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# MARCO POLO THE DESCRIPTION OF THE WORLD



## 马可·波罗寰宇记

慕阿德 伯希和 著

中西書局  
ZHONGXI BOOK COMPANY

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OF THE WORLD

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WANG CHANG-CHUNG  
THE HISTORY OF CHINA  
IN THE MIDDLE AGES

THE MING DYNASTY  
1368-1644

WANG CHANG-CHUNG

# 序

荣新江

本书是英国汉学家慕阿德（又译穆勒、穆尔，A. C. Moule，1873—1957）和法国汉学家伯希和（Paul Pelliot，1878—1945）合著《马可·波罗行记》的研究和翻译，以《马可·波罗寰宇记》（*Marco Polo: The Description of the World*）之名，1938年在伦敦出版，是继玉尔（H. Yule）英译本之后最权威的译本，也是最学术的译本，迄今仍然是学界最信赖的本子。

《马可·波罗行记》以抄本众多且内容不一致著称，现在知道主要属于三个抄本系统，分别简称为F、R、Z本。1862—1870年间，玉尔曾经长年在意大利等地调查，以75种抄本和刊本汇校为四类，并以宫廷法语本（FA）为底本翻译成英文。此后，意大利国家地理学会（Italian Geographical Society）和威尼斯市政府希望纂修一部国家版的《马可·波罗行记》，所以委托贝内带托（L. F. Benedetto）教授走访欧洲各大图书馆，搜访《马可·波罗行记》的抄本。他找到玉尔没有见过的近60种抄本，并且在米兰的安布罗西亚图书馆（Ambrosiana Library）找到了一个当时还没有发现的Z本的转抄本（Z'）。这个拉丁语本上有许多内容不见于其他抄本，但由于Z'本抄写者缺乏古写本的知识，致使该本错误较多，而且他不理解原本页边大量注释的缩写词意，因此没有正确转录。贝内带托对所有抄本做了精心的校对，并做了比较合理的分类，即今天学界所遵从的三个系统，在导言中他对每种抄本都做了详细的描述。其校订本以F本为底本，并在页下把见于其他本子的内容以小字校录出来，并注明出处，于1928年在佛罗伦萨出版，书名用意大利对《马可·波罗行记》的习惯称呼，题作“百万”（*Il milione*, Firenze: Olschki, 1928）。1932年，贝内带托出版了据校订后的F本译成的现代意大利语文本，其中包含有其他抄本

中重要段落的增补，但为方便阅读，没有标注出处，还对原本的一些明显错误做了改订（*Il libro di messer Marco Polo, cittadino di Venezia, detto Milione, dove si raccontano le meraviglie del mondo*, Milano-Roma: Treves-Treccani-Tumminelli, 1932）。意大利人里奇（Aldo Ricci）根据贝内带托提供的意大利语文本译成英文，未及出版而亡歿。丹尼森·罗斯（E. Denison Ross）与贝内带托对其译稿做了校订，完善了这个英译本，出于谨慎的考虑，罗斯把贝内带托改订的部分改回为原状。此英译本题“马可·波罗游记”，提前于1931年在伦敦出版（Aldo Ricci, *The Travels of Marco Polo*, translated from the text of L.F. Benedetto, with an introduction and index by Sir E. Denison Ross, London: G. Routledge & Sons, 1931）。此本颇受好评，被译成多种语言。我国张星烺先生所译《马哥孛罗游记》（上海商务印书馆，1937年）即据此本，但删掉绝大多数注释。日本学者青木一夫、爱宕松男先后据以译成日语，均题为《东方见闻录》（前者东京校仓书房，1960年；后者东京平凡社刊东洋文库丛刊，1978年）。

然而，贝内带托的校本虽好，但只印了三百部，流通不广；里奇的英译十分准确流畅，但却没有异文出处。与此同时在做《马可·波罗行记》整理研究的慕阿德，对此有所不满，他先后撰写书评，除对其成就给予充分肯定外，还指出贝内带托校本的一些错误和现代语译本的出处问题（刊 *BSOS*, 5/1, 1928, pp. 173-175; *JRAS*, 3, 1932, pp. 603-625）。然而，促使慕阿德重新翻译《马可·波罗行记》的更大动力，是Z本的发现。

1924年贝内带托在安布罗西亚图书馆找到的Z本转抄本Z'本的注解中说，这个拉丁文的本子是1795年受朱塞佩·图阿多（Giuseppe Toaldo）之命根据中世纪的一个托莱多（Toledo）抄本复制的，朱塞佩·图阿多为此特意感谢泽拉达（Cardinal Zelada）主教借给他这个抄本。1932年12月，英国的大维德爵士（Sir Percival David, 1892—1964）在西班牙托莱多天主教大教堂分会图书馆（Chapter Library of the Cathedral）找到了这个抄本，并于1933年1月得到了抄本的照片。Z本的前面部分有大量删节，但后面越来越多的内容完全不见于其他抄本，因此价值连城。这个本子由大维德爵士交给慕阿德和伯希和，促成了新译本的产生。

根据最先于 1935 年 3 月出版的《马可·波罗寰宇记》第 2 卷后面的一个简要目录，这部由大维德爵士设计，由慕阿德与伯希和合作的新著的完整计划是：第 1 卷约 580 页，包括导言、翻译、章节对照表、抄本目录和各种文书档案；第 2 卷 135 页，为大维德爵士找到的泽拉达拉丁文本（Z 本）的校订排印本；第 3 卷约 580 页，是不同作者的专题研究论文、专有名词和东方语言文字的考释、参考文献目录、索引；第 4 卷是大约 80 幅地图和图版。显然，慕阿德主要负责第 1 卷和第 2 卷，即抄本整理、校勘和英译；而伯希和主要负责第 3 卷和第 4 卷，即专有名词考释、研究论文整理、图版的准备和地图的绘制。据说有 60 页图版和 20 幅地图，其中有些地图是伯希和专门为此绘制的（此据戴闻达 /Jan Julius Lodevijk Duywendak 的书评，载 *T'oung Pao*, 34/3, 1938, pp. 246-248）。

慕阿德正是按照这个计划工作的，继 1935 年出版《马可·波罗寰宇记》第 2 卷的 Z 本拉丁文校订排印本之后，1938 年又出版了本书第 1 卷，包含上述计划中的所有内容。根据慕阿德撰写的长篇导言，他在玉尔、贝内带托等前人工作的基础上，总共收集到 143 种《马可·波罗行记》的抄本和刊本，其中 119 种为抄本，并以 F 本为底本，对绝大多数本子据原件和照片做了校对，甄别异同，辑录诸本多出的文字。在整理工作的基础上，慕阿德把 F 本全文译成英文，把同一词句的不同异文放到脚注当中，同时把不同本子上多出的词句，用斜体字插入 F 本的正文当中，如果有两个不同的增补，则中间用分隔号区分开来，在页边注明插入文本的缩写编号，如 R、Z，等等。这种有如中国“百衲本”的方式，既可以让读者阅读直体的 F 本的原貌，而且还可以看到主要来自 17 种本子多出来的文字，并知道它们原本应当在的位置。虽然这种方法也受到后人的诟病，认为破坏了三个系统的本子独立存在的价值，特别是除了 F 本之外，我们不能看到 R 本、Z 本的英文本全貌，但迄今为止，这个“百衲本”仍然是最为学术、包含各本信息最全的本子了。慕阿德费尽心力，把不同文本的句子嵌入 F 本，同时又保持了英语语法的正确，我们在使用中也能感受到他的这番苦心。与底本较差的玉尔本、不注出处的贝内带托 / 里奇译本相比，慕阿德译本以 F 本为主，汇集所见各种本子的异文，学术价值最高，而用英语翻译，也便于一般读者阅览，因此可以说，

这是到目前为止最好的本子。因为译者认为马可·波罗这本书并不是一个旅行故事，而是对世界奇闻逸事的描述，所以采用F本的题目 *Le divisiment dou monde* 作为书名，英译为 *The Description of the World*，直译就是“对世界的描述”，也有人译作更典雅一些的“寰宇记”，因此这个影印本的中文名字，就定名为“马可·波罗寰宇记”了。

在第1卷的长篇导言中，慕阿德依次讨论了有关波罗家族、马可·波罗的生平和旅行、波罗家的宅邸、《马可·波罗寰宇记》的抄本和刊本、本书的译本等问题，书后附有《寰宇记》7种版本的章节对照表、各种抄本的分类目录，以及关于波罗家族及马可·波罗墓地的文书档案全文，其中有些是首次发表。

1957年，慕阿德又出版了《行在及其他有关马可·波罗的注释》（*Quinsai, with other Notes on Marco Polo, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1957*），主要是根据东西方史料，对《寰宇记》中最长的一章加以专门的研究，涉及杭州历史、地理的一些问题。书后列出对《马可·波罗寰宇记》的勘误表，读者在使用这个权威的译本时应予留意。

虽然第1—2卷《马可·波罗寰宇记》由慕阿德和伯希和共同署名，但无疑主要工作是慕阿德所做。慕阿德1873年5月18日出生在中国杭州，父亲慕稼谷（George Evans Moule）是英国安立甘会华中区主教。1898年慕阿德从剑桥大学毕业，回到中国，作为建筑工程师在中国的教会工作。1904年在山东传教。1909年回到英国，从事汉学研究。1933年接替翟里斯（Herbert A. Giles）任剑桥大学中国语言和中国历史教授。1938年退休，职位由霍古达（Gustav Haloun）接任。慕阿德在汉学方面没有多少建树，他主要的研究领域是中西交通史，大概是他家族或本人的传教士背景，他最关心的是基督教入华史，先后发表《早期基督教入华传教的失败》（*The Failure of Early Christian Missions to China, The East and the West, 12, 1914, pp. 383-410*）、《十字架在中国景教徒中的使用》（*The Use of Cross among the Nestorians in China, T'oung Pao, 28, 1931, pp. 78-86*）、《中国的景教徒》（*The Nestorians in China, JRAS, 1933, pp. 116-120*）等论文，著有《1550年前的中国基督教史》（*Christians in China before the year 1550, London: Society for*

Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1930; 有郝镇华汉译本, 中华书局, 1984年)、《中国的景教徒》(*Nestorians In China*, London: Stephen Austin & Sons LTD, 1940)等。这样的学术背景, 对于慕阿德整理研究《马可·波罗寰宇记》一定是有帮助的, 而他在杭州的生活经历, 无疑更有利于他理解马可·波罗的记述, 大概也是由此之故, 他还专门把马可·波罗有关杭州的记载写成了一本专著——《行在》。1957年6月5日, 慕阿德在英国与世长辞, 他没有等到伯希和的注释卷的出版, 那是他去世两年后的事情了。

《马可·波罗寰宇记》的另一作者伯希和, 没有按期完成他的任务, 他的著作在其身后才得以出版, 对于他的介绍见笔者给《马可·波罗注》影印本所写的序言。

慕阿德与伯希和合著的《马可·波罗寰宇记》无疑是玉尔《马可·波罗之书》出版以后, 最好的《马可·波罗行记》的英译本, 因为涵盖了一百多个本子的信息, 所以学术性也最强。多年来, 这本书成为学者们利用《马可·波罗行记》时的依据。1955年, 伯希和的弟子韩百诗(Louis Hambis)曾将本书翻译成典雅的法语, 前有导言, 后有简要的注释、索引和地图(*La description du monde, Texte intégral en français moderne avec introduction et notes par Louis Hambis*, Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1955), 极便法语读者使用, 颇获好评。但遗憾的是, 中国学者一直没有人翻译此书, 大多数学者和一般读者还在使用1936年出版的冯承钧译《马可·波罗行纪》。近年来, 我和党宝海副教授组织马可·波罗读书班, 会读并翻译《马可·波罗寰宇记》, 将来有望出版一个准确的中文译本。在本书印本已经很少流通、而中译本还没有出版的情况下, 中西书局拟影印原书, 以飨中外读者, 这真是一个好想法, 故乐为之序。

2017年4月28日完稿于北大大雅堂

# 总 目

序（荣新江）

Marco Polo The Description Of The World I

Marco Polo The Description Of The World II



Das ist der edel Ritter. Marco polo von



Stenedig der groft landfarcer. der uns beschreibet die groffen wunder der welt die er selber gesehen hat. Von dem auffgang

bis zu dem nydergag der sunne. der gleyche vor nicht meer gehort seyn

# MARCO POLO THE DESCRIPTION OF THE WORLD

A. C. MOULE & PAUL PELLIOT

I

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# MARGO POLO THE DESCRIPTION OF THE WORLD

A. C. MOORE & PAUL FENNELL



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## THE PREFACE TO THE FIRST AND SECOND VOLUMES

The second volume needs no apology. It consists entirely of the Latin text which was unearched at Toledo, photographed, and finally printed, through the enthusiasm of Sir Percival DAVID. This is fully described in the Introduction. To serious students it will be a very great advantage to be able to place this remarkable text side by side with the Franco-Italian text(F), the French(FG), and RAMUSIO's Italian translation(R), of all of which modern printed editions exist; and their gratitude to Sir Percival will be correspondingly great. They will also be very grateful to the Librarian at Toledo, Don Agustín GUIASOLA, for his invaluable help in the finding and study of the manuscript, and rejoiced to hear that after living in hiding in peril of his life for seventeen months he was alive and well at the beginning of this year and able to report that Marco Polo too was safe in his place in the Library. The second volume was published before the first, in January 1938; formal leave to print the text having been kindly given by the Chapter of the Metropolitan Church of Toledo on 12 February 1934.<sup>1</sup>

The larger part of the first volume is taken up by the English translation. This translation is an attempt to weave together all, or nearly all, the extant words which have ever claimed to be Marco Polo, and to indicate the source from which each word comes. It has been the occupation of my leisure hours for many years, and was begun with a very slender store of sources. Sources, through the kindness first of the Oxford Press and afterwards of Sir Percival DAVID, have increased till at the last the work has been done with complete copies of seventeen texts. But the passing of time and the gradual accumulation of material were sure to cause, and have in fact caused, some inequality of treatment and some lack of uniformity; the tendency having been perhaps to be more careful to add the little *ands* and *buts* as time went on. In particular a great many small additions were at first attributed to RAMUSIO, which were really taken by him from earlier manuscript sources which are still available. In very many cases these attributions have been corrected in the process of revision, but probably not in all.

The first attempt to make such a composite translation seems to have been

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<sup>1</sup> Don A. GUIASOLA wrote to Sir Percival DAVID on 7 March this year as follows: "The Chapter dealt with Marco Polo at two sessions. At one it gave, at my request, authorization for making the photostats; and at another session it gave leave for the publication of the text, expressly authorizing you yourselves for this. *And it has given no authorization to anyone else with regard to the manuscript.*" (*Y a nadie más concedió autorización relacionada con el manuscrito.*)

RAMUSIO's own, as will be seen. YULE did something like it when he added passages from RAMUSIO to his version, marking the source by the use of square brackets. The more important additions to the standard text of F were collected with great completeness by Professor L. F. BENEDETTO in his edition of 1928; but they were not combined with the text of F, nor were they translated. The combination was done by BENEDETTO himself in his modern Italian version, and by the late A. RICCI's English translation of that (in the *Broadway Travellers* series, 1931). In neither of these versions is there anything to show which words come from F and which are additions, and still less is there any indication of the sources of the additions; while the additions themselves are in many cases really substitutions for the original words of F.

The present translation does then give the reader something new, — the first complete English version of F, and added to this all the important and a multitude of less important passages and words from other texts, all clearly distinguished by the use of italic letters; and finally the source of even the smallest word simply and conveniently shown in the margin. Some first beginning of critical notes has also been made, though it would have been foolish to attempt a complete methodical *apparatus criticus* which must probably have doubled the size of this volume without serving any useful purpose.

My obligations to Professor BENEDETTO are very great; and the fact that my work on F was done and many of my notes written before 1928 does not deprive him of the pioneer's honour. I was only proud to find, when his book appeared, how often we had come to the same conclusions, and if my debts to him are not by accident fully acknowledged in every case, I ask him here to accept my thanks for all the help which I have received from him. Apart from this help and from a few very valuable criticisms and corrections from Sir Percival, Professor PELLIOT, and some other friends, my translation work has been done too much alone, and for its faults, which must consequently be many, I am alone to blame.

With the Introduction it is different, and it would not have been worthy of publication at all but for the vigorous criticism and correction which it has undergone at the hands of the same friends. If on some points my own view has been pertinaciously held, many others have been greatly changed, enlarged, and made better by these friends. The Introduction nevertheless makes no pretence to be complete. For many things the student must still go to YULE or BENEDETTO. But in the first three sections it deals in some detail with a few selected subjects, namely the family of Marco Polo, and his house, and some facts of his life and travels, about which more certain information is now to be had than was in YULE's

day. Here the great debt is to the late Cavaliere Dr Giovanni ORLANDINI of the Archivio di Stato at Venice, who has done on his side as good work as BENEDETTO has done for the text, and in two small pamphlets has thrown the work of his predecessors completely into the shade. It is a great pleasure too to acknowledge, though he cannot now read the words, his personal courtesy and kindness to me in my work at Venice, and to thank him and the staff of the Archivio for their untiring help. To our great delight the old man allowed himself to be photographed in January 1935, sitting in his accustomed place in the Archivio, and seemed to be pleased with the thought that his portrait might appear in this book which owes so much to his learning (see vol. IV pl. 21). I am allowed to translate and combine some sentences from letters which his son Luigi wrote to Sir Percival DAVID on 18 April 1937 and 5 March 1938. "In reply to your request I tell you that he was born in Venice the 27th of October 1859 and died on the 27th of January 1937 in his house in the Parish of the SS. Apostoli, in his little room, where he passed all his time in study in the midst of his manuscripts, with his notes which he had accumulated in fifty-two years of unwearied work, grieving to the last moment that he had been unable in his lifetime to realize his dream of being able to publish the fruits of his labour, that he might endow his children with a little with which to make their future secure. And another thought gave him extreme pain; to think that after him, if those notes of his should be lost, students in that ocean of documents which rest in *his* Archivio at the Frari would no longer be able to find that guide which would make all research easy. I tell you also that the simple funeral took place in the parish Church of the SS. Apostoli in the presence of representatives of all the chief learned societies of Venice; on the bier no flower except a few from his children. Before he was placed on the funeral barge the Director of the Archivio, Com. Da Mosto, kindly said a few words giving a sketch of the whole of his studious life. Then he was carried to the Camposanto, to the place reserved for the Arciconfraternità di S. Cristoforo. When a stone is set up I think his name alone will be enough. I do not believe that I am misled by pride in thinking that no student will ever forget him."

The short paragraphs on the spelling of proper names both in the translation and in the original text of F seemed to be required for the moment, but will be enlarged by the more learned and authoritative pen of Professor PELLIOU when the third volume appears. It will easily be believed how very great a pleasure it has been to me to be associated with PELLIOU in this work, and it would be mere impertinence of me to expatiate here on the value of his *Notes on the Proper Names and Oriental Words* which will fill 400 or 500 pages of the third volume