The Scholarly Pathfinder: Andō Hideharu's "Wēbā kikō" (Max Weber – A Travelogue, 1972)

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Abstract: In 1969/70, Andō Hideharu (1921–1998), a Japanese historian of ideas, was a visiting professor at the Max Weber-Institute in Munich, Germany, for a period of one year. He was a harsh critic of Marianne Weber's 1926 biography of her husband. During his tenure, he travelled to a number of places associated with Max Weber, with the aim of reconstructing his personal history. Andō literally followed Weber's path from the cradle to the grave, though not necessarily in a chronological order. In a travelogue published in 1972, Andō recounted his experiences in Germany, Switzerland, Austria, and France, with a particular emphasis on interviews conducted with contemporaries of Max Weber who were still alive in 1969/70. Andō's primary concern was in the personality of Max Weber, with a secondary focus on Weber's work and the adaptation of Weber's sociology for the study of Japanese modernity. The following article reconstructs Andō's travel experiences in Europe by analysing his "Weber Travelogue". It then discusses a bitter controversy that arose between Andō and certain colleagues in the context of Japanese Weber studies upon his return to Japan. Finally, the article assesses the merits and limitations of Andō's "time travel" into Max Weber's life through the lens of "Motivenforschung" (study of motives), a concept he drew from Weber's methodological writings.

Keywords: Max Weber; Japan; Andō Hideharu; reception; personality; Motivenforschung

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What fascinates me about Max Weber more than anything else is his character.
Andō Hideharu, Wēbā kikō, 1972, p. 1.

Introduction

In the long history of the reception of Max Weber's work in 20th-century Japan, the sociologist and intellectual historian Andō Hideharu 安藤英治 occupied a unique position. Born in Tokyo in March 1921, he was exposed to political turbulence from an early age. Upon completion of his primary education in 1932, Japan proceeded to establish

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a puppet state in Manchuria, following its invasion the previous year. During his studies at a middle school in Tokyo, he witnessed the armed conflict that erupted in the capital city during a coup d'état in February 1936. As a high school student in 1937, he observed the commencement of hostilities between Japan and China. As a student at the Faculty of Economics of Keiō Gijuku University he was profoundly affected by the news of Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor on December 8, 1941. For a period of two years, the Pacific War remained a distant phenomenon. However, in 1943, Andō, like numerous other students, was conscripted to serve in the Japanese navy. By the conclusion of the war, he had returned to southern Japan, where he experienced the nuclear bombing of Nagasaki on 9 August 1945. In reflecting on these formative years of nationalism, imperialism, and defeat in 1964, Andō identified a personal ethical dilemma shaped by his wartime experiences [*Andō 1965: 416*].

During his youth, Andō engaged with the works of Kawakami Hajime 河上肇a prominent left-wing intellectual. Like many other gifted intellectuals, he was profoundly influenced by Marxist thought. Marxism exerted considerable influence well into the 1930s, contributing to a more nuanced understanding of the emergence of capitalism in Japan. During the period of militarist governance, however, those representing Marxism in Japan, particularly those belonging to the Communist Party of Japan, were subjected to repeated purges. In the mid-1930s, many of them were compelled to undergo a form of political "conversion" (*tenkō* 転向), which entailed renouncing their political beliefs and instead espousing the political system of Imperial Japan, characterised by expansionism abroad and oppression at home. For Andō, the enforcement of *tenkō* created a political and theoretical dilemma, namely a consciousness of the discrepancy between theory and practice. This was because the majority of Marxist thinkers were aware that they were acting in a way that was contrary to their beliefs. However, in order to survive or to avoid imprisonment, they gave in to the demands of the "thought police".

It was during the early years of the Pacific War that Andō encountered the name of Max Weber for the first time. In the period preceding his admission to Keiō University, Andō met with Maruyama Masao 丸山眞男, his senior friend and advisor, to deliberate upon these matters in comprehensive detail. Maruyama was, at the time, an associate professor at the University of Tokyo, with a specialisation in Japanese political thought [*Karube 2008*]. Subsequent to the war, he became one of the most influential political scientists and a prominent public intellectual in Japan. Maruyama Masao advised Andō to study the work of the German sociologist Max Weber, particularly his contributions to the methodology of the social sciences, including his renowned text "Science as a Vocation". Maruyama asserted that it was Weber who elevated the issue that Andō was grappling with to the level of a significant scientific concern. From this point onwards, Andō resolved to devote his academic career to the study of Max Weber. Concurrently, he began to dissociate himself from the initial influence of Marxism. For his graduation, he submitted a thesis entitled "The Limits of the Materialist Conception of History".

The immediate post-war period proved challenging for Andō and numerous other students who had returned from the war. For a period of several months he was unemployed. However, he subsequently secured a position at Iwanami Shoten, a prominent Japanese publishing house, following a recommendation from Maruyama. Andō commenced employment with the recently inaugurated periodical "Sekai", which began publication in

early 1946 and rapidly evolved into a significant forum for public discourse. At "Sekai" Andō had the opportunity to engage with prominent Japanese scholars and writers. For example, meeting Sakisaka Itsurō 向坂逸郎, a prominent Marxian economist, had a significant and enduring impact on Andō, as he was able to engage in discourse with Sakisaka on the relationship between Marx and Weber, a topic of paramount importance to Weberian scholarship in Japan [*Andō 1965: 478*].

Andō's work for the editorial board of "Sekai" was relatively brief. In 1949, at the age of 28, he was offered a professorship at the Department of Economics at Seikei University in Tokyo. This appointment founded his prospective career trajectory. At Seikei he was afforded the opportunity of dedicating his efforts to an in-depth examination of Max Weber's intellectual legacy. Three major topics define Andō's contribution to Weber scholarship in Japan.

1. In Weber's sociology of religion, Andō found a key to analyzing the spiritual structure of modern societies, emphasising, as Weber did, that even in modern societies with a high degree of rationality spheres of irrationality do exist. This was a matter he had experienced first-hand during the war. In his writings, Andō thus identified a key challenge in Weber's sociology, which he saw as mirroring the issues facing Japanese society. He considered this to be a personal as well as a societal concern [*Andō 1965: 467*].

2. The issue of rationalisation and irrationality was closely related to the topic of how to define modernity in Japan, especially in comparison with the historical developments of Europe [*Andō 1972 b*]. In this regard, Andō was largely a product of his era, particularly until the mid-1960s. He, along with other prominent Japanese scholars of Weber such as Ōtsuka Hisao 大塚久雄, Sumiya Kazuhiko 住谷一彦 and Uchida Yoshiaki 内田芳明, sought to identify the semi-feudal elements remaining in Japan following the country's forced modernisation under the influence of the American occupation (*Andō/Uchida/Sumiya 1970*). It is important to note, however, that even at a time when research on Weber and modernity reached its zenith around 1965, Andō diverged from the prevailing perspective by translating texts such as Weber's "Sociology of Music", which was regarded as somewhat ephemeral at the time [*Weber – Andō – Ikemiya – Sumiakura 1967*].

3. Another area in which Andō made a significant contribution to Weber scholarship in Japan was the role of values in modern sciences. For Andō, this was not merely a theoretical issue; it was a topic that addressed his personal experiences before 1945. It was evident to him that Marxism was inadequate in its analysis of the structure of Japanese society. Marxism's "theory fetishism" and economic determinism rendered it incapable of comprehending the "spiritual structure" of Japanese society [*Andō 1965: 472–473*]. Furthermore, the Marxist perspective on the state and society was constrained by specific values and political objectives that impeded a comprehensive examination of society based on "value freedom", as conceptualized by Weber as a fundamental principle in his "Methodological Writings".

How did Andō Hideharu conceptualize the interrelationship of diverse spheres of interest in Weber's work? For him, the concept of "Motivenforschung" (the study of motives) is of paramount importance. He first encountered the concept in Max Weber's review of Eduard Meyer's "Theorie und Methodik in der Geschichte" [*1902*], a work of historical methodology. The review article constituted the initial section of Weber's "Kritische Stu-

dien auf dem Gebiet der kulturwissenschaftlichen Logik" [*Weber 1906/2018*]. In his review Weber expressed reservations about Meyer's conception of "Motivenforschung" [*Weber 1906/2018: 224*]. It is notable that Meyer never actually employed this term, despite his engagement with the issue. The concept of "Motivenforschung" is also raised by Georg von Below in a review of Meyer's book in the "Historische Zeitschrift" [*Below 1905*]. Below maintained that the objective of "Motivenforschung" was to examine "the inner forces of history". Weber, who was undoubtedly aware of Below's review, defined the concept of "Motivenforschung" in a footnote to his own review in a similar manner: it concerns the analysis of "real intentions" and the "causes" of these intentions. Furthermore, he stated that the objective was to examine how human intentions are transformed by the concatenation and significance of historical events.

Although Meyer maintained that the objective of historical writing should not be psychological analysis of actions, but rather the exploration of facts, Andō positioned the concept of "Motivenforschung" at the core of his methodological approach in a manner similar to that of Weber. He employed the concept of "Motiv", or "Motivforschung" in modern German, as a methodological tool to connect Weber's biography and his work. This is true from his early contribution to the 1964 centenary Weber symposium on "The Concept of Rationalization in Weber: A Research in Motives" [*Andō 1965b*] up to his later talk on "Die Protestantismus-These als Niederschlag eines Kulturschocks", published shortly after his death in December 1998 [*Andō 1999*]. Andō posited that the social sciences should prioritise the study of human beings and their actions, rather than focusing on abstract systems and structures. He did not intend to reconstruct Weber's theory of society from an abstract perspective; rather, he sought to gain insight into the fundamental motives that shaped Max Weber's work by delving into the personal experiences and motivations that informed his theoretical approach. In 1998, he wrote that his research was inspired by this very concept, which he defined as "Motivforschung" [*Andō 1999: 416*]. In what way did Andō adopt this concept for his research on Weber? Was this method of approaching Weber by using "Motivenforschung" beneficial for a more comprehensive understanding of Weber? Did his "anthropological approach" (or, as Weber would term it, the "characterological" question) ultimately prove fruitful?

To address this, I will commence by examining Andō Hideharu's early studies of Weber, preceding the 1964 centenary symposium in Tokyo, which marked a pivotal juncture in the Japanese reception of Max Weber, both in general and in Andō's particular case. In the main body of the article I will concentrate on Andō's book "Wēbā kikō", which is based on his experiences in Germany, Austria, France, and Switzerland during his tenure as a visiting professor at the Max Weber-Institute (MWI) in Munich from February 1969 until February 1970 [*Andō 1972a*]. The MWI served as the point of departure for various journeys undertaken by Andō, literally tracing Weber's life from cradle to grave, though not always in a strictly chronological order. Additionally, he had the opportunity to meet and conduct interviews with several of Weber's contemporaries still alive at the time. The tapes he recorded have partly been published in Japanese and German, forming a unique source for Andō's "Travelogue" in particular and for Weber scholarship in general [*Kamejima 2005*; *Konno 2003*; *author's collection*]. In the third chapter I will examine how following Weber's path affected Andō's perspective of Weber upon his return from Germany. This experience ultimately led to a contentious dispute with some of his Japanese colleagues. In

conclusion, the ambivalence of Andō's interpretation of Weber, oscillating between admiration and critique, will be discussed.

Given the limited research on Andō Hideharu's oeuvre to date, reference to his own writings and to his correspondence with contemporaries is necessary. Of particular interest are the letters exchanged between Andō and Johannes Winckelmann, the director of the MWI in Munich, between 1967 and 1972. At the research level, Kamejima Yōichi's 亀嶋庸一article on "Andō Hideharu's Journey into the 'Inside of Weber'" published as a postscript to the Japanese edition of the interviews represents the most comprehensive and up-to-date source of information on the subject [*Kamejima 2005: 243–267*]. Kamejima, a political scientist and disciple of Andō, provides an insightful and nuanced intellectual portrait of Andō, emphasising his personal obsession with Weber. In the same volume, Konno Hajime 今野元, one of the few Japanese historians specialising in Weber and the translator of the interviews, contributed another article to the Japanese edition of the interviews, in which he discussed the "'Meaning of Remembering' Max Weber" [*Konno 2005: 219–241*]. Konno identifies five key points that are essential for an accurate understanding of Andō's contribution to Weber studies in Japan: 1. the crisis of consciousness during the last months of the Empire and the controversies about modernity after 1945; 2. Andō's critical evaluation of the concept of modernity, influenced by Arthur Mitzman's book [*Mitzman 1979*]; 3. the criticism of modernisation theory; 4. his distaste for the glorification of Max Weber by Marianne Weber and by his fellow scholar Ōtsuka Hisao; and finally 5. his somewhat reluctant response to the issue of nationalism in Weber's political thought. In the introduction to the German edition of Andō's interviews for the *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie* Konno noted the potential issues with the recorded material, collected as it was from Weber's contemporaries 50 years after his death. This dictates a cautious and thorough analysis of the material, since memories may have faded or been influenced by subsequent events. Some of the memories he shared were based on recollections from early in his own life, while others were shaped by his interactions with these individuals in later years. These points are undoubtedly important and should be taken into account when undertaking a more detailed examination of Andō's journey.

1. Andō Hideharu's Early Weber Studies

Before examining Andō Hideharu's "Travelogue" we should briefly consider his reading of Weber prior to his departure for Europe. Was he adequately prepared? By the mid-1960s Andō had established himself as a leading expert in the field, with a notable reputation among his peers and students in Japan but a relatively lesser degree of recognition elsewhere. All of his previous publications were in the Japanese language. In 1948/49 Andō was once again supported by Maruyama Masao, who was funded by the Ministry of Culture for a project entitled "Comparative Studies on the Methodology of Karl Marx and Max Weber". Andō wrote a substantial article on the "Theory of Labour Value as an Ideal Type" published in the *Seiji Keizai Ronshū* of Seikei University in 1950/51 [*Andō 1965a: 9–86*]. This text represents an early example of the manner in which Japanese social scientists during the immediate post-war period were still influenced by Marx (or Marxian categories), but were already beginning to view Marxist theory from a different perspective. Andō

adopted the perspective from Max Weber's methodology of science, which placed significant emphasis on the concept of "ideal type". During the subsequent 15 years a substantial corpus of articles on Weber and the fundamental tenets of his sociology was published in the "Journal of Politics and Economics" of Seikei University and the journal "Shisō"; these were well-received by scholars and intellectuals in Japan. Andō's contributions to the journal "Shisō" included articles on subjectivity (1959), formal thought (1960/61), objectivity (1963) and charisma (1964) [now collected in *Andō 1965*].

Of particular note is an article that illuminates Andō's approach to Weber and the application of Weber's central categories for social and political analyses. In 1956/57, he published a substantial essay on "Modern Rationality and Fascism" in two parts in the journal Shisō [*Andō 1965a: 293–320*]. In the inaugural collection of his articles he included a brief piece on the concept of "rationality", delineating the distinctions between "formal rationality" (associated with value neutrality or value freedom) and "material rationality" (founded upon normative values). For readers of "Makkusu Wēbā kenkyū" [*Andō 1965a*], this helped to clarify how the distinctions Weber had made in his reflections on rationality constituted the foundation for Andō's analysis of the rational and irrational elements in Hitler's regime. This was analogous to the approach taken by Maruyama Masao in his seminal work on pre-war Japan entitled "The Theory and Psychology of Ultra-Nationalism" [*Maruyama 1946/1969*].[11] In his article on "Modern Rationality and Fascism" Andō applied the concept of *riken* (concessions, interests, profits) to identify elements of "irrationality" in the Nazi organization of the market, bureaucracy and the law. In contrast to Weber's concept of "rational capitalism", Andō characterized the economic policies of the Hitler regime as exhibiting "irrationality", or a "substantial rationality" that served the normative standards of Nazi ideology. The ascendancy of Hitler can be attributed to a particular "socio-psychological configuration among the middle classes", largely shaped by the economic crisis of 1929/30 and subsequent years. In this context Hitler came to power as the leader of a mercenary group, or a *condottiere*.

Even cursory examination of Andō Hideharu's early contributions to Weber scholarship reveals his role at the centenary Weber-Symposium in Tokyo in December 1964. At this conference Andō presented a discussion of the concept of "rationalization" [*Andō 1965b*]. In the subtitle of his contribution, he introduced the concept of "Motivenforschung" for the first time, which he subsequently developed in greater detail in later publications. In comparison with the numerous articles on Weber that he had published prior to 1964 his contribution to the centenary symposium was somewhat less impressive, rather lacking in coherence. Andō was able to address the problems associated with the concepts of "rationality" (*gōrisei* 合理性), "rationalization" (*gōrika* 合理化), and "rationalism" (*gōrishugi* 合理主義) in Weber's sociology. With specific reference to actions that are guided by a rationality of purpose (*mokuteki gōrisei* 目的合理性) or a rationality of values (*kachi gōrisei* 価値合理性), Andō's examination of Weber's core concepts remained somewhat opaque. In his analysis, he shifted from the methodology of the social sciences to the sociology of religion and subsequently to the sociology of domination in an attempt to define the relationship between rationality and charisma. Nevertheless, he made a noteworthy

[11] The English translation of the Japanese title (*Chō-kokkashugi no ronri to shinri* is somewhat misleading: it would be more precise to translate *ronri* as "logic", not as "theory").

observation regarding the relationship between rationalisation and ethos, particularly in Weber's evolution of the ethic of conviction (*Gesinnungsethik*) and the ethic of responsibility (*Verantwortungsethik*). Andō's analysis drew upon the concepts of *Zweckrationalität* and *Wertrationalität*. Nevertheless, he failed to address the concept of *Motivenforschung*, as referenced in the subtitle. It was only in the section of contributions to the debate where he described Weber's journey to America and the role of sects in his sociology of religion that the audience (and subsequent readers) could understand what he had in mind when applying Eduard Meyer's concept of "Motivenforschung" to his reconstruction of the meaning of "rationalisation" in Weber's sociology [*Andō 1965c*].

The period between the centenary symposium in Tokyo in 1964 and Andō's departure for Germany in February 1969 was marked by the arduous task of translating Max Weber's *The Rational and Sociological Foundations of Music* (1921). Thanks to the successful collaboration with two experts in musicology, he was able to publish the translation in 1967 [*Andō – Ikemiya – Sumikura 1967*]. In a separate contribution that was intended as an introduction to Weber's sociology of music, Andō rightly emphasised that the idea of "rationalisation" was again emphasised in order to demonstrate how, and indeed to what extent, the music of the West was influenced by "rationality". This is exemplified by the measurement of melodic intervals when using modern instruments. For Andō, the translation of the sociology of music was a significant accomplishment that proved invaluable when he sought a research grant in Germany in 1967.

2. The Travelogue

2.1 Johannes Winckelmann, Andō's Host in Munich

At this time, Winckelmann was a prominent figure in international Weber scholarship [*Lepsius 1986*]. He began his career outside the academic sphere, working as a lawyer for various courts in the city of Hamburg from 1927 to 1938. He then held a position at the Ministry of Economics in Berlin between 1938 and 1945. Subsequently, from 1946 onwards, Winckelmann was legal adviser at the central bank of the state of Hessen, a post he held until his retirement in 1954. Winckelmann shared with Andō a kind of obsession with Max Weber, but in contrast to his Japanese counterpart he was not interested in Weber's biography, let alone his personality or character. In 1925 he initiated contact with Marianne Weber, proposing a series of new editions of Max Weber's major works. Following the conclusion of the Second World War Winckelmann began publishing commentary on Weber and editing Weber texts in revised versions. This began with the publication of the revised edition of the *Wissenschaftslehre* (1951), followed by a revised edition of *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft* (1956) and the writings on politics (1958). In 1958, he relocated to Bavaria and was appointed Honorary Professor at Munich University's Institute of Sociology in 1963. Three years previously he had established the Max Weber Archive at the Institute of Sociology; this subsequently became the Max Weber Institute (MWI) in 1966. The MWI was established as an independent research facility within the Faculty of State Economics. The MWI's objective was to collate all pertinent material on Max Weber that was still accessible and to serve as a research foundation for German and international scholars. In 1974 the MWI was relocated to the Bavarian Academy of Sciences and

Humanities, which soon afterwards became the editorial headquarters for the recently inaugurated *Max Weber Gesamtausgabe* [*Hanke – Hübinger – Schwentker 2012*].

Given the reputation of Winckelmann among international Weber experts, it was unsurprising that Andō was eager to establish a relationship with this prominent figure. Following an initial correspondence in the spring of 1967 and the submission of recent Japanese publications to Winckelmann, Andō expressed his desire to spend a year under the guidance of Winckelmann at the MWI in Munich [*Letter from Andō H. to J. Winckelmann, 12 September 1967*]. Winckelmann accepted Andō's proposal and provided him with a letter of recommendation to submit to the Humboldt Foundation. Unfortunately the Humboldt Foundation declined Andō's application, presumably due to his age – he was already 46 years old. In a letter dated 3 June 1968 Andō expressed his profound disappointment with the negative decision of the Humboldt Foundation. Winckelmann subsequently informed Andō that he would apply on his behalf to other research foundations. This course of action proved successful some weeks later when the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) accepted Winckelmann's proposal and offered Andō a three-month stay at the MWI, which he was able to extend by using private funding and financial support from his own university. Winckelmann did not hesitate to write to the DAAD, expressing his gratitude: "This immediate influence from one person to another is, in my experience, an extremely effective means of enhancing the reputation of German science in Japan." He suggested that it was desirable for German science to gain greater recognition in Japan, alongside the influence of American and English science. "I will not dwell on the exceptional economic significance of Japan in the broader East Asian context" [*J. Winckelmann to DAAD, 22 August 1968*].

A period of approximately two months elapsed between the submission of Andō's application and formal approval by the DAAD, subsequently conveyed to him by the German embassy in Tokyo. Andō decided to commence his year in Germany by attending an intensive German course at the Goethe-Institute in Passau. On completion of the course Andō wrote to Winckelmann indicating his intention to relocate to Munich [*Letter of Andō H. to J. Winckelmann, 8 October 1968*]. With supplementary private funding he would be able to extend his stay in Germany until the end of February 1970, when he would have to return to Japan to prepare for the new academic year.

2.2 The Arrival

During the winter of 1968/69 Andō devoted himself to the study of German, besides applying himself intensively to the task of collating all Japanese translations of Max Weber's work. In the preceding year, another visitor to the MWI, Abe Ryūichi 安部隆一, an economist from Ōsaka, had prior to his return to Japan compiled a list of Japanese literature on Weber. Winckelmann appeared surprised by the extensive Japanese scholarship on Weber. However, he may have anticipated this, given that Yawata Yasusada八幡廉貞 [*König – Winckelmann 1963: 358*] – a Japanese student – had attended his seminar in Munich in 1961. Winckelmann encouraged Andō to complete the list of Japanese translations of Weber's work that Abe had begun prior to his arrival in Germany. He also requested that all available Japanese translations be sent to the MWI. He was prepared to pay the provider so that he could establish a collection of Weber translations as part of the MWI. With the assistance of various Japanese publishing houses, including Sōbunsha, Iwanami Shoten,

and Miraisha, Andō was able not only to send a collection of translations, but also an assortment of secondary literature [*Andō H. to J. Winckelmann, 7 February 1969*]. Subsequently these Japanese books formed the nucleus of the Japanese Max Weber Collection at the Bavarian Academy of Sciences and Humanities.

Andō Hideharu arrived in Munich on 21 February 1969. He soon discovered that, in contrast to Japanese customs, he was entirely on his own. His initial challenge was to overcome a significant linguistic barrier. He proceeded to Passau, where he joined the Goethe-Institute for two months. He then began the process of locating suitable housing in Munich, given that neither the University nor the MWI was able to provide him with accommodation for visiting professors. Meanwhile, he devised a comprehensive research plan, which he forwarded to Winckelmann on 10 May 1969 [*Andō H., "Mein Forschungsplan in Deutschland", J. Winckelmann Papers*]. The plan was in three sections.

Initially, Andō sought to collate information regarding the MWI, its historical development and organisational structure, the library and the manuscript collection. This was with a view to introducing the Institute to the academic community of Weber scholars in Japan. The rationale behind this aspect of the research was that a number of prominent Weber scholars in Japan were attempting to establish a comparable institute, potentially at Tsukuba University.

Secondly, he sought to gather further resources for examining the "personality" of Max Weber, or as he termed it, "the unadorned humanistic perspective of Weber". For this reason, he planned to meet with all of Max Weber's contemporaries who were still alive, including scholars, family members, and students. For Andō, Marianne Weber's *Lebensbild* proved a useful starting point, but was insufficient for a proper understanding of Weber's personality. He was particularly critical of Marianne Weber's glorification of her husband – to which however Andō also later fell victim.

Thirdly, he sought to advance his interpretation of Weber's work by consulting Winckelmann's compilation of Weber's *Staatssoziologie* in *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft* and studying the concept of *ethos*. He also planned to explore primary sources regarding the inaugural lecture at Freiburg University in 1895, the Lauenstein conference of 1917 and the council regime during the revolution of 1918/19. Moreover, Andō intended to reconstruct the genesis of Weber's sociology of music, which he had translated into Japanese several years before. In addition to these ambitious plans, he sought to gain insight into Weber's perspectives on the "Neger-Frage in Amerika" and the role of Islam.

Winckelmann expressed reservations about some aspects of Andō's schedule but appeared supportive of others [*Letter of J. Winckelmann to Andō H., June 15, 1969*]. Given that Max Weber was born in 1864, searching for contemporaries 105 years later was an implausible undertaking. However, he extended an invitation to Andō to attend his seminar on the sociology of the state. From a political standpoint, Winckelmann was considerably more interested in planning for a Japanese MWI. Accordingly, he gave Andō comprehensive material regarding the MWI in Munich. Moreover, Winckelmann proposed his interpretation of *ethos* as a fundamental category of moral philosophy and of *charisma* as a pivotal concept in the history of early Christianity. In regard to the primary material on Weber's Freiburg Lecture, the Lauenstein Conference, and Weber's analysis of the "Rätesystem" (i.e., the "system of councils" of soldiers and workers during the 1918/19 revolution), he told Andō that no sources would be available at the MWI in Munich.

2.3 Critical Readings

Embarking upon his research project, Andō adopted a critical approach to Marianne Weber's *Lebensbild* [*Andō 1972a: I–III*]. At the outset of his "Travelogue", Andō underscored the ambivalence of his initial impressions. On the one hand, he considered Marianne Weber's characterisation of her husband as a "civil knight" and a "nationalist" to be accurate. However, he felt that she had not addressed other significant aspects that would have enabled a more comprehensive and nuanced portrayal of the man and his work. The psychological breakdown of Max Weber, its religious background, and a certain guilt consciousness, combined with Marianne's description of Weber's political activities during the Bavarian revolution, especially in the case of Anton Graf Arco-Valley who assassinated the Bavarian prime minister Kurt Eisner in February 1919, were the primary reasons for Andō's critical assessment of the *Lebensbild*.

The memorial volume (*Gedächtnisschrift*) edited by René König and Johannes Winckelmann in 1963 constituted the other principal source for Andō's research in Germany. He compared Marianne's *Lebensbild* with the various memorial essays of Max Weber's contemporaries and reached the conclusion that, for instance, the analyses of Weber's role in 1919/20 as presented by authors such as Max Rehm or Friedrich J. Berber in the *Gedächtnisschrift* differed significantly from Marianne's interpretation. He sought therefore to establish contact with all surviving students of Max Weber with a view to ascertaining their perspectives on the events of the Munich revolution. After arriving back in Munich he went on to Cologne, where he met the sociologist René König. König furnished him with a list of the contributors to the *Gedächtnisschrift*, which proved invaluable in the subsequent course of his research. However, König was not convinced by Andō's methodological approach to Weber. In a letter to Johannes Winckelmann, König expressed his scepticism about the value of visiting the house where Weber was born or the hotel where he lived in Vienna as a means of learning about Weber. König was particularly disheartened to learn from Andō that he was uninterested in applying Weber's "Sociology of Music" to a sociological analysis of Japanese music. His commentary concerning other Japanese experts on Weber was similarly critical. From a sociological perspective, he found the biographical and historical approaches of Japanese Weber studies to be somewhat uninspiring.

2.4 A Side Trip to Vienna

During the language course in Passau, Andō had the opportunity to embark on brief excursions. In April 1969, he went to Vienna, where he met with Aruga Hiroshi 有賀 弘, a Japanese historian of Western political thought, and with a couple of Austrian scholars, including the sociologist Leopold Rosenmayr. Andō's objective was to gain further insight into the circumstances surrounding Weber's lectures at the University of Vienna between April and July 1918. He was particularly interested in the circumstances surrounding Weber's renowned speech, "On Socialism", delivered on 13 June 1918 before the officer corps of the Austrian army [*MWG I/15: 597–633*]. However, the results of his research in Vienna were somewhat inconclusive, as Rosenmayr and his colleagues were unable to provide further insights. At the Vienna University archive he was however able to collect some material about Weber's lectures and seminars during the summer semester of 1918.

2.5 Visits to the German Democratic Republic

In the second chapter of his "Travelogue", entitled "East Germany's Weber", Andō describes his experiences in Erfurt, Merseburg, and other cities [*Andō 1972a: 13–64*]. Prior to his arrival in Berlin, he had the opportunity to meet Etō Kyōji 江藤恭二, an educational scientist from Nagoya, in Munich. Etō was a member of the Japanese-East German Friendship Society and offered his assistance in preparing Andō's visit to East Berlin and other locations. Andō spent a couple of days in West Berlin attempting to locate the former residence of the Weber family. He subsequently entered the German Democratic Republic (GDR) via Checkpoint Charlie on 2 October 1969. In his published account, he noted that he was surprised to observe the proximity of the tourist information office and the police station. Nevertheless, he did not perceive the country to be a police state. Many aspects of Eastern Berlin, including its trams, evoked memories of Japan in the period preceding the Second World War. At the time, the GDR was commemorating the 20th anniversary of its founding. Consequently, the prevailing atmosphere was relatively open, particularly towards a foreigner from Japan.

Initially, Andō was granted a visa for a 24-hour stay, which permitted him to travel to Erfurt, where Max Weber had been born in April 1864. As he had not previously informed the relevant authorities of his intention to visit, the staff at the mayor's office were somewhat taken aback when a Japanese scholar arrived requesting access to the city's 1864 birth register. The officers at the archive in Erfurt were cordial, yet unable to assist Andō immediately. However, they did pledge to dispatch a microfilm containing all pertinent materials to him.

A second excursion to East Germany, undertaken approximately six weeks later, proved similarly unproductive. Andō was eager to view the papers of Max Weber at the Central Archive II of the GDR in Merseburg. However, he was unable to secure the requisite approval from the Home Ministry and the central administration of archives in Potsdam. He was however able to examine the "Findbuch", the register and index of the "Nachlass Max Weber", which revealed that it comprised 20 boxes. This information was already known to West German scholarship, as Wolfgang J. Mommsen had investigated the papers in Merseburg in the late 1950s when writing his book on Max Weber and German politics from 1890 to 1920 [*Mommsen 1959*].

As he was not permitted to work on Weber's papers at the Central Archive, Andō opted to visit a number of other cities in East Germany instead. Subsequently, he visited Leipzig, Magdeburg, Halle, Weimar and, for a second time, Erfurt. The "Travelogue" provides readers with a general impression of the living standards and cultural icons of East Germany based on the author's experiences travelling across the country. For Andō, the punctuality issues of the railways were indicative of the inherent deficiencies of a socialist economic system. Furthermore, he observed that the level of destruction caused by the war was less pronounced in the eastern than in many western German cities. In trains and restaurants, he observed the presence of a social elite within a formally egalitarian society, predominantly comprising representatives of state administration and scientists. These individuals were notably better-dressed than the general population and conversed more openly with foreigners, even addressing social and political matters. Upon learning that Andō was a visitor from Japan, some citizens expressed admiration for the Japanese people, invoking

the term "rippa na minzoku", which translates as "a great people". They cited Japanese companies such as Sony and Honda as examples of the country's economic and technological prowess. In conclusion, Andō departed from the GDR with a favourable impression of the country, although he did not gain any new insights regarding Max Weber's work.

2.6 Family Histories and Other Encounters

Prior to travelling to East Berlin, Andō had the opportunity to meet Peter Weber-Schäfer at Bochum University, where he held a chair for political sciences at the East Asian Institute. Weber-Schäfer, a member of the Weber family, studied Japanese and Chinese at the University of Munich, where he also completed his PhD, writing his thesis on Ono no Komachi, a great poet of the Heian period who was considered by her contemporaries to be an outstanding beauty. Combining poetic excellence with a legendary erotic charisma she featured prominently in many Nō plays [*Weber-Schäfer 1960*]. Weber-Schäfer was a member of the community of heirs. He was fully informed about the status of Max Weber's manuscripts and letters and gave Andō some crucial information [*Andō 1972a: 42–43*]. Following Weber's death in 1920 the surviving manuscripts and correspondence were transferred to the Prussian State Library in Berlin. During the Second World War the manuscripts were divided into three sections. One portion was relocated to an underground storage facility in the Austrian Alps, while another was stored alongside the papers of Bismarck and other prominent German politicians and scientists in Czechoslovakia. Following the conclusion of hostilities some of the material was offered for sale on the black market in Prague and subsequently disappeared, as did the material that had been sent to Austria. The third part of Weber's papers survived at the Central Archive II of the GDR in Merseburg. This information was not known to Western scholars at the time, but Andō was unable to ascertain what had become of the missing parts of Max Weber's papers.

Chapter III of Andō's "Travelogue" was devoted to Weber's youth, his years of study, and his military service in Strasbourg. In order to ascertain the rationale behind Weber's ambivalent stance with respect to modernity, Andō sought potential evidence in Berlin, where the young Weber spent his formative years following his family's relocation from Erfurt to Charlottenburg in 1869. For Andō, it was evident that the formation of Weber's worldview was shaped during the period preceding and succeeding the establishment of the Kaiserreich in 1871. Given his father's prominent political status, Max Weber and his younger brother Alfred were introduced to influential politicians and renowned scholars at an early age. They participated in discussions at the "Salon" of his parents' house, where guests included Wilhelm Dilthey, Heinrich von Treitschke and Theodor Mommsen. This was a period during which Bismarck had a considerable number of admirers, although this was not the case among socialists or right-wing Junkers, who were members of the landowning class situated to the east of the Elbe River. During his upbringing in Berlin Weber was confronted with the inherent tensions between modernity and tradition. These were exemplified by the liberal middle class to which he belonged and the landed interest classes. In early October 1969 Andō visited the Charlottenburg city hall and made contact with a retired officer who was engaged in historical research on Berlin in the city's archive. Despite being unable to obtain any hitherto unknown material on Weber and his family, Andō was able to gain a detailed impression of the city and the living conditions of the

liberal bourgeoisie during the latter decades of the nineteenth century. In his travelogue, he focused on the icons of Berlin's memory culture, such as the *Siegessäule*, which represented the victories of Prussia in the wars against Denmark in 1864, Austria in 1866 and France in 1871.

In Göttingen, where Max Weber completed his studies in 1885/86, Andō visited the university and was able to find some material related to Weber's law examination. Of greater significance was the meeting on 6 November 1969 with the American sociologist Reinhard Bendix (1916–1991), who was then affiliated with the Berkeley Office at Göttingen University. To Andō's surprise, Bendix was reluctant to discuss Weber's personality, especially psychological topics, and was similarly disinclined to address the concept of the 'unconscious' in Weber's work. A further issue that arose during the meeting was that Andō's proficiency in English was limited. These linguistic limitations created an opportunity for a misunderstanding. It seems highly improbable that Bendix failed to appreciate the significance of Weber's journey to America in 1904, as Andō states in his "Travelogue". It was of great importance, however, that Bendix showed Andō the proofs of a book by Arthur Mitzman, an American colleague of his, who was going to publish his study of Weber entitled *The Iron Cage* that later became a classic in the field. Andō appeared taken aback, since Mitzman had adopted a methodology comparable to his own, both in terms of the objective of his study – the psychological disposition of the work – and in regard to his approach to the subject matter, having already conducted interviews with some of Weber's contemporaries.

On 20 November 1969 in Strasbourg Andō met with Julien Freund, the leading expert on Weber in France. In a sense, both men came to recognise a kinship when discussing their respective journeys into the field of Weber studies. For Freund, as for Andō, personal experiences during the war proved to be pivotal. Freund joined the French Resistance and was apprehended on two occasions by German military forces occupying France. Andō had first-hand experience of the control exerted by the military state of Imperial Japan. The concept of "value freedom" was of central interest to both men in their study of Weber. In their discussion, Freund referred to the controversies in Strasbourg and Berlin surrounding the so-called "Spahn affair". The Kaiser had intervened in an academic dispute to ensure that Martin Spahn, a Catholic professor of history, would be appointed to a second chair at Strasbourg University. This chair was the subject of dispute. The rationale behind this decision was that Wilhelm II sought to facilitate the integration of the Catholic population in Alsace-Lorraine. His intervention for purely political reasons was strongly criticised by Theodor Mommsen, who advocated a "scholarship without [political or religious] preconditions". This was precisely the concept of *Wertfreiheit* that Weber developed several years later. Additionally, Weber, who had close relatives living in Strasbourg, did his military service in the city. In contrast to the somewhat one-sided portrayal of the *Lebensbild*, Andō's "Travelogue" highlights that Weber's military service in Strasbourg fostered his interest in the relationship between leader (Führer) and bureaucracy. However, this assertion lacks supporting evidence.

To reconstruct Weber's family history and his formative years as a scholar Andō initially visited Oerlinghausen, the hometown of Weber's wife Marianne, and Freiburg, where he was professor of national economics and finance policy. These journeys into Weber's early years did not meet Andō's expectations, as he was unable to find any new material

in the city archive of Oerlinghausen that would contribute to Weber studies [*Andō 1972a: 101–116*]. A copy of the marriage register did not facilitate a greater understanding of the complex history of Marianne and Max's family. Consequently, Andō was compelled to rely on Marianne Weber's *Lebensbild*, which was the primary source of information regarding Max Weber's life. Nevertheless, for Japanese readers, Andō succeeded in providing an account of the religious disposition of Helene Fallenstein, Max Weber's mother, and her elder sister Ida, who was married to Hermann Baumgarten, a prominent figure in German liberalism. Weber's father, Max sen., had a background in commerce. However, as the youngest son, he was able to pursue a career in law and subsequently became one of the first politicians to represent the National Liberal Party. He served initially in the Prussian parliament and later in the German Reichstag. It is notable that Andō emphasised the quasi-literary quality of the family history, which was only stable due to its wealth. Otherwise, it was characterised by an emotional approach to religion and various psychological problems. He saw these as "motives" for Weber's later work, particularly the sociology of religion, and his personal life.

2.7 The Reconstruction of Weber's Academic Career: Freiburg and Heidelberg

Andō's research during his visit to Oerlinghausen was limited to an empathising experience: of Marianne's hometown, the surrounding landscape and the history of the Teutoburg Forest. The academic outcome was unsatisfactory. His visit to Freiburg proved considerably more fruitful [*Andō 1972a: 116–130*]. In the archives of the university he discovered Max Weber's personal file, enabling him to reconstruct and confirm Weber's teaching schedule. In Ebnet, situated in the vicinity of Freiburg, he encountered Eduard Baumgarten, the son of Max Weber's cousin Fritz Baumgarten. Given his role in editing the 1964 collection of texts and letters, entitled *Max Weber – Werk und Person*, Eduard Baumgarten was regarded as a significant contemporary witness. In 1920 Baumgarten had attended Max Weber's lecture on the "sociology of the state" and his final seminar on the topic of "Revolution – Councils – Russia" at the University of Munich [*Weber 2009: 49*; *Andō 1972a: 120*]. Following Weber's death in June 1920, he lived in the home of Marianne Weber for a brief period. He subsequently proceeded to Heidelberg, where he submitted his dissertation on the topic of "Innere Formen menschlicher Vergemeinschaftung" under the supervision of Alfred Weber. Returning from a visit to the United States, where he had met John Dewey, Baumgarten sought the support of Martin Heidegger for a *Habilitation* at Freiburg University [*Kaesler 2006: 170–178*]. At the outset of their relationship Heidegger was receptive to Baumgarten's proposal, but soon became a vehement critic when he realised that Baumgarten had a more pragmatic approach to philosophy. In 1933 Heidegger denounced Baumgarten to Göttingen University, claiming that he was not a staunch supporter of National Socialism and therefore unsuitable to join the German Dozentenbund. Nevertheless, Baumgarten managed to survive the Nazi regime, maintaining his position within the academic community. He was a member of the Nazi Party from 1937 onwards and held a chair in philosophy at Königsberg University. In the post-war period Karl Jaspers, Marianne Weber and other liberal figures provided political support for Baumgarten. From 1957 until his retirement in 1963 he held the position of Professor of Sociology at the University of Mannheim.

Andō was unaware of the details of Baumgarten's biography, including his activities during and in the aftermath of the Second World War. However, he knew that Baumgarten was a significant figure in the field, particularly given his familial connection to Max Weber. After the war Marianne Weber proposed that Baumgarten assume responsibility for the safeguarding of those personal papers of Max Weber that had not already been transferred to the Prussian State Library. The collection comprised Max Weber's letters to Emmy Baumgarten, his first love, and to Mina Tobler and Else von Richthofen, among others. Eduard Baumgarten did not permit anyone to examine these letters, yet he was not disinclined to show them to Andō. This proved to be of little assistance, as Andō was unable to decipher Weber's notoriously challenging handwriting. He was however presented with a collection of photographs relating to the family's historical background. There is a photograph of Baumgarten and his wife in Andō's "Travelogue". However, the academic outcome of his conversation was again rather inconclusive.

In comparison with his trips to Oerlinghausen, Andō's journey to Heidelberg, covered in the fourth chapter of his book, represented a highlight of his academic year in Germany [*Andō 1972a: 131–160*]. In mid-October 1969 Andō spent a week in the city that had been the centre of Max Weber's life and work for nearly two decades. As was his custom, Andō requested material from the city archive and the church administration relating to Weber's relocation from Freiburg to Heidelberg in 1897, and from Heidelberg to Munich in 1919. Moreover, Andō visited the former residence of Max and Marianne at Ziegelhäuser Landstraße, where they had lived with Ernst Troeltsch and his wife. On 19 October 1969, he was able to make contact with Else von Richthofen-Jaffé [*Tape recording of interview*; *Andō 1972a: 148–156*]. She first encountered Max Weber in Freiburg at the residence of the philosopher Alois Riehl in 1894. However, during her formative years, she was considerably more closely associated with Marianne, greatly intrigued by her involvement in the bourgeois women's movement preceding the First World War. At Heidelberg University from 1898 onwards she attended Max Weber's lectures on "National Economics", "Economic History" and "Agrarian Policy". In the course of her conversation with the Japanese visitor she emphasised that pursuing higher education had not yet then been a common pursuit for young women. She had for each series of lectures or seminars to ask for permission to attend. Some, such as Adolph Wagner during her time in Berlin, declined. However, Max Weber was considerably more accommodating. In 1900 he supervised her doctoral thesis, which examined the role of authoritarian parties in the legal protection of workers. Following her examination at Heidelberg, she began working as a factory inspector in the state of Baden. This was a highly unconventional career choice for a young and educated woman at the time [*Demm 2014*].

When the young Else von Richthofen inquired about the most suitable introductory literature on the subject of national economics, Max Weber responded: "The works of Adam Smith, Ricardo, and Marx's *Capital*" [*Interview conducted by Andō H., 19 October 1969*]. This was previously little-known information regarding the sources of Weber's economic thought; many experts were not aware of it at the time. Given that Andō was inspired by Marxism as a young man, he appeared surprised that Weber had read Marx's *Capital* and recommended it to his students. It is regrettable that he did not inquire further and ascertain whether Weber had any reservations about the capitalist system, given that no discernible critique of capitalism could be identified in his writings. Instead of pursuing

a more detailed discussion of the relationship between Weber and Marx, Andō adopted a strategy of *Motivensuche* in examining Weber's biography. He inquired about the conflict between Weber and his father and its influence on his religious thought, particularly his consciousness of sin and its role as a constant element in his beliefs or as a source of his writings on the sociology of religion. He was more successful in obtaining information regarding the biographical background of Weber's "Sociology of Music". In the context of this discussion, Else von Richthofen informed Andō of the significant influence that the pianist Mina Tobler exerted on Weber, with whom he was in a brief romantic relationship. Additionally, she stated that Weber had a high regard for Richard Wagner and was particularly fond of some of his operas, notably "Tristan und Isolde". Nevertheless, she declined to link these personal preferences to a scholarly context, as Andō had proposed.

Else von Richthofen also suggested that a meeting with Dora Busch, another noteworthy individual who had known Weber, might prove beneficial. In 1969 the daughter of Georg and Camilla Jellinek (born in 1888 in Austria) was still living in Heidelberg. Her father had from 1890 been a professor of constitutional law at Heidelberg University. Her mother, Camilla, played a relatively minor role in the women's liberation movement. In 1911, Dora Busch married Friedrich Busch, an Austrian psychiatrist who served in World War I and died on the Western Front at a relatively young age. She studied literature, obtaining a PhD in 1922, after which she worked as a schoolteacher in Heidelberg. In 1933 she was dismissed from her post following the Nazi regime's discriminatory legislation targeting the Jewish population. In 1944 she was incarcerated in the Theresienstadt concentration camp. After the war she resumed her teaching career at the Hölderlin Gymnasium in Heidelberg. However, her advanced age and poor health, a consequence of her incarceration, compelled her to retire prematurely. Andō was eager to meet her in Heidelberg, yet she was the sole individual to decline his requests for an interview. As Andō was aware, friends of Busch in Heidelberg, such as Else von Richthofen or Lydia Radbruch (widow of the philosopher of law Gustav Radbruch, who had excellent contacts in Japan), had already informed him that Busch was very reserved and not readily approachable socially. In the concluding section of the chapter entitled "Old Heidelberg" he conceded that she was the sole contemporary of Max Weber with whom he had established contact but was unable to meet.

2.8 A Short Visit to Switzerland

A further topic of interest was the Heidelberg circle of Max and Marianne Weber, both before and during the First World War. This was the subject that dominated Andō Hideharu's interviews with Edgar Salin in Basel and Helmuth Plessner in Zurich, both conducted on 13 January 1970. The interviews were summarised in chapter VI of the "Weber Travelogue" [*Andō 1972a: 162–171*]. Salin studied economics, law, and philosophy at the universities of Heidelberg, Munich, and Berlin. His unique mode of thought combined an interest in economics with an inclination towards literature. It was in Heidelberg that, influenced by Friedrich Gundolf, Professor of German Literature, he was introduced to the circle of Stefan George. As a disciple of Alfred Weber, who in 1913 supervised his dissertation on the economic development of Alaska and the Yukon Territory, his relationship with Max Weber was not straightforward. During a visit to Rome in the autumn

of 1913 he had the rare opportunity of meeting with Max Weber on a regular basis over several weeks. He frequented the Café Aragno, where he engaged in discussions about academic and political matters with Georg Lukács and other thinkers staying in Rome. Subsequently Salin maintained contact with Weber and participated in his salon following his return to Heidelberg. Two points emerged from Andō's interview with Salin, as documented in Konno [*2003: 600–604*]. He was highly critical of Marianne's conduct during the "jour fixe" and her portrayal of herself in the *Lebensbild*. Salin stated that she consistently declined to engage in academic discussions during the Sunday gatherings at Ziegelhäuser Landstraße. In her biography of Max Weber, she claimed a reputation she did not deserve. In addition, Salin's stance on Weber's nationalism was ambivalent. It is beyond doubt that Weber advocated a "democratic empire". In the context of the historical experience with National Socialism in Germany, however, Salin considered the term "nationalist" to be highly problematic when applied to Weber. Without any reference to Wolfgang J. Mommsen's analysis of Weber's engagement with German politics, Salin advanced a more nuanced interpretation.

When Andō encountered Helmuth Plessner, living near Zurich following his retirement in 1962 as professor of sociology at Göttingen University, he shared with Salin a particularly critical perspective on the role of Marianne Weber [*Tape Recording, 13 January 1970*]. Plessner asserted that Marianne lacked erotic charisma. In Heidelberg, she was regarded as a "Protestant Madonna". Her husband was renowned for his patriotism and admiration for Bismarck; however, he held reservations about Kaiser Wilhelm II. In Heidelberg, Plessner was a student of Hans Driesch, a biologist with an interest in philosophy. Weber was influenced by Neo-Kantianism, which makes a clear distinction between natural sciences and cultural sciences. He opposed Driesch's attempt to develop a "philosophy of nature". Plessner informed Andō that Weber was solely concerned with establishing the methodological position of modern social sciences between the two principal fields of scholarship: the natural sciences and the "Geisteswissenschaften" (humanities).

A comparison of the interview with Plessner and the summary of the meeting in the "Travelogue" reveals that Andō did not mention Plessner's observations regarding Karl Mannheim, whom he characterised as the intellectual descendant of Max Weber. Additionally, Andō's "Travelogue" lacks any mention of Plessner's insights on Georg Simmel and the significance of Simmel's *Philosophy of Money* for Weber's intellectual development. Moreover, it is important to acknowledge that there were some misinterpretations on Andō's part when he described Plessner's perspective on the relationship between Marx and Weber. Plessner identified Weber as a disciple of Marx when reflecting on the relationship between "spirit" and economics, rather than religion and economics as Andō had understood. Plessner's reconstruction of Weber's reception of and impact on contemporary social thought did not align with his approach of "Motivenforschung".

2.9 Weber's Final Years: From Vienna to Munich

The final chapter of the "Travelogue" is devoted to the last years of Max Weber's life. It encompasses his political activities, his teaching, and his work from 1918 to June 1920, the month of his death. Andō remained sceptical concerning Marianne Weber's *Lebensbild* and sought to ascertain the reasons behind Max Weber's decision to reconsider renewing

his academic career when he accepted an invitation from Vienna University to teach courses on national economics during the summer of 1918. In late October 1969 Andō made a second visit to Vienna with the objective of locating additional primary sources in the city's archives, having deemed the initial trip in April unsuccessful. With the assistance of Georg Zamorski, a disciple of the Vienna sociologist Leopold Rosenmayr, he visited the university archive and was able to reconstruct a list of 55 students of Weber during the summer semester of 1918. That was relatively straightforward. It proved considerably more challenging and time-consuming to identify the names of those who were still residing in Vienna, using the city's telephone directories. This line of enquiry yielded no results. Similarly, a search for reports of Weber's speech "On Socialism" in Austrian newspapers proved fruitless. Andō and Zamorski conducted a comprehensive review of all press materials, following Baumgarten's timeline in *Werk und Person*, which indicated that Weber delivered the speech in July 1918. This was an error; the date in question did not match the correct date as indicated by Baumgarten in a footnote to the text [*Baumgarten 1964: 713, 243*]. Andō realized he had wasted three days of effort. However, he was able to visit the lecture room in which Weber lectured on *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft* under the heading "A Positive Critique of the Materialist View on History". Andō was very emotionally engaged with his subject; he likened the experience to travelling with a "time machine", speculating on how it would have felt to be a student of Weber, waiting for him in this Vienna lecture hall [*Andō 1972a: 176*].

To reconstruct the personal circumstances of Max Weber during the final year of his life in Munich Andō once more sought the advice of his host. However, Winckelmann appeared to take no interest in Weber's personal history, as Andō observed [*Andō 1972a: 178*]. He therefore began to search for Weber's residence in Munich independently, and was soon able to gain access to Weber's final address at Seestraße. In 1919/1920, the proprietor of the property was Helene Böhlau, the daughter of the publisher Hermann Böhlau from Weimar. She was a highly regarded author who mostly lived in rural Bavaria. Andō discovered the nameplates of "Böhlau" and "Wegner" at the entrance and fortuitously encountered Helene Böhlau's granddaughter, who in 1969 was living at the Seestraße address with her husband, Horst Wegner. They subsequently made contact with her father, Hermann Böhlau, who had been a student in Göttingen and had occasionally visited Munich, living in close proximity to Max Weber's study. In the course of the conversation, Hermann Böhlau underscored the acute sensitivity of Weber to any form of noise.

In a separate interview conducted by Andō in Hannover, another student of Weber, Emmy Delbrück, confirmed this fact. It was strictly forbidden for anyone to enter the house between the hours of 12 and 3 pm. Marianne, who experienced considerable discomfort in her rather confined living space, endeavoured to shield her husband from any potential disturbances. Their neighbours found her constant complaints vexatious.

With the assistance of Emmy Delbrück, Andō was able to establish contact with Wilhelm Stichweh in Hannover on 10 November 1969. Stichweh had studied law and economics in Göttingen and Rostock before relocating to Munich. Julius Hatschek, his supervisor in Göttingen, was an expert in the fields of administrative and international law, and held Max Weber in high regard. He advised Stichweh to proceed to Munich with a view to attending some lectures and seminars delivered by Weber. The encounter with Max Weber in the spring of 1920, as he informed Andō, proved to be a pivotal experience in his life

[*Tape Recording, 10 November 1969*; *Graf – Hanke 2020: 50–51, 76*]. In the course of a conversation with Weber at the beginning of the summer semester of 1920 he was advised to study the city economies of Islamic countries, especially the caravan cities, since this was a topic that Weber had not covered either in his sociology of the city or in his sociology of religion. Weber's unexpected death on 14 June 1920 prevented any further development of this project. Stichweh was obliged to return to Göttingen, where in 1923 he submitted a dissertation on a subject entirely unrelated to his previous studies: the history of dyeing in Lower Saxony. In 1923, following the death of his father, he assumed control of the family business.

During the interview with Andō Stichweh showed a notable capacity for self-reflection, acknowledging that his memories of 1919/20 were somewhat fragmented and shaped by subsequent readings. He provided a detailed account of the political climate in Munich in the aftermath of the collapse of the *Räterepublik* and the conclusion of the revolution. Furthermore, Stichweh provided Andō with a detailed account of Weber's pedagogical approach and his role as a political commentator. He highlighted Weber's involvement in the Arco affair and his tolerance towards political critics, both on the left and on the right. He was particularly disheartened by Marianne Weber's conduct at the funeral service, which he deemed to be a social misstep. She had chosen to speak at the event in the capacity of the widow. He revealed to Andō that he had subsequently read Marianne's *Lebensbild* in a state of disquiet, irritated by the excessive sentimentality evident in the biography. This was at odds with the rational objectivity that her husband had typically sought to embody.

2.10 At the Graveyard

Andō concluded his "Travelogue" with an "Epilogue" entitled "Where Weber rests". Subsequent to his meeting with René König in Cologne on 16 September 1969, Andō travelled by rail to Heidelberg, where he remained for a period of two nights at the residence of his Japanese colleague, Aruga Hiroshi. One of the reasons for visiting Heidelberg was to locate the graves of Max and Marianne Weber. In this context, Andō once more describes his search for Weber's grave as if it were completely lost and forgotten [*Andō 1972a: 200*]. It is evident that his assumption that the grave had not been visited was erroneous. At the MWI in Munich he encountered the Danish Weber scholar H. Henrik Bruun, who informed him that locating the grave would be a challenging endeavour, given the prevalence of the surname "Weber" in Germany. Upon his arrival in Heidelberg, Andō proceeded directly to the administration of the Bergfriedhof, where he was accompanied by staff members to the grave, marked by a stone pillar bearing the names of Max and Marianne Weber. Near the grave Andō discovered two additional graves belonging to members of the Weber family: that of Weber's sister Lili, who committed suicide on Good Friday in 1920, and that of Hermann Weber-Schäfer, Lili's youngest son. Max Weber, who had died on 14 June 1920 in his apartment at Seestraße in Munich, was cremated in Munich three days later. The urn was relocated to Heidelberg in early 1921, coinciding with Marianne's return to Heidelberg from Munich. For Andō, a visit to the Bergfriedhof represented the culmination and most emotionally charged aspect of his journey in tracing the footsteps of Max Weber. Nevertheless, the question of what kind of man Weber really was remained somewhat mysterious.

3. The Disenchantment of Weber Studies in Japan

In early February 1970 Andō Hideharu left Germany for Japan, with a brief stopover in Israel. After an absence of nearly a year, he was obliged to fulfil certain administrative requirements and to prepare for the commencement of the new academic year on 1 April. It took approximately two months for Andō to make contact with his host, Johannes Winckelmann. In his correspondence, he expressed regret for the delayed response, citing physical exhaustion following his return. In this letter, Andō informed Winckelmann of his intention to write a travelogue about Weber. Moreover, he explained to Winckelmann the rationale behind his decision to disengage from the project to establish a Max-Weber-Institute in Japan. He emphasised the existence of persistent internal conflicts within the university that would have constituted an obstacle to the establishment of an MWI. (At the time, founding an MWI at Tsukuba University in Ibaraki Prefecture was the preferred option of the steering committee.) Secondly, Andō was not in agreement with the plans proposed by Sumiya Kazuhiko, who was responsible for the project. Sumiya suggested limiting access to a select group of Weber specialists. This was entirely at odds with the original plan, as well as the philosophy of Tsukuba University, which aimed for the MWI to become an open research facility accessible to all interested in the work of Max Weber. In a reply dated 27 October 1970, Winckelmann conveyed his regret at Andō's decision to withdraw from the project. He planned to discuss the project further with Sumiya, as he considered an MWI in Japan to be a vital facility for the exchange of Japanese and international Weber experts. Ultimately, the failure of the project to establish a Japanese MWI can be attributed to internal disputes within Tsukuba University and the differing ideas of leading Japanese scholars.

The conflict surrounding the purpose and outlook of a MWI at Tsukuba University had a complex historical trajectory. Prior to travelling to Germany, Andō was aligned with the group surrounding the economic historian Ōtsuka Hisao, with Sumiya Kazuhiko and Uchida Yoshiaki representing the driving forces. In 1964, Andō participated in the Weber Centenary Symposium at Tokyo University, which was organised by Ōtsuka. Subsequently, he published a collection of essays authored by all four scholars, namely Ōtsuka, Andō, Uchida, and Sumiya [*1965*]. Four years later, together with Uchida and Sumiya, he edited a collection of articles by 18 Japanese scholars, covering topics such as "Max Weber in Contemporary Times", "The Methodology of Social Sciences", and "The Structure of Social Theory" [*Andō – Uchida – Sumiya 1969*]. Up until this time, Andō was a member of the "Wēbā no mura" ("The Weber Village"). Following his return from Germany, he began to be regarded as an outsider, eventually becoming a recluse.

The pivotal moment was an article by Andō entitled "The Disenchantment of Max Weber Studies", published in the influential journal "Shisō" [*Andō 1971*]. Andō began with a critical examination of the status of Max Weber studies in general. He referred to Eduard Baumgarten's *Werk und Person*, which was designed to challenge the somewhat uncritical portrayal of Max Weber's life by his wife Marianne. Furthermore, he offered a critique of the interpretation of social theorists presented at the Heidelberg Centennial Symposium in 1964, particularly the non-historical perspective espoused by Talcott Parsons and his followers. One pivotal point of contention was the relationship between Max Weber and Carl Schmitt, as emphasised by Wolfgang J. Mommsen. On the one hand, Parsons and Reinhard

Bendix were not inclined to pursue this relationship further. Conversely, Raymond Aron and Jürgen Habermas endorsed Mommsen's interpretation [*Stammer 1965*].

In the context of a debate between those advocating a more theoretical, modernist interpretation of Max Weber and those favouring a historical, critical approach, Andō aligned with the latter group. In light of his experiences in Germany, Austria, France, and Switzerland, he emphasised that the theoretical dimension of Weber's work held secondary importance for him. He was, as he repeatedly emphasised, primarily interested in Weber as a human being. In comparison with the research approach of the Ōtsuka school, he asserted that "our research has developed in completely different directions" [*Andō 1971: 21*]. The topic of "Max Weber and Contemporary Times" was of particular significance to Ōtsuka, Uchida, and Sumiya, as they perceived Weber as a valuable source of concepts and ideas that could be employed in criticizing the semi-feudal remnants of modern Japan. Andō was particularly critical of Sumiya's approach, which he accused of elevating Weber to the status of a "holy figure", a tactic similar to that employed by Marianne. He stated that he had no interest in the approach of the "trio". Rather than lauding Max Weber as a liberal interpreter of modernity, he sought to reconstruct the "Weberian human being" (in Japanese: "Wēbāteki ningen"), a somewhat vague concept. With this objective in mind, Andō conducted research in Germany, which resulted in the publication of the "Weber Travelogue". He found support for this focused view on the human, sometimes irrational parts of Max Weber's personality in the recent studies of Arthur Mitzman, as recommended to him by Reinhard Bendix in Göttingen. The concepts of alienation and eros were central to Andō's interpretation of Weber, along with *ethos* and *kratos*. This was in contrast to the Ōtsuka group, who believed that the Weberian idea of political and economic modernity should be adopted in Japan.

The situation became further complicated in 1988 when Ōtsuka Hisao published a translation of the Protestant Ethic under his own name. The history of the Japanese translations of the Protestant Ethic is a complex one [*Schwentker 2014: 132–136*]. In 1938, Kajiyama Tsutomu 梶山力, a young sociologist, undertook the initial translation of Weber's seminal articles. He passed away prematurely in 1941 shortly after the translation was published. A revised edition of the translation, for which the economic historian Ōtsuka Hisao was responsible, was published in two volumes in 1955 and 1962, respectively, under the names of both Kajiyama and Ōtsuka. The final revision, edited solely by Ōtsuka, was published in 1988, followed by a paperback edition one year later. The present edition is the most widely read version of the "Protestant Ethic" in Japan.

Andō Hideharu expressed disquiet upon learning that Ōtsuka Hisao had omitted the name of Kajiyama Tsutomu from the 1988 edition of the translation. In a polemical essay published in 1991, Andō Hideharu posed the question, "Should We Really Erase Kajiyama Tsutomu's Translation of 'The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism' [From the List of Translations]?" [*Andō 1992*: *521–533*]. For his readers, the answer to this rhetorical question was not unexpected: "I do not think so at all", for two principal reasons: Firstly, although Kajiyama's translation was challenging to read, it was regarded as a remarkable accomplishment, and thus the name of the translator should be retained. Secondly, Andō identified a number of issues in Ōtsuka's translation that could potentially lead to a different interpretation of Weber's articles. Moreover, Kajiyama had furnished his readers with a nuanced commentary that was absent from the revised translation by Ōtsuka. For these

reasons, Andō decided to reconstruct the original version of Kajiyama's translation, supplementing it with additional commentary to render the text accessible to contemporary readers. This revised version was published by Miraisha in 1994 [*Weber – Kajiyama – Andō 1994*].

4. In the Final Years of His Life

In 1992 Andō undertook another visit to Germany to attend a German-Japanese conference on the subject of "Max Weber and Modern Japan" [*Mommsen – Schwentker 1999*]. Among the 17 Japanese participants he was regarded as an unconventional figure who reiterated the methodological significance of "Motivenforschung" in the context of Max Weber studies [*Andō* 1999]. When he presented his paper, the atmosphere in the conference room was palpably tense, though this was not observed by the non-Japanese participants. Subsequently, he was able to re-establish his personal relationship with the friendly and open-minded Sumiya Kazuhiko, who was also in attendance at the Munich Symposium. He did not engage, however, in further discourse with other members of the Ōtsuka group.

Andō passed away at home in Tokyo in December 1998. At the academic memorial service held at Seikei University, his alma mater for half a century, a remarkable number of colleagues and friends gathered to pay respect to a most unique scholar in the world of Max Weber scholarship. This demonstrated that, contrary to his own belief, he was not so isolated as he had always thought.

It is clear that, at a time when international Weber studies relied on Marianne Weber's *Lebensbild* for biographical studies, Andō was able to collect a significant amount of previously unknown material concerning the life and academic career of Max Weber. As he published the results of his research in Japanese only, his influence on international scholarship was limited. Andō's principal objective was to gain a deeper understanding of Max Weber's personality and the personal circumstances of his life. In this he was successful. However, his approach of "Motivenforschung" proved less fruitful when one considers how his findings could assist in reconstructing the work of Max Weber. For example, it is unclear whether Max Weber's conflict with his father in 1897 really led to a certain consciousness of sinfulness that influenced his later sociology of religion. This thesis, like many others connecting Weber's personal "motives" to his scholarly findings, is neither evident nor helpful for studying what we are interested in today: a systematic understanding of Max Weber's work as the founding father of the social sciences.

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