations", Weber wanted to pinpoint the differences between the two, especially considering the important role that guilds played in the economic development of Europe.

## Guild

1. The guild had some "factual barriers" between social ranks especially restricting connubium with pariah people, but there were no ritual barriers.

2. The guild of the Occident allowed the apprentices free choice of occupations.

3. Though often violently struggling, the guilds had a tendency toward Fraternization with commensalism.[26]

## Caste

1. Ritual barriers were, says Weber, "absolutely essential for caste."

2. The caste is "essentially hereditary."

3. The caste prohibits commensalism and thus fraternization.

To Weber, the fact that the caste is hereditary is the fundamental difference between it and the guild.  Calling the caste a "closed status group," he said that "... the castes excluded every solidarity and every politically powerful fraternization of the citizenry and of the trades."[27]

## B. Traditionalism

Considering the numerous and detailed restrictions which the caste system placed on the social and economic activities of the people, it is not surprising that Weber found it to be an unyielding stronghold of traditionalism.  Important elementary stages of capitalist development, such as the "putting-out" system that was so instrumental in Europe, were met with a stone wall of resistance in India.  The natural, traditional viewpoint of the laborers, craftsmen, and merchants was maintained much

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[25] Weber, *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, 398-399.
[26] Weber, *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, 400-404.
[27] Weber, *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, 407.

longer by the rigidity of the caste order.  Weber comments: "A ritual law in which every change of occupation, every change in work technique, may result in ritual degradation is certainly not capable of giving birth to economic and technical revolutions from within itself....[28]

However, Weber continues his discussion by saying that the caste order could be quite "elastic in the face of the necessities of the concentration of labor in workshops." He says that "large-scale enterprises with a division of labor in the same workshop" was not made impossible by the ritual restrictions of the caste.  In fact, the obstacles that any religion placed before economic development were not insurmountable but in Hindu society: "The core of the obstruction was rather imbedded in the 'spirit' of the whole system."[29]

## V. Weber's Contributions

Max Weber's understanding and insight into the religion of India is truly remarkable.  Though he never traveled to India, his observations on the influence of religion on the society there are very highly regarded.  His studies were a rare combination of the textual basis of the faith with its contextual environment.  The discussions and analyses of the tenets and sects of Hinduism are still considered illuminating and his method of analysis has made way for the field of the comparative study of religion. He assimilated the sociological, anthropological, and economic studies of his time with an unreproachable objectivity while maintaining an impressive sense of empathy.

An important contribution was the dispelling of common stereotypes about Asian people held by the European public.  Even many scholars credited many of the differences in social and economic development on racial factors.  Weber, however, made a convincing case that education and other objective elements contributed to the variance in development.[30]

Weber's investigation of the cultural foundations necessary for economic development sparked the imagination and prompted further research by the world's community of social scientists.  Especially since Marx had argued from the opposite position that culture was a product of the economic relations, Weber's conclusions were even more important in demonstrating the effects of the motivational forces and the societal worldview.  His emphasis on ideas, ideals, and common attitudes towards time, savings, and work cast new light on the phenomena of social change.

The use of ideal types, as generalizations to classify religious factors, greatly facilitated analysis.  Though later factual corrections were made, these have never invalidated this method.  Again, the ideal types aided scholars in analyzing the world religions which are widely varied.

Considered to be one of the fathers of Sociology, Max Weber's studies established the foundations for a totally new branch of social science especially his *Protestant Ethic*

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[28] Weber, *The Religion of India*, 112.
[29] Weber, *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, 412.
[30] Singer, review of *The Religion of India*, 150.

*and the Spirit of Capitalism* has proven revolutionary.  If not for the fact that cultural factors are so difficult to isolate, far more would be learned by following this approach.

## VI.    Criticism of Weber's Study

Of course the fact that Weber had no firsthand knowledge of India was a problem.  He had to develop his "conceptual frameworks" from very learned literature composed by his colleagues-literature that has since been found to be flawed -- and from his own imagination.[31]  These factual errors did nothing, though, to disprove the legitimacy of his method.

The most telling criticisms of Weber's study stem from the rigidity of his categorization by ideal types.  In the case of Hinduism, its characterization as an "other-worldly" and "irrational" worldview downplays (or ignores) three important facts about the religion : 1. The importance of "inner-worldly" ascetic sects which are active in the business world; 2. The many practical ways that Hindus hedge around the ritual barriers of caste ; and, 3. Gandhi's interpretation of the Bhagavad Gita that clearly provides for an "inner-worldly" ascetic salvation.[32]  Because of Weber's emphasis on the vast deviation of the Hindu ethic from the Protestant ethic, and the traditionalism of the caste system versus the progress-oriented Protestant "calling," he could not foresee modern capitalism evolving as a natural part of the Hindu system.

Weber does mention the "innerworldly" ascetic sects: the Jains, the Lingayats, and the Madhwas; but he does not give much weight to their effect on the society.  His characterization of the bhakti and lingam sects as "orgiastic" and "irrational" prevented him from envisioning that a rational capitalism could be generated by a bhakti sect such as the Vallabharcharis, who are merchants and bankers.[33]

The practical ways that Hindus have adapted their religious practices to the organization of labor and business, and Gandhi's interpretation of the Bhagavad Gita will be discussed further, under the topic of "Future Directions."

To sum up the criticism of Weber's analysis of Hinduism, Singer writes that he did not do justice to some aspects of Indian religion such as "... a strand of this-worldly asceticism; the economic rationality of merchants, craftsmen, and peasants; the logically consistent system of impersonal determinism in Vedanta and Buddhism, with direct consequences for a secular ethic; the development of 'rational empirical' science, religious individualism, and personal monotheism."[34]

## VII.   Mobility in the Caste System

Though Weber insists that the caste system was "closed," he provides much evidence to disprove this thesis.  To demonstrate that the caste ritual was not inflexible toward business enterprise, Singer cites several points, which Weber makes:

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[31] Von der Mehden, *Religion and Modernization in Southeast Asia*, 42.
[32] See below for an explanation of Gandhi's interpretation.
[33] Singer, review of *The Religion of India*, 148.
[34] Singer, review of *The Religion of India*, 148.

a. "... ways were found to circumvent fears of ritual contamination from mixed caste workshops or from products made by 'unclean' artisans ..."
b. "... many traits of the traditional castes were conducive to trade and industry -- these included a professional and vocational ethic which stressed hand work, quality, and fair-pricing for the artisans, and sanctioned profit-seeking and property accumulations for the merchants."
c. Changes' in the caste originated from "... residential mobility, property differentiation, altered occupation or work technique, membership in a sect, disintegration of the ritual traditions among some members, ritually illicit cohabitation, and failure to settle internal disputes."[35]

Many times Weber draws opposite conclusions than those that many modern scholars (especially Indian scholars) would make.  For instance, M.N. Srinivas says that "... the traditional system was not entirely closed, and mobility was possible, for both groups and individuals".  And speaking from a post-Independence perspective he says: ... though the scope for individual and familial mobility has increased strikingly since Independence, caste continues to be relevant in subtle and indirect ways, in such mobility".[36]

There are two general types of mobility in the caste system which we will call "Sanskritization" and "Westernization."  "Sanskritization" is the traditional path by which a low caste, after having accumulated wealth and perhaps political power, "sanskritized" its lifestyle and ritual, and made a claim to a higher caste position.. This traditional way was successful for some castes but was finally not sufficient to catch up with the higher castes.  What was desired was "westernization" where the low castes could gain the better education and the more prestigious, well-paid jobs (especially in the government) formerly held only by the high castes.[37]
Caste associations, offering a horizontal solidarity, formed in many parts of the country. Their intention was to improve the social and economic circumstances of the caste. More concerned with their own advancement rather than equality, though, these associations fed the flames of caste rivalry.  Srinivas says: "While a caste struggled for a high position for itself in the local hierarchy it resented the efforts of others, in particular lower castes, to move up."[38]  These are part of the "Backward Classes Movement," most of which were anti-Brahmin caste which in some areas completely dominates the educational and political opportunities.  Srinivas predicts that after a long and bloody struggle for their rights, the higher castes will eventually yield to the demands of the lower castes.[39]

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[35] Singer, review of *The Religion of India*, 146.
[36] M.N. Srinivas, *Social Change in Modern India*, (Berkeley and Los Angeles, C.A.: University of California Press, 1967), 117.
[37] M.N. Srinivas, *Social Change in Modern India*, 91.
[38] M.N. Srinivas, *Social Change in Modern India*, 92.
[39] M.N. Srinivas, *Social Change in Modern India*, 92.

## VIII.  Future Direction for Study

Von der Mehden says that Weber was writing at a time when changes in the Indian economy were taking place but his work did not take these developments into account.[40]  And Singer argues that though Weber often mentioned the "adaptability and flexibility" of the caste system, he overlooked the fact that over time these adaptations continued and unfolded a change within the society.  Singer does not consider this to be a modern phenomenon but rather asserts that these kinds of adaptive processes have operated throughout Indian history.[41]

### A. Adaptive Process

Singer explains three types of adaptations that Indian business people have devised in order to balance their religious responsibilities with their business activities:
1. Compartmentalization of Modern Industry and Tradition.  The modern office or workplace in India is most often the place for western clothing, technological concepts and machinery, and contacts with other castes and communities; while the home can be the place reserved for traditional clothing, one's caste community, and one's traditional religious rituals.
2. Ritual Neutralization of the Work Sphere.  The workplace is seen to be neutral in terms of caste ritual purity and pollution.  A new type of "at work" culture develops which is not a place of the complete elimination of the ritual restrictions but does limit them.
3. Vicarious Ritualization.  Because the head of the household cannot perform all of the required rituals and still conduct business, many businessmen have found ways to shorten or combine the rites or to delegate proxies to perform them.  Singer says that all of these adaptations are increasingly implemented with the rapid growth of consumer products, new jobs, industrialization, and urbanization.[42]

### B. Hinduism in an Industrial Age

The most highly revered scripture today in India is the Bhagavad Gita.  Many religious reformers have reinterpreted the Gita philosophy, such as Tilak, Gandhi, and Vinobha Bhave, in order to support social and agrarian reforms, and nationalist movements.[43]  Though Gandhi strongly opposed industrialization, many Hindu industrialists and business people find moral and religious support in his teachings, especially those regarding the dignity of labor, self-reliance, truth, non-violence, and compassion for the poor.[44]  The core of the Gita philosophy, renunciation, has previously been thought of as the major obstacle within the Hindu ethic to economic development.  However, Gandhi redefined the sacrifice necessary in this age to be that of "body labor."  In other words, devotional faith is best expressed through one's work

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[40] Fred R. Von der Mehden, *Religion and Modernization in Southeast Asia*, 16.

[41] Singer, *When a Great Tradition Modernizes*, 248.

[42] Singer, When a Great Tradition Modernizes, 321-330.

[43] Singer, review *The Religion of India*, 147.

[44] Singer, *When a Great Tradition Modernizes*, 340-341.

in business or industry as one's moral obligation for the betterment of India.[45]  This is a rational asceticism and it is very similar to the Protestant "calling" that all work is relevant to salvation.

Since Independence, India has been directly planning it.9 economic development.  With their teeming millions in the depths of poverty, the situation is severe.  Future sociological study into the adaptations and mobility of the castes, and into the effects of reformulations of the Hindu ethic would seem most valuable.  Singer predicts, however, that a book on Indian development would more likely be entitled "The Hindu Ethic and the Spirit of Socialism."[46]

# Notes

[1] Reinhard Bendix, *Max Weber - An Intellectual Portrait*  (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Co., 1960), 265.

[2] Milton Singer, review of *The Religion of India*: *The Sociology of Hinduism and Buddhism*, by Max Weber, In *American Anthropogist* 63(No.1 1961), 144.

[3] Bendix, *Max Weber - An Intellectual Portrait*, 266.

[4] Max Weber, *The Sociology of Religion*, trans. By Ephraim Fischoff (Boston: Beacon Press, 1963), 269.

[5] Singer, review of *The Religion of India*, 144.

[6] Singer, review of *The Religion of India*, 144.

[7] Max Weber, *The Religion of India: The Sociology of Hinduism and Buddhism.* (New York: The Free Press, 1958), 5-6.

[8] Milton Singer, *When a Great Tradition Modernizes*, (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1972), 245.

[9] Singer, *When a Great Tradition Modernizes*, 245.

[10] Singer, *When a Great Tradition Modernizes*, 32.

[11] Singer, *When a Great Tradition Modernizes*, 246.

[12] Weber, *The Sociology of Religion*, 270.

[13] Weber, *The Sociology of Religion*, 270.

[14] Weber, *The Sociology of Religion*, 268.

[15] Weber, *The Sociology of Religion*, 269.

[16] Weber, *The Religion of India*, 121.

[17] Weber, *The Religion of India*, 325.

[18] Max Weber,  *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, trans. By H.H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1958), 414.

[19] Bangalore Kuppuswamy,  *Social Change in India*, (India: Vikas Publications, 1972), 80-81.

[20] Fred R. Von der Mehden,  *Religion and Modernization in Southeast Asia*, (Syracuse University Press, 1986), 102.

[21] Singer, review of *The Religion of India*, 147.

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[45] Singer, *When a Great Tradition Modernizes*, 337.
[46] Singer, *When a Great Tradition Modernizes*, 249.

[22] S.N. Eisenstadt, "The Implications of Weber's Sociology of Religion for Understanding Processes of Change in Contemporary Non-European Societies and Civilizations," included in *Beyond the Classics?  Essays in the Scientific Study of Religion*, edited by Charles Y. Glock and Philip E. Hammond, (New York: Harper and Row, 1973), 134.

[23] Weber, *The Religion of India*, 4.

[24] Weber, *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, 398-399.

[25] Weber, *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, 398-399.

[26] Weber, *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, 400-404.

[27] Weber, *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, 407.

[28] Weber, *The Religion of India*, 112.

[29] Weber, *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, 412.

[30] Singer, review of *The Religion of India*, 150.

[31] Von der Mehden, *Religion and Modernization in Southeast Asia*, 42.

[32] See below for an explanation of Gandhi's interpretation.

[33] Singer, review of *The Religion of India*, 148.

[34] Singer, review of *The Religion of India*, 148.

[35] Singer, review of *The Religion of India*, 146.

[36] M.N. Srinivas, *Social Change in Modern India*, (Berkeley and Los Angeles, C.A.: University of California Press, 1967), 117.

[37] M.N. Srinivas, *Social Change in Modern India*, 91.

[38] M.N. Srinivas, *Social Change in Modern India*, 92.

[39] M.N. Srinivas, *Social Change in Modern India*, 92.

[40] Fred R. Von der Mehden, *Religion and Modernization in Southeast Asia*, 16.

[41] Singer, *When a Great Tradition Modernizes*, 248.

[42] Singer, *When a Great Tradition Modernizes*, 321-330.

[43] Singer, review *The Religion of India*, 147.

[44] Singer, *When a Great Tradition Modernizes*, 340-341.

[45] Singer, *When a Great Tradition Modernizes*, 337.

[46] Singer, *When a Great Tradition Modernizes*, 249.

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