

蔡星仪 著

# 恽寿平研究

天津人民美术出版社



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## 序 诗

长夜谁同舞，    绝险观奇士，  
荒鸡不肯鸣。    通都聚客卿。  
雕虫心自悔，    岂因吾发白，  
折翼梦犹惊。    早晚报河清。

——《瓠香馆集·后杂感》

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## 前 言

恽寿平(1633—1690)是“清初六家”(王时敏、王鉴、王翬、王原祁、吴历、恽寿平)之一,是我国绘画史上有突出成就的画家。他山水、花卉兼擅,诗文、书法俱工,人品节操亦很受后人崇敬,对后世的绘画有过相当大的影响。他的名为仿北宋徐崇嗣,实际是自己独创的“没骨花卉”,对清初的花鸟画坛“有起衰之功”(方薰《山静居论画》),开一代画坛新风;他的山水画逸韵天成,评者谓“妙绝等伦,实非四王所能企及”(俞剑华《中国绘画史》);书法高雅秀逸,称为“恽体”;诗则被誉为“毗陵六逸”之冠;比较集中反映他的绘画思想的《南田画跋》,在清代汗牛充栋的画论著作中,亦是一部出色之作,有不少相当精辟的见解,对于研究我国绘画思想史或美学史都有重要价值。应该说,恽寿平的绘画思想和创作实践是有不少东西可供借鉴的。可惜对于这样一位画家,在建国 30 多年来,往往被目为“摹古派”、“正统派”而受到冷落。晚近以来,人们惯于以八大、石涛式的粗笔写意为创新,往往误认净静平和、优雅含蓄的风格为保守,因而对恽寿平的艺术研究得还很不够,关于他的生平、思想和艺术的一些谬误不实的说法没有得到纠正,这和恽寿平在绘画史上的地位很不相称。绘画史研究工作中的这一缺陷是需要弥补的。

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恽寿平的一生,大半时光都是在民族矛盾、阶级矛盾极其尖锐的时代中度过。青少年时期,在兵荒马乱中有过“艰危奇变”的生活经历,参加过抗清起义,家破人亡,当过俘虏,又曾被浙闽总督收为义子,尔后又被迫当了很短时期的和尚,还俗后,迫于生计,又长期奔走于江浙各商业都市之间售画,过着相当辛苦穷困的生活。动乱的社会环境,复杂的生活经历,使他的世界观、人生观、艺术思想以至艺术实践都充满着矛盾。这些矛盾是当时社会经济、政治、意识形态的各种矛盾的反映。尽管他的思想行为表露出来的主导一面是避世、隐遁,但事实上“匡时济世”的人生观却贯穿于他整整一生,至老而不减,只不过由于当时的社会矛盾以及家庭的悲惨遭遇,使他始终与清朝统治者处于敌对地位,不可能也不愿意与清朝统治者合作,舒展自己的抱负,只能以卖画终其一生,最后困顿而死。恽寿平“经世致用”的思想,使他的内心往往有豪宕激越的感情冲动,但现实的环境又使他往往陷于无可奈何的哀伤,因而他内心的郁积和痛苦是不可解脱的。他的这种情怀意绪,在艺术上不能不有所反映。过去对恽寿平的艺术,一般只重在技法上或作品风格上来分析评论,而对其中矛盾的现象,对他所处的社会环境,他个人的思想情感,与他的绘画思想、绘画艺术之间潜藏的、深层的联系缺少思考和分析,因而总使人感到未能体味到恽寿平绘画艺术中更深的内蕴,对他绘画思想中的精华和糟粕亦未能予以区分。笔者此书试图从剖析恽寿平的思想历程、观察他所处的社会环境、文艺风气、个人内心的情感波澜以至个性、气质等主观和客观的因素,分析一些矛盾,探讨这些主客观的因素与他的绘画思想、艺术风格的内在联系,认识他的艺术的审美意味所包含的时代性与个性。

笔者对“四王吴恽”并无偏爱,只是多年来深感到我们的画史研究中偏颇之处不少,感慨良多,因此不避浅陋,草成此稿,只作引玉之砖而已。关于恽寿平的资料相当丰富,但又十分零散,笔者见闻孤陋,挂一漏万,势所难免,对于书中疏漏谬误之处,深切希望读者予以批评指正。

## Preface

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Yun Shouping(1633 – 1690) was considered one of the Six Masters of the Early Qing (The other five were: Wang Shimin, 1592 – 1680; Wang Jian, 1598 – 1677; Wang Hui, 1632 – 1717; Wang Yuanqi, 1642 – 1715; and Wu Li, 1632 – 1718). He was a painter of outstanding contributions in the history of Chinese painting. Not only was he adept both in landscape and flower painting, excelled in poetry, prose writing, and in calligraphy, but also he was highly admired and respected by succeeding generations of scholars for his personal character and moral integrity. Yun has greatly influenced the development of Chinese painting after him. Despite purportedly modelled on the works of Northern Song painter Xu Chongsi, his “‘sunken bone’ flower painting” (“*mogu huahui*”) was in fact uniquely his own. According to Fang Xun’s *Shanjinju Lunhua*, Yun’s flower painting “contributed in revitalizing” (“*you qishuai zhi gong*”) the flower – and – bird painting of the early Qing period. His refreshing style led to a new era of artistic creation. His landscape painting is imbued with a natural aura that transcends the mundane. As Yu Jianhua comments in his *A History of Chinese Painting* (*Zhongguo huihuashi*), Yun’s landscape paintings are “marvellous and transcendent, really not what the Four Wangs could possibly equate” (“*miaojue denglun, shi fei si – Wang suoneng qiji*”). His calligraphy is elegant and lofty, and was lauded “the Yun Style” (*Yun – ti*). His poetry was considered the best among “The Six hermit – recluses of Piling” (“*Piling Liuyi*”). Yun’s “*Collected Colophons to Paintings by Nantian*” (*Nantian Huaba*) reflects in comprehensive manner his ideas on painting. Among the unusually large amount of art critics’ writing of the Qing Dynasty, the Yun colophons is an outstanding piece, with a lot of excellent and insightful ideas. It is highly valuable for the studies of the history of ideas in Chinese

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painting, and of the history of Chinese aesthetics. It is fair to say, there is a great deal of substance worthy of learning from in Yun shouping's ideas on painting and its practice. Unfortunately, more often than not, Yun has been looked upon in the past thirty some years, as belonging to the "School of Imitating the Past" (*mogu - pai*), or "the Orthodox School" (*zhengtong - pai*); and has been treated lightly for reason of such a perception. In recent times, people have gotten used to view the unrestrained, free-hand brushwork in works by Bada Shanren and Shitao as true innovations; whereas milder and more placid, elegant and reserved styles have been mistaken for conservatism. As a result, studies on Yun Shouping's art remains scarcely adequate. Some fallacious, untrue arguments regarding events in his life, his thoughts and his art have not been redressed. Such is highly inconsistent with Yun's respectable position in the history of Chinese painting. This shortcoming in the study of Chinese painting history needs to be remedied.

Yun Shouping spent much of his life in a time of intense ethnic and social conflicts. He went through the turmoil and chaos of war as a teenager, when he faced "difficulties, dangers, and (events that were) odd and unsettling." (" *jianwei qibian*") He participated in the anti-Manchu resistance movement. His family was completely broken and ruined. Yun himself was captured and locked up as prisoner for a period of time. Thereafter, he was adopted into the family of the military governor of the Zhejiang and Fujian provinces. Forced by these circumstances, he later took refuge in Buddhism and became a Buddhist monk briefly. After returning to secular life, in order to maintain livelihood, he had to do a lot of footwork on longterm basis,



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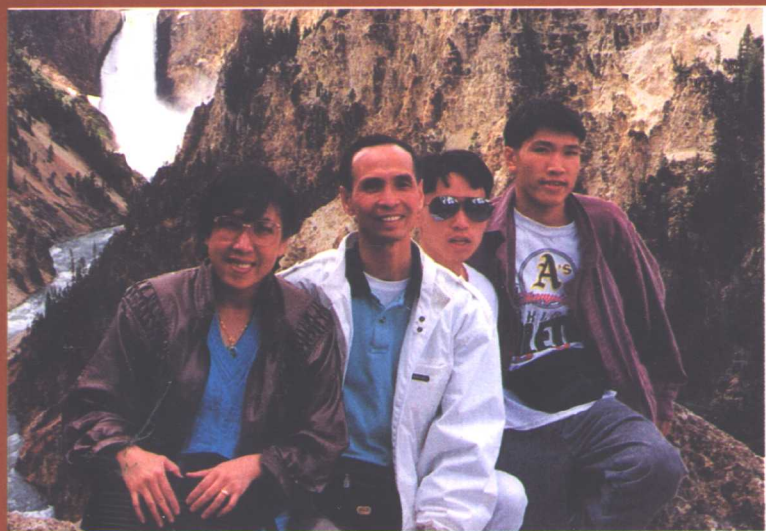
travelling around commercial cities in the Jiangsu – Zhejiang region to offer his paintings for sale. He led an impoverished life laden with hardships. The tumultuous social environment and his intricate life experiences brought ambivalence in his views of the world and of life, as well as in artistic beliefs and practices. His ambivalence mirrors well those same socio – economical, political, and ideological conflicts of his times. Even though his thoughts and behaviour appear to be dominated by eremitic and escapist beliefs, aiming at taking refuge from the world, but in fact a conviction of “correcting the ills of the time and helping the world” (“*kuangshi jishi*”) remained persistent throughout his life. That conviction never lessened a bit even when Yun approached old age. It was all because of the reality of society and his family tragedy that he was driven to adamantly oppose the Qing regime. It was simply impossible for him and he was unwilling to collaborate with the Manchu authorities. With no possibility of fulfilling his personal ambitions, he was left with the only option of selling paintings throughout his life and ended up dying in impoverishment. Wishes “to manage this world and put one’s talents to practical use” (“*jingshi zhiyong*”) in his mind often brought to surface intense emotional agitation and surging thoughts. However, reality offered him no way out except sorrows. Therefore he was unable to relieve himself from depression and sadness. This emotional complex certainly cannot leave no traces in his art. In the past, studies on Yun Shouping have tended to dwell on analysing and commenting on his artistic techniques or styles. What have been lacking are consideration and analyses of the deeper, hidden linkages between his dilemma, social realities he was facing, his personal beliefs and emotions, and his artistic ideas as well as art of painting. For this reason, those studies make one wonder if there remains some deeper



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and more intricate elements embedded within Yun Shouping's art of painting, yet to be unearthed. Plus, what essences and shortcomings there are in his ideas on painting have not been distinguished either. In this book, I tried to dissect Yun Shouping's trajectory of thought and to examine social circumstances and literary trends of his times. I studied his personal emotional disturbances and his personality and disposition. Through examining these "subjective" and "objective" factors, I attempted to analyse some of the dilemmas he was facing, and to explore the intrinsic connections between these "subjective" and "objective" factors with his ideas on painting and with his artistic styles. It is hoped that elements of times and individual personality embedded in the aesthetic meanings of his art could also be better understood.

I am not in any sense partial to the Four Wangs, Wu, and Yun. It is only that I feel strongly about and have deep emotions over the many biases that have plagued our studies of the history of Chinese painting in the past. I therefore have completed this writing, not to hide my shallowness and shortcomings. It is hoped that my book could serve, as the Chinese proverb goes, as the brick that is being thrown in lure of the jade. Materials on Yun Shouping are very abundant but also highly scattered. With my limited exposure, it would simply be unavoidable not to have missed certain relevant information. For any shortcomings and mistakes in my book, I sincerely hope the readers would offer their criticisms and corrections.



作者(中)全家在美国黄石国家公园度假时摄

## 作者简介

蔡星仪 美国中国美术史家、书画家。广东中山人。赴美前曾经就任中国艺术研究院美术研究所古代美术研究室主任、研究生部美术系主任等职,在国家重点工程《中国美术史》中担任编委并任《清代美术》上、下两卷主编。出版和发表的主要论著有《论恽寿平和他的没骨花卉》、《八大山人名号考释》、《四王论辩》、《四僧绘画思想综论》、《程邃的绘画艺术》、《文人画的传统与中国画的创新》等。其主编及撰写(合作)的《中国书画鉴赏辞典》获1989年全国优秀图书奖。1987年应比利时文化部邀请赴欧洲鲁汶大学讲学,讲演二十世纪之中国绘画。1988年起先后受美国堪萨斯大学、柏克莱加州大学、史丹福大学邀请为访问教授在美讲学研究并在美定居。后又获美国亚洲协会奖助在全美各大博物馆观摩鉴定所藏中国画。数十年来在从事中国书画史论研究的同时,又勤于书画实践创作,作品多次参加国内外联展,赴美前为中国美术家协会会员。小传载于《中国当代美术家人名辞典》、英国剑桥传记中心《名人录》等。1998年获剑桥传记中心颁赠二十世纪成就银牌奖。

## About the Author

Cai Xingyi is a Chinese calligrapher, painter, and art historian who was born in Zhongshan, Guangdong province, now resides in the United States. Before settling in the United States, he held such positions as the Director of the Ancient Fine Arts Research Division of the Art Academy of China(AAC), and the Dean of the Fine Arts Department, Graduate School of the AAC. He served on the editorial board for the *History of Chinese Art* publishing project, one of China's key national projects, and was the editor-in-chief for the two-volume *Art of the Qing Dynasty*. His major published works and presented papers include "On Yun Shouping and his 'Sunken Bone' ('Mogu') flower painting", "A Textual Study on Bada Shanren's Appellations and Alias", "Exposition and Argumentation on the Four Wangs", "A Comprehensive Discourse on Painting Theories of the Four Monks", "Cheng Sui's Art of Painting", "The Literati Painting Tradition and Innovations in Chinese Painting". He was the chief compiler of and contributed entries to the *Dictionary for the Appreciation of Chinese Calligraphy and Painting*, which won a National Excellent Book Award in 1989. He travelled to Europe in 1987 under the auspice of the Ministry of Culture, Belgium, and lectured in Katholieke Universiteit Leuven on "Twentieth-century Chinese Painting". Beginning from 1988, he was invited to the United States as a visiting scholar and stayed at the University of Kansas, the University of California, Berkeley, as well as at the Stanford University for consecutive periods of time, when he lectured and engaged in studies. In 1988 he was offered a grant from The Asia Society of New York, which enabled him to visit major art museums in the United States to study and examine the authenticity of Chinese Paintings in their collections. In the past decades, besides engaging in the study of the history of Chinese calligraphy and painting, he also kept on practising calligraphic art and painting. His works have been shown in joint exhibitions in China and abroad. He was a member of the Chinese National Artists Association and his biographical accounts appear in *A Dictionary of Contemporary Chinese Artists* (Fine Arts Publishing House of Beijing edition) as well as in *Who's Who: Men of Achievement* (17<sup>th</sup> edition, 1997), published by the International Biographical Center (IBC), Cambridge, in the United Kingdom. He was the recipient of the Silver Medal Award for Achievement of 20<sup>th</sup> Century, presented by the IBC in 1998.

## 目 录

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前言 .....	(1)
第一章 恽寿平生平事略 .....	(1)
第二章 生平事略再考 .....	(9)
一 早年经历中的几个问题 .....	(9)
二 壮岁北上寻兄千里行 .....	(11)
三 中年与反清志士吴钜之关系 .....	(12)
第三章 恽寿平之思想怀抱论析 .....	(16)
第四章 所谓“舍山水改画花卉”之真实原因 .....	(22)
第五章 论恽寿平的没骨花卉画 .....	(27)
第六章 论恽寿平的山水画 .....	(38)
第七章 《南田画跋》论要 .....	(55)
第八章 恽寿平的诗和书法 .....	(68)
第九章 恽寿平绘画艺术的影响及再评价 .....	(72)
附录一 恽寿平年谱稿略说明 .....	(76)
附录二 恽寿平年谱稿略 .....	(77)
毗陵忆旧(代后记) .....	(111)
图版 .....	(115)

## 第一章 恽寿平生平事略

恽寿平生于明崇祯六年(1633)①。江苏武进上店村人。从明嘉靖二十六年曾祖父恽绍芳中进士后发家,万历、崇祯间家道开始中落。祖父恽应侯早逝②。堂伯父恽厥初、恽本初(恽向)、堂叔父恽于迈等均是在明末清初有学问、有节操的知名之士。

恽寿平曾祖父恽绍芳在明嘉靖年间已常与当时著名的文学家李攀龙、王世贞等“后七子”交游唱和,曾有诗集刊行,诗风与后七子相类③。堂伯父恽厥初为万历三十二年进士,官户部主事、福建右参议、湖广按察使等职,有《素园集》。另一堂伯父恽本初,是明末著名山水画家,从万历年间起一直以国子监生身份寄居京师,三十年不遇,直至崇祯十七年明亡前夕才举贤良方正除内阁中书,他到任不久便弃官归隐。著有《近诗》二卷④。在同宗叔伯父中,尚有一个恽于迈,据《武进阳湖合志·隐逸》知道他字涵万(《瓯香馆集》作含万),是崇祯间的恩贡生,廷试时以推官知县用,明亡后为僧,云游四海,有《退耕堂诗草》⑤。这些长辈对恽寿平的思想、艺术有或多或少的影响。

恽寿平出生在这样一个家庭中,自幼便受到很好的教育,8岁即能“咏莲花成句,惊其塾师”⑥。恽本初(恽向)是明末山水名家,在绘画理论与实践上是与董其昌有所不同的一派,也是有独创性的见解和成就的。恽日初、恽于迈均能作枯笔山水⑦,恽寿平从小接受他们的指导,在绘画上打下了很坚实的基础。

恽寿平的父亲恽日初,字仲升,号逊庵,又号黍庵,是个以天下为己任的爱国知识分子,崇祯六年举乡试副榜。崇祯十六年,腐朽已极的朱明皇朝在李自成等农民军的沉重打击下,风雨飘摇,危在旦夕。同时,崛起于东北的满族政治势力亦步步进迫,深入京畿,形势危急之极。他向朝廷上备边十策⑧,却没人理睬,慨叹事时已不可为,于是毅然离京,把家事嘱咐长子恽桢,带着二子恽桓、三子恽格(即寿平),携带书籍三千卷隐居浙江天台山读书教子⑨。这时,恽寿平才11岁。在天台山不到一年,即发生甲申之变,明朝灭亡,清兵入关。五月,清朝定鼎北京,第二年(顺治二年)五月,清兵渡过长江直入南京,南明弘光朝覆灭。七月,在抗清的义军,故明官吏、缙绅钱肃乐等的扶持下,由明太祖第十世孙鲁王以海监国于绍兴,建立了政权。当时的考工司郎中姜垓⑩举荐恽日初,要求鲁王政府破格擢用,鲁王遣使至天台山敦聘,但恽日初却固辞不出,原因是当时鲁王政权与在福建的唐王聿键(明太



祖第九世孙)的隆武政权争夺皇位继承权。恽日初从儒家正统观出发,认为鲁王监国为僭越<sup>①</sup>。鲁王政权坚持不到一年,次年(顺治三年)六月,清军乘天旱水浅,抢渡钱塘江,攻破绍兴,鲁王仓皇逃命。于是14岁的恽寿平就随着父亲离开天台山流亡入福建<sup>②</sup>。在福州,恽日初曾受聘参加了唐王的隆武政权<sup>③</sup>,但隆武政权只昙花一现,同年六月清兵挥师南进,从仙霞岭长驱入闽,直捣福州,隆武政权顷刻瓦解。十二月苏观生等在广州拥立隆武的弟弟聿燊称帝,年号绍武。恽寿平父子三人又从福州奔广州,但这个政权存在不到40天,第二年一月,清兵又攻陷广州,这个政权就儿戏般散伙。从此恽日初落发为僧,法名明昙(“明”意为明朝,“昙”意为云布蔽日)。由于在此前一月,郑彩奉监国鲁王入厦门,郑成功又起兵海上以图恢复,福建反清运动蜂起,于是恽氏父子又从广州返回福建。顺治四年(1647)明郅西王朱常潮在义军拥戴下收复建宁,派将领王祁收复邵武<sup>④</sup>,建宁附近各县多起兵响应,这时,恽氏父子正在建阳,恽日初受当地父老推戴亦于建阳起兵抗清<sup>⑤</sup>。起事后,王祁致书与恽日初联络,共谋恢复。恽日初遂派寿平前往建宁王祁军中侦察军情,审度形势<sup>⑥</sup>。这时恽寿平才15岁。

清廷派新任浙闽总督陈锦及前总督张存仁等率大军6万围攻建宁。寿平参加了建宁守城之役。固守百余天,战斗甚为惨烈。恽寿平在30多年后回忆当时的情况:“矢石交体肤,杀声动天地,士卒多勇敢,大将亲援枹……短刀夹长戟,格斗血流渠,烈火复四起,烟焰连街衢,满城百万户,无一存妻孥。”<sup>⑦</sup>顺治五年(1648)四月,城破,王祁巷战不胜,投火自焚而死<sup>⑧</sup>。寿平父日初于围城时在外请救兵幸免,寿平长兄(自常州来建阳省亲)已在早些时候争夺入闽天险仙霞岭的战斗中战死,二兄在城破后失散于乱军中,恽寿平被清兵俘获,押在行伍中,生活十分困苦,这时寿平为16岁<sup>⑨</sup>。由于一个偶然的时机他见到以前相识的一个歌妓,这个歌妓这时大概已被清兵将领掳为妾。这个“青楼旧相识”在囚徒中认出了恽寿平,对他十分同情,把他“引入将军帐,余餐赐盘盂”<sup>⑩</sup>。后来,因为总督陈锦的夫人要置办首饰,找人先画形模,可都不合意,大概亦是这个“青楼旧相识”举荐恽寿平能画,他就被释放出来。这位总督夫人膝下无子,一见恽寿平“丰神秀朗,进退从容”<sup>⑪</sup>,十分喜爱,就把恽寿平收为义子。于是恽寿平从一个阶下囚一变而为贵公子。虽然这位总督夫人视之为掌上明珠,“装我紫貂冠,饰我绣罗縠。出入照路光,蹀躞乘龙驹”,<sup>⑫</sup>但恽寿平却始终坚持自己的立场,痛悼两兄的丧亡,查访父亲的下落。恽寿平的父亲恽日初自城破后先收罗散卒退入广信山中,但数月后粮尽,知大势已去,“天意难回”,遂解散部队,以游方僧的身份浪迹江湖,四处寻访二子消息。此期间,恽寿平虽然亦偶然得到过他父亲的一封信,但却无法探知父亲的行踪,父子不能相会<sup>⑬</sup>。直至顺治九年(1652),郑成功进攻漳浦,陈锦督师前往援救,被人刺死<sup>⑭</sup>,恽寿平随义母扶柩返杭州,经过灵隐寺时,陈锦妻在寺中布施千万金,大设法场为陈锦超度

亡灵，恽寿平在众僧中认出了失散了四五年之久的父亲，父子乃得重逢。这时的恽寿平已经是个20岁的青年了。当时的情况，据恽寿平的回忆叙述，颇富戏剧性：

欲认不敢前，形势反多虞。  
业为制府郎，母威刷于菟。  
家将绕四傍，臂弓腰鹿卢。  
密约得私见，哭罢交持扶。  
神僧为设法，乞母凤凰雏。  
此子年命短，宜作释迦徒。  
阿母恋不舍，鸡鸣戒前途。  
提携便北去，京国高门闾。  
谓当袭遗荫，横玉纡青朱。  
长跪向母告：富贵非吾须。  
愿终云水游，佛祖言不诬。  
宗祊自有主，其立亲贤且。  
母意竟感悟，兴辞拜阶除。  
飘然一身归，奉父寻故庐。⑤

这一幕父子灵隐重逢的悲喜剧，可说是恽寿平一生的一大转折点。试想，如果不是这样，恽寿平在陈锦死后，按照锦妻的意愿北上“袭遗荫”，从此走上仕宦之途，他的生活环境和社会地位将使他走上另外一条人生道路，哪里还会有现在画史上品节孤高，画格超逸的“恽高士格”？这里，那位灵隐“神僧”是起了重要的作用的，我们今天在欣赏恽寿平如“天仙化人”的艺术佳作时，不能不感谢这位设计救出恽寿平的灵隐“神僧”。

这位“神僧”是谁呢？恽鹤生撰的《南田先生家传》中没有谈，恽敬撰的《南田先生家传》，说是谛晖，但汤修业撰的《恽逊庵先生传》却说是巨德。据汪孟钊纂《龙井见闻录》，张汇撰《谛晖和尚塔铭》以及《云林寺续志》等可知谛晖生于明天启七年，卒于清雍正三年，当恽寿平父子在灵隐重逢时，他还只不过是个刚来灵隐不久的少年和尚，直至康熙十五年才正式就任灵隐主持，从时间上看就可确定他与恽寿平父子失而复聚没有关系。据康熙年间修的《灵隐寺志》以及后来修的《云林寺志》、《续志》等书，顺治六年至康熙五年间灵隐主持是具德和尚（名弘礼），依其他资料的佐证，我们可以断定，救恽寿平父子重聚的“神僧”正是这个具德和尚，而汤修业误作为巨德了。⑥具德在入主灵隐之前已是一位“所至万人挤拥，挥汗成雨，至洗浴水一时呷尽”的“活佛”。他自己亦声称有“法弟子万人”⑦，与上面引诗中“神僧”、“佛祖”的称呼很相符。此外，他与恽日初的老师刘宗周是方外交，与恽日初很可能是旧相识。否则，在当时清廷对反清人士严加追捕形势下，恽日初怎敢贸然把实情相



告？具德虽是出家人，却很关心当时的现实斗争，与清初遗老逸民常有来往，并且“铁硬手，锋快口”（《豁堂法语》），有过人的胆识和口才，所以才敢出面诓骗那位堂堂的浙闽总督夫人，说恽寿平“慧根极深，惜福薄寿促，宜命出家，即日剃染留寺中”，使总督夫人只好“泣之而去”，把事情做得干脆利落。⑳

清初戏曲家、王时敏的第五子王抃，曾根据恽寿平这一段传奇般的经历谱写了一部传奇《鹞峰缘》（鹞峰是飞来峰的别名）。该传奇在康熙十八年开始上演。王抃回忆在康熙二十一年演出时的情景说：“诸优摹写尽致，颇得作者之意，亦一时快事也。”㉑该剧本已在太平天国战火中化成一炬㉒，但袁枚《新齐谐·石揆谛暉》中记有这样一故事：

谛暉有老友恽某，常州武进人，逃难外出披甲，有儿年7岁，卖杭州驻防都统家，谛暉欲救出之。会杭州二月二十九日观音生日，满汉士女咸往天竺进香。进灵隐者必拜方丈。大和尚谛暉道行高，贵官男女，膜手来拜者以万数计，从无答礼。都统夫人某从苍头婢仆数十人来拜，谛暉探知瘦而纤者恽氏儿也，矍然而起，跪儿前膜拜不止，曰：罪过！罪过！夫人大惊，问故。曰：此地藏王菩萨也，托生人间，访人善恶，夫人奴畜之，无礼已甚，闻又鞭扑之，此罪孽深重，祸不旋踵矣。夫人急求。曰：无可救。夫人愈恐，告都统。都统亲来，长跪不起，必求开一线佛门之路。谛暉曰：非特公有罪，僧亦有罪也。藏王来寺，而僧不知迎，罪亦大矣。请以香火清水供养地藏王入寺，缓为公夫妇忏悔，并为己忏悔。都统大喜，布施百万，以儿与谛暉，谛暉教之读书学画，取名寿平，后纵之还家……

估计这大概就是《鹞峰缘》的本事。因为当时正是屡兴文字大狱的时候，剧中必须把抗清一节隐去才行，这从王时敏给王石谷的一封信中可以窥见。信中说：“近第五儿为正叔兄演鹞峰缘，新剧已成，伶人传习，似亦可观。但其中情事略有粉饰，须正叔自来商定”。㉓王抃演此剧时，正好是谛暉出任灵隐主持，江南初定，把剧情的时代背景推迟至此时，即可把恽寿平父子抗清一节隐去，信中所谓“粉饰”者，估计主要即此。所以后人就据此把具德一直误为谛暉了。

恽寿平父子重会后并未立即返回武进家中，在灵隐住了一段时间，在顺治十一年冬，才返里㉔。因为是在灵隐当和尚，就食于寺中，生活上尚未发生很大困难。日中主要是从父读书、学诗。绘画仅是课余的一种娱情寄兴的手段。在灵隐为僧这段时间，恽寿平交游的主要是复社遗老及秘密反清人士，如祁班孙、理孙兄弟，朱士稚、汪汾、愚庵和尚、邹孝直、徐世臣、陈廷会、徐兰生、王猷定、毛先舒、张兢光等㉕。现在恽寿平题作“奉呈本师和尚清玩”的山水册大约就是在这段时间（顺治十年21岁时）所作。

恽寿平约在22岁左右返里，“别后蓬蒿径已深”，家道衰败不堪。恽日初是明末大儒刘宗周的高足，在刘宗周繁多的弟子中，恽日初与钱塘沈甸华、西安叶敦艮、

桐城张履祥并称刘氏功臣。又由于是复社遗老，所以四方声气凑集，宾客常满，有些甚至一住累月，而经济上应付之艰难可以想见，在这种情况下恽寿平开始卖画“以供旦夕”。恽日初不但在家乡延陵书院讲学，后来高攀龙的从子高世泰重葺东林书院，恽日初亦往讲学于其中，又几次到山阴祭刘宗周，拜访宗周的儿子刘灼，刘灼死，又专程前往吊唁。所以恽寿平在 20 多岁至 40 多岁的 20 年间，常常随侍父亲左右，来往于常州、苏州、无锡、杭州等地之间。这时结交的多为遗逸、名士，如顾祖禹、黄宗羲、陈其年、洪升、李东琪、莫云卿、王晫、诸匡鼎、诸九鼎、黄帅先、沈谦、陆进、茅子鸿、释弘储(继起)、高世泰等。

大约在顺治十二年春初，他 23 岁时，北上幽燕及关外，作了一次千里寻兄之行，于年末始归。具体见下章之考证。

恽寿平与王石谷订交甚早，现在所见最早的记载是顺治十三年，恽寿平 24 岁，王石谷 25 岁，地点是在常州恽寿平家中<sup>④</sup>。他们在书斋中喝茶畅谈，恽寿平画了一幅仿柯九思画的树石，王石谷为之补竹坡，大家相处得十分快乐。或者这是他们的订交之始<sup>⑤</sup>。王石谷于顺治九年(即恽寿平父子灵隐重逢这一年)拜谒王时敏。王时敏把家藏秘本全部给他临摹，并带石谷游览大江南北，得亲见毗陵唐宇昭<sup>⑥</sup>所藏的大量古代名迹，根据这一点，可见王石谷与唐宇昭相识是在认识恽寿平之前。很可能是经唐宇昭的介绍，王石谷才与恽寿平订交的。几年后(康熙元年)，王石谷又过毗陵，再与恽寿平同饮于唐宇昭家的“四并堂”。经过这几次的交往，两人成为终生的知己。他们的友谊，是画史上人所共知的一段佳话。恽寿平结交的画友甚多，其中著名的还有唐宇昭的儿子唐茨(于光)、杨晋、王武、罗牧、查士标、张远、笪重光、梅清、程邃等。

康熙十二年，吴三桂在云南起兵造反，十三年三月耿精忠于福建响应，派兵攻掠江西、浙江州县，浙江大受震动。清兵入浙抵御耿军，取道杭州，杭州备受蹂躏。恽寿平原常寄寓杭州，为此于十四年自杭州返里，此后，可能因为战乱影响，数年未再来杭。又因父亲年老，多往来于离常州较近或商业特别繁荣的苏州、扬州、金陵等地卖画。康熙十七年，恽寿平父亲恽日初去世。因父丧后，家境更为困顿，又常卧病，为应付租赋等，作画甚勤，流传的恽寿平书画作品大半是属于这个时间的。为售画，他奔走于虞山、娄东、苏州、无锡、宜兴、昆山、杭州等地之间。康熙二十八年十二月为完“旧欠宿”，抱病赴杭州售画，于杭州度岁，二十九年三月病剧，三月十七日抵家，越日而卒，年 58 岁<sup>⑦</sup>。他的儿子恽念祖(字岵瞻)，因家贫不能办理丧事，王石谷闻讯后立即前往灵前恸哭吊唁，赠以厚贖。当时王石谷已忙于准备北上主持绘制《南巡图》，因而出资委托恽寿平的挚友董珙(字廷受，恽日初学生)以及另一友人(石谷与董珙两人札中均称之为邹又老，其名字待考)为其经营殡葬事，并且嘱托其照顾恽寿平的遗孀及孤儿<sup>⑧</sup>。恽寿平后世累代单传，据武进县上店村恽氏