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冯先生治中国哲学史六十余年，他不仅是迄今无出其右的中国哲学史家，而且自己就是一位哲学家。《简史》的资料是古代的，眼

，探讨问题时却是哲学家。

# A Short History of Chinese Philosophy

## 中国哲学简史

冯友兰 著 赵复三 译

外语教学与研究出版社  
FOREIGN LANGUAGE TEACHING AND RESEARCH PRESS

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## “博雅双语名家名作”出版说明

1840年鸦片战争以降，在深重的民族危机面前，中华民族精英“放眼世界”，向世界寻求古老中国走向现代、走向世界的灵丹妙药，涌现出一大批中国主题的经典著述。我们今天阅读这些中文著述的时候，仍然深为字里行间所蕴藏的缜密的考据、深刻的学理、世界的视野和济世的情怀所感动，但往往会忽略：这些著述最初是用英文写就，我们耳熟能详的中文文本是原初英文文本的译本，这些英文作品在海外学术界和文化界同样享有崇高的声誉。

比如，林语堂的 *My Country and My People*（《吾国与吾民》）以幽默风趣的笔调和睿智流畅的语言，将中国人的道德精神、生活情趣和中国社会文化的方方面面娓娓道来，在美国引起巨大反响——林语堂也以其中国主题系列作品赢得世界文坛的尊重，并获得诺贝尔文学奖的提名。再比如，梁思成在抗战的烽火中写就的英文版《图像中国建筑史》文稿（*A Pictorial History of Chinese Architecture*），经其挚友费慰梅女士（Wilma C. Fairbank）等人多年的奔走和努力，于1984年由麻省理工学院出版社（MIT Press）出版，并获得美国出版联合会颁发的“专业暨学术书籍金奖”。又比如，1939年，费孝通在伦敦政治经济学院的博士论文以 *Peasant Life in China—A Field Study of Country Life in the Yangtze Valley* 为名在英国劳特利奇书局（Routledge）出版，后以《江村经济》作为中译本书名——《江村经济》使得靠桑蚕为生的“开弦弓村”获得了世界性的声誉，成为国际社会学界研究中国农村的首选之地。

此外，一些中国主题的经典人文社科作品经海外汉学家和中国学者的如椽译笔，在英语世界也深受读者喜爱。比如，艾恺（Guy S. Alitto）将他1980年用中文访问梁漱溟的《这个世界会好吗——梁漱溟晚年口述》一书译成英文（*Has Man a Future?—Dialogues with the Last Confucian*），备受海内外读者关注；

此类作品还有徐中约英译的梁启超著作《清代学术概论》(*Intellectual Trends in the Ch'ing Period*)、狄百瑞(W. T. de Bary)英译的黄宗羲著作《明夷待访录》(*Waiting for the Dawn: A Plan for the Prince*), 等等。

有鉴于此, 外语教学与研究出版社推出“博雅双语名家名作”系列。

博雅, 乃是该系列的出版立意。博雅教育(Liberal Education)早在古希腊时代就得以提倡, 旨在培养具有广博知识和优雅气质的人, 提高人文素质, 培养健康人格, 中国儒家六艺“礼、乐、射、御、书、数”亦有此功用。

双语, 乃是该系列的出版形式。英汉双语对照的形式, 既同时满足了英语学习者和汉语学习者通过阅读中国主题博雅读物提高英语和汉语能力的需求, 又以中英双语思维、构架和写作的形式予后世学人以启迪——维特根斯坦有云: “语言的边界, 乃是世界的边界”, 诚哉斯言。

名家, 乃是该系列的作者群体。涵盖文学、史学、哲学、政治学、经济学、考古学、人类学、建筑学等领域, 皆海内外名家一时之选。

名作, 乃是该系列的人选标准。系列中的各部作品都是经过时间的积淀、市场的检验和读者的鉴别而呈现的经典, 正如卡尔维诺对“经典”的定义: 经典并非你正在读的书, 而是你正在重读的书。

胡适在《新思潮的意义》(1919年12月1日, 《新青年》第7卷第1号)一文中提出了“研究问题、输入学理、整理国故、再造文明”的范式。秉着“记载人类文明、沟通世界文化”的出版理念, 我们推出“博雅双语名家名作”系列, 既希望能够在中国人创作的和以中国为主题的博雅英文文献领域“整理国故”, 亦希望在和平发展、改革开放的新时代为“再造文明”、为“向世界说明中国”略尽绵薄之力。

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## AUTHOR'S PREFACE

A SHORT history of any subject should not simply be an abridgement of a larger one. It should be a picture complete in itself, rather than a mere inventory of names and "isms." To achieve this, the author should, as a Chinese expression says, "have the whole history in his mind." Only then can he give the reader an adequate and well-rounded account within his chosen limited scope.

According to Chinese historiography, a good historian must have wide scholarship in order to master all his materials, sound judgment to make proper selection of them, and literary talent in order to tell his story in an interesting way. In writing a short history, intended for a general public, the author certainly has less chance to display his scholarship, but he needs more selective judgment and literary talent than he would for writing a longer and strictly scholarly work.

In preparing this work, I have tried to use my best judgment in selecting what I consider the important and relevant from materials which I have mastered. I was very fortunate, however, to have as editor Dr. Derk Bodde, who has used his literary talent to make the style of the book interesting, readable, and comprehensible to the Western reader. He has also made suggestions regarding the selection and arrangement of the material.

Being a short history, this book serves as no more than an introduction to the study of Chinese philosophy. If the reader wishes to know more about the subject, I would refer him to my larger work, *A History of Chinese Philosophy*. The first volume of this has been translated by Dr. Bodde, and he is now translating the second one; also to my more recent work, *The Spirit of Chinese Philosophy*, translated by Mr. E. R. Hughes of Oxford University. Both works are mentioned in the bibliography compiled by Dr. Bodde at the end of the present book. Acknowledgements are due to both Dr. Bodde and Mr. Hughes, from whose books I have borrowed some translations of the Chinese texts appearing herein.

In publishing this book, I welcome the opportunity of expressing my thanks to the Rockefeller Foundation for the grant which made it possible for me to come from China to the University of Pennsylvania as Visiting Professor during the year 1946-47, and which resulted in the writing of this book. Also,

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I wish to thank my colleagues and students in the Department of Oriental Studies for their cooperation and encouragement, and especially Dr. Bodde, Associate Professor of Chinese. I am likewise grateful to Dr. A. W. Hummel, Chief of the Asiatic Division, Library of Congress, for his encouragement and help in making arrangements for the publication of the book.

FUNG YU-LAN

June, 1947

University of Pennsylvania

## 作者自序

小史<sup>1</sup>者，非徒巨著之节略，姓名、学派之清单也。譬犹画图，小景之中，形神自足。非全史在胸，曷克臻此。惟其如是，读其书者，乃觉择焉虽精而语焉犹详也。

历稽载籍，良史必有三长：才，学，识。学者，史料精熟也；识者，选材精当也；才者，文笔精妙也。著小史者，意在通俗，不易展其学，而其识其才，较之学术巨著尤为需要。

余著此书，于史料选材，亦既勉竭绵薄矣，复得借重布德博士（Derk Bodde）之文才，何幸如之。西方读者，倘觉此书易晓，娓娓可读，博士与有力焉；选材编排，博士亦每有建议。

本书小史耳，研究中国哲学，以为导引可也。欲知其详，尚有拙著大《中国哲学史》<sup>2</sup>，亦承布德博士英译；又有近作《新原道》<sup>3</sup>，已承牛津大学休士先生（E. R. Hughes）英译；可供参阅。本书所引中国原籍，每亦借用二君之译文，书此致谢。

一九四六至四七年，余于宾夕法尼亚大学任访问教授，因著此书。此行承洛克斐勒基金会资助，乘此书出版之际，致以谢意。该校东方学系师生诸君之合作、鼓励，亦所感谢；该系中文副教授布德博士，尤所感谢。国会图书馆亚洲部主任恒慕义先生（A. W. Hummel）为此书安排出版，亦致谢意。

冯友兰

一九四七年六月于宾夕法尼亚大学

## ① THE SPIRIT OF CHINESE PHILOSOPHY

The place which philosophy has occupied in Chinese civilization has been comparable to that of religion in other civilizations. In China, philosophy has been every educated person's concern. In the old days, if a man were educated at all, the first education he received was in philosophy. When children went to school, the "Four Books," which consist of the *Confucian Analects*, the *Book of Mencius*, the *Great Learning*, and the *Doctrine of the Mean*, were the first ones they were taught to read. The "Four Books" were the most important texts of Neo-Confucianist philosophy. Sometimes when the children were just beginning to learn the characters, they were given a sort of textbook to read. This was known as the *Three Characters Classic*, and was so called because each sentence in the book consisted of three characters arranged so that when recited they produced a rhythmic effect, and thus helped the children to memorize them more easily. This book was in reality a primer, and the very first statement in it is that "the nature of man is originally good." This is one of the fundamental ideas of Mencius' philosophy.

### ● Place of Philosophy in Chinese Civilization

To the Westerner, who sees that the life of the Chinese people is permeated with Confucianism, it appears that Confucianism is a religion. As a matter of fact, however, Confucianism is no more a religion than, say, Platonism or Aristotelianism. It is true that the "Four Books" have been the Bible of the Chinese people, but in the "Four Books" there is no story of creation, and no mention of a heaven or hell.

Of course, the terms philosophy and religion are both ambiguous. Philosophy and religion may have entirely different meanings for different people. When men talk about philosophy or religion, they may have quite different ideas in their minds concerning them. For my part, what I call philosophy is systematic, reflective thinking on life. Every man, who has

not yet died, is in life. But there are not many who think reflectively on life, and still fewer whose reflective thinking is systematic. A philosopher *must* philosophize; that is to say, he must think reflectively on life, and then express his thoughts systematically.

This kind of thinking is called reflective because it takes life as its object. The theory of life, the theory of the universe, and the theory

## 中国哲学的精神

哲学在中国文化中的地位，历来被看为可以和宗教在其他文化中的地位相比拟。在中国，哲学是每一个受过教育的人都关切的领域。从前在中国，一个人如果受教育，首先就是受哲学方面的启蒙教育。儿童入学，首先要读的就是《论语》、《孟子》、《大学》、《中庸》。这“四书”也是宋以后道学（在西方被称为“新儒学”）认为最重要的文献。孩子刚学认字，通常所用的课本《三字经》，每三个字为一组，每六个字成一句，偶句押韵，朗读时容易上口，也便于记忆。事实上，这本书乃是中国儿童的识字课本。《三字经》的第一句“人之初，性本善”，便是孟子哲学的基本思想。

### ● 哲学在中国文化中的地位

在西方人眼里，中国人的生活渗透了儒家思想，儒家俨然成为一种宗教。而事实上，儒家思想并不比柏拉图或亚里士多德思想更像宗教。“四书”在中国人心中诚然具有《圣经》在西方人心目中的那种地位，但“四书”中没有上帝创世，也没有天堂地狱。

当然，哲学和宗教的含义并不十分明确，不同的人对哲学和宗教的理解可能全然不同。人们谈到哲学或宗教时，心目中所想的可能很不同。就我来说，哲学是对人生的系统的反思。人只要还没有死，他就还是在人生之中，但并不是所有的人都对人生进行反思，至于作系统反思的人就更少。一个哲学家总要进行哲学思考，这就是说，他必须对人生进行反思，并把自己的思想系统地表述出来。

这种思考，我们称之为反思，因为它把人生作为思考的对象。有关人生的学说，有关宇宙的学说以及有关知识的学说，都是由

of knowledge all emerge from this type of thinking. The theory of the universe arises because the universe is the background of life—the stage on which the drama of life takes place. The theory of knowledge emerges because thinking is itself knowledge. According to some philosophers of the West, in order to think, we must first find out what we can think; that is to say, before we start to think about life, we must first “think our thinking.”

Such theories are all the products of reflective thinking. The very concept of life, the very concept of the universe, and the very concept of knowledge are also the products of reflective thinking. No matter whether we think about life or whether we talk about it, we are all in the midst of it. And no matter whether we think or speak about the universe, we are all a part of it. Now, what the philosophers call the universe is not the same as what the physicists have in mind when they refer to it. What the philosophers call the universe is *the totality of all that is*. It is equivalent to what the ancient Chinese philosopher, Hui Shih, called “The Great One,” which is defined as “that which has nothing beyond.” So everyone and everything must be considered part of the universe. When one thinks about the universe, one is thinking reflectively.

When we think about knowledge or speak about knowledge, this thinking and speaking are themselves knowledge. To use an expression of Aristotle, it is “thinking on thinking”; and this is reflective thinking. Here is the vicious circle which those philosophers follow who insist that before we think we must first think about our thinking; just as if we had another faculty with which we could think about thinking! As a matter of fact, the faculty with which we think about thinking is the very same faculty with which we think. If we are skeptical about the capacity of our thinking in regard to life and the universe, we have the same reason to be skeptical about the capacity of our thinking in regard to thinking.

Religion also has something to do with life. In the heart of every great religion there is a philosophy. In fact, every great religion *is* a philosophy with a certain amount of superstructure, which consists of superstitions, dogmas, rituals, and institutions. This is what I call religion.

If one understands the term religion in this sense, which does not really differ very much from common usage, one sees that Confucianism cannot be considered a religion. People have been accustomed to say that there were three religions in China: Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism. But Confucianism, as we have seen, is not a religion. As to Taoism, there is a distinction between Taoism as a philosophy, which is

这样的思考中产生的。宇宙是人类生存的背景，是人生戏剧演出的舞台，宇宙论就是这样兴起的。思考本身就是知识，知识论就是由此而兴起的。按照某些西方哲学家的看法，人要思想，首先要弄清楚人能够思考什么，这就是说，在对人生进行思考之前，我们先要对思想进行思考。

这些学说都是反思的产物，甚至“人生”和“生命”的概念、“宇宙”的概念、“知识”的概念也都是反思的产物。人无论是自己思索或与他人谈论，都是在人生之中。我们对宇宙进行思索或与人谈论它，都是在其中进行反思。但哲学家所说的“宇宙”和物理学家心目中的“宇宙”，内涵有所不同。哲学家说到“宇宙”时，所指的是一切存在的整体，相当于中国古代哲学家惠施所说的“大一”，可以给它一个定义，乃是“至大无外”。因此，任何人，任何事物，都在宇宙之中。当一个人对宇宙进行思索时，他就是在反思。

当我们对知识进行思索或谈论时，这种思索和谈论的本身也是知识，用亚里士多德的话来说，它是“关于思索的思索”，这就是“反思”。有的哲学家坚持认为，我们在思索之前，必须先对思索进行思索，仿佛人还有另一套器官，来对思索进行思索，这就陷入了一个恶性循环。其实，我们用来思考的器官只有一个，如果我们怀疑自己对人生和宇宙思考的能力，我们也同样有理由怀疑自己对思索进行思索的能力。

宗教也和人生相关联。任何一种大的宗教，它的核心部分必然有哲学。事实上，每一种大的宗教就是某种哲学加上一定的上层建筑，包括迷信、教义、礼仪和体制。这是我对宗教的认识。

如果从这个意义——也就是人们通常的认识——来看待宗教，就可以看出，儒家不是一种宗教。许多人习惯地认为，儒、道、佛是中国的三种宗教。其实，儒家并不是一种宗教。道家和道教是

called *Tao chia* (the Taoist school), and the Taoist religion (*Tao chiao*). Their teachings are not only different; they are even contradictory. Taoism as a philosophy teaches the doctrine of following nature, while Taoism as a religion teaches the doctrine of working against nature. For instance, according to Lao Tzu and Chuang Tzu, life followed by death is the course of nature, and man should follow this natural course calmly. But the main teaching of the Taoist religion is the principle and technique of how to avoid death, which is expressly working against nature. The Taoist religion has the spirit of science, which is the conquering of nature. If one is interested in the history of Chinese science, the writings of the religious Taoists will supply much information.

As to Buddhism, there is also the distinction between Buddhism as a philosophy, which is called *Fo hsüeh* (the Buddhist learning), and Buddhism as a religion, which is called *Fo chiao* (the Buddhist religion). To the educated Chinese, Buddhist philosophy is much more interesting than the Buddhist religion. It is quite common to see both Buddhist monks and Taoist monks simultaneously participating in Chinese funeral services. The Chinese people take even their religion philosophically.

At present it is known to many Westerners that the Chinese people have been less concerned with religion than other people are. For instance, in one of his articles, "Dominant Ideas in the Formation of Chinese Culture,"<sup>1</sup> Professor Derk Bodde says: "They [the Chinese] are not a people for whom religious ideas and activities constitute an all-important and absorbing part of life.... It is ethics (especially Confucian ethics), and not religion (at least not religion of a formal, organized type), that provided the spiritual basis in Chinese civilization.... All of which, of course, marks a difference of fundamental importance between China and most other major civilizations, in which a church and a priesthood have played a dominant role."

In one sense this is quite true. But one may ask: Why is this so? If the craving for what is beyond the present actual world is not one of the



innate desires of mankind, why is it a fact that for most people religious ideas and activities constitute an all-important and absorbing part of life? If that craving is one of the fundamental desires of mankind, why should the Chinese people be an exception? When one says that it is ethics, not religion, that has provided the spiritual basis of Chinese civilization, does it imply that the Chinese are not conscious of those values which are higher than moral ones?

不同的两回事，道家是一种哲学，道教才是宗教。它们的内涵不仅不同，甚至是互相矛盾的：道家哲学教导人顺其自然，道教却教导人逆乎自然。举例来说，按老庄思想，万物有生必有死，人对于死，顺应自然，完全不必介意，而道教的宗旨却是教导长生术，这不是反乎自然吗？道教含有一种征服自然的科学精神。如果有人对中国科学史有兴趣，《道藏》里许多道士的著作倒是可以提供不少资料。

至于佛教，佛学和佛教也是有区别的。对中国知识分子来说，佛学比佛教有趣得多。在中国传统的丧事仪式中，僧人和道士同时参加，并不令人感到奇怪。中国人对待宗教的态度，也是充满哲学意味的。

今天，许多西方人看到：中国人不像其他民族那样重视宗教。例如，德克·布德教授在《构成中国文化的主要思想》一文中写道：“他们（中国人）并不认为宗教思想和宗教活动是生活中的重要部分。……中国文化的精神基础不是宗教（至少不是有组织形式的宗教），而是伦理（特别是儒家伦理）。……这一切使中国和其他主要文明国家把教会和神职人员看为文明的重要组成部分，有基本的不同。”

从某种意义上说，这话一点不错。但是人们会问：这是为什么？如果追求彼岸世界不是人类内心的最深要求之一，为什么对世界许多人来说，宗教信仰和宗教活动成为生活中十分重要的组成部分呢？如果宗教信仰和宗教活动是人类的基本要求之一，何以中国人成为例外呢？有人认为，中国文化的精神基础不是宗教，而是伦理，这是否意味着中国人不曾意识到，在道德伦理之上，还有更高的价值呢？

The values that are higher than the moral ones may be called super-moral values. The love of man is a moral value, while the love of God is a super-moral value. Some people may be inclined to call this kind of value a religious value. But in my opinion, this value is not confined to religion, unless what is meant here by religion differs from its meaning as described above. For instance, the love of God in Christianity is a religious value, while the love of God in the philosophy of Spinoza is not, because what Spinoza called God is really the universe. Strictly speaking, the love of God in Christianity is not really super-moral. This is because God, in Christianity, is a personality, and consequently the love of God by man is comparable to the love of a father by his son, which is a moral value. Therefore, the love of God in Christianity is open to question as a super-moral value. It is a quasi super-moral value, while the love of God in the philosophy of Spinoza is a real super-moral value.

To answer the above questions, I would say that the craving for something beyond the present actual world is one of the innate desires of mankind, and the Chinese people are no exception to this rule. They have not had much concern with religion because they have had so much concern with philosophy. They are not religious because they are philosophical. In philosophy they satisfy their craving for what is beyond the present actual world. In philosophy also they have the super-moral values expressed and appreciated, and in living according to philosophy these super-moral values are experienced.

According to the tradition of Chinese philosophy, its function is not the increase of positive knowledge (by positive knowledge I mean information regarding matters of fact), but the elevation of the mind—a reaching out for what is beyond the present actual world, and for the values that are higher than the moral ones. It was said by the *Lao-tzu*: “To work on learning is to increase day by day; to work on *Tao* (the Way, the Truth) is to decrease day by day.” (See ch. 48.) I am not concerned with the difference between increasing and decreasing, nor do I quite agree