

MARCO POLO AND THE DOMINICANS

马可·波罗与道明会

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Abstract

Two Dominican friars were instructed by the pope to accompany Marco Polo when he set out for China with his father and uncle. This relationship ended quickly and disappointingly when the two friars Niccolò and William decided not to continue with the journey soon after it began. Given the failed attempt at collaboration, it may seem surprising that a group of Italian friars actually took great interest in Marco Polo's work and developed an extensive and productive relationship with it. This paper presents some early Dominican contributions to the transmission and reception of *Le divisament dou monde (Il Milione)* in Europe. Regarding transmission, Pipino translated and edited a Latin version of the text that became the most widely disseminated and the most widely used version in Europe. Regarding reception, Pipino and Jacopo referred to Polo's text to compose their major historical works, while Pietro Calo and Filippo quoted from the Polo's text when they composed works that served as preaching aids.

摘要

马可·波罗与父亲和叔父启程前往中国时，教皇指派两名道明会修士同行。但这一关系很快就结束了——修士尼科洛和威廉在旅程开始后不久便决定放弃。尽管合作尝试失败，一群意大利修士却对马可·波罗的著作产生浓厚兴趣，并与之建立了广泛而富有成果的联系。本文探讨道明会早期对《世界记述》（即《马可·波罗游记》）在欧洲传播与接受的贡献。在传播方面，皮皮诺翻译并编辑了该文本的拉丁语版本，成为欧洲流传最广、使用最多的版本；在接受方面，皮皮诺和雅各布引用波罗的文本编写重要历史著作，而彼得罗·卡洛和菲利波则在其布道辅助作品中引用了波罗的记载。

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Dominicans

What is relatively well known is the rather limited role that two Dominican friars played in the travels of Marco Polo. Pope Gregory X assigned Niccolò of Vicenza and William of Tripoli to accompany the Polo family (Niccolò, Maffeo and Marco) on their journey to China in 1271. The pope granted Niccolò and William privileges related to the sacrament of holy orders and the sacrament of reconciliation. He also gave them official letters that were addressed to Kublai Khan. Marco Polo (1254-1324) reports that the five of them travelled from Acre (north-western Israel) to Ayas (south-central Turkey) where they discovered that Egypt had invaded Armenia. Due to the perceived danger in the region, the two Dominican friars left their privileges and letters with Niccolò and Maffeo when they discontinued their journey (Polo 2015, 45-46). But what is less well known are the very important roles that several Italian Dominicans played in *The Travels of Marco Polo (Le divisament dou monde)*. This paper presents how they contributed to the transmission and reception of Marco Polo's text.

Dominic de Guzman (1170-1221) is a priest of the Catholic Church who founded the Order of Friars Preachers (Dominicans) in 1216. During his travels through Spain and southern France, Dominic discovered that many believers had fallen away from the Catholic faith. He saw the urgent need for a group of preachers who could explain the teachings of the Church to its believers. After its approval by Pope Honorius III, the order grew and was divided into provinces. The first communities of Dominicans were established in Europe and the provinces are named as follows: Spain (Madrid); Toulouse, France (Paris); St Dominic in Italy (Milan); Roman Province of St Catherine of Siena (Rome); St Thomas Aquinas in Italy (Madonna dell'Arco, Naples); Hungary, Germany (Cologne), England and Poland (Bullough 2024).

道明会

道明会的两名修士在马可·波罗旅行中扮演的有限角色广为人知。1271年，教皇额我略十世 (Pope Gregory X) 指派维琴察的尼科洛和的黎波里的威廉陪同波罗家族 (尼科洛、马费奥和马可) 前往中国。教皇授予尼科洛和威廉与圣秩圣事及和好圣事相关的特权，¹ 并递交致忽必烈汗的官方信件。据马可·波罗 (1254 - 1324) 记载，五人从阿卡 (以色列西北部) 行至阿亚斯 (土耳其中南部)，发现埃及已入侵亚美尼亚。由于该地区局势危险，两名道明会修士中止旅程时将特权与信件交由尼科洛和马费奥保管 (波罗 2015, 45 - 46)。但较少人知的是，几位意大利道明会修士在推动《马可·波罗游记》的传播与接受方面扮演的重要角色。本文将展现他们所起的重要作用。

多明我·德·古斯曼 (Dominic de Guzman, 1170 - 1221) 是天主教司铎，于1216年创立道明会。在穿越西班牙与法国南部的旅途中，多明我发现许多信徒偏离天主教信仰，意识到急需一批能向信徒阐释教义的宣讲者。经教皇何诺三世 (Pope Honorius III) 批准，修会迅速发展并划分为若干会省。首批道明会团体建立于欧洲，会省包括：西班牙 (马德里)、法国图卢兹 (巴黎)、意大利圣多明我 (米兰)、罗马圣凯瑟琳省 (罗马)、意大利圣托马斯·阿奎那省 (那不勒斯的拱门圣母)、匈牙利、德国 (科隆)、英格兰与波兰 (布洛 2024)。

1 译者注：圣秩圣事是关于设立神职人员 (主教、神父、执事) 的圣事，赋予他们服务教会的特殊神权和职责，和好圣事是关于信徒忏悔罪过、获得天主赦免、修复与天主及教会关系的圣事。

This paper presents some early Dominican contributions to the transmission and reception of *Le divisament dou monde (Il Milione)* in Europe. Regarding transmission, Pipino translated and edited a Latin version of the text that became the most widely disseminated and the most widely used version in Europe.

本文介绍了道明会对《世界记述》（*Il Milione*）在欧洲传播与接受的早期贡献。在传播方面，皮皮诺翻译并编辑了该文本的拉丁文版本，该版本成为欧洲传播最广、使用最多的版本。

Marco Polo's rather close relationship with a group of Dominicans in northern Italy is well established. There is ample evidence that he had links with the Convent of Saints John and Paul at Venice. Polo is named as a witness in an official record that the community accepted a gift on 31 March 1323 (Bolognari 2020, 16). He even included the Convent in his will of 9 January 1324 (Bartoli Langeli 2019).

Transmission

It is safe to say that Francesco Pipino (1270-1328), a Dominican friar from Bologna, produced the most famous Latin translation of Marco Polo's text, which was completed between 1310 and 1317. The oldest title of the book is recorded as *Le divisament dou monde* (The Description of the World). The title that Pipino gives to the book is perhaps less concise but more accurate: *De conditionibus et consuetudinibus orientalium regionibus* (On the Conditions and Customs of the Eastern Regions) (Gadrat-Ouerfelli 2022, 287). It is no exaggeration to state that Pipino's translation of Marco Polo's text is the version that was most widely disseminated throughout Europe during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The text reached many places, including England, France, Italy, the Iberian Peninsula, as well as Northern, Central and Eastern Europe (Gadrat-Ouerfelli 2015, 63).

马可·波罗与意大利北部道明会团体的密切关系已有确证。有充分证据表明他与威尼斯圣若望及保禄修道院有联系。1323年3月31日，该团体接受赠礼的官方记录中将波罗列为见证人（博洛尼亚里 2020, 16）。他甚至在1324年1月9日的遗嘱中将该修道院列入（巴尔托利·兰杰利 2019）。

传播

可以确定，博洛尼亚的道明会修士弗朗切斯科·皮皮诺（Francesco Pipino, 1270 - 1328）完成了马可·波罗文本最著名的拉丁语译本，该译本成书于1310至1317年间。该书最古老的标题是《世界记述》（*Le divisament dou monde*）。皮皮诺赋予的标题或许不够简洁但更为准确：《论东方地区的状况与习俗》（加拉特-韦尔费利 2022, 287）。毫不夸张地说，皮皮诺的译本是14至15世纪欧洲传播最广的版本，覆盖英格兰、法国、意大利、伊比利亚半岛及北欧、中欧与东欧（加拉特-韦尔费利 2015, 63）。

It is worth noting that its wide dissemination was greatly aided by the development of printing press technology during the fifteenth century. The Dutch printer Gheraert Leeu (1445-1492) reproduced Pipino's version at Gouda, South Holland between 1483 and 1484 (Gadrat-Ouerfelli 2022, 289). As Pipino's translation was the first Latin version to be printed, it became the most famous and widely used version in Europe during this time. His version was subsequently re-translated from Latin to other European languages, including Czech, French, Gaelic, Portuguese and even back to Venetian (Gadrat-Ouerfelli 2015, 86-91).

It is known that Polo composed his text in collaboration with Rustichello da Pisa (1272-1300), who was an established writer of fiction. Polo and Rustichello communicated using Franco-Italian, which is a hybrid language that was popularly used during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. It is also known that Pipino prepared his Latin translation from a Venetian version of Polo's text (the VA version) (Maraini and Peters 2024).

“Francesco Pipino produced a translation that can also be described as a reworking, as was frequently the case in the Middle Ages. He changed the general structure of the work and gave it a new appearance” (Gadrat-Ouerfelli 2022, 288). It is evident that Pipino heavily edited the text because he found many things that seemed to be offensive to good Christian faith and morals. But it is important to note that there is no original manuscript that is considered to be authentic. It is likely that Rustichello took what Polo dictated and transcribed it using his own writing style. It also seems that Polo may have revised several copies of the text after it was completed by Rustichello. In light of the above, Pipino's version is still generally considered a good Latin translation of the original text (Maraini and Peters 2024).

广泛的传播得益于15世纪印刷技术的发展。荷兰印刷商赫拉尔特·莱乌（Gheraert Leeu, 1445 - 1492）于1483至1484年间在南荷兰豪达复制了皮皮诺版本（加拉特-韦尔费利 2022, 289）。作为首个印刷的拉丁语版本，它成为当时欧洲最著名且使用最广的版本，后续被从拉丁语转译为其他欧洲语言，包括捷克语、法语、盖尔语、葡萄牙语，甚至回译为威尼斯语（加拉特-韦尔费利 2015, 86 - 91）。

人们已知波罗是与作家鲁斯蒂切洛·达·比萨（Rustichello da Pisa, 1272 - 1300）合作撰写文本，二人使用13 - 14世纪流行的混合语言法兰克-意大利语交流。皮皮诺的拉丁语译本基于波罗文本的威尼斯语版本（收藏于威尼斯国家图书馆的威尼斯方言抄本）完成（马拉里尼与彼得斯 2024）。

“弗朗切斯科·皮皮诺的译本可视为改写，这在中世纪十分常见。他改变了作品的整体结构并赋予其新面貌”（加拉特-韦尔费利 2022, 288）。显然，皮皮诺对文本进行了大量编辑，因他发现许多内容可能冒犯基督徒的信仰与道德。但值得注意的是，目前公认为真实的原稿并未发现。鲁斯蒂切洛可能根据波罗口述并以自身文风转录，而波罗亦可能在鲁斯蒂切洛完成后修订了多个副本。综上，皮皮诺版本仍被普遍视为原作的优秀拉丁语译本（马拉里尼与彼得斯 2024）。

SOCIETY 社会

Reception

After Polo's text became available in Latin, some Dominican friars focussed on using it for the sake of advancing knowledge in history. Pipino subsequently refers to his own translation of the text to compose the *Chronicon*, which was completed by 1322. This text is an attempt to produce a universal history and it covers the regions of England, France, Germany and Italy from 754 to 1317. It deals in particular with the lives and contributions of emperors as well as popes. Pipino includes in the *Chronicon* the stories of miracles which supposedly occurred at Baghdad, Iraq and Samarkand, Uzbekistan as reported by Polo (Crea 2020, 143).

Jacopo d'Acqui, a friar from Piedmont, also used Polo's text to compose the *Chronicon imaginis mundi*, which was completed by 1334. Jacopo consulted the LB version (Latin). His unpublished text is an attempt to produce an account of important events from the creation of the world to the papacy of Boniface VIII in the thirteenth century. It deals in particular with the historical conditions of Lombardy and Piedmont (Gadrat-Ouerfelli 2022, 290).

Other Dominican friars were interested in Polo's text for the sake of developing resources for preaching. Pietro Calo da Chioggia included a quotation from Polo's text in his work *Legendarium*, which was written between 1332 and 1340. This text is a collection of biographies of saints and martyrs which was composed by consulting multiple sources. Pietro Calo cites a passage from Polo's text about Thomas who was an apostle of Jesus. Thomas is believed to have been a missionary in India, where he is recognised as the founder of the Malabar Christians. Similarly, Nicoluccio d'Ascoli included a quotation about Thomas the apostle from Polo's text in a sermon, which was composed between 1330 and 1340. Pietro Calo and Nicoluccio consulted the Z version (Latin) (Gadrat-Ouerfelli 2022, 290).

接受

波罗文本的拉丁语版本问世后，部分道明会修士专注于借其推动历史研究。皮皮诺后来引用自身译本编写《编年史》，于1322年完成。该著作试图构建一部世界史，涵盖754至1317年间英格兰、法国、德国与意大利地区，重点涉及皇帝与教皇的生平及贡献。皮皮诺在《编年史》中收录了波罗所述的巴格达（伊拉克）与撒马尔罕（乌兹别克斯坦）的神迹故事（克雷亚 2020, 143）。

皮埃蒙特的修士雅各布·达奎 (Jacopo d'Acqui) 同样利用波罗文本编写《寰宇图鉴编年史》 (*Chronicon imaginis mundi*)，于1334年完成。雅各布参考了莱顿大学图书馆藏本 (拉丁语)，其未出版手稿试图记录从创世至13世纪教皇波尼法爵八世 (Boniface VIII) 的重要事件，重点关注伦巴第与皮埃蒙特的历史状况 (加拉特-韦尔费利 2022, 290)。

其他道明会修士则关注将波罗文本发展为布道资源。彼得罗·卡洛·达·基奥贾 (Pietro Calo da Chioggia) 在1332至1340年间撰写的《圣徒传说集》中引用了波罗文本。该文本是一部圣人及殉道者传记集，乃博采众源编纂而成。彼得罗·卡洛引用了波罗关于耶稣使徒多马 (Thomas) 的记载。多马被认为曾在印度传教，并被尊为马拉巴尔基督徒的创始人。同样，尼科卢乔·达斯科利 (Nicoluccio d'Ascoli) 在1330至1340年间的一篇布道文中引用了波罗对使徒多马的描述。彼得罗·卡洛与尼科卢乔均参考了Z版² (加拉特-韦尔费利 2022, 290)。

2 译者注：指托莱多泽拉达 104 号拉丁文手稿

SOCIETY 社会

Filippo da Ferrara included several quotations from Polo's text in his *De introductione loquendi*, which was written between 1328 and 1345. Filippo also consulted the Z version (Latin). This conversation manual is an original collection of exempla and short stories meant for a preacher to speak about Christian morality. This text contains more than four hundred exempla that are drawn from homilies as well as oral and written narratives. It also includes bestiaries, that is, moralising allegories about the appearances or actions of animals (that may be real or imaginary) (Gadrat-Ouerfelli 2022, 289-290).

The reception of Marco Polo extended beyond the Dominican friars in Italy to those in England. Thomas Waleys included several quotations from Polo's text in his work *Moralitates super Vetum Testamentum*, which was completed by 1327. Thomas consulted the P version (Latin), which is the one produced by Pipino. The genre of 'moralitates' refer to Christian exegetical readings of Old Testament stories that could be used for preaching. It serves as a collection of exempla that are presented as biblical commentary. Thomas' text covers the books of Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Isaiah and Ruth. He may have composed it from a series of lessons that he taught during the period he was appointed lector at Bologna between 1326 and 1327 (Gadrat-Ouerfelli 2016, 611).

菲利波·达费拉拉(Filippo da Ferrara)在1328至1345年间撰写的《谈话入门》中多次引用波罗文本，同样参考Z版(拉丁语)。这本对话手册是范例与短篇故事的原创合集，供宣讲者探讨基督教道德，包含超过四百个取自讲道、口述与书面叙事的范例，并收录了动物(真实或虚构)形态与行为的道德化寓言(即动物寓言)(加拉特-韦尔费利 2022, 289 - 290)。

对马可·波罗的接受从意大利道明会延伸至英格兰。托马斯·瓦莱斯(Thomas Waleys)在1327年完成的《旧约道德训诫》中引用了波罗文本，参考皮皮诺的拉丁语版本(P版)。此类作品指可用于布道的《旧约》故事的基督教释经解读，是作为《圣经》注释呈现的范例集。托马斯的著作涵盖《出谷纪》《肋未纪》《户籍纪》《申命纪》《若苏厄书》《依撒意亚先知书》与《卢德传》，可能基于他1326至1327年在博洛尼亚任讲师期间的教学内容编撰(加拉特-韦尔费利 2016, 611)。

The subsequent work of Pipino and other Italian Dominicans accounted for the reception of the text by utilising and spreading the cultural and religious knowledge acquired and recorded by Polo.... Not only were the friars interested in using Polo's text for advancing knowledge in history, they were also quick to use it for improving the practice of preaching.

皮皮诺及其他意大利多明我会士后续的工作，通过利用和传播波罗所获取并记录的文化与宗教知识，促成了该文本的接受……修士们不仅对利用波罗的文本增进历史知识感兴趣，还迅速将其用于改进布道实践。

Contributions

“The relationship between the Dominicans and Marco Polo's text is remarkable for many reasons, not the least of which is that a major religious order was crucial to the preservation and dissemination of a text written by a layman” (Gadrat-Ouerfelli 2022, 287). This paper concludes that the early work by the Italian Dominicans recounted above contributed significantly to the transmission and reception of Polo's text in Europe.

The translation work of Pipino was clearly instrumental for the transmission of Polo's text from Bologna to other parts of Italy and then to other regions of Europe. To better appreciate Pipino's work, his contribution to the transmission of Marco Polo could very well be compared to William of Moerbeke's contribution to the transmission of Aristotle. William (1215-1286) is a Dominican friar from Belgium who became an important translator as well as an archbishop. At the request of Thomas Aquinas (1224-1274), William translated some texts of Aristotle from Greek into Latin, including *On the Heavens and Meteorology*. He also translated portions of the *Metaphysics*, *Politics*, *Rhetoric*, and *History of Animals*. As William's work was considered very reliable and extremely helpful for understanding Aristotle's thought, it became the standard translation for his fellow Latin speaking scholars of medieval Europe (Britannica 2024).

贡献

“道明会与马可·波罗文本的关系非凡，重要原因在于这一主要修会为保存与传播平信徒³所著文本发挥了关键作用”（加拉特-韦尔费利 2022, 287）。本文的结论是，上述意大利道明会的早期工作极大促进了波罗文本在欧洲的传播与接受。

皮皮诺的翻译工作显著推动了文本从博洛尼亚向意大利其他地区及欧洲各地的传播。为更好理解其贡献，可将皮皮诺对马可·波罗传播的贡献类比于莫尔贝克的威廉 (William of Moerbeke) 对亚里士多德传播的贡献。威廉 (1215 - 1286) 是比利时道明会修士，后成为重要翻译家与大主教。应托马斯·阿奎那 (Thomas Aquinas, 1224 - 1274) 请求，威廉将亚里士多德的《论天》《气象学》等著作从希腊语译为拉丁语，并部分翻译了《形而上学》《政治学》《修辞学》与《动物志》。其译本因可靠且极其有助于理解亚里士多德思想，成为中世纪欧洲拉丁语学者的标准译本 (大英百科全书 2024)。

3 译者注：指非神职普通信徒

The subsequent work of Pipino and other Italian Dominicans accounted for the reception of the text by utilising and spreading the cultural and religious knowledge acquired and recorded by Polo. Pipino and Jacopo recognised the intellectual value of the text and used it as a primary source for producing their historical works. Not only were the friars interested in using Polo's text for advancing knowledge in history, they were also quick to use it for improving the practice of preaching. Pietro Calo and Filippo saw the authoritative nature of the text and used it for developing homiletic resources, while Nicoluccio used it as an aid for composing sermons by quoting from it.

The travels of Marco Polo reflect a most exciting and fruitful period of cultural, economic and religious exchange between China and the West. While remembering Polo and his achievements which took place during the thirteenth century, it is appropriate to recall the efforts of the Dominican friars who played a part in making *The Travels of Marco Polo* a great success in Europe during the fourteenth century.

皮皮诺及其他意大利道明会修士的后续工作通过利用与传播波罗记录的文化宗教知识，推动了文本的接受。皮皮诺与雅各布认识到文本的学术价值，将其作为历史著作的主要来源。修士们不仅借其推进历史研究，更迅速将其用于改进布道实践。彼得罗·卡洛与菲利波看到文本的权威性并用以开发讲道资源，而尼科卢乔则直接引用以辅助布道文创作。

马可·波罗的旅行反映了中西方文化、经济与宗教交流最激动人心且成果丰硕的时期。在铭记波罗13世纪的成就时，亦应回顾道明会修士的努力——他们在14世纪推动《马可·波罗游记》在欧洲取得巨大成功。

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