西元540年薩珊帝國對羅馬交戰之意涵

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西元 540 年春天，薩珊帝國(Sasanian Empire)的庫斯洛一世(Kosrow I, 531-579 在位)入侵羅馬，劫掠包括安提阿(Antioch)在內等重要城市。這場戰爭不僅是這位波斯統治者即位以來首次對外軍事行動，更是在位期間唯一展演的軍事勝利。藉由考察薩珊政權內外情勢，以及波斯統治階級對先祖的認知，本文探討波斯打破 532 年「永恆和平」(Eternal Peace)條約以來和平局面，入侵查士丁尼一世(Justinian I, 527-565 在位)政權的動機。在境內，自即位以來，庫斯洛一世的統治權威迭受貴族、皇族挑戰，對統治階級的支配更屬有限。更重要的是，彼時波斯不僅喪失對中亞的統治，更淪為嚈噠人(Hephthalites)的附庸。對自認卡亞尼一朝(Kayanids)──《波斯古經》(Avesta)中的上古伊朗政權──後裔的庫斯洛一世來說，上述情勢在衝擊自身與先祖間的連結之餘，更鬆動奠基於此的統治正當性。本文指出，540 年出兵羅馬之舉係庫斯洛一世對上述困境，及其所致意識形態危機的因應。事實上，對深具卡亞尼一朝色彩，谷胥納斯普聖火(Ādur Gušnasp)神廟的參拜說明，庫斯洛一世將本次戰爭的勝利與上古卡亞尼諸王功業相比擬。隨著自身的「神賜榮光」(xwarrah)因興兵羅馬取得的勝利而提昇，庫斯洛一世得以強化自身與同受「神賜榮光」庇佑的卡亞尼先祖之間的連結。並進一步鞏固權威，扭轉即位以來的困境。

關鍵詞：庫斯洛一世、卡亞尼政權、神賜榮光

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一、前言

　　大約西元三世紀以來，羅馬與薩珊(Sasanian Empire)長時期頻繁交戰，[1]西元 532 年曾簽署「永恆和平」(Eternal Peace)條約，[2]看似雙方軍事衝突可告一段落。然而，和平局面並未維持太久。從 540 年開始，庫斯洛一世(Kosrow I, 531-579 在位)數度率軍入侵幼發拉底(Euphratensis)、奧斯若恩(Oshroene)與美索不達米亞(Mesopotamia)等羅馬行省，戰火再度點燃。雙方不僅於兩河流域交戰，[3]更競相爭奪對黑海東岸等地的控制

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1 羅馬與薩珊間的軍事衝突，可參考 Beate Dignas and Engelbert Winter, *Rome and Persia in Late Antiquity, Neighbours and Rivals* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 70-106.

2 有關「永恆和平」的議約過程，以及條款等細節，見 Geoffrey Greatrex, *Rome and Persia at War, 502–532* (Leeds: Francis Cairns, 1998), 211-218. 在查士丁尼一朝的羅馬統治階級眼中，此條約標誌羅馬與薩珊政權間恆久的和平關係：《查士丁尼法典》的前言指出「與波斯的永恆和平」(Pacem cum Persis in aeternum confirmavimus)，*Codex Justinianus,*. 1.27.2, 六世紀的羅馬史家普羅柯比歐斯在《戰史》中亦以「無止境」(ἀπέραντον)稱呼此一條約，Prokopios, *Wars,* 1.22.17. *Codex Justianus* 以下簡稱 Cod. Iusti，版本選自 B. W. Frier et al. eds., *The Codex of Justinian: A New Annotated Translation, with Parallel Latin and Greek Text Based on A Translation by Justice Fred H. Blume* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016). Prokopios, *Wars* 以下簡稱 Prok. *Wars*，版本選自 H. B. Dewing, ed. and trans., *Procopius: History of the Wars,* 5 vols, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1914-1928).

3 此處的「兩河流域」意指底格里斯河(Tigris River)與幼發拉底河(Euphrates River)的流域，而非前文所述，羅馬帝國於二世紀末葉在兩河流域北方所劃分的行政區「美索不達米亞」的代稱，Peter Edwell, *Between Rome and Persia: The Middle Euphrates, Mesopotamia and Palmyra under Roman Control* (London: Routledge, 2008), 26-29.

權，[4]直至 562 年於羅馬要塞達拉(Dara)議定和約，[5]戰事才告平息。

　　在這場遍及西亞各地的衝突中，對於 540 年波斯入侵羅馬一事的研究尤為可觀。學界咸認，查士丁尼一世(Justinian I, 527-565 在位)自「永恆和平」條約簽訂以來的對外政策，以及羅馬於西亞各地強化軍事建設之舉，是導致 540 年羅馬—波斯衝突爆發的重要因素。達立耶(Touraj Daryaee)、迪格納斯(Beate Dignas)、崔果(Warren Treadgold)與文特(Engelbert Winter)等人認為，伴隨汪達爾人(Vandals)與東哥德人(Ostrogoths)勢力的瓦解，羅馬在北非、義大利領土擴張形成的軍事壓力，促使庫斯洛一世入侵查士丁尼治下的西亞諸省；[6]格雷特斯(Geoffrey Greatrex)與薩里斯(Peter Sarris)則推測，波斯於 540 年的軍事行動肇因於羅馬自六世紀三〇年代起，對拉齊卡(Lazica)地區，以及高加索山區(Caucasus Mountains)以南等地轉趨積極的經營策略。根據《查士丁尼法典》(Codex Justinianus)的記載，查士丁尼自 536 年起將下亞美尼亞(Armenia Inferior)分割為數個行省，強化對當地的控制。此外，羅馬除駐軍於拉齊卡，亦以佩特拉(Petra)作為當地行政中心。[7]由於拉齊卡與下亞美尼亞皆緊鄰波斯邊境，羅馬在這些地區的駐軍無疑對波斯西境的城鎮構成潛在威脅。[8]

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[4] David Braund, *Georgia in Antiquity: A History of Colchis and Transcaucasian Iberia, 550 BC-AD 562* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2014), 292-314.

[5] 羅馬、波斯於 557 年簽訂停戰協定(Agathias, *Histories*, 4.30.7-10)，並在五年後訂立和約。Agathias, *Histories* 以下簡稱 Agath.，版本選自 R. Keydell, ed., *Agathias: The Histories*, trans. J. D. Frendo (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1975).

[6] Touraj Daryaee, *Sasanian Persia: The Rise and Fall of an Empire* (New York: I.B. Tauris, 2009), 30-31; Dignas and Winter, *Rome and Persia in Late Antiquity*, 107; Warren Treadgold, *The Early Byzantine Historians* (Basingstoke; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 194.

[7] 位於今喬治亞共和國(Republic of Georgia)西部。

[8] Geoffrey Greatrex, and Samuel N. C. Lieu, eds., *The Roman Eastern Frontier and the Persian Wars: A Narrative Sourcebook Part 2: A.D. 363-628* (London:

的確，在古典時代晚期(Late Antiquity)，[9]羅馬、波斯的對峙態勢多次因羅馬的軍事部署與建設升高。以六世紀上半葉為例，波斯統治者卡瓦德一世(Kawād I, 488-496 與 498-531 在位)曾指控羅馬皇帝阿納塔修斯一世(Anastasios I, 491-518 在位，以下簡稱阿納塔修斯)違反羅馬、波斯雙方於五世紀中葉共同簽訂，禁止在各自邊境新建防禦工事的協定，在距波斯邊防重鎮尼西比斯(Nisibis)僅二十多公里之遙處建設達拉城。[10]儘管如此，波斯似受羅馬的金錢外交策略安撫，而未進一步採取軍事行動；[11]此外，阿納塔修斯強化狄奧多西歐波利斯(Theodosiopolis)等羅馬前線城鎮防禦，抑或查士丁一世(Justin I, 518-527 在位，以下簡稱查士丁)籠絡黑海東側原屬波斯勢力範圍的拉齊卡統治者之舉，也未引發羅馬、波斯間的軍事衝突。[12]

Routledge, 2002), 115; Peter Sarris, *Empires of Faith: The Fall of Rome to the Rise of Islam, 500-700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 153-154. 查士丁尼的政策出自 *Justinian's Novels / Novellae Constitutiones*, 28(拉齊卡駐軍)，31(行省重劃)。版本為 *The Novels of Justinian: A Complete Annotated English Translation*, trans. D. Miller and P. Sarris (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2018).

9 地中海世界及其鄰近地區介於古典與中世紀間的歷史分期(約西元 250 年至 800 年)。對於此一分期起迄年代的討論，可參考 Hervé Inglebert, "Birth of a New Short Late Antiquity," in *Late Antiquity in Contemporary Debate*, ed. Rita Lizzi Testa (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017), 218-221.

10 Prok. *Wars* 1.2.15. 達拉與尼西比斯兩地間的距離估算出自 Louis Dillemann, *Haute Mésopotamie orientale et pays adjacents: contribution a la géographie historique de la région, du Ve s. avant l'ére chrétienneau VIe s. de cette ére* (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1962), 26-28.

11 Prok. *Wars* 1.10.17.

12 狄奧多西歐波利斯位於今日土耳其的埃爾祖魯姆(Erzurum)，查士丁的拉齊卡政策見 John Malalas, *Chronicle*, 17.9. 此史料以下簡稱 Mal.，版本選自 H. Thurn, ed., *Ioannis Malalae chronographia* (Berlin; New York: de Gruyter,

　　因此，查士丁尼對西亞各境積極的對外政策，無法完整解釋波斯於 540 年入侵羅馬的動機。誠如雷札哈尼(Khodadad Rezakhani)所言，上述將波斯視為「典型的西向政權」(quintessentially western-orienting)的研究，僅聚焦東地中海重大政治、外交事件與庫斯洛一世軍事行動間的連結，[13]而未深入考察波斯東半部(即伊朗東部)與中亞情勢對羅馬—波斯衝突的可能影響。隨著對古典時代晚期中亞政局，以及波斯與北境、東境部族往來細節的研究成果逐漸豐碩，[14]學界開始從古典時代晚期西亞、中亞國際情勢的脈絡，檢視羅馬與波斯間的軍事衝突。[15]舉例來說，波爾(Warwick Ball)與霍華德-強斯頓(James Howard-Johnston)指出，中亞

　　2000). Translated by E. Jeffreys, M. Jeffreys, and R. Scott, *The Chronicle of John Malalas* (Melbourne: Australian Association for Byzantine Studies, 1986).

13 Khodadad Rezakhani, *ReOrienting the Sasanians: East Iran in Late Antiquity* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2017), 16.

14 Mohammed Chaichian, *Empires and Walls: Globalization, Migration, and Colonial Domination* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2013), 53-89; Eberhard Sauer et al., *Persia's Imperial Power in Late Antiquity: The Great Wall of Gorgān and Frontier Landscapes of Sasanian Iran* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2013); Eberhard Sauer et al., *Ancient Arms Race: Antiquity's Largest Fortresses and Sasanian Military Networks of Northern Iran: A Joint Fieldwork Project by the Iranian Center for Archaeological Research, the Research Institute of Cultural Heritage and Tourism and the University of Edinburgh* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2022); Nicholas Sims-Williams, "The Sasanians in the East," in *The Sasanian Era*, ed. Vesta S. Curtis and Sarah Steward (London: I.B. Tauris, 2008), 88-102.

15 James Howard-Johnston, "The Sasanians' Strategic Dilemma," in *Commutatio Et Contentio: Studies in the Late Roman, Sasanian, and Early Islamic Near East*, ed. Henning Börm and Josef Wiesehöfer (Dusseldorf: Wellem Verlag, 2010), 41-67; Eberhard Sauer, "Introduction," in *Sasanian Persia: Between Rome and the Steppes of Eurasia*, ed. Eberhard Sauer (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2017), 2.

部族與羅馬同為薩珊政權的重大外患。[16]在雙面作戰多難以為繼的情況下，中亞國際局勢的變化，必然影響波斯對羅馬等西亞政權的軍事行動，反之亦然。四世紀時，寄多羅人(Kidarites)等部族的軍事威脅曾迫使沙普爾二世(Šāpur II, 309-379在位)自羅馬撤軍；[17]七世紀上半葉的西亞戰事，則使庫斯洛二世疲於應付突厥勢力(Turks)對尼沙普爾(Nishapur)等波斯東北重要城市的入侵。[18]

　　是以與中亞等地的頻繁往來無疑在政治上深刻影響波斯統治者的對外政策；在文化上，則形塑了薩珊政權理解鄰近勢力、部族的視角：[19]達立耶與雷札哈尼指出，至遲從五世紀開始，薩珊統治階級對先祖與世間其他政權的理解逐漸受到包括《波斯古經》(Avesta)在內，源自中亞、伊朗東部文化元素的影響。對相關課題的理解將使我們得以自薩珊政治、意識型態發展的脈絡檢視波斯的對外軍事行動。[20]古

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16 Warwick Ball, "The Sasanian Empire and the East: A Summary of the Evidence and its Implications for Rome," in *Sasanian Persia: Between Rome and the Steppes of Eurasia*, ed. Eberhard Sauer (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2017), 173; Howard-Johnston, "The Sasanians' Strategic Dilemma," 41-43.

17 Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae,* 14.3.1, 16.9.1.此史料以下簡稱 Amm. Marc.，版本選自 J. C. Rolfe, ed. and trans., *Ammianus Marcellinus*, 3 vols (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1926-1934).

18 Howard-Johnston, "The Sasanians' Strategic Dilemma," 63.

19 Touraj Daryaee, "Sasanian Kingship, Empire and Glory: Aspects of Iranian Imperium," in *Ranj -o- Ganj (Papers in Honour of Professor Zohreh Zarshenas),* ed. F. Goshtasb, V. Naddaf, and M. Shokri-Foumeshi (Tehran: Institute for Humanities and Cultural Studies, 2013), 17; Rezakhani, *ReOrienting the Sasanians*, 97, 197; Khodadad Rezakhani, "From the Kushans to the Western Turks," in *King of the Seven Climes: A History of the Ancient Iranian World (3000 BCE- 651 CE)*, ed. Touraj Daryaee (Irvine: UCI Jordan Center for Persian Studies, 2017), 204.

20 Dignas and Winter, *Rome and Persia in Late Antiquity*, 2.

典時代晚期的羅馬史家，如希羅狄安(Herodian, 約三世紀)與阿米亞努斯‧馬爾塞勒斯(Ammianus Marcellinus, 約 330-約 395)等人指出，自三世紀以來，阿達胥爾一世(Ardašīr I, 224-239 / 240 在位，以下簡稱阿達胥爾)、沙普爾一世(Šāpur I, 239 / 240-270 / 272 在位)等波斯統治者頻繁入侵羅馬，以收復先祖於西亞的失土。[21]值得探究的是，六世紀的薩珊統治階級(意即出身薩珊政權，信奉瑣羅亞斯德信仰[Zoroastrianism]的波斯皇族與貴族)如何理解包括羅馬在內的中亞、西亞等地政權，以及波斯與這些勢力的衝突？[22]他們的認知如何影響波斯的軍事行動？本研究從上述論題出發，剖析庫斯洛一世於 540 年撕毀「永恆和平」條約，率領大軍出兵查士丁尼政權的動機，[23]並試圖深化學界對古典時代晚期波斯政治意識形態的發展，以及羅馬—波斯關係等面向的認識。

　　本研究使用考古發掘所得與傳世文獻考察上述課題。首先，二

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21 Dignas and Winter, *Rome and Persia in Late Antiquity*, 57-60,史料部分見 Amm. Marc. 17.5.3-8, 25.4.24; Herodian, *History of the Empire*, 6.2.4, 6.4.5. 後者版本選自 K. Stavenhagen, ed., *Herodiani ab excessu divi Marci libri octo* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1922). Translated by C. R. Whittaker, *Herodian: History of the Empire*, 2 vols (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1969-1970).

22 波斯境內的基督徒固然有躋身薩珊政權官僚階層者，他們對先祖與波斯以外政權、人群的理解無疑與信奉瑣羅亞斯德信仰者有所不同，故非本研究考察的範圍。Richard Payne, "Avoiding Ethnicity: Uses of the Ancient Past in Late Sasanian Northern Mesopotamia," in *Visions of Community in the Post-Roman World: The West, Byzantium and the Islamic World, 300-1100*, ed. Walter Pohl, Clemens Gantner, and Richard Payne (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2012), 205-221; Richard Payne, "Iranian Cosmopolitanism: World Religions at the Sasanian Court," in *Cosmopolitanism and Empire: Universal Rulers, Local Elites, and Cultural Integration in the Ancient Near East and Mediterranean*, ed. Myles Lavan, Richard Payne, and John Weisweiler (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 216-219.

23 Prok. *Wars* 2.5.1.

十世紀下半葉以來，吉瑟倫(Rika Gyselen)等人對印章(seal)的研究，拓展了我們對庫斯洛一世政治改革等六世紀波斯重要課題的認識；[24]達立耶與沙耶甘(Rahim Shayegan)的研究則說明，薩珊錢幣、印章上統治者的多元頭銜，反映了他們對先祖認同的轉變。[25]因此，考察薩珊政權的錢幣，以及統治集團成員印章上的銘文，當有助於理解六世紀薩珊政權的政治發展與意識形態。

　　然而，波斯的對外軍事行動從未成為六世紀薩珊印章、錢幣的圖像主題，西亞城鎮的考古發掘所得對於理解羅馬—波斯戰爭的幫助亦相當有限。[26]因此，傳世文獻仍是探討 540 年羅馬—波斯戰爭以及西亞國際情勢的基石。由於古典時代晚期的薩珊史學著作均已亡佚，欲理解庫斯洛一世的軍事行動與羅馬—波斯關係，便須仰賴古典化史家(classicising historians)的眾多記載。[27]舉例來說，普羅柯比歐斯(Prokopios,

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24 對相關主題的研究成果見 Pierfrancesco Callieri, "Seals and Sealings," in *Encyclopædia Iranica*, online edition (New York: Columbia University Center for Iranian Studies, 2008), https://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/seals-and-sealings-in-the-eastern-iranian-lands, accessed June 15, 2021; Rika Gyselen, *The Four Generals of the Sasanian Empire: Some Sigillographic Evidence* (Rome: Istituto italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente, 2001); Rika Gyselen, "La désignation territoriale des quatre spāhbed de l'empire sassanide d'après les sources primaires sigillographiques," *Studia Iranica* 30 (2001): 137-141.

25 Touraj Daryaee, "The Use of Religio-Political Propaganda on the Coinage of Xusro II," *American Journal of Numismatics* 9 (1997): 41-53; M. Rahim Shayegan, "Sasanian Political Ideology," in *The Oxford Handbook of Ancient Iran*, ed. Daniel Potts (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 805-813.

26 Michael Whitby, "Siege Warfare and Counter-Siege Tactics in Late Antiquity (ca. 250-640)," in *War and Warfare in Late Antiquity: Current Perspectives*, ed. Alexander Sarantis and Neil Christie (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 433.

27 Matthew Canepa, *The Two Eyes of the Earth: Art and Ritual of Kingship between Rome and Sasanian Persia* (Berkeley; London: University of

約 500-約 560)的《戰史》(*Wars*)以及阿噶西亞斯(Agathias, 約 532-約 580)的《歷史》(*Histories*)均是了解羅馬與薩珊波斯於查士丁尼一朝衝突的主要史料;[28]六世紀六〇年代以降的羅馬—波斯戰爭,則是七世紀史家塞奧斐拉克圖斯・西摩卡提斯(Theophylaktos Simokattes, 約 580-641 後)之作的主軸之一。[29]

　　古典時代晚期的瑣羅亞斯德信仰經典亦對本研究至關重要,考察的對象主要包括讚頌阿娜希德(Arədvī Sūrā Anāhitā)的〈水神頌〉(Ābān Yašt),以及〈慷慨的大地之靈頌〉(Zamyād Yašt)在內,《波斯古經》的數篇〈雅緒特〉(Yašt,讚頌詞),以及以薩珊末期著作為本、評註《波斯古經》的《創世紀》(*Bundahišn*),與六世紀的《智慧之靈的評判》(*Dādestān Mēnōg ī*

California Press, 2009), xviii-xix. 古典化史家係指從四世紀起,迄於七世紀止,在著作的語言、結構與內容上均有意識地效法希羅多德(Herodotus, 約西元前五世紀)、修昔底德(Thucydides, 約 460-約 400 BCE)等人的史家,Roger Blockley, "The Development of Greek Historiography: Priscus, Malchus, Candidus," in *Greek and Roman Historiography in Late Antiquity: Fourth to Sixth Century A.D.*, ed. Gabriele Marasco (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 290.

28 較之普羅柯比歐斯等人的著作,六世紀的其他重要史料,如《埃迪薩編年史》(*Chronicle of Edessa*,以下簡稱 *Chron. Ede.*)與里底亞人約翰(John the Lydian / John Lydus)所著的《羅馬政制官員論》(*De magistratibus populi romani libri tres*,以下簡稱 Joh. Lyd. *De Mag*)等,對於波斯軍事行動的記載均十分簡短,*Chron. Ede.* 105; Joh. Lyd. *De Mag.* 3.54. 前者版本選自 I. Guidi, ed. and trans., *Chronicon Edessenum*, in *Chronica Minora*, vol. 1 (Paris: E Typographeo Reipublicae, 1903), 1-13. 後者版本選自 A. Bandy, ed. and trans., *On Powers, or, The Magistracies of the Roman State* (Philadelphia, PA: American Philosophical Society, 1983). 六世紀下半葉匿名作者所寫的馬爾塞勒斯(Marcellinus Comes)《編年史》(*Chronicle*)之《續作》(*Additamentum*),雖述及 540 年的羅馬—波斯戰爭,然篇幅亦相當有限。

29 有關六世紀下半葉羅馬—波斯戰爭的史料整理、分析,見 Michael Whitby, *The Emperor Maurice and His Historian: Theophylact Simocatta on Persian and Balkan Warfare* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988)一書的第三部份。

xrad)等著作。[30]這些記載不僅述及傳說中上古伊朗統治者的事蹟,更涵括對世間萬物的介紹。梳理這些經典,有助於探討波斯統治階級對先祖的認識,從而以此為基礎,析論對現世政治情勢的理解。

　　本文以 540 年的羅馬—波斯戰爭作為考察對象,是基於薩珊政權軍事行動的規模,以及相關記載的詳細程度。庫斯洛一世在位期間曾頻繁侵擾以至佔據拉齊卡等地。儘管如此,除了普羅柯比歐斯的《戰史》外,古典時代晚期史家對拉齊卡一地衝突的記載十分有限。[31]另一方面,波斯曾於六世紀四〇年代多次出兵美索不達米亞等羅馬省份,不僅謀劃奪取耶路撒冷等地居民的財富,更曾圍攻塞爾吉歐波利斯(Sergiopolis)與埃迪薩(Edessa)。[32]然而,在羅馬軍民負隅頑抗,兼以瘟疫襲擾下,[33]這些軍事行動進展有限,庫斯洛一世亦未能攻取

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30 《創世紀》著作年代的討論見 Walter B. Henning, "An Astronomical Chapter of the Bundahishn," *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 3 (1942): 229, 以及晚近由謝克德(Shaul Shaked)所作,對於此書英文譯本的引言部分,*The Bundahišn: The Zoroastrian Book of Creation*, ed. and trans. Domenico Agostini and Samuel Thrope (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), xix-xxi. 《智慧之靈的評判》的可能成書年代則見 Mary Boyce, "Middle Persian Literature," in *Iranian Studies: Volume 1 Literature*, ed. Ilya Gershevitch et al. (Leiden; Cologne: Brill, 1968), 54.

31 Greatrex and Lieu, *Roman Eastern Frontier*, 115-122.

32 Euagrios Scholastikos, *Ecclesiastical History*, 4.28(埃迪薩); Prok. *Wars* 2.20.1-16(塞爾吉歐波利斯),2.20.18(耶路撒冷),2.26.5-2.27.46(埃迪薩)。Euagrios Scholastikos, *Ecclesiastical History* 以下簡稱 Euagr. HE,版本選自 J. Bidez and L. Parmentier, ed., *The Ecclesiastical History of Evagrius with the Scholia* (London: Methuen, 1898). Translated with and introduction by M. Whitby, *The Ecclesiastical History of Evagrius Scholasticus* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000).

33 查士丁尼瘟疫(Justinianic Plague)可能促使庫斯洛一世於 542 年自埃迪薩等地撤軍。Ewald Kislinger and Dionysios Stathakopoulos, "Pest und Perserkriege bei Prokop. Chronologische Überlegungen zum Geschehen 540–

羅馬重要城鎮。[34]

　　相較之下，540 年的軍事行動則成果豐碩。庫斯洛一世於初春率軍沿幼發拉底河北上，進攻羅馬治下的兩河流域、敘利亞等地區，[35]直至當年度夏末自羅馬撤軍返國為止，[36]波斯軍隊共攻陷蘇拉(Sura)、貝里亞(Beroea)與安提阿(Antioch)等重要城市。[37]此外，庫斯洛一世亦以和平為名向阿帕米亞(Apamea)、卡爾西斯(Chalcis)與埃迪薩等城鎮的羅馬居民索討贖金。[38]對於這場戰爭的記載亦較其他衝突為多：庫斯洛一世軍事行動的進程見諸《戰史》，以及約翰・馬拉拉斯(John Malalas, 約 6 世紀，以下簡稱馬拉拉斯)的《編年史》(Chronicle)等重要史學著作，[39]波斯對羅馬戰俘的安置措施更廣受記載。[40]

545," *Byzantion* 69:1 (1999): 84. 545 年夏天，原欲自亞塞拜然(Adarbiganon)入侵羅馬的庫斯洛一世亦在軍士染疫下，自當地撤回尚未受到瘟疫侵擾的兩河流域下游，Prok. *Wars* 2.24.8, 12.

[34] 在西亞的重要羅馬城鎮中，僅卡里尼寇斯(Kallinikos)於 542 年為波斯劫掠，Prok. *Wars* 2.21.32.

[35] *Chron. Ede.* 105; Prok. *Wars* 2.5.1.

[36] Prok. *Wars* 2.13.29.

[37] 本文的「安提阿」係指為奧龍特斯河(Orontes River)劃分為不同城區，羅馬敘利亞第一行省(Syria Prima)首府的羅馬安提阿城。另外一座為庫斯洛一世所建，亦以「安提阿」為名的波斯城市則以「波斯安提阿」稱之，以茲區別。

[38] Prok. *Wars* 2.11.3, 24(阿帕米亞)、2.12.2(卡爾西斯)、2.12.33-34(埃迪薩)、2.13.8(君士坦提亞，Konstantia)。有關蘇拉與貝里亞兩地景況，詳見 Prok. *Wars* 2.5.8-33(蘇拉)，2.7.23-33(貝里亞)。安提阿的圍攻與劫掠，見 Mal. 18.87; Prok. *Wars* 2.8.1-35, 9.14-18.

[39] 相關記載的彙整見 Greatrex and Lieu, *The Roman Eastern Frontier*, 104-108.

[40] Dīnavarī, *Kitab al-Akhbar al-Tiwal*, 70; Ferdowsī, *Šāh-nāma,* 7.259-260; Prok. *Wars* 2.14.1-3; al-Ṭabari, *Taʾrīkh al-rusul wa-l-mulūk*, 1.898, 959. Dīnavarī, *Kitab al-Akhbar al-Tiwal* 以下簡稱 Dīnavarī，版本選自 M. R. J. Bonner, "An Historiographical study of Abu Hanifa Ahmad ibn Dawud ibn Wanand al-

　　本文的討論分為三個部分。第一部分將藉由梳理普羅柯比歐斯等人的記載，分析庫斯洛一世於 540 年羅馬—波斯戰爭期間的舉措，以及他如何理解該次軍事勝利。第二、第三部分，筆者將以波斯於國內、外面臨的挑戰，以及薩珊波斯世界觀於古典時代晚期的發展為軸，[41]釐清庫斯洛一世對在位期間西亞情勢的認知，並探討這位統治者在簽訂「永恆和平」條約八年後，出兵羅馬的可能動機。

二、「永恆和平」條約後的局勢與 540 年的羅馬—波斯戰爭

　　「永恆和平」條約的簽訂開啟了地中海世界國際關係的新局。隨著波斯邊境和平態勢底定，羅馬開始將可觀資源投注於北非等地的軍事行動。羅馬於 533 年攻滅汪達爾王國，並在北非建立行省；[42]隨著哥德戰爭(Gothic War, 535-553)的進展，查士丁尼亦自 539 年下半以來逐漸掌控義大利半島。[43]因此，540 年以前，查士丁尼幾已將地中海

Dīnavarī's Kitab al-Akhbar al-Tiwal," DPhil thesis, (University of Oxford, 2015), 300-420. Ferdowsī, *Šāh-nāma* 的版本選自 *The Sháhnáma of Firdausí*, 9 vols, trans. Arthur George and Edmond Warner (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co, 1905-1925). al-Ṭabari. *Taʾrīkh al-rusul wa-l-mulūk* 以下簡稱 Ṭabari，版本選自 E. Yarshater, ed., *The History of al-Ṭabari*, vol. 5: *The Sāsānids, the Byzantines, the Lakhmids, and Yemen*, trans. and annotated Clifford E. Bosworth (Albany: State University of New York, 1999).

41 此處及以下所稱的「波斯世界觀」，意指薩珊政權的統治階級用以理解現世(古典時代晚期)諸政權、人群及政治秩序的方式。

42 查士丁尼的汪達爾戰爭(Vandalic War)細節，見 James Evans, *The Age of Justinian: The Circumstances of Imperial Power* (London; New York: Routledge, 1996), 126-132.

43 Peter Heather, *Rome Resurgent: War and Empire in the Age of Justinian* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2018), 176-179.

沿岸各境納入管轄。

西元 534 年，查士丁尼在君士坦丁堡舉行了汪達爾戰爭的凱旋儀式。根據普羅柯比歐斯的記載，在君士坦丁堡賽馬場(hippodrome)的滿場觀眾面前，汪達爾統治者蓋利默(Gelimer, 約 6 世紀)身上穿的紫袍不僅被剝下，更「被迫拜伏在地，臣服於查士丁尼」。[44]在古典時代晚期，用以展演戰爭勝利與舉行重要儀典的賽馬場，無疑是羅馬皇權展現的重要場所。[45]值得注意的是，藉由公開奪去另一位統治者的統治權威，查士丁尼誠如卡內帕(Matthew Canepa)所言，成了「王中之王」。[46]換句話說，這位羅馬皇帝欲展演的，不僅是作為汪達爾政權征服者的形象，[47]更是以羅馬為核心，對其他政權的支配。[48]

在西亞，羅馬、波斯雙邊關係的確自「永恆和平」條約簽訂以來趨於緩和，薩珊政權更非查士丁尼從 532 年以來軍事行動的目標。然而，值得注意的是，從沙普爾一世的時代開始，波斯統治者均自視為統治權威超越疆界，意即及於「伊朗人的」(Ērān, 即薩珊波斯)以及「非伊朗人的」(Anērān)領土的普世統治者。[49]因此，隨著受邀出席這

44 "πρηνῆ πεσόντ᾽ προσκυνεῖν Ἰουστινιανὸν βασιλέα κατηνάγκασαν," Prok. *Wars* 4.9.4-13, 引文出自 Prok. *Wars* 4.9.12.

45 Alan Cameron, *Circus Factions: Blues and Greens at Rome and Byzantium* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), 182; Michael McCormick, *Eternal Victory: Triumphal Rulership in Late Antiquity, Byzantium, and the Early Medieval West* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 91.

46 Canepa, *The Two Eyes of the Earth*, 171.

47 McCormick, *Eternal Victory*, 67-68.

48 Canepa, *The Two Eyes of the Earth*, 169-172; McCormick, *Eternal Victory*, 250.

49 在今日伊朗納克胥‧儒斯坦(Naqš-e Rostam)的碑文(Šāpūr I's inscription, Ka'ba-ye Zartošt，咸稱 *ŠKZ*)中，沙普爾一世自稱「伊朗人的」與「非伊朗人的」政權的統治者(šāhān šāh ī Ērān ud Anērān)，*ŠKZ* 1. 沙普爾一世碑文

場凱旋儀式的波斯使者返國覆命，[50]查士丁尼之軍事勝利所形塑、以羅馬為尊的國際秩序，必然對庫斯洛一世與薩珊政權造成相當衝擊。[51]下文將從上述脈絡檢視、探討庫斯洛一世對 540 年軍事勝利的展演及其背後動機。

（一）庫斯洛一世對 540 年軍事勝利的展演

《戰史》一書對波斯進軍細節的詳細記載，是分析庫斯洛一世對 540 年勝利展演、理解的基礎。首先，在劫掠安提阿後，庫斯洛一世前往羅馬敘利亞第二行省(Syria Secunda)的首府阿帕米亞，並在城中的賽馬場舉行馬車比賽(chariot races)；他不僅支持與查士丁尼支持的藍黨(Venetus / The Blues)敵對的綠黨(The Greens)馬車，更幫助後者贏得競賽。[52]儘管薩珊政權並非唯一在羅馬城市舉辦馬車比賽的境外勢力，[53]但由羅馬的征服者

的分段依據費耐生(Richard N. Frye)所著 *The History of Iran* 附錄四的版本，全文見 Richard N. Frye, *The History of Iran* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1984), 371-373. 對於「普世統治者」意涵的討論，另見 Canepa, *The Two Eyes of the Earth*, 54, 102-103; Matthew Canepa, "Sasanian Iran and the Projection of Power in Late Antique Eurasia: Competing Cosmologies and Topographies of Power," in *Empires and Exchanges in Eurasian Late Antiquity: Rome, China, Iran, and the Steppe, ca. 250-750*, ed. Nicola Di Cosmo and Michael Maas (Cambridge; New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 59-60; Dignas and Winter, *Rome and Persia in Late Antiquity*, 57, 62.

50 Pseudo-Zachariah, *Church History*, 9.17. 以下簡稱 Zach. HE，版本選自 Geoffrey Greatrex, ed., *The Chronicle of Pseudo-Zachariah Rhetor: Church and War in Late Antiquity*, trans. Robert R. Phenix and Cornella B. Horn (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2011).

51 Prok. *Wars* 1.26.2.

52 Prok. *Wars* 2.11.32-35.

53 Prok. *Wars* 7.33.5.

主辦競賽，仍是古典時代晚期僅見。更重要的是，庫斯洛一世藉由
舉辦向來由羅馬皇帝與高官主持的馬車比賽，[54]僭奪了羅馬的統治權
威。恰如波斯使者於 534 年在君士坦丁堡目睹查士丁尼對汪達爾政
權的支配，觀賽的阿帕米亞居民，也在六年後見證了庫斯洛一世羅
馬戰爭的勝利。

　　《戰史》亦提到，自安提阿得勝而歸的庫斯洛一世率軍前往地
中海東岸的港口塞琉西亞‧彼利亞(Seleukia Pieria)，並「獨自於海中洗
浴」。[55]值得注意的是，在開放的水域洗浴並非波斯傳統，[56]庫斯洛
一世此舉在薩珊史上更屬絕無僅有。由於無論是沙普爾一世等早期
薩珊統治者的碑文，抑或塔巴里(Ṭabari, 839-923)等人在述及阿達胥爾一
脈先祖時，均未對上古伊朗以外的西亞政權多加著墨，[57]我們難以確
知這個行為是否如羅林爾(Robert Rollinger)與布爾罕(Henning Börm)等人所
言，係承襲阿卡德的薩爾恭(Sargon the Akkad, ?- 2279 BCE 在位)以來的西亞
傳統，在軍事勝利後於海中洗滌武器、沐浴，[58]以彰顯對世界的支

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54 Benjamin Anderson, "Circus," in *Oxford Dictionary of Late Antiquity*, ed. Oliver Nicholson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 347.

55 "ἀπελούσατο μὲν ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης τῷ ὕδατι μόνος." Prok. *Wars* 2.11.1.

56 Matthew Canepa, *The Iranian Expanse: Transforming Royal Identity through Architecture, Landscape, and the Built Environment, 550 BCE-642 CE* (Oakland, California: University of California Press, 2018), 137.

57 *ŠKZ* 1(沙普爾一世對自身家世的敘述)，16(僅提及「我們的先祖」)；Ṭabari, 1.813-814(對阿達胥爾父祖的介紹)。

58 從薩爾恭的時代起，眾多西亞統治者均在重大的軍事勝利後於波斯灣、地中海等海域洗滌武器，記載上述行為的碑文內容見 Douglas Frayne, *Sargonic and Gutian Periods (2334-2113 BC)* (Toronto; London: University of Toronto Press, 1993), 11(編號 2.1.1.1); Albert Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC. 1, 1114-859 BC* (Toronto; London: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 218(編號 A.0.101.1: iii 84b-85)，226(編號 A.0.101.2: 26b); Albert Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC. 2,*

配。[59]依據普羅柯比歐斯所載 540 年波斯的入侵路線，塞琉西亞‧彼利亞乃是安提阿及鄰近聚落中最後為波斯攻佔者；此外，對波斯而言，掌握安提阿所在的土耳其東南一帶，形同控制地中海地區戰略、經濟要地。[60]從這些細節推測，庫斯洛一世或許是藉由地中海洗浴之舉，展演在安提阿的勝利，[61]及其對羅馬領土的支配，進而強化自身作為普世統治者的形象。[62]

　　在 540 年出兵羅馬期間，庫斯洛一世曾以異教徒(pagans)的庇護者自居。[63]在劫掠安提阿後，這位波斯統治者前往安提阿近郊的達芬

858-745 BC (Toronto; London: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 9(編號 A.0.102.1: 33b-37a)，15(編號 A.0.102.2: i 25b-27a)。對於這些行為的討論見 Robert Rollinger, "From Sargon of Agade and the Assyrian Kings to Khusrau I and beyond: On the Persistence of Ancient Near Eastern Traditions," in *Leggo! Studies Presented to Frederick Mario Fales on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, ed. Giovanni B. Lanfranchi et al. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2012), 725-732.

59 Henning Börm, "Der Perserkönig im Imperium Romanum. Chosroes I. und der sasanidische Einfall in das Oströmische Reich 540 n.Chr.," *Chiron* 36 (2006): 310; Rollinger, "From Sargon of Agade and the Assyrian Kings to Khusrau I and beyond," 731, 734, 736. 卡爾德利斯（Anthony Kaldellis)則對此說持保留態度，Anthony Kaldellis, *Procopius of Caesarea: Tyranny, History, and Philosophy at the End of Antiquity* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 121.

60 Garth Fowden, *Before and After Muhammad: The First Millennium Refocused* (Princeton; Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2014), 94.

61 John D. Grainger, *Syria: An Outline History* (Barnsley: Pen & Sword Military, 2016), 337.

62 Canepa, *The Iranian Expanse*, 137; "Sasanian Iran and the Projection of Power in Late Antique Eurasia," 58.

63 Kaldellis, *Procopius of Caesarea*, 251-252. 本文的「異教徒」意指信仰「異教」(paganism)——泛指猶太教—基督教傳統以外，羅馬世界眾多信仰總稱——的群體。Doug Lee, *Pagans and Christians in Late Antiquity: A*

納(Daphne)以及地中海畔,向當地的仙靈(nymph)以及「太陽神與其他神祇」獻祭。[64]此外,在率軍返回波斯途中,庫斯洛一世多次以和平為由,向阿帕米亞、埃迪薩等眾多羅馬城鎮索求贖金。相較之下,卡雷(Carrhae)一地則因「多數居民並非基督徒,而是古老信仰的信眾」而得以豁免。[65]

必須說明的是,上述記載並不意味薩珊政權善待、支持異教信仰。首先,庫斯洛一世從 542 年起再度入侵巴勒斯坦等地時,並未再次對卡雷等地的異教徒釋出善意。此外,羅馬、波斯雙方外交協定中有關信仰自由的條款,以及對於議約過程的記載,皆顯示查士丁尼等眾多羅馬皇帝試圖透過外交手段保障波斯基督徒的信仰權益。舉例來說,羅馬、波斯雙方於 562 年簽訂和平協定後,旋即對基督徒處境問題展開協商,波斯當局最終同意保障境內基督徒的崇拜與禮俗;相較之下,羅馬異教社群的權益,顯非波斯一方在議約時關心的焦點。[66]

Sourcebook (London: Routledge, 2000), 10. 由於這個群體涵括多神教信眾,以及主張世間同時存在一至高神,與其餘神祇者,本文是以使用「異教」,而非「多神教徒」等替代詞彙,Alan Cameron, *The Last Pagans of Rome* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 25-32; Garth Fowden, "Constantine's Porphyry Column: The Earliest Literary Allusion," *Journal of Roman Studies* 81 (1991): 119.

64 "θύσας τε τῷ ἡλίῳ καὶ οἶστισιν ἄλλοις," Prok. *Wars* 2.11.1(地中海畔),6(達芬納)。

65 "ὅτι δὴ οἱ πλεῖστοι οὐ Χριστιανοί, ἀλλὰ δόξης τῆς παλαιᾶς τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες," Prok. *Wars* 2.13.7. 卡雷的居民在古典時代晚期仍維持對月神的崇拜。Tamara Green, *The City of the Moon God: Religious Traditions of Harran* (Leiden; New York: Brill, 1992), 54-59; Judah Segal, *Edessa: 'The Blessed City'* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), 97-119.

66 Menander the Guardsman (Protector), *History*, 6.1. 亦可參考 Ṭabari, 1.898 與是書譯本的評註 Ṭabari, *The History of al-Ṭabari,* vol. 5, 314. Menander the

　　筆者認為，庫斯洛一世向異教神祇獻祭，以及對於異教信眾的贖金豁免等行為，背後脈絡實為羅馬、波斯雙方漸趨白熱化的對峙情勢。[67]囿於相關記載，我們難以確知庫斯洛一世對羅馬異教的理解程度，但他顯然知曉查士丁尼對待異教的強硬立場。根據阿噶西亞斯的《歷史》等記載，庫斯洛一世不僅於 531 年接見在雅典學院(Academy at Athens)遭查士丁尼強制關閉後，輾轉抵達波斯的新柏拉圖主義學者(Neoplatonists)，[68]更藉由與這些知識份子交流，了解查士丁尼禁制異教的政策。[69]庫斯洛一世於 540 年對異教社群的友善態度，遂與過去十多年來羅馬的宗教政策形成鮮明對照。誠如前文所述，查士丁尼自「永恆和平」以來的軍事勝利，衝擊了波斯統治階級同時作為「伊朗人的」與「非伊朗人的」勢力支配者的角色與期待；藉由授予遭查士丁尼禁制的古老異教信仰者特權，庫斯洛一世試圖在羅馬世界內部形塑足以挑戰查士丁尼的獨立權威，同時宣告自身對「非伊朗人的領土」，即羅馬的支配。

（二）兩河流域下游的「波斯安提阿」

Guardsman (Protector), *History* 以下簡稱 Menander, frag，版本選自 R. C. Blockley, ed. and trans., *The History of Menander the Guardsman* (Leeds: Francis Cairns, 1985).

67 Dignas and Winter, *Rome and Persia in Late Antiquity*, 53, 57, 61-62.

68 Agath. 2.30.3-4, 2.31.1.

69 查士丁尼禁止異教徒從事教學，不合作者除財產充公外，亦將遭到流放，Cod. Iusti. 1.11.10; Mal. 18.42, 關於此一法令與雅典學院關閉間的可能連結，見 Simon Corcoran, "Anastasius, Justinian, and the Pagans. A Tale of Two Law Codes and a Papyrus," *Journal of Late Antiquity* 2:2 (2009): 198-203; Edward Watts, "Justinian, Malalas, and the End of Athenian Philosophical Teaching in AD 529," *Journal of Roman Studies* 94 (2004): 178-182.

　　在返回波斯後，庫斯洛一世依據安提阿的城市規劃與建築細節，在距離薩珊國都泰西封(Ctesiphon)不遠處興建了一座名為「庫斯洛的安提阿」(Ἀντιόχειάν τε τὴν Χοσρόου)的城市，安置羅馬戰俘。[70]在當地的建設中，尤以普羅柯比歐斯於《戰史》中所載，賽馬場與浴場值得進一步分析。[71]安提阿遺址的考古發掘顯示，除了多處浴場外，[72]位於主城區西北側的奧龍特斯河(Orontes River)對岸，在古典時代晚期亦建有賽馬場。[73]除此之外，安提阿還有著包括列柱大道(colonnaded street)在內的諸多公共建築，故庫斯洛一世特意在「波斯安提阿」內興建羅馬浴場、

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70 Prok. *Wars* 2.14.1. 在兩河流域下游的考古遺跡「庫斯洛的宮殿」(Ayvān-e Kesrā)附近，有一座具備城牆、排水系統與運河遺跡的遺址，被稱為「庫斯洛的花園」(Bostān-e-Kesrā)。費耶(Jean Fiey)推測當地曾存在著街道規劃，Jean Maurice Fiey, "Topography of al-Madai'n," *Sumer* 23 (1967): 26. 克里斯騰森(Arthur Christensen)與辛普森(St John Simpson)指出，此地即是「波斯安提阿」，Arthur Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides* (Copenhagen: E. Munksgaard, 1944), 386-387; St John Simpson, "Mesopotamia in the Sasanian Period: Settlement Patterns, Arts and Crafts," in *Mesopotamia and Iran in the Parthian and Sasanian Periods: Rejection and Revival, c. 238 BC-AD 642: Proceedings of a Seminar in Memory of Vladimir G. Lukonin*, ed. John Curtis (London: British Museum, 2000), 61; 豪瑟(Stefan Hauser)則據九世紀史家拜拉祖里(al-Balādhurī)之說，提出「波斯安提阿」或位於泰西封西側的可能性，Stefan Hauser, "Vēh Ardashīr and the Identification of the Ruins at Al-Madā'in," in *Facts and Artefacts: Art in the Islamic World: Festschrift for Jens Kröger on His 65th Birthday*, ed. Annette Hagedorn and Avinoam Shalem (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 462-463.

71 Prok. *Wars* 2.14.1.

72 安提阿城內浴場的分佈細節見 Andrea U. De Giorgi, *Ancient Antioch: From the Seleucid Era to the Islamic Conquest* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 57, 197.

73 安提阿的賽馬場介紹，見 Glanville Downey, *A History of Antioch in Syria: From Seleucus to the Arab Conquest* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961), 647-649.

賽馬場，背後動機值得深入探討。

今日對「波斯安提阿」賽馬場的運作細節所知有限。從波斯將540 年出兵羅馬期間所擄獲的馬車駕駛安置於此地，以及馬車比賽並非薩珊政權的傳統娛樂活動兩點推測，當地賽馬場中所舉行者，乃是羅馬式的馬車競賽。[74]由於庫斯洛一世在 540 年曾以勝利者的姿態出席阿帕米亞的馬車比賽活動，藉以展現對羅馬的支配，「波斯安提阿」賽馬場的建設，以及引入來自羅馬的馬車駕駛或許延續了此一手法，同時在這座城市所屬，作為波斯皇權基地的巴比倫省(Āsōristān)展演羅馬征服者的形象。[75]

另一方面，六世紀的薩珊統治階級對羅馬式浴場並不陌生。庫斯洛一世與波斯軍政要員曾數次於兵臨羅馬城鎮之際，要求使用當地浴場。在 530 年的達拉圍城戰役中，波斯統帥密赫朗・斐羅茲(Mihren-Fīrūz)曾在戰前要求羅馬駐軍將城內的浴場準備妥當，以便「他在明日於這座城市洗浴」。[76]西元 576 年，率軍入侵羅馬的庫斯洛一世向前來議和的羅馬使節狄奧多羅斯(Theodoros, 約 6 世紀)提到：「隨我一同前往亞美尼亞，而後我們將一同進入狄奧多西歐波利斯，享受完澡堂後即可離開」。[77]誠如齊特卡(Michal Zytka)在有關羅馬浴場的研究中所

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74 可參考有關波斯殉道者阿納斯塔西歐斯(Saint Anastasius，原名馬宮達特 Magundat)神蹟的著作《聖阿納斯塔西歐斯神蹟錄》(*Miracles of Saint Anasatasius*)，*Miracula S. Anastasii* 3-4. 版本選自 *Saint Anastase le Perse et l'histoire de la Palestine au début du VIIe*, vol. 1, trans. Bernard Flusin (Paris: Ed. du C.N.R.S, 1992), 116-153.

75 Canepa, "Sasanian Iran and the Projection of Power in Late Antique Eurasia," 68.

76 "λοῦσθαι γάρ οἱ ἐνταῦθα τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ βουλομένῳ εἶναι," Prok. *Wars* 1.13.17. 有關達拉戰役，見 Greatrex, *Rome and Persia at War*, 169-185.

77 John of Ephesos, *Church History*, 6.8. 版本選自 *The Third Part of the Ecclesiastical History of John of Ephesus*, trans. R. Payne Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1860). 波斯的軍事行動亦見 Euagr. HE 5.14;

指出，對羅馬的敵人來說，使用作為羅馬文化象徵的浴場標誌著對羅馬的支配。[78]「波斯安提阿」作為庫斯洛一世下令建造的「羅馬」城市，城內的浴場是以一如前述案例，乃是波斯於 540 年出兵羅馬所獲勝利的象徵。

本文第一部分檢視庫斯洛一世於 540 年入侵羅馬期間的舉措，以及展演軍事勝利的手法。波斯統治者對軍事勝利的展演歷史悠久，從三世紀開始，阿達胥爾、沙普爾一世等人即藉由石雕向薩珊貴族、皇族宣揚戰果，[79]因此，是類舉動在古典時代晚期亦不罕見。然而，遍查庫斯洛一世在位期間出兵鄰近政權、部族獲得的多次勝利，[80]540 年

Menander, frag. 18.6. 庫斯洛一世口中的「亞美尼亞」或指羅馬、波斯雙方於 387 年分割亞美尼亞王國後，對羅馬統治下亞美尼亞故土的稱呼。有關亞美尼亞王國的分割，可參考 Roger Blockley, "The Division of Armenia between the Romans and the Persians at the End of the Fourth Century A.D.," *Historia* 36:2 (1987): 222-234; Roger Blockley, *East Roman Foreign Policy: Formation and Conduct from Diocletian to Anastasius* (Leeds: Francis Cairns, 1992), 42-44; Geoffrey Greatrex, "The Background and Aftermath of the Partition of Armenia in AD 387," *The Ancient Historian Bulletin* 14 (2000): 43.

78 Michal Zytka, "Baths and Bathing in Late Antiquity," Ph.D. diss., (Cardiff University, 2013), 79-80.

79 Matthew Canepa, "Distant Displays of Power: Understanding Cross-Cultural Interaction among the Elites of Rome, Sasanian Iran, and Sui-Tang China," *Ars Orientalis* 38 (2010): 129; Zeev Rubin, "Res Gestae Divi Saporis: Greek and Middle Iranian in a Document of a Sasanian Anti-Roman Propaganda," in *Bilingualism in Ancient Society: Language Contact and the Written Text*, ed. James N. Adams, Mark Janse, and Simon Swain (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 273.

80 除了(一)於六世紀中葉出兵拉齊卡，進而控制當地(Prok. *Wars* 2.25.1-35; Braund, *Georgia in Antiquity*, 288-295)，以及(二)對中亞的重新支配(Daryaee, *Sasanian Persia*, 30)之外，庫斯洛一世在位末期不僅攻陷阿帕米亞、達拉等重要羅馬城市(Whitby, *The Emperor Maurice and His Historian*,

的羅馬戰爭是他唯一一次藉多種手法展演軍事勝利。本次軍事勝利有
何特殊性？又何以受到高度重視？下文將進一步考察庫斯洛一世出
兵羅馬的脈絡，作為解答上述疑問的基礎。

三、五世紀以來的波斯與中亞

　　本文第二部分將探討五世紀波斯與中亞部族的互動對薩珊政局，
以及波斯統治階級世界觀的影響。羅馬、波斯的關係自 387 年簽訂和
平協定後趨向和緩，直至卡瓦德一世於 502 年進攻狄奧多西歐波利斯
等羅馬城市為止，雙方未曾於兩河流域等地爆發重大衝突。[81]相較之
下，中亞局勢無疑是五世紀薩珊統治者關注的焦點：根據沙耶甘的
觀察，自雅茲德吉爾德一世(Yazdegerd I, 399-420 在位)的時代以來，波斯對
外事務的重心自過往與羅馬等政權爆發衝突的西亞逐漸東移，至雅茲
德吉爾德二世(Yazdegerd II, 438-457 在位)一朝已全然聚焦政權東境。[82]誠如
潘恩(Richard Payne)與雷札哈尼等人的研究所示，中亞部族對斐羅茲(Fīrūz,
459-484 在位)等君王在位期間薩珊政局的影響，形塑了六世紀波斯的發
展。舉例來說，嚈噠(Hephthalites)政權對波斯造成的衝擊促使卡瓦德一

　　257-258)，波斯的勢力亦延伸至葉門(Ṭabari, 1.948-950, 952-957)。

[81] Greatrex, "The Background and Aftermath of the Partition of Armenia in AD 387," 41-43. 兩政權於五世紀時的互動，可參考 Geoffrey Greatrex, "Two Fifth Century Wars between Rome and Persia," *Florilegium* 12 (1993): 1-14; Whitby, *The Emperor Maurice and His Historian*, 202-209. 卡瓦德一世於六世紀初年入侵羅馬之舉，見 Greatrex, *Rome and Persia at War*, 73-119.

[82] M. Rahim Shayegan, "Approaches to the Study of Sasanian History," in *Paitimāna: Essays in Iranian, Indo-European, and Indian Studies in Honor of Hanns-Peter Schmidt*, ed. Siamak Adhami (Costa Mesa: Mazda Publishers, 2003), 374.

世、庫斯洛一世推動軍事、財政改革。[83]此外，五世紀以來波斯世界觀的發展，更影響六世紀薩珊對外政策甚巨。[84]對中亞情勢與相關課題的考察，是以足資作為析論庫斯洛一世之治，以及 540 年羅馬—波斯戰爭脈絡的基礎。

（一）波斯與中亞部族的軍事衝突

根據《偽約書亞的編年史》(*The Chronicle of Pseudo-Joshua the Stylite*) 等羅馬著作的記載，寄多羅人、嚈噠人等部族的遷移與擴張，[85]對薩珊政權北境、東境構成嚴重威脅，[86]巴赫朗五世(Bahrām V Gōr, 420-438 在位)、雅茲德吉爾德二世等波斯統治者不僅致力強化帝國東境的防禦工事，更親臨前線抵禦外敵。[87]然而，根據史家普里斯寇斯(Priskos, 約

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83 Rezakhani, *ReOrienting the Sasanians*, 145.

84 Richard Payne, "The Reinvention of Iran: The Sasanian Empire and the Huns," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Attila*, ed. Michal Maas (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 299.

85 學界對這些遊牧部族的遷移細節與勢力範圍仍無定論，Frantz Grenet, "Regional Interaction in Central Asia and Northwest India in the Kidarite and Hephthalite Periods," in *Indo-Iranian Languages and Peoples*, ed. Nicholas Sims-Williams (Oxford: For the British Academy by Oxford University Press, 2002), 206.

86 寄多羅人與巴赫朗五世之間的衝突，見 Frantz Grenet, "Kidarites," in *Encyclopædia Iranica*, online edition (New York: Columbia University Center for Iranian Studies, 2005), https://iranicaonline.org/articles/kidarites, accessed June 15, 2021.

87 Ṭabari 1.863-866(巴赫朗五世)，雅茲德吉爾德二世則駐於尼沙普爾達數年之久，Daryaee, *Sasanian Persia*, 23; Richard N. Frye, "The Political History of Iran under the Sasanians," in *The Cambridge History of Iran,* vol. 3: *The Seleucid, Parthian and Sasanid Periods,* part 1, ed. Ehsan Yarshater (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 146.

5世紀)的記載，寄多羅勢力於雅茲德吉爾德二世在位末期已然威脅波斯邊境。[88]從五世紀中葉開始，波斯對中亞的統治開始鬆動。即使斐羅茲曾於 467 年驅逐寄多羅勢力，[89]波斯對嚈噠人橫跨五世紀六〇至八〇年代的數次遠征皆以失敗作收，[90]故未能鞏固在中亞的統治。[91]

(二)對卡亞尼政權認同的成形[92]

下文首先介紹伊朗史學傳統中的「卡亞尼王朝」(Kayanids)，其次探討薩珊統治階級建構自身與卡亞尼政權間連結的動機與脈絡。諾里(Gherardo Gnoli)與亞爾沙特(Ehsan Yarshater)等人的考察說明，在古典時代晚期，薩珊政權對阿契美尼德帝國(Achaemenid Empire)等政權的所知有

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88 Priskos, *Histories*, 5.33.1.(此史料以下簡稱 Priskos, frag.) 本文對普里斯寇斯之作的分段依據博洛克里 (Roger Blockley) 在 *The Fragmentary Classicising Historians of the Later Roman Empire: Eunapius, Olympiodorus, Priscus, and Malchus*, 2 vols (Liverpool: Francis Cairns, 1981-1983) 一書的版本，原文與翻譯見 Blockley, *The Fragmentary Classicising Historians*, vol. 2, 222-377.

89 Priskos, frag. 6.41.3, 6.51.1.

90 Pseudo-Joshua the Stylite, *Chronicle*, 10-11. 版本選自 *The Chronicle of Pseudo-Joshua the Stylite*, trans. F. R. Trombley and J. W. Watt (Liverpool University Press, 2000); Prok. *Wars* 1.3.1.8, 10-22(第二次遠征)，1.4.14(第三次遠征)；Pseudo-Sebeos, *Patmut'iwn Sebeosi*, 67. 版本選自 Robert W. Thomson and James Howard-Johnston, *The Armenian History Attributed to Sebeos*, *i: Translation, ii: Historical Commentary* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1999).

91 Payne, "The Reinvention of Iran," 287.

92 卡亞尼一朝的介紹可參考 Ehsan Yarshater, "Iranian National History," in *Cambridge History of Iran, vol. 3, The Seleucid, Parthian and Sasanid Periods,* part 1, ed. Ehsan Yarshater (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 444-470, 以及 *Encyclopaedia Iranica* 中 Kayāniān 詞條下所附書目。

限。[93] 相較之下，根據包括薩珊中、晚期逐漸成書的《波斯古經》、
《智慧之靈的評判》等著作的記載，在薩珊政權建立前，上古伊朗
係由傳說中的皮什達德王朝(Pishdadian / Pēšdādian dynasty)，[94]以及「卡亞尼
的卡瓦德王」(Kay Kawād / Kauui Kauuāta)開創的卡亞尼王朝接續統治。[95]
自皮什達德王朝末期以來，位於東方的宿敵「圖蘭」(Turān)成為上古
伊朗的嚴重外患，[96]影響所及，與圖蘭的爭鬥亦成為卡亞尼王朝歷史的

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[93] Gherardo Gnoli, *The Idea of Iran: An Essay on Its Origin* (Rome: Istituto italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1989), 119; Ehsan Yarshater, "Were the Sasanians Heirs to the Achaemenids," in *Atti del Convegno internazionale sul tema: La Persia nel Medioevo (Roma, 31 marzo-5 aprile l970)* (Rome: Accademia nazionale dei Lincei, 1971), 531.

[94] 中古波斯文／帕拉維文辭典 *A Concise Pahlavi Dictionary* 對 kay / kauui 一詞的解釋為「卡亞尼的」抑或此政權的頭銜，*A Concise Pahlavi Dictionary* (2014), s.v. "kay," 部分學者如辛德爾(Nikolaus Schindel)則作「王、統治者」解，相關討論見 Prods Oktor Skjærvø, "Kayānīān i. Kavi: Avestan kauui, Pahlavi kay," in *Encyclopædia Iranica*, online edition (New York: Columbia University Center for Iranian Studies, 2013), https://iranicaonline.org/articles/kayanian-i, accessed June 15, 2022. 皮什達德王朝的記載散見《波斯古經》的數篇〈雅緒特〉，Yt. 5.21-33; 19.24-25，關於卡亞尼王朝者詳見下文。由於卡亞尼諸王＋頭銜與部分薩珊統治者在錢幣上的名號重複度高，本文將以「頭銜＋名號＋王」的方式，稱呼卡亞尼統治者，以茲分別。此外，本文在述及卡亞尼諸王時，將同時附上中古波斯語，以及用以撰寫《波斯古經》的阿維斯陀語(Avestan)兩者的轉寫。Yt. 5 即 Ābān Yašt，版本選自 *The Zend-Avesta. Part II: The Sîrôzahs, Yasts and Nyâyis*, trans. James Darmesteter (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1883), 52-85. Yt. 19 即 Zamyād Yašt，版本選自 H. Humbach and P. Ichaporia, eds. and trans., *Zamyād Yasht: Yasht 19 of the Younger Avesta: Text, Translation, Commentary* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1998).

[95] Daryaee, "The Construction of the Past," 503.

[96] Yarshater, "Iranian National History," 434. 學界對「圖蘭」的可能地點仍未有定論，然皆同意這個政權位於上古伊朗的東方，Clifford E. Bosworth,

主軸。[97]值得注意的是，較之敗於圖蘭的皮什達德王朝，「卡亞尼的
卡瓦德王」與「卡亞尼的庫斯洛王」(Kay Ḵosrow / Kauui Haosrauuah)等人在
多次領兵出擊圖蘭之餘，更贏得最後勝利。[98]薩珊帝國是以傾向透過
對卡亞尼王朝的認同，預示自身對抗東境強敵的最終勝利。

　　薩珊波斯對卡亞尼政權認同的建立始於五世紀初年。雅茲德吉
爾德一世與巴赫朗五世在錢幣上使用「卡亞尼的維脅塔斯普王」(Kay
Wištāsp / Kauui Vištāspa)於史詩《札赫朗的回憶錄》(Ayādgār ī Zarērān)中的稱
號「疆土的和平守護者」(Ramshahr)作為自身頭銜。[99]除卻「卡亞尼的

　　　　"Ṭurān," in *Encyclopædia Iranica*, online edition (New York: Columbia University
　　　　Center for Iranian Studies, 2011), https://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/turan,
　　　　accessed June 15, 2021; Philip Huyse, "Die sasanidische Königstitulatur: Eine
　　　　Gegenüberstellung der Quellen," in *Ērān ud Anērān: Studien zu den
　　　　Beziehungen zwischen dem Sasanidenreich und der Mittelmeerwelt; Beiträge
　　　　des Internationalen Colloquiums in Eutin, 8.-9. Juni 2000*, ed. Philip Huyse and
　　　　Josef Wiesehöfer (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2006), 186.

97 Payne, "The Reinvention of Iran," 287.

98 Yt. 5.49-55, 19.73-77(「卡亞尼的庫斯洛王」)；《智慧之靈的評判》書中的
　　細節則見 *Dādestān Mēnōg ī xrad*, 26.45-47(卡亞尼的卡瓦德王)，26.59-
　　63(卡亞尼的庫斯洛王)。《智慧之靈的評判》版本選自 *The Book of the
　　Mainyo-I-Khard: The Pazand and Sanskrit Texts*, trans. E. W. West (Stuttgart:
　　C. Grüninger, 1871).

99 Touraj Daryaee, "History, Epic, and Numismatics: On the Title of Yazdgerd I
　　(Ramšahr)," *Journal of the American Numismatic Society*, 14 (2002): 93-94. 雅
　　茲德吉爾德一世錢幣上的銘文為「疆土的和平守護者，馬茲達崇敬者，伊
　　朗與非伊朗的萬王之王，雅茲德吉爾德陛下」(mazdēsn bay rāmšāhr
　　Yazdgerd šāhān šāh ī Ērān ud Anērān)，Nikolaus Schindel, *Sylloge Nummorum
　　Sasanidarum: Paris-Berlin-Wien. Shapur II. – Kawad I./2. Regierung* vol. 3.2
　　(Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2004),
　　183.其餘亦有著「疆土的和平守護者」頭銜的案例，見頁 184 至 187。「卡
　　亞尼的維脅塔斯普王」的「疆土的和平守護者」稱號出自 *Ayādgār ī Zarērān*,
　　60. 版本選自 D. Monchi-Zadeh, ed. and trans., *Die Geschichte Zarēr's*

維胥塔斯普王」在引介、傳播瑣羅亞斯德信仰一事扮演的重要角色，[100]
誠如潘恩所指出的，「卡亞尼的維胥塔斯普王」在《札赫朗的回憶錄》
與〈慷慨的大地之靈頌〉等著作中亦以擊敗外敵的伊朗統治者形象出
現，[101]「疆土的和平守護者」稱號的使用是以反映了彼時薩珊面對日
漸嚴峻的境外威脅。

隨著波斯與寄多羅人、嚈噠人的衝突日熾，以及對中亞支配力量
的減弱，雅茲德吉爾德二世時代以降的薩珊統治階級進一步建構自身
與卡亞尼諸王的連結，藉以強化對波斯東境統治的正當性。雅茲德吉
爾德二世、巴拉胥(Balaš, 484-488 在位)等統治者開始在錢幣上使用卡亞尼
諸王在《波斯古經》中的頭銜「卡亞尼的」(kay / kauui)。[102]從斐羅茲的
時代起，除卻錢幣與印章上的頭銜，[103]薩珊皇族更開始以卡亞尼統治

(Uppsala: Almqvist and Wiksell International, 1981).

100 Touraj Daryaee, "National History or Keyanid History?: The Nature of Sasanid
Zoroastrian Historiography," *Iranian Studies* 28:3/4 (1995): 136; Abdollah
Shahbazi, "Early Sasanians' Claim to Achaemenid Heritage," *Nāme-ye Irān-e
Bāstān* 1:1 (2001): 69.

101 Payne, "The Reinvention of Iran," 289.

102 以雅茲德吉爾德二世的錢幣為例，包括「疆土的和平守護者，馬茲達崇敬者，
卡亞尼的雅茲德吉爾德陛下」(mazdēsn bay rāmšāhr kay Yazdgerd)、「馬茲達
崇敬者，卡亞尼的雅茲德吉爾德陛下」(mazdēsn bay kay Pērōz)與「卡亞尼的
雅茲德吉爾德」(kay Yazdgerd)均體現了與卡亞尼一朝的連結，Schindel, *Sylloge
Nummorum Sasanidarum*, vol. 3.2, 246-247, 249-254, 銘文的翻譯見頁 255。斐羅
茲錢幣上的頭銜與翻譯則見 Schindel, *Sylloge Nummorum Sasanidarum*, vol. 3.2,
276-286，巴拉胥則以「美好卡亞尼的」(hukay)作為頭銜，Schindel, *Sylloge
Nummorum Sasanidarum*, vol. 3.2, 339-340.

103 斐羅茲的印章刻有「萬王之王，卡亞尼的斐羅茲……馬茲達崇敬者，卡亞
尼的雅茲德吉爾德陛下，萬王之王之子」(Kay Pērōz šāhān šāh... mazdēsn
bay Kay Yazdgerd šāhān šāh)等字句，此處翻譯出自 Prods Oktor Skjærvø,
"The Great Seal of Pêrôz," *Studia Iranica* 32:2 (2003): 282-283.

者名號命名後嗣：斐羅茲之子「卡瓦德」、「札瑪斯普」(Jāmāsp／Zamasp, 496-498在位)，以及卡瓦德一世的長子「卡烏斯」(Kāvus, 約5至6世紀)，以及「庫斯洛」等人的名字，均分別對應上古卡亞尼統治階級的名號。[104]

　　不僅薩珊皇族，波斯的重要貴族帕提亞(Parthia)七大家族(Seven Great Houses)亦開始與卡亞尼政權建立連結。[105]根據塔巴里的敘述，自雅茲德吉爾德一世以來擔任宰相(wuzurg framādār)一職數十年的密赫爾‧納爾謝(Mehr-Narseh, 約4至5世紀)，乃是前述「卡亞尼的維胥塔斯普王」之後。[106]此外，自斐羅茲時代至卡瓦德一世在位初期掌理波斯軍政大權的蘇可拉(Suḵrā, ?-493／494)，亦自稱是上古英雄，曾效力於「卡亞尼的庫斯洛王」麾下的圖斯(Tus)後裔，其出身的卡林家族(House of Kārin)更將家系上溯至傳說中的卡亞尼統治者馬努雪赫(Manučehr)。[107]上述記載說明，對卡亞尼一朝的認同，乃是薩珊統治集團的共通現象。

　　薩珊統治者在建立自身與卡亞尼諸王的連結之餘，亦致力效法這

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104 卡瓦德一世的名號與「卡亞尼的卡瓦德王」相連。見 Josef Wiesehöfer, "The 'Accursed' And The 'Adventurer': Alexander The Great In Iranian Tradition," in *A Companion to Alexander Literature in the Middle Ages*, ed. David Zuwiyya (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2011), 117. 除了「卡亞尼的卡烏斯王」(Kay Kāvus／Kauui Usan)與「卡亞尼的庫斯洛王」外，「札瑪斯普」之名則源自「卡亞尼的維胥塔斯普王」的顧問札瑪斯普，Parvaneh Pourshariati, *Decline and Fall of the Sasanian Empire: The Sasanian-Parthian Confederacy and the Arab Conquest of Iran* (New York: I.B. Tauris, 2008), 385.

105 Payne, "The Reinvention of Iran," 293.

106 Ṭabari, 1.869. 密赫爾‧納爾謝的影響力橫跨雅茲德吉爾德一世與斐羅茲在位的數十年間，Touraj Daryaee, "Mehr-Narseh," in *Encyclopædia Iranica*, online edition (New York: Columbia University Center for Iranian Studies, 2000), https://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/mehr-narseh, accessed June 15, 2021.

107 Ṭabari, 1.878. 圖斯與「卡亞尼的庫斯洛王」的連結可追溯至〈水神頌〉，Yt. 5.53-55.

些傳說中偉大統治者的事蹟，實現作為「卡亞尼諸王後裔」的角色期待。[108]以對外政策為例，五世紀的薩珊統治者多次征伐中亞。此舉固然出於維護波斯在當地的經濟利益，[109]然而對巴赫朗五世與斐羅茲等即位以來合法性迭遭波斯皇族、貴族挑戰的薩珊統治者來說，[110]他們正是藉由征伐東境的寄多羅等勢力，效法「卡亞尼的庫斯洛王」等統治者「抵禦政權東方強敵威脅」的事功，在鞏固統治集團支持的同時，亦強化宣示己身為「卡亞尼諸王後裔」，從而確立統治正當性。[111]

　　這樣的情況從五世紀下半葉起有了重大改變。自斐羅茲遠征挫敗以來，折損眾多兵員的薩珊政權不僅喪失包括呼羅珊(Khorasan)、大夏(Bactria)等地在內的控制權，更淪為嚈噠勢力的附庸。[112]從五世紀末

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108 James Howard-Johnston, *The Last Great War of Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021), 116; Richard Payne, "Cosmology and the Expansion of the Iranian Empire, 502–628," *Past and Present* 220:1 (2013): 3-33.

109 波斯對中亞地區貿易利益的掌握與喪失，見 Richard Payne, "The Silk Road and the Iranian Political Economy in Late Antiquity," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 81 (2018): 233-234, 236-243.

110 薩珊政權於這些統治者即位之初均爆發皇族成員間的內戰：巴赫朗五世：Dīnavarī, 57; Ṭabari, 1.858; 斐羅茲：Dīnavarī, 60; Ṭabari, 1.872.

111 Daryaee, "The Construction of the Past," 503; "Sasanian Kingship, Empire and Glory," 17.

112 Prok. *Wars* 1.4.2, 14. 呼羅珊的重要城市梅爾夫自斐羅茲的時代起已非薩珊政權的勢力範圍，Nikolaus Schindel, "The Sasanian Coinage in Merw during the Fifth-Century A.D.," in *Simone Assemani Symposium sulla monetazione islamica. Atti del Convegno (Padova, maggio 2003)*, ed. Bruno Callegher, Giovanni Gorini, and Anna Pontani (Milan: Esedra, 2009), 49-50; Nikolaus Schindel, "Sakastan in the Fourth and Fifth Century AD. Some Historical Remarks Based on the Numismatic Evidence," in *Central Asia and Iran - Greeks, Parthians, Kushans and Sasanians*, ed. Edward Dąbrowa (Kraków: Jagiellonian University Press, 2015), 241-242. 有關大夏一地景況，另見

葉起，嚈噠人對中亞的統治正當性隨著波斯歲幣的湧入，以及刻於
這些錢幣之上，頭戴斐羅茲皇冠的嚈噠統治者肖像與強調統治權威
的銘文而強化。[113]與此同時，在北方強敵勢大的情況下，薩珊統治
者已無法憑恃出兵中亞政權，「再現」並「維繫」卡亞尼時代對東部
強鄰的支配。[114]對薩珊統治集團來說，出征嚈噠勢力的失利，導致
他們無力形塑自身與卡亞尼過往榮光的連結，[115]實為對外政策以及
意識形態層面的雙重挫敗。[116]

四、庫斯洛一世時期的政治情勢與卡亞尼認同的發展

作為薩珊政權在位最久的統治者之一，有關庫斯洛一世的研究
十分豐富。[117]儘管如此，除了自卡瓦德一世承繼的軍事、經濟改革

Robert Haug, *The Eastern Frontier. Limits of Empire in Late Antique and Early Medieval Central Asia* (London: I.B.Tauris, 2019), 58, 62; Rezakhani, *ReOrienting the Sasanians*, 88, 96-98.

[113] Michael Bonner, *The Last Empire of Iran* (Piscataway: Gorgias Press, 2020), 100; Canepa, "Sasanian Iran and the Projection of Power in Late Antique Eurasia," 66. 有關嚈噠對波斯銀幣的「再利用」與銘刻，見 Michael Alram, "A Rare Hunnish Coin Type," *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 8 (2002), 149-153.

[114] 巴拉胥、札瑪斯普以及卡瓦德一世在位的第一階段(488-496 年)皆未曾出兵嚈噠勢力。

[115] Payne, "Cosmology and the Expansion of the Iranian Empire," 26.

[116] Daryaee, "Sasanian Kingship, Empire and Glory," 17; Payne, "The Reinvention of Iran," 284, 288.

[117] 早期著作，如克里斯騰森的 *L'Iran sous les Sassanides* 多倚賴伊斯蘭時期的記載， Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, 363-440, 晚近研究則顯示錢幣、印章等出土文物對理解庫斯洛一朝景況的重要性，代表性著作包括

外，[118]史家對這位統治者早期的事蹟關注有限。值得注意的是，波斯於 540 年的入侵不只是羅馬與薩珊政權自「永恆和平」條約以來的再次衝突，[119]也是庫斯洛一世的首次對外軍事行動。[120]彼時薩珊境內與境外景況，以及庫斯洛一世對這些情勢的理解，是以值得進一步考察。藉由耙梳傳世文獻以及考古發掘所得，筆者將首先聚焦庫斯洛一世即位以來的政局與對外關係，其次探討㈠卡亞尼認同，意即本文第二部分所述，視卡亞尼諸王為先祖，並效法其事功之舉在六世紀薩珊波斯的發展，以及㈡對戰羅馬所獲之勝利對波斯統治階層的意義，從而析論庫斯洛一世於 540 年選擇查士丁尼政權作為出兵對象的脈絡。

（一）庫斯洛一世即位以來的內外困境

Michael Bonner, *Three Neglected Sources of Sasanian History in the Reign of Khusraw Anushirvan* (Leuven: Peeters, 2011) , 以及 Christelle Jullien 主編的 *Husraw Ier. Reconstructions d'un règne Sources et documents* (Paris: Association pour l'Avancement des Études iraniennes, 2015) 第一部分 Les sources officielles du règne de Husraw Ier 收錄的研究(頁 11 至頁 140)。

118 Bonner, *The Last Empire of Iran*, 147-150, 177-180; Zeev Rubin, "The Reforms of Khusrō Anūshirwān," in *States, Resources and Armies*, ed. Averil Cameron (Princeton: Darwin Press, 1995), 227-297.

119 於卡瓦德一世在位末年的 531 年下半葉入侵羅馬之波斯軍隊，在庫斯洛一世即位後已自馬特洛波利斯(Martyropolis，今土耳其錫爾萬 Silvan)撤軍，Mal. 18.65; Zach. HE 9.5(出兵入侵)；Prok. Wars 1.21.9-11, 27(撤軍細節)。儘管庫斯洛一世一度計畫於 532 年春天入侵羅馬，雙方情勢在羅馬使節斡旋下得以緩解，Prok. Wars 1.22.9-15.

120 庫斯洛一世即位以來的軍事行動多以弭平波斯境內亂事，以及鞏固邊區統治為目標，而非對外發動戰爭。見 Ṭabari, 1.894-895, 898，以及是書譯本的評註 Ṭabari, *The History of al-Ṭabari*, vol. 5, 112-113, 151-152.

　　西元 531 年 9 月，庫斯洛一世登基，開啟近半世紀的統治。即位伊始，庫斯洛一世的權威即遭遇統治集團的挑戰。[121]馬拉拉斯的《編年史》指出，不滿庫斯洛一世宗教政策的「瑣羅亞斯德祭司與波斯貴族」策劃謀反，並以卡瓦德一世長子卡烏斯取而代之。[122]史家伊本・伊斯凡迪亞爾(Ebn Esfandīār, 約 13 世紀)在《塔巴里斯坦史》(*History of Tabaristan*)則提到，出掌塔巴里斯坦一地事務的卡烏斯在庫斯洛一世登基後發動革命，而身死其中。[123]

　　此外，根據普羅柯比歐斯的記載，拒絕承認庫斯洛一世統治正當性的薩珊貴族曾聯合先皇卡瓦德一世次子——其武勇與德行均廣受波斯人敬佩的札美斯(Zames, ?-531)，[124]推舉札美斯之子小卡瓦德(Kawād, 約 6 世紀)為帝，[125]謀劃推翻庫斯洛一世。[126]

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121 Heather, *Rome Resurgent*, 117, 213.

122 "οἱ δὲ μάγοι Περσῶν……μετὰ τῶν συγκλητικῶν," Mal. 18.69.

123 伊本・伊斯凡迪亞爾的著作轉引自 Patricia Crone, "Kavād's Heresy and Mazdak's Revolt," *Iran* 29 (1991): 32, 亦可參考 Pourshariati, *Decline and Fall of the Sasanian Empire*, 288-289.

124 "ὁρῶν δὲ Πέρσας σχεδόν τι εἰπεῖν ἅπαντας τεθηπότας τὴν……ἀνδρείαν ἦν γὰρ ἀγαθὸς τὰ πολέμιὰ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἀρετὴν σέβοντας;" Prok. *Wars* 1.11.5, 其生平亦可參見 John R. Martindale, ed., *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire,* vol.2*, A.D. 395-527* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 1195，Zames 詞條中的整理。(是書以下簡稱 *PLRE* II)札美斯因獨眼而不具繼承皇位資格，Prok. *Wars* 2.9.12-13.

125 除卻普羅柯比歐斯的著作，關於「小卡瓦德」的記載非常有限，亦無別稱傳世(其生平詳見 John R. Martindale, ed., *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, vol. 3*, A.D. 527-641* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 276 中的 Cavades 詞條)，因此，本文以「小卡瓦德」稱之，與庫斯洛一世之父，卡瓦德一世區別。

126 政變細節見 Prok. *Wars* 1.23.1-6. 布爾罕推測普羅柯比歐斯所載與前述馬拉拉斯《編年史》當中卡烏斯的謀反似為同一事件，Henning Börm, "Procopius and the East," in *A Companion to Procopius of Caesarea*, ed. Mischa Meier and

　　庫斯洛一世在弭平政變後處置政變參與者的方式，亦顯示其權威仍有侷限。雖然多數逆謀者遭到處決，但《戰史》指出，小卡瓦德在當時仍受出身貴冑的「總督」(kanārang)阿德爾古敦巴德斯(Adergoudounbades, ?-541)撫養，更因此受其庇護；[127]阿德爾古敦巴德斯從卡瓦德一世一朝起，即接替谷沙納斯達迪斯(Gousanastades, ?-498／499)出任「總督」要職，[128]庫斯洛一世「尚未具有對其發號施令的權力」，故僅能致信阿德爾古敦巴德斯，囑其自行鶻除小卡瓦德。[129]從此可見，庫斯洛一世在位早期對波斯統治集團成員的支配仍屬有限。

　　就對外關係言之，普羅柯比歐斯等人的著作對理解(包括波斯—嚈噠關係在內)庫斯洛一世時代中亞情勢的幫助有限。隨著波斯與突厥部族於戈爾—札里溫之役(Battle of Gol-Zarriun, 約 560)在六世紀中葉擊敗嚈噠勢力，大夏、喀布爾(Kabul)等地重新納入薩珊政權版圖，[130]嚈噠政權對

Federico Montinaro (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2022), 317. 考量兩次行動的參與者並未重疊，以及動機的差異，本文從達立耶與格雷特斯等人之說，將卡烏斯與札美斯等人的謀反視為兩個獨立事件，Daryaee, *Sasanian Persia*, 28; Geoffrey Greatrex, *Procopius of Caesarea: The Persian Wars: A Historical Commentary* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022), 327; *PLRE* II, Caoses; Phthasuarsas, 分別位於頁 259 與 884。

127 Prok. *Wars* 1.23.7.

128 Prok. *Wars* 1.6.18.「總督」在當時是重要職位，須由貴冑後裔出任，並鎮守薩珊政權與嚈噠人勢力相鄰的邊區 (πρὸς αὐταῖς που ταῖς ἐσχατιαῖς τῆς Περσῶν γῆς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχων ἐν χώρᾳ ἣ τοῖς Ἐφθαλίταις ὅμορός ἐστι)，Prok. *Wars* 1.5.4, 1.6.12, 對於阿德爾古敦巴德斯家族重要性的討論，見 Pourshariati, *Decline and Fall of the Sasanian Empire*, 266-271.

129 "……οὔτε ἄλλως αὐτὸν βιάζεσθαι εἶχεν," Prok. *Wars* 1.23.7.

130 又稱布哈拉之役(Battle of Bukhara)，Dīnavarī, 69-70; Menander, frag. 4.2, 10.1; Ṭabari 1.895, 899; Mario Grignaschi, "La chute de l'Empire Hephthalite dans les sources byzantines et perses et le problème des Avar," *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 28 (1980): 219-248. 學界對這場戰役的確切時間未有定

波斯北境等地的威脅亦告解除。[131]事實上，從六世紀初年開始，嚈噠勢力對中亞的支配似已弱化。[132]從西元 512 年開始，隨著斐羅茲身死而中斷薩珊錢幣發行的梅爾夫(Merv)、尼沙普爾等呼羅珊地區的鑄幣廠，再度發行薩珊錢幣。由於薩珊鑄幣廠皆歸中央管控，發行錢幣與否與皇權對當地的支配程度密切相關，[133]辛德爾(Nikolaus Schindel)推測，上述現象乃是卡瓦德一世出兵中亞，成功收復呼羅珊地區所致。[134]

　　必須說明的是，除卻薩珊政權於戈爾—札里溫之役的重大勝利，目前並無證據說明庫斯洛一世在位早期曾試圖擴張波斯在中亞的勢力範圍。事實上，本次的薩珊—突厥聯軍是庫斯洛一世自 531 年即位以來首度，亦是唯一一次出兵嚈噠勢力。根據《阿壩傳》(Life of Mar Aba)一書的記載，波斯確實直至六世紀中葉仍與嚈噠維持良好關係。[135]此

論 (介 於 558 至 561 年 間)，Adrian David Hugh Bivar, "Hephthalites," in *Encyclopædia Iranica*, online edition (New York: Columbia University Center for Iranian Studies, 2003), https://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/hephthalites, accessed June 15, 2022; Bonner, *The Last Empire of Iran*, 215-216; Greatrex and Lieu, *The Roman Eastern Frontier*, 278.

131 Rezakhani, *ReOrienting the Sasanians*, 143.

132 Daryaee, *Sasanian Persia*, 27.

133 Schindel, "Sasanian Coinage," accessed June 15, 2022.

134 Schindel, *Sylloge Nummorum Sasanidarum*, vol. 3.1, 490; Schindel "Sakastan in the Fourth and Fifth Century AD.," 242; 波茲(Daniel Potts)則對此說持保留態度， Daniel Potts, "Sasanian Iran and Its Northeastern Frontier: Offense, Defense, and Diplomatic Entente," in *Empires and Exchanges in Eurasian Late Antiquity: Rome, China, Iran, and the Steppe, ca. 250-750*, ed. Nicola Di Cosmo and Michael Maas (Cambridge; New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 297.

135 *Life of Mar Aba* 37. 版本選自 F, Jullien, ed. and trans., *Histoire de Mār Abba, catholicos de l'Orient; Martyres de Mār Grigor, général en chef du roi Khusro*

外，格雷特斯與潘恩等人更指出，庫斯洛一世自登基以來，直至戈
爾—札里溫之役，都未曾中斷薩珊政權自斐羅茲遠征失敗起，對嚈
噠勢力行之已數十年的納貢。[136] 綜合以上資訊可知，卡瓦德一世的
軍事勝利固然使波斯的統治再度及於呼羅珊一帶，終究未使波斯擺
脫自五世紀末葉起對嚈噠政權因戰敗而屈膝稱臣的局面。[137]

（二）六世紀波斯的卡亞尼認同與庫斯洛一世

本部分探討㈠卡亞尼認同在六世紀薩珊政權的存續，以及㈡庫
斯洛一世與卡亞尼政權的連結。沙耶甘指出，波斯錢幣上「卡亞尼
的」字樣在卡瓦德一世、庫斯洛一世時代的消失，象徵統治階級對
卡亞尼一朝的連結已趨式微。[138]然而，在六世紀的《阿達胥爾，帕巴
格之子傳》(Kār-nāmag ī Ardašīr ī Pābagān, KAP)一書中，薩珊政權的創立者阿
達胥爾仍被冠以「卡亞尼的阿達胥爾，出自薩珊家系與大流士王血
脈的帕巴格(Bābak, 約 2-3 世紀)之子」的名號。[139]另一方面，卡瓦德一世
曾於 512 年發行刻有「卡亞尼的卡瓦德」(Kay Kawād)字樣的金幣。[140]
換句話說，此金幣的發行年代恰與前文所述，波斯重新將呼羅珊地

Ier et, Martyre de Mār Yazd-panah, juge et Gouverneur (Leuven: Peeters, 2015).

136 Greatrex, *Rome and Persia at War*, 48-49; Payne, "The Reinvention of Iran,"
287. 波斯對嚈噠勢力的納貢見 Prok. *Wars* 1.4.35.

137 "τὸν πολέμιον προσεκύνησε," Prok. *Wars* 1.3.22.

138 Shayegan, "Sasanian Political Ideology," 809-810.

139 "ardaxšīr ī kay ī pābagān ī az tōhmag ī sāsān ud nāf ī dārā šāh," *KAP* 3.19. 關
於《阿達胥爾，帕巴格之子傳》著作年代的討論，見 Touraj Daryaee, "The
Ideal King in the Sasanian World: Ardaxšīr ī Pābagān or Xusrō Anōšag-ruwān,"
Nāme-ye Irān-e Bāstān 3:1 (2003), 36.

140 Schindel, *Sylloge Nummorum Sasanidarum*, vol. 3.1, 463, 此錢幣的圖像細節與
銘文詳見 Schindel, *Sylloge Nummorum Sasanidarum*, vol. 3.2, 383-384, 386.

區納入版圖的時間點相符。在薩珊帝國，金幣的發行多具政治宣傳目的，[141]卡瓦德之舉是以說明卡亞尼政權仍是彼時薩珊統治階級認同塑造的重要元素。

庫斯洛一世的卡亞尼認同則體現於對谷胥納斯普聖火(Ādur Gušnasp)的崇敬。根據瑣羅亞斯德信仰的傳統，在光明之神阿胡拉・馬茲達(Ahura Mazdā)於創世之初所造，用以守護世界的三大至聖之火(Ātaš ī wahrām)中，[142]谷胥納斯普聖火不僅係專屬王與戰士階級(artēštār)之火，[143]更與上古卡亞尼政權密切相關。[144]《創世紀》與《智慧之靈的評判》等經典記載，「卡亞尼的庫斯洛王」在摧毀當地偶像崇拜神廟(uzdēszār)，並由附於其座騎上的「谷胥納斯普之火」袪除黑暗、創造光明後，建立了谷胥納斯普聖火神廟。[145]

根據《戰史》與費爾多西(Ferdowsī, 940-1019 / 1025)的《列王記》(Šāh-nāma)的記載，庫斯洛一世曾在出兵羅馬之際前往谷胥納斯普神廟參拜，[146]並於凱旋後進獻戰利品。[147]另一方面，對於今日伊朗西北部

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[141] Schindel, "Sasanian Coinage," accessed December 15, 2023.

[142] 其餘兩大聖火為布爾森密赫爾之火(Ādur Burzēn-Mihr，「尊貴的密赫爾之火」)以及法恩巴爾格之火(Ādur Farnbag，「藉王之榮耀而共享」之火)，*Bundahišn*, 18.8, 44.

[143] Werner Sundermann, "Artēšdār," in *Encyclopædia Iranica*, vol. 2, part 6, ed. Ehsan Yarshater (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1986), 661-662.

[144] Mary Boyce, "Ādur Gušnasp," in *Encyclopædia Iranica*, vol. 1, part 5, ed. Ehsan Yarshater (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1983), 475-476; Dietrich Huff, "Takht-e Soleymān," in *Encyclopædia Iranica*, online edition (New York: Columbia University Center for Iranian Studies, 2002), https://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/takt-e-solayman, accessed June 15, 2021.

[145] *Bundahišn*, 18.8; *Dādestān Mēnōg ī xrad*, 2.95, 27.59-61.

[146] Prok. *Wars* 2.24.1-2.

[147] Ferdowsī, *Šāh-nāma* 7.250-251.

「所羅門的王座」(Takht-e Soleymān)一地谷胥納斯普神廟出土的黏土印章(clay bullae)與相關記載的考察，證實這座神廟即為普羅柯比歐斯與費爾多西所載，曾為庫斯洛一世造訪者。[148]此外，在這座遺址六世紀時擴建的石造建築，以及舊有的泥磚結構間，曾出土庫斯洛一世早期發行的波斯錢幣。卡內帕據此研判，這位統治者在位前期可能投入可觀資源，翻修、擴建這座與卡亞尼一朝密切相關的神廟。[149]

　　庫斯洛一世並非第一位建設谷胥納斯普神廟的波斯統治者。「所羅門的王座」遺址的考察結果顯示，谷胥納斯普神廟在五世紀經歷了快速、穩定的發展，[150]波斯統治者在該處的活動亦趨頻繁：以《列王紀》中有關巴赫朗五世的記載為例，除卻在這座具有濃厚卡亞尼色彩的神廟度過重要波斯節慶，[151]這位統治者更於征討中亞前夕前往朝拜，並在凱旋後將戰利品與戰俘獻予此地，這是薩珊政權史上首次將對外軍事行動與卡亞尼政權相連。[152]結合巴赫朗五世在錢幣

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148 Robert Göbl, Die Tonbullen vom Tacht-E Suleiman, *ein Beitrag zur spätsāsānidischen Sphragistik* (Berlin: D. Reimer, 1976); Helmut Humbach, "Atur Gušnasp," in *Festschrift für Wilhelm Eilers. Ein Dokument der internationalen Forschung zum 27. September 1966*, ed. Gernot Wiessner (Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1967), 189-190.

149 Matthew Canepa, "Building a New Vision of the Past in the Sasanian Empire: The Sanctuaries of Kayānsīh and the Great Fires of Iran," *Journal of Persianate Studies* 6:1-2 (2013): 84. 當地發掘成果的彙整見 Dietrich Huff, "Takht-e Soleymān," 與該詞條所附書目。

150 Mary Boyce, *Zoroastrians, their Religious Beliefs and Practices* (London; Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979), 124; Canepa, "Sasanian Iran and the Projection of Power in Late Antique Eurasia," 66.(雅茲德吉爾德二世與斐羅茲在位年間)

151 Ferdowsī, *Šāh-nāma* 7.11.

152 al-Ṯaʿālebī, *Ghurar akhbār mulūk al-Furs wa-siyarihim*, 559-560.版本選自 H. Zotenberg, *Histoire des rois des Perses* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1900);

銘文中使用卡亞尼統治者稱號之舉，可知對谷胥納斯普神廟的參拜、獻祭，實為他營造自身作為卡亞尼後裔形象的策略之一。藉由造訪這座神廟，巴赫朗五世出兵中亞一事，更得以與「卡亞尼的庫斯洛王」這位與谷胥納斯普神廟淵源甚深，且出兵成功化解政權東境威脅的偉大統治者功業相比擬。以此為基礎，筆者推測，庫斯洛一世於出兵羅馬前夕造訪該廟，不僅將 540 年出兵羅馬之舉比附為「卡亞尼的庫斯洛王」等人的軍事行動，亦意在連結自身與卡亞尼諸王。值得注意的是，這是薩珊統治者首次於進攻羅馬前參拜這座與卡亞尼統治者相連的拜火神廟。藉由考察薩珊波斯對現世政治秩序的理解，以及意識形態的發展，下文將探討庫斯洛一世何以選擇羅馬作為首次對外軍事行動的目標，以此宣示自身與「卡亞尼的庫斯洛王」等統治者的關聯。

(三)「神賜榮光」、[153]卡亞尼認同與羅馬戰爭的價值

　　庫斯洛一世之所以選擇查士丁尼政權為首次對外軍事行動的目

Ṭabari, 1.863(前往神廟)，865(獻上戰利品)。塔巴里指出巴赫朗五世出兵征討者乃是「突厥人」，然該詞或指寄多羅人，抑或匈尼特部族(Chionites)，見是書譯本的評註 Ṭabari, *The History of al-Ṭabari*, vol. 5, 94.

153 *A Concise Pahlavi Dictionary* 對 xwarrah 一詞的解釋為榮光、福佑與輝煌，*A Concise Pahlavi Dictionary* (2014), s.v. "xwarrah." 「神賜榮光」的特質，以及與其他神祇間的關聯另見 Canepa, *The Two Eyes of the Earth*, 101, 281; Alexander Lubotsky, "Avestan xvarənah-: The Etymology and Concept," in *Sprache und Kultur der Indogermanen*: *Akten der X. Fachtagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft Innsbruck, 22.-28. September 1996*, ed. Wolfgang Meid (Innsbruck: Institüt für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Innsbruck, 1998), 479-480 的整理，故本文將之譯為「神賜榮光」。

標，究其原因，乃是為了獲取由阿胡拉・馬茲達所造，[154]為伊朗獨有，
有能、合法統治者的象徵「神賜榮光」(xwarrah)。[155]另一方面，作為上
古伊朗法理上的統治者，卡亞尼諸王享有「神賜榮光」的護持與庇
佑。[156]因此，對五世紀以降的波斯統治階級來說，「神賜榮光」的持
有不僅標誌著統治正當性，更是與卡亞尼先祖相連的關鍵。[157]

　　除了繼承自先祖，[158]軍事勝利更是薩珊統治階層獲取「神賜榮光」
的重要途徑。[159]舉例來說，五世紀時自視卡亞尼諸王後裔的雅茲德吉
爾德二世不僅出兵中亞多年，更以「神賜榮光」命名薩珊政權北境的
新設行政區。[160]在古典時代晚期，對新建行政區劃的命名是波斯統治
者強化權威的重要方式。[161]因此，雅茲德吉爾德二世此舉，可謂運用
「神賜榮光」強化、銘記自身與卡亞尼連結的重要例證。

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154 Yt. 19.59.

155 關於「神賜榮光」的創造，以及與伊朗政權的關係參見 Yt. 19.31-32, 63.

156 Yt. 19.53-54, 73-74(卡亞尼的庫斯洛王)，84, 87(卡亞尼的維脅塔斯普王)。

157 Jan Willem Drijvers, "Rome and the Sasanid Empire: Confrontation and Coexistence," in *A Companion to Late Antiquity*, ed. Philip Rousseau (Malden, MA; Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 446.

158 Jamsheed Chosky, "Sacral Kingship in Sasanian Iran," *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* n.s. 2 (1988): 41.

159 James Howard-Johnston, "The Late Sasanian Army," in *Late Antiquity: Eastern Perspectives*, ed. Teresa Bernheimer and Adam Silverstein (Oxford: Gibb Memorial Trust, 2012), 123; Abolala Soudavar, *The Aura of Kings, Legitimacy and Divine Sanction in Iranian Kingship* (Costa Mesa: Mazda Publishers, 2003), 79.

160 吉瑟倫推測名為「伊朗—雅茲德吉爾德的神賜榮光」(Ērān-xwarrah-Yazdgerd)的行政區，或為雅茲德吉爾德二世在政權北境所設，Rika Gyselen, "Ērān-xwarrah-Yazdgerd," in *Encyclopædia Iranica*, vol. 8, part 5, ed. Ehsan Yarshater (Costa Mesa: Mazda Publishers, 1998), 537.

161 Canepa, *The Two Eyes of the Earth*, 43.

　　值得注意的是，透過軍事勝利所獲「神賜榮光」的多寡，端視不同政權在波斯世界觀中的位階而定。舉例來說，擊敗薩珊世界觀中與「伊朗的／伊朗人的」在宗教、政治上對敵的「非伊朗人的／非伊朗的」政權，[162]將為薩珊統治者帶來至高的「神賜榮光」。[163]從沙普爾一世等人的碑文可知，統治範圍涵括東地中海各境的羅馬乃是「非伊朗的／非伊朗人的土地」的一部，[164]薩珊統治者自出兵羅馬中獲得的「神賜榮光」是以無疑較征伐其他政權更為可觀。

　　在波斯對政權北境控制力衰微下，透過出兵羅馬獲得的軍事勝利更顯重要。誠如前文所述，自斐羅茲的時代以來，薩珊政權對嚈噠勢力的支配有限。由於中亞部族係彼時波斯統治階級眼中「圖蘭」的現世象徵，[165]藉由成功征討嚈噠勢力以獲取「神賜榮光」，並「再現」上古卡亞尼時代的理想政治秩序，顯得困難重重，遑論以此為

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162 Philippe Gignoux, "Anērān," in *Encyclopædia Iranica*, vol. 2, part 1, ed. Ehsan Yarshater (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1985), 30-31; Shaul Shaked, "Religion in the Late Sasanian Period: Eran, Aneran, and other Religious Desinations," in *The Sasanian Era*, ed. Vesta S. Curtis and Sarah Steward (London: I.B. Tauris, 2008), 106-112.

163 Abolala Soudavar, "Looking through The Two Eyes of the Earth: A Reassessment of Sasanian Rock Reliefs," *Iranian Studies* 45:1 (2012): 31-32.

164 沙普爾一世在納克胥·儒斯坦一地的碑文中提及薩珊政權在三世紀中葉將俘虜的羅馬人，意即「非伊朗人」強制遷移至波斯境內各地，*ŠKZ* 15-16. 數十年後，瑣羅亞斯德信仰祭司(mowbed)可迪爾(Kartīr)在相同地點的碑文(Kartir Inscription, Ka'ba-ye Zartošt，簡稱 *KKZ*)亦指出，羅馬統治下的小亞細亞(Asia Minor)與敘利亞等地皆屬「非伊朗」範圍，*KKZ* 14-15. 可迪爾的碑文翻譯見 David Neil MacKenzie, "Kerdir's Inscription," in *The Sasanian Rock Reliefs at Naqsh-i Rustam: Naqsh-i Rustam 6, The Triumph of Shapur I*, ed. Georgina Herrmann (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 1989), 35-72.

165 由於薩珊帝國自視為傳說中卡亞尼政權的繼承人，地處波斯以東，與之敵對的中亞部族是以成為卡亞尼政權以東的敵對勢力「圖蘭」象徵。

基礎，進一步強化作為卡亞尼一朝後裔的形象。對即位以來權威受制於統治集團、更間或遭其挑戰的庫斯洛一世來說，540 年出兵查士丁尼政權所獲的勝利，以及對此「非伊朗的／非伊朗人的」政權支配的展演，不僅賦予象徵統治合法性的「神賜榮光」，更是宣示自身承繼卡亞尼諸王，強化支配波斯皇族與貴族，從而擴張皇權的重要策略。[166]

五、結語：卡亞尼認同的傳承與庫斯洛一世的軍事行動

　　本文探討薩珊政權在 540 年入侵羅馬的動機與相關脈絡。對傳世文獻與考古發掘成果的考察顯示，這場衝突的爆發，與薩珊波斯政治意識形態的發展及西亞國際情勢密切相關。五世紀起，波斯統治階級對於先祖與現世政治秩序的認知即與《波斯古經》中記載，統治上古伊朗的合法政權卡亞尼一朝相連，至庫斯洛一世的時代依然。對薩珊皇族、貴族來說，卡亞尼先祖的事功不僅是他們的模範，[167]亦建構了理解世界的框架。透過依循、仿效先祖的偉業，並護持由「卡亞尼的庫斯洛王」等統治者建構的國際秩序，波斯統治階級在維繫與他們紐帶的同時，亦強化自身權威與統治正當性。然而，五世紀末葉以來中亞局勢的改變，削弱了波斯與卡亞尼先祖的連結，其政權合法性亦同受撼動；另一方面，庫斯洛一世自登基以來更面臨薩珊皇族、貴族對其統治正當性的挑戰。因此，對庫斯洛一世來

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166 Payne, "The Reinvention of Iran," 291-292.

167 Carlo Cereti, "Myth, Legends, Eschatologies," in *The Blackwell Companion to the Study of Zoroastrianism*, ed. Michael Stausberg and Yuhan Sohrab - Dinshaw Vevaina (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2015), 261.

說，證稱、維繫自身與「卡亞尼的庫斯洛王」等統治者間的關聯，當有利於重新聲張統治合法性，進而強化對統治集團的支配。

　　庫斯洛一世於540年興兵羅馬之舉即是上述考量下的產物。首先，出兵羅馬前對谷胥納斯普神廟的參拜顯示，庫斯洛一世試圖將本次軍事行動與卡亞尼諸王功業相比擬。其次，藉由對戰查士丁尼政權的勝利，庫斯洛一世更可獲得往昔曾庇佑卡亞尼統治者、象徵統治合法性的「神賜榮光」，從而強化自身作為卡亞尼一朝後裔的形象。這樣的觀察並非否認過去學界將這場戰爭視為薩珊波斯對於查士丁尼積極軍事、外交政策之因應作為的論點，而是從波斯統治階級的視角，重新理解查士丁尼自「永恆和平」條約簽訂以來的諸多作為，並檢視羅馬在本次衝突爆發中的可能角色。儘管查士丁尼在地中海沿岸的軍事行動成果確實引發庫斯洛一世的覬覦，[168]這位波斯統治者真正關切的，乃是羅馬擴張對薩珊統治者「普世權威」宣稱的挑戰。對波斯而言，查士丁尼透過在君士坦丁堡賽馬場的勝利展演，建構以羅馬為尊，支配世間其餘政權的國際秩序之舉，無疑進一步損及自五世紀末以降數十年間，因成為嚈噠人附庸而落居下風的國際威望，更激化了過往情勢對「波斯統治者作為卡亞尼後裔」一事的衝擊。

　　本文的觀察亦可作為檢視庫斯洛一世對外政策演進的基礎。前文對 540 年羅馬—波斯戰爭及其相關脈絡的考察顯示，庫斯洛一世是為了滿足卡亞尼認同的期待，而入侵查士丁尼治下的羅馬各省(而非其他鄰近政權、部族)，且以多種手法展演勝利者形象。藉由這次勝利而增添「神賜榮光」，庫斯洛一世成功宣示自身繼承卡亞尼先祖。[169]從

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168 根據普羅柯比歐斯的記載，庫斯洛一世以「若無羅馬、波斯間的和平，查士丁尼將無暇進攻汪達爾王國」為由，遣使向查士丁尼索討汪達爾戰爭的戰利品，Prok. *Wars* 1.26.3-4.

169 Payne, "Cosmology and the Expansion of the Iranian Empire," 27-28.

541 年開始，波斯以此重整後的權威為基礎，再度數次入侵羅馬，更進軍黑海東岸，佔據拉齊卡等地區。是以，本次軍事行動不僅是庫斯洛一世鞏固權威，展現皇權與實力的重要一步，[170]更標誌著薩珊波斯再度爭奪西亞局勢主導權的開始。

最後，本文對 540 年羅馬、波斯衝突之相關課題的探討，深化了我們對古典時代晚期薩珊歷史與意識型態發展等面向的理解。從五世紀起，源自《波斯古經》，與卡亞尼諸王有關的傳說形塑了薩珊統治階層的自我認同。沙耶甘認為這樣的現象在六世紀已漸趨式微，[171]然而，普羅柯比歐斯以及費爾多西等人的記載，以及谷胥納斯普神廟的考古發掘，不僅顯示庫斯洛一世致力強化自身與卡亞尼先祖的連結，更說明對卡亞尼一朝的認同，仍是六世紀波斯皇權建構的關鍵角色。[172]值得注意的是，較之巴赫朗五世等波斯統治者藉由出征盤踞中亞的部族，效法「卡亞尼的庫斯洛王」對上古伊朗東境宿敵「圖蘭」的征服，庫斯洛一世在承繼過往的卡亞尼認同之餘，更將出兵羅馬之舉與「神賜榮光」連結。七世紀的庫斯洛二世一如庫斯洛一世，在出兵羅馬前夕抵達谷胥納斯普神廟，祈求軍事行動的勝利，[173]其錢幣上「上升的神賜榮光」(xwarrah abazūd)字樣，更象徵著卡亞尼認同的延續。[174]事實上，這樣的字樣仍可見於包括波嵐(Bōrān，629-

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170 Börm, *Prokop und die Perser*, 305-320; Rollinger, "From Sargon of Agade and the Assyrian Kings to Khusrau I and beyond," 735.

171 Shayegan, "Sasanian Political Ideology," 809-810.

172 Touraj Daryaee, "Ethnic and Territorial Boundaries in Late Antique and Early Medieval Persia (Third to Tenth Century)," in *Borders, Barriers, and Ethnogenesis: Frontiers in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, ed. Florin Curta (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 133.

173 Ferdowsī, *Šāh-nāma* 8.283.

174 Touraj Daryaee, "Notes on Early Sasanian Titulature," *Society for Ancient*

631 在位)在內，部分七世紀波斯統治者發行的錢幣上。此外，庫斯洛二世的繼承人卡瓦德二世(Kawād II, 628 在位)，以及庫斯洛三世(Kosrow III, 630 在位)仍以前文所述，有著卡亞尼淵源的「卡瓦德」與「庫斯洛」為名。[175]是以，在卡瓦德一世與包括庫斯洛二世在內的七世紀的薩珊統治階級之間，庫斯洛一世扮演了傳承卡亞尼認同的關鍵角色。

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175 Hodge Malek, "Late Sasanian Coinage and the Collection in the Muzeh Melli Iran," *The Numismatic Chronicle (1966-)* 173 (2013): 461; Vesta Curtis and Hodge Malek, "History and Coinage of the Sasanian Queen Bōrān (AD 629-631)," *The Numismatic Chronicle (1966-)* 158 (1998): 118-119; Schindel, "Sasanian Coinage," accessed June 15, 2022. 有關庫斯洛三世身世的資料有限，博斯沃思(Clifford Edmund Bosworth)推測他可能亦是庫斯洛二世之子，見其翻譯 Ṭabari 著作時的評註。Ṭabari, *The History of al-Ṭabari*, vol. 5, 403.

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The Romano-Persian War of 540 and the First Years of Ḵosrow I's Rule

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In the spring of 540 CE, Ḵosrow I (r. 531-579), the Shahanshah of the Sasanian Empire, invaded the Roman Empire, sacking important cities, including Antioch. This war was not only Ḵosrow I's first external war, but the only military victory that the Great King commemorated on multiple occasions. This article explores the motivations behind Persia's decision to break the "Eternal Peace" treaty of 532 CE and invade the regime of Justinian I (r. 527–565). It examines both the internal and external circumstances that pushed the Sasanian Empire into war, as well as the Persian ruling class's perception of their ancestors.

Sixth-century historians such as Prokopios and John Malalas suggested that members of Persia's ruling class managed to overthrow Ḵosrow I's rule. In addition, from the end of the fifth century onwards, Persian rulers were compelled to pay tribute to the Hephthalites after a series of defeats. These military disasters exacerbated an ideological crisis. As demonstrated by his patronage of the temple of Ādur Gušnasp, one of the most sacred fires of Zoroastrianism, Ḵosrow I, like other members of Persia's ruling class, identified himself with the Kayanids, the legendary rulers of Iran. While the Kayanids defeated Ṭurān, their archenemy in the east, the Sasanids lost control of their eastern provinces. Such a significant gap between ideal and reality shattered the ideological foundation of the Sasanian kingship.

The third part of this paper discusses Ḵosrow I's decision to attack Rome in this context. The possession of *xwarrah*, a symbol of royal glory and fortune, by not only the Kayanids, but also Iran's other legitimate rulers, proved to be a vital step in the consolidation of the rule of the Sasanids' kingship. In the early sixth century, *xwarrah* could be gained through military victories over anērān (non-Iranians). Therefore, an invasion of Rome—a foreign regime—might have been Ḵosrow I's attempt to bolster his *xwarrah* and reinforce his rule, which was under threat from internal and external forces. Meanwhile, since Persia's ruling class connected themselves to the Kayanids, Ḵosrow I's successful claim to be their true successor would have been an effective way for him to strengthen his authority. The Roman War in 540 CE can thus be seen as a strategic move to obtain *xwarrah*, consolidate the connection between himself and Kayanids, and maintain the legitimacy of his rule.