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THE POLITICAL AND MILITARY ROLE OF THE COMMANDER BAHRAM JOBIN DURING THE REIGN OF THE TWO KINGS HORMUZ BIN KHUSRA ANSHERWAN AND KASRA ABRUIZ (588-- 591 A.D).

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ABSTRACT

The stage in which the commander Bahram Jobin appeared is one of the important stages in the history of the Sassanid state. This importance stems not only from his military achievements, but also from the dangers, turmoil, and internal conflicts that nearly overthrew the rule of the Sassanid family and threatened the entity and existence of the state. At the beginning of his appearance, he was a successful military leader. King Hormuz IV Ibn Kusra chose him to lead the Sassanid army to confront the danger of the Khaqan al-Turk, whose forces invaded the eastern borders of the Sassanid state. Jobin achieved a great victory that restored the status and prestige of the state. The second phase of his life was distinguished by his revolt against the Sassanid king. He even dared to assume the Sassanid throne after King Hormuz IV deposed him. His movements caused a civil war and foreign intervention represented by the Byzantine Emperor's help to the legitimate heir Khosra Abruise by providing him with an army that helped him regain his throne. The price was that the Sassanid king gave up a number of Byzantine cities. This stage ended with the defeat of Bahram Jobin, his escape to Turkish territory, and his death there.

The Research Problem

The research problem represents the internal political struggle over the throne of the Sassanid state after the death of Khosrau Anushirwan and the ascension of his son to the hierarchy of power in addition to the desire of the military commander Bahram to assume power and the effect of the disagreements that arose with the king and the commander of his army.

The Research Objectives

Reaching accurate results regarding the reasons that led to the internal conflicts between the king and his brothers at times and between the king and the commander of his army at other times to assume the Sassanid throne.

The Research Hypotheses

Here, the researcher raises some questions, including:

1. What are the main reasons that prompted the commander of the Sassanid army, Bahram, to fight his kingdom and its king?
2. What are the reasons for the Byzantine support for the Sassanid king to face his opponent Bahram, despite the ongoing conflicts between the Sassanid and Byzantine empires?

The Significance of The Study

Clarifying the internal political relations between the Sassanid king and his retinue of princes and clerics, as well as his relations with the leaders of his army, in addition to shedding light on foreign political relations, the most important of which are the Sassanid-Byzantine and Sassanid-Turkish conflict.

The Procedures

The nature of the study required dividing it into seven sections. Section one is concerned with studying the internal conditions of the Sassanid state during the reign of King Hormuz IV. Section two deals with the character of the Sassanid army commander, Bahram Jobin and his prominence in the political and military arena. Section three focuses on this leader's rebellion against his king because of the latter's anger at him after losing the battle against the Turks. Section four is concerned with the military confrontation between Bahram and the Byzantine forces loyal to Kusra Abruise. Section five focuses on the conditions of Bahram in the lands of the Turks after he sought asylum and protection from them. Section six examines the conditions of the Sassanid state after the victory of Kusra Abruise on Bahram Jobin. Finally, section seven sheds light on the assassination of Bahram Jobin at the hands of King Abruise.

Previous Studies

Through acquaintance with a large number of scientific studies, the researcher has not yet come to the conclusion that there are those who have addressed the study of this character in a scientific academic study.

The Most Important Main Research Sources

The present study relied on a number of sources led by the book (Long News by Al-Dinouri 282 AH), the Book (History of Nations and Kings by Al-Tabari

310 AH) and other books that were used as a basis for determining the extent of their compatibility or intersection with the facts of history.

INTRODUCTION

The founder of the Sassanid state, King Ardashir bin Babak, did not allow the inheritance of the Sassanid throne without laying down controls to ensure the survival of the rule in his family. The most important rule among them is that the heir be from the Sassanid family as they are entrusted to the gods to take charge. The commander Bahram Jobin is the first to try to break this tradition That lasted for more than three and a half centuries. It was entrenched in the public and private minds of the Sassanid community.

The stage in which the leader Bahram bin Jobin appeared on the political and military stage is considered one of the important stages in the history of the Sassanid state. This importance comes not only from his honorable military record, but also from the dangers, turmoil, and conflicts that nearly toppled the ruling Sassanid family and threatened the entity of the state and its existence. This leader played various roles. At the beginning of his appearance, he achieved important military achievements in which he saved the state from falling into the hands of the Turks. The second phase was distinguished by his rebellion against King Hormuz bin Kusra Anshirwan. He even dared to assume the throne after defeating the legitimate heir. His movements caused internal and external disturbances that allowed the Byzantine emperor to be the stakes in its decision. From here, the importance of this topic is evident. The subject matter required studying the circumstances of the accession of King Hormuz bin Khusrai Anushirwan to the throne of the state, the internal conditions of the Sassanid state during the reign of this king, as his relationship with the aristocracy and those with influence was disrupted, especially the great of the state and nobles And the Zoroastrian clergy, foreign relations represented by the relationship with neighboring countries, as that relationship was characterized by being always hostile and tense, the circumstances that contributed to the emergence of the leader Bahram Jobin on the political and military stage, and his leadership of the Sassanid army in the Turkish war, and the important victories he achieved Then, his rebellion against King Hormuz bin Khusrai Anushriwan, his control of the Sassanid capital, his assumption of the throne of the state, the circumstances of the killing of King Hormuz, the escape of his son, Khosrai Abruise, and his refuge with the Byzantine Emperor, and his request for help to expel Bahram Jobin, Bahram's defeat against the Byzantine army that supported Khosrau Abruise, And his refuge in the lands of the Turks, and the return of power to the Sassanid family. This topic concludes with the successful attempt by King Khusra Abruiz that resulted in the assassination of Bahram Jobin in the lands of the Turks.

This topic has drawn its information from several sources, including Arab sources, the most prominent of which was the book (Long News) by Al-Dinouri, and the book (History of Nations and Kings) by Al-Tabari, and some Persian sources were used for the purpose of comparing the narratives, including the book (The Shahnameh) by Ferdowsi, and the book (History of Zaida)) By Mostofi Qazwini, and Persian references, most notably the book

(Detailed History of Iran) by Abdullah Razi, the book (Roskaran History of Iran) by the historian Abd al-Hussein Razin Kub, and the book (History of Iran Azulukian Tafru Bashi, the Sassanid State) by the historian Ihsan Yarshater and others. The author is unknown, and he represents the Syriac novel, in confirming and comparing some events, as well as foreign sources, including a book entitled Iran from the earliest to Islamic conquest by Ghirshman.

THE INTERNAL CONDITIONS OF THE SASSANID STATE DURING THE REIGN OF KING HORMUZ (THE FOURTH) BIN KHUSRA ANSHIRWAN (579-590 AD).

Hormuz (The Fourth), The Son of Khusrai Anushirwan, Assuming the Throne of The Sassanid State.

Hormuz bin Khosrau Anushirwan assumed the throne of the Sassanid state at the behest of his father, King Khusra Ansherwan (531-579 AD), after he was subjected to an examination by the chief wise man and his first minister (Bozorgmehr)ⁱ, along with scholars and authoritiesⁱⁱ. He showed a superiority as his answers aroused admiration of attendance, especially his father, the king, who ordered that his covenant with the mandate of the throne be written, sealed, and handed over to Al-Mubithanmubithⁱⁱⁱ. King Kusra Nushirwan once asked Bozorgmehr about who is fit for his son to assume the throne. He answered him that whoever is fit for the king is (He named them to His Excellency, and asked them for knowledge, and attached them to the flock. He brought them to the womb, and kept them away from injustice, so whoever has this characteristic is true to the king)^{iv}. He mentions that Khosra Anushirwan had set eyes to bring him the news of Hormuz. He would come to him with everything he liked. He wrote him a covenant with the king and deposited him with Al-Mubithanmubith^v. His mother was the daughter of Khaqan Turkish king^{vi}. Thus, his descent is from the line of kings through the father and mother. His most prominent rival for the throne was one of his brothers (Enoush Zad), the son of one of his father's wives, Khusra Anushirwan, who embraced the Christian religion. Anush was on his mother's religion. It seems that this was a reason for preventing him from assuming the throne^{vii}. So, he declared his rebellion against his father. He was accompanied with the masses of Christians in an attempt to seize power, but King Khusra Nushirwan sent him an army that was able to suppress his rebellion and imprison him^{viii}. The Sassanid traditions had required whoever assumed the throne of the state to have the Zoroastrian religion, which is the official religion of the state^{ix}. Thus, the road was clear for Hormuz in assuming the throne, as he was called a king after the death of his father, Khusra Nushirwan in 579 AD)^x.

The Internal Conditions During the Reign of King Hormuz Bin Khusra Anshirwan.

After Hormuz was crowned, the great of the state and Nobles gathered to him^{xi}, a tradition that the Sassanid followed upon the coronation of each king. He delivered a long sermon in which he presented his political program and

his vision in running the state. O people, God has assigned us the ruling and left you slavery, honored us with ruling, honored you by us, gave us the government and obliged you to obey our command ...^{xii}. This confirms the theory of the divine right to rule adopted by the kings of the Sassanid family. They worked to consolidate it since the covenant of their first kings, Ardashir ibn Babak (224-241 AD)^{xiii}, including what he said on the day of his coronation, God has sent down mercy and gathered the word and completed the grace and appointed me over his servants and his country to make up for the matter of religion and the ruling...^{xiv}. Therefore, everyone who goes beyond that is considered a usurper to the throne.

Then King Hormuz referred in another place in his sermon to his adoption of the principle of equality among all members of society, which is a departure from the life of his forefathers, as the Sassanid divided the society into four classes. The first class included the sons of kings with the nobles, the masters, the great, and the Nobles. This class was granted great privileges. The second class included clerics. The third class included writers and physicians. The fourth class included the great majority of the Sassanid community, including peasants, craftsmen, and merchants^{xv}. Based on this, King Hormuz broke this tradition by saying: As for the justice on which we are limited and by which we can reform, then you are equal in it with us^{xvi}. Al-Tabari mentions^{xvii} that King Hormuz was excluded from Nobles, as he killed thirteen thousand and six hundred men of the great. Among them were three of the most prominent and the most qualified writers. They were like the ministers to his father^{xviii}. He placed other numbers in prisons and dropped their ranks. Many of those around him had hatred and their loyalty changed^{xix}. By this, these actions of King Hormuz corrupted the relationship between him and the Sassanid aristocracy, which possessed many privileges, power, and influence. Losing these privileges made them an opponent to him. Al-Tabari^{xx} referred to that by saying that Hormuz intended to be kind to the weak and the needy, and to carry on Nobles, so they returned and hated him, and he was on them like that. They were waiting for the opportunity to defeat him and revolt against him, in an attempt to regain their influence and the privileges granted to them by the class system.

As for the relationship between King Hormuz and the Zoroastrian clergy, it was also subjected to a strong instability. After clerics had possessed a prominent position, they were ranked second in the class according to the religious theory of the state adopted by King Ardashir bin Babak. Whoever came after the kings of the Sassanid family made ruling and religion two faces for the same coin^{xxi}, because King Hormuz also departed from this context and showed tolerance for people of other religions. He mentioned that Haradhi of the Zoroastrian clergy asked the king to put pressure on the Christians of his state, stress them and persecute them^{xxii}. He wrote To them saying that just as the bed of our king has no strength with his two lists presented without his two backside lists, there is no strength for our king and no stability for him with our corruption of the Christians in our country and the people of all the disagreeable disagreements with us, so they are short of prostration on the Christians, and they are obliged to do righteous deeds so that Christians and other people see this boredom and religions so they praise

you for it, and they yearn for yourselves^{xxiii}. Based on this, King Hormuz angered clerics with kindness to the Christians^{xxiv}, as the Orientalist Christensen^{xxv} indicated that the Christians of Iran were looking at King Hormuz in a good way because he kept the persecution of clerics away from them. He revealed to them the practice of their religious rituals. He also appointed one of the Christians close to him, whose name is (Aishwayh), a catholic for the Christians, while his strictness with the Zoroastrian clerics reached the point that he executed the defunct Mombadh Zoroaster^{xxvi}. The narratives indicate that King Hormuz emphasized the people of Bayutat, the Nobles, and the Zoroastrian clergy due to a prophecy saying that he would lose the throne and his life with a revolt from them against him^{xxvii}.

Based on this, King Hormuz had given a severe blow to the class of Zoroastrian clerics, whose union with the great and the Nobles constituted a force that was able at times to threaten the authority of the kings. This duo participated in isolating a number of kings and killing others in order to turn away from the Sassanid family who liked him. Clerics were the reason for the dismissal of King Qubad bin Firouz (488-531 AD)^{xxviii}. The period from (628-632 AD) witnessed the assumption of the throne of the Sassanid state by ten kings^{xxix}. This is how King Hormuz bin Khusrai Anushrawan (Hormuz IV) began his rule with aristocratic hostilities Represented by the great people of the state, Nobles, and clerics, which made them wait for the opportunity to overthrow his ruling. This is what actually happened.

External Relations of The Sassanid State During the Reign of King Hormuz Bin Khusra Anshirwan

The tense and hostile relationship between the Sassanid and Byzantine states continued during the reign of King Hormuz IV. In 579 ADS, the year in which he assumed power, the Byzantines attacked the lands of the Sassanid state. The war remained until 588 ADS^{xxx}. In the same year, the lands of the Sassanid state were attacked from more than one front by its neighbors. Al-Masoudi mentioned^{xxxi} that in the twelfth year of the reign of King Hormuz, that is, in 588AD, the state's conditions were disturbed and the enemies crawled on it from all sides. From the east, the forces of Khaqan al-Turk advanced until they reached the cities of Badghis^{xxxii} and Herat^{xxxiii} and expelled workers of King Hormuz. From the west, the Byzantine forces advanced to control the cities of Amad^{xxxiv}, Mayafariqin^{xxxv}, and Dara^{xxxvi}. From the Bab al-Abwab side^{xxxvii}, the forces of the Khazar king advanced until they reached Azerbaijan^{xxxviii}. Arabs had their raids on the outskirts of the Euphrates^{xxxix}. Hence, it appears that most of the borders of the Sassanid state were threatened, an indication that its external relations were in crisis and the state of hostility with its neighbors was prevalent, in addition to the instability of internal conditions due to the tension of the relationship between the Shahenshah and the great of the state and the clergy. The opinion of King Hormuz was that to begin to Address Risks. So, he consulted his minister for foreign affairs. His minister said that the Khazar forces cannot resist our forces for one hour. Arabs are easy to be eradicated. As for the Byzantines, the opinion is that we plead with them and defraud their evil. But the greatest danger is the Turkish king Shabh Shah who attacked Iran from the direction of

Khurasan^{xi}. So, he wrote to the Byzantine emperor to conclude peace. The emperor agreed and the war on that front stopped^{xli}. Then, the Sassanid forces attacked the Khazarian forces and managed to defeat them^{xlii}. Thus, King Hormuz could confront the Khaqan al-Turk Shaba Shah.

The Emergence of Bahram Jobin On the Political and Military Stage

He is Bahram bin Bahram bin Jobin^{xliii}. He is called Jobin, meaning the wooden man^{xliv}. He is from an ancient feudal family known as the Mahran family^{xlv}, which is one of the seven excellent families^{xlvi}, which had special privileges that made it be at the forefront of the Sassanid aristocracy, because it descended Of Parthian origin and bore the title of Pahlō^{xlvii}. It seems that the descent from the Parthian family that ruled Iran before the Sassanid is a sign of excellence. The Mahran family, to which Bahram Jobin belongs, lived in the city of Ray^{xlviii}. Al-Dinori^{xlix} stated that he was the governor (Wali) of King Hormuz and he was responsible for Azerbaijan and Armenia. Al-Masoudi^l mentioned that Bahram Jobin held the position of satrap in the city of Ray. The satrap is a large position^{li} that means the head of the country^{lii}, which is one of the highest military positions created during the reign of King Khosrau Ansherwan (531-579 AD), when the position of Iran Subahibeth (Commander of the Greatest Army) was divided between four commanders, each of whom was called Asbz, that is, the guard of the army and the commander of the frontiers. Each one of them made a quarter of the kingdom. The satrap^{liii} is the assistant assigned for each ruler.

The review of the quarters of the state during the reign of King Khosrau Ansherwan reveals that the first quarter is a quarter of the East that includes Khurasan. It is under the leadership of Asbhabth of the East. The second quarter includes a quarter of Azerbaijan. It is under the leadership of Asbhabth of the north. The third quarter is a quarter of the region of Persia. It is under the leadership of Asbahth of the south. The fourth quarter is Iraq and the island. It is under the leadership of Asbahth of the west^{liv}. Since Bahram Jobin was in charge of Azerbaijan and Armenian, it is more likely that he was occupying the position of Asbahabth and not Merzaban. There is support for this opinion, as one of the state's great calls Bahram Jobin: (O Asbhabth)^{lv}.

Whatever his position may be, Bahram Jobin appeared on the political and military stage when he was chosen to lead the Sassanid army to fight the Turkish king, Shah, whose forces reached the cities of Badghis and Herat. Those who underestimated King Hormuz and his forces reached to send him ordering him to prepare roads and repair bridges and the arches located in the course of his advancing armies to Iran. This terrified King Hormuz, who gathered his advisors^{lvi}. Ferdowsi^{lvii} mentioned that King Hormuz consulted an old sheikh called (Mehran Stad) and indicated to him that victory would be at the hands of a man called (Jobin). So, he wrote to him to join. When he arrived, he told him that the Turkish forces and soldiers advanced under the leadership of their king, Shah, and he consulted him on whether the opinion

was conciliatory or to fight him. So, Bahram told him, we rather hasten war. So, King Hormuz assigned him to lead the army and ordered him to fight the Turks. Bahram asked King Hormuz to ask the army clerk to present to him the names of the soldiers so that he could choose from them who would be suitable for this task. So, he chose from them twelve thousand horsemen who were at the age of forty^{lviii}. On the front of his army, he assigned a famous man named (Yilan). Then, King Hormuz^{lix} asked him why he chose twelve thousand against hundreds of thousands of the Turkish army, and why he chose soldiers at the age of forty. Then he mentioned to him that he was optimistic about the number of twelve thousand because his predecessor leaders achieved their impressive victories with this number. As for his choice of soldiers at the age of forty, he replied that they are experienced and are patient with calamities, and they defend the family and the child^{lx}. Then, King Hormuz ordered a flag in the form of a snake and said to him that it is the flag of Rostam bin Dustan, whom my ancestors call the Acrobatic, and today you are another Rustam. Bahram asked King Hormuz to send a writer with him to witness the war with him and write down the names of those doing well in the war. So, he sent a writer named Mahran^{lxi} with him.

Bahram moved with his army from the capital Tysfun in 588 AD. King Hormuz bid him farewell, walking the Al-Ahwaz road^{lxii} until he reached the city of Badghis^{lxiii}. The Turkish king left the city of Herat with three hundred thousand fighters^{lxiv} to meet with Bahram Jobin. He placed forty thousand fighters at the front. When they met, the Turkish king tried to woo Bahram on his side by promising him to be the ruler of Iran, but Bahram rejected this offer, saying, how can I possess Iran for when it is not permissible for any to return it to others, but come to war^{lxv}. In Bahram's words is a clear recognition that the rule is confined to the Sassanid family, so the king of the Turks was angry at Bahram Jobin. The war trumpets were blown, and the two armies clashed. The king of the Turks watched the war from a gold bed overseeing the course of the battle^{lxvi}.

He mobilized his army and ordered that elephants advance on horses to be at the front of the army. So, they were like mountains^{lxvii}. It seems that the advance of elephants was intended to cause terror among the Sassanid army, but the commander Bahram Jobin ordered his soldiers to throw their arrows to the hoses of elephants. In fact, Bahram's plan succeeded and elephants were defeated and they killed whatever came in their path from the Turkish army. Causing confusion among them. Bahram made use of that and he headed towards the camp of the king, Shah, and threw it with a crossbow that killed him immediately^{lxviii}. So, the Turkish army was agitated and dispersed, and they were disbanded. They were defeated^{lxix}. Barmudha, the son of the Turkish king tried to avenge his father, but he could not resist the Sassanid army. So, he resorted to one of the forts and wrote to Bahram Jobin asking him for reconciliation, and to write to King Hormuz about that. In fact, Bahram wrote to the Sassanid king asking for his peace and granting him safety. So, Hormuz sent the Book of Safety and asked to send his blessings to him with an honorable one. Based on this, he delivered the fortress that was fortified, including treasuries, money, and treasures. It was sent to the Sassanid capital^{lxx}. Al-Tabari^{lxxi} stated that the spoils that were sent to King Hormuz

amounted to a carrying of two hundred and fifty thousand camels, which seem to be very large sums. Perhaps, this large number of loads is exaggerated. Al-Dinouri^{lxxii} stated that the spoils amounted to a load of three hundred camels, which is the closest to reality. With this victory, the status of Bahram Jobin rose, and his soldiers loved him.

Bahram Jobin's Rebellion Against King Hormuz Bin Khusrai Ansherwan.

After Bahram Jobin had achieved the great victory over the Turkish king, King Hormuz sent him to attack the Byzantine forces in the region of Lazkia^{lxxiii} in 589 ADS, but this time, he did not succeed in achieving victory, as the Sassanid army was defeated in this war^{lxxiv}. It seems that King Hormuz was angry at Bahram Jobin and wanted to rebuke him and underestimate him. So, he sent him women's clothes and spindles^{lxxv} as if he wanted to tell him that you are not suitable for war and that you should work like women spinning wool. Al-Dinori^{lxxvi} mentioned another reason for King Hormuz's dealings with the leader Bahram Jobin in this humiliating way, which is the belief of the Sassanid king and at the instigation of his chief minister, whose name is Yazdan Jachens, the leader Bahram kept for himself the largest part of the spoils he obtained after his victory over the Turks, by saying: O king, how great is the table from which this morsel is. Al-Masoudi^{lxxvii}, Al-Furusi^{lxxviii}, and Mistoufi Qazvin^{lxxix} support what Al-Dinouri believes that the king's anger against the leader Bahram Jobin was because he had chosen a large part of the spoils. It seems that King Hormuz took advantage of Bahram Jobin's defeat against the Byzantine forces to punish and humiliate him for overtaking spoils without his knowledge.

Bahram read to his army the King's letter that insults him and his army. They unanimously agreed to depose the king and leave him^{lxxx}, with the exception of one of the commanders and his name (Hormuz Jarabazin), and the army clerk (Yazdak) who went out at night from Bahram Jobin camp until they reached the capital and informed King Hormuz about Bahram and his army^{lxxxi}.

Bahram Jobin went with his forces to the Sassanid capital for the purpose of isolating King Hormuz from the throne in order to inflict enmity between the king and his son, Khusra Abruise. After his arrival at the city of Alray, Bahram Jobin minted dirhams bearing the image of the king's son (Khusra Abruise) with his name on it. Those dirhams were carried secretly to the capital and distributed among the people. So, king Hormuz thought that his son was the one who struck the dirhams and was trying to seize the throne. So, he intended to capture his son. But, when his son knew about that, he fled^{lxxxii}. In the Sassanid capital, the Sassanid aristocracy represented by the great people of the state and Nobles were waiting for the opportunity to capture and remove the king. It seems that Bahram Jobin's rebellion and the escape of the king's son to Azerbaijan provided the opportunity. Bastam and the King's uncle captured the King, closed his eyes^{lxxxiii}, and he was removed from power and called his son, Khosra Abruiz, as king. Upon the arrival of this news to Kusra Abruiz, the notables and forces who had gathered with him moved towards the capital, fearing the arrival of Bahram Jobin before him. Upon his

arrival, a group of great men received him and installed him king in place of his father^{lxxxiv}. In the meantime, that is, in 590 AD, Bahram Jobin advanced with his forces towards the capital, as he was not ready to pledge allegiance to the new king, because he was aspiring to assume the throne. Khosra Abruirose went out with his army and the two armies met in the Nahrawan region. There was a speech between them in which Khosra Abruirose tried to win over Bahram and secure him by raising his rank^{lxxxv}. It seems that Bahram was in ambition for the throne, and that is why he refused the offer of Khosra Abruirose and responded to him with a bold answer. War broke out between the two sides and Bahram Jobin prevailed. So, Khosra was forced to flee towards the Byzantine state, intending to seek refuge from the Byzantine emperor Morik^{lxxxvi}. Kusra Abruirose returned to the capital and killed King Hormuz^{lxxxvii}. The question that arises is why were Bastam and his brother King Hormuz killed? It seems that the survival of King Hormuz would give legitimacy to Bahram Jobin, who entered the capital after the defeat of Kusra Abruirose and the imposition of tutelage on the king, who became blind and became unable to administer the state. As for his death, it means that Khosra Abruirose is the legitimate heir to the Sassanid throne, and no one other than him is entitled to claim the rule. This means that Bahram Jobin usurped the throne. Al-Dinuri^{lxxxviii} and al-Tabari^{lxxxix} added another reason, which is that the survival of King Hormuz means that he will remain king of the state, and that Bahram Jobin entering the capital with his forces would force King Hormuz to write to the Byzantine Emperor by handing over all those who sought refuge, the first of them is his son, Khosra Abruirose and his companions as they are Outlaws. That is why they agreed to kill Hormuz so that Khosra Abruirose would be the heir to the throne.

Khosra Abruirose arrived in the city of Antioch and wrote to the Byzantine Emperor Morik asking for help in regaining his throne. The emperor agreed and married him to his daughter Maryam^{xc}. As for Bahram Jobin, he entered with his forces to the capital Tesfun and sat on the throne and wore the crown. Lords and Nobles of the kingdom gathered to him. He presented a sermon in which he said: You knew what Khosra committed by killing his father and he run away. So, would you accept that I administer the kingdom until Shahriar bin Hormuz becomes well qualified for it in order to hand it over to him^{xcii}? Some agreed and others rejected^{xcii}, especially the elders of the two families of Qarin and And Isbhabad, who refused that a man from the Mehran family of the same class dominates the government^{xciii}. Through what was mentioned in Bahram Jobin's sermon, the following becomes clear:

1. He wanted to incite the statesmen and its dignitaries against Khosra Abruirose by accusing him of killing King Hormuz.
2. Bahram Jobin wanted to assume the throne of the state, knowing that he was not from the Sassanid family, whose rule was restricted to its children, and such an event was not acceptable to the common people.

That is why a large number of great men, including Mosel the Armenian, who was one of the great satraps, responded to Bahram Jobin, saying: You have nothing to do with that as long as the king's heir is still alive^{xciv}. Then, another man named Khazrawan stood up and said to Bahram: Send to Khosra, apologize to him for what you did and do not sit on the ruling seat as long as

the king is alive^{xcv}. It seems that the response of the rejecters angered Bahram Jobin, so he ordered them to leave the capital, or to expose themselves to death. They wanted to pledge allegiance to a usurper of the same class. They sought refuge in Azerbaijan waiting for the arrival of Kesra Abruiz and the Byzantine forces to restore his throne^{xcvi}. As for Bahram Jobin, he declared himself king in the name of Bahram VI, and struck the coins in his name^{xcvii}. It seems that the opposition bloc planned to assassinate Bahram Jobin and assigned this mission to a man named Bahram bin Siaoshan, but Bahram Jobin managed to thwart it and killed him^{xcviii}. After controlling internal affairs, he tried to win over the Byzantine Emperor Morik to his side, and prevent him from providing assistance to Kasra Abruise. He sent him a delegate to Constantinople, who offered him many concessions, including giving up the city of Nusaybin and other cities on the Euphrates Island. He also tried to win over the Armenians by promising them not to interfere in their country^{xcix}. It seems that his attempts did not succeed.

The Military Confrontation Between Bahram Jobin And the Byzantine Forces Loyal to Kasra Abruise.

Historical accounts stated that the Byzantine Emperor Morik (582-602 AD) had agreed, after consulting his assistants and state notables, to provide military assistance to Kusra Abruise to regain his throne from Bahram Jobin, in exchange for gaining the cities of Dara and Mayfariqin, and the Sassanid section from Armenia^c. Ferdowsi mentioned^{ci}) That Khosrau Abruise wrote to Emperor Morik a book in which he waived the annual tax paid by the Byzantine state since the time of Khosrau Anu Sherwan, and he did not attack their country as long as he was on the throne of Iran. It seems that Abruise was obliged to agree to make these concessions. Then, the Byzantine emperor sent him in 590 ADS with him A large army led by (Theodos), the brother of the Emperor^{cii}. Upon the arrival of this army to Azerbaijan, the satraps, the great and the notables who left the capital joined it after Bahram Jobin took control over it. Khosrai Abruiz went to the city fire house and called the house of fire Azarkasp, submitting and begging for support over His enemy^{ciii}. Bahram Jobin knew that the Byzantine army moved with Khosra Abruiz. He went out leading his army until it reached Azerbaijan. The war broke out between the two parties and ended with the victory of Khosrai Abruiz, supported by the Byzantine forces, and Bahram Jobin fled to Turkey^{civ}.

Bahram had taken refuge on his way to Turkey in an old woman's house to rest. So, he asked her, what news do you have? She said to him, Khosrau led an army from the Romans, he fought with Bahram and defeated him and recovered his possession from him. Then, Bahram said to her, what do you say about Bahram? She said, "An ignorant fool claims the king and not from the people of the kingdom's house^{cv}". In the old woman's statement, this is an affirmation of the public's conviction of the divine right that the Sassanid family rules, and that anyone who deviates from this context is considered a usurper. Usurping the throne from a person who is not a member of the Sassanid family is a crime that is not accepted by society^{cv}. Zarathustra says that who does so is disobedient of God and went out against the owner of his

slavery and authority, and if he continues to disobey him, then his head should be separated from his body^{cvii}.

After the military victory over Bahram Jobin and his forces had been achieved, Khosra Abruise honored Thiados, brother of the Byzantine Emperor and the forces that participated in the fighting against Bahram^{cviii}. Then, Khosrau went to the capital Tysfun and entered it. He was received by the great people of the state and sat on the bed of ruling with the crown on his head^{ciix}.

Thus, the most dangerous military rebellion, or a coup attempt that nearly toppled the ruling of the Sassanid family was ended. In addition, the entity of the state was threatened, and the door was opened to Byzantine intervention in internal affairs. Moreover, the Sassanid lost a number of cities that were relinquished in exchange for Byzantine military aid.

The Status of Bahram Jobin In Turkey.

After his defeat against Kesra Abruise and the Byzantine army, Bahram Jobin went to Turkey seeking refuge and protection from its king. Upon his arrival to the city of Qomus^{cx}, the governor of the city tried to prevent Bahram from crossing it towards Turkey. A war broke out between the two sides and ended with the victory of Bahram Jobin, who continued marching towards the city of Khwarazm^{cxii}. He crossed the Gihon River and entered Turkey. He was received by Khaqan who offered him and his companions' refuge^{cxiii}. Bahram possessed a good position in Turkey and he used to attend the King's sessions every day^{cxiv}. Al-Dinuri mentioned^{cxv} that Khaqan al-Turk had built a city for himself and his companions. He also built a palace for him in the middle of it and registered his companions in the court and gave them benefits and livelihoods. It seems that Bahram Jobin took advantage of his position with Khaqan and incited him against his brother Bgawer^{cxvi}, who was the most courageous Turkish knight. Bahram offered Khaqan to rid him of his brother. A fight took place between the two. They agreed that each one would throw an arrow at the other. So, Bahram Jobin managed to mortally hit him. Then, Khaqan said to Bahram: You got me rid of the one who wished my death to take over the ruling from my son^{cxvii}. Thus, the position of Bahram Jobin increased with Khaqan Turk.

The Conditions of The Sassanid State After the Victory of Khosrau Abruise Over Bahram Jobin.

After the defeat of Bahram Jobin against Khusra Abruiz and the Byzantine army that supported him and his refuge in Turkey, Khosrau returned to the capital and sat on the throne of the state^{cxviii} with the title of Abruise which means (the victorious)^{cxix} in 591 ADS^{cxix}. It seems that the circumstances in which he lived during his struggle against Bahram Jobin and the Byzantine emperor's help to him had a clear impact on his policy in the administration of the state. He adopted a policy of religious tolerance with Christians. He gave them freedom of belief and building churches^{cxx} in an attempt to return the favor of the Byzantine emperor, or under the influence of his two Christian wives (Sherine), And (Maryam), the daughter of Emperor Morik. His

sympathy with the Christians reached the point that he built the two churches of Saint Mary and Saint Sarge^{cxxi}. In addition, a number of Christians held high positions in the state, including John the Saksari, who became the secretary of the state treasury^{cxxii} and Yasdeen Al-Sarraf, who became and stereo nesslar, meaning the chief of the platoon and professional class^{cxxiii}.

As for the relationship with the Byzantine state, it was a good relationship in which King Khosrau Abruse and the Byzantine Emperor exchanged ambassadors and gifts^{cxxiv}. This relationship continued until (602 AD) when the Byzantine Emperor Murug was killed in a revolt against him. So, his son Theodosius sought the help of King Khosrau Abruse, who provided him with a large army that was able to achieve victory over the murderers of Emperor Morik^{cxxv}. The policy of King Khusra Abruse changed with the Christians. He doubled the tribute on them^{cxxvi}. He also tightened with them, especially after the victories achieved by the Byzantine Emperor Heraclius^{cxxvii}.

The Assassination of Bahram Jobin.

It seems that the king, Khosrau Abruiz, was not satisfied with defeating Bahram Jobin and restoring his throne. The ghost of Bahram Jobin continued to pursue him, especially after the great position that Bahram had acquired with Khaqan al-Turk. He did not calm down except by killing him and getting rid of him for fear that he would return with his army again to fight him. That is why he began planning to assassinate him. So, he sent one of his close men to Khaqan, whose name was (Hormuz Jarabazin), with many gifts. He began to incite him against Bahram Jobin and denounce him as a betrayal. But this attempt was not accepted by Khaqan^{cxxviii}. So, Hormuz Grabazin went to Khaqan's wife and presented her valuable gifts and he began to incite her against Bahram. He showed her his treachery and betrayal for Kasra and feared her for her husband until he managed to persuade her. So, she sent one of her servants to him. He pretended that he was an envoy from Khaqan's wife and killed him^{cxxix}. Thus, Khosrau Abruse was able to get rid of his most prominent opponents, who nearly toppled the Sassanid family and threatened to end its ruling. It seems that the Kurdish sister of Bahram Jobin tried to persuade him to give up his ambition to control the throne of the Sassanid state. This is confirmed through her saying to him in his death^{cxxx} that this confirms that there is no legitimacy for every usurper of the throne and that his fate is death.

Bahram Jobin's attempt to usurp the throne opened the door to a usurper of the Sassanid throne, the leader Shahr Baraz, who advanced with his forces to the capital Tesfun and killed King Ardashir III (628-629 AD). He was young and proclaimed himself king^{cxxxi}. His attempt was rejected by the people and the great people of the state. His ruling lasted for only two months. His assassination was orchestrated. Buran Dakht, the daughter of Khosra Abruiz (629-630 AD) was installed^{cxxxii}. It is narrated that after the death of this

leader, all people put their feet on him^{xxxxiii} in a clear indication of the popular rejection of anyone other than the Sassanid family trying to take the throne.

CONCLUSIONS

Through what has been presented of historical material on the topic, a set of results have been reached, the most important of which are:

1. The relationship between King Hormuz bin Khusrā Anshirwan and the Sassanid aristocracy represented by the great people of the state and Notables was characterized by hostility. So, they were excluded and large numbers of them were killed, which made members of this class look forward to opportunities to entrap the king and isolate him from power, as is the case with the Zoroastrian clergy.
2. The most prominent characteristic of the relationship between the Sassanid state during the reign of King Hormuz bin Kusra Anshirwan and most of the neighboring countries was the military conflict. The most dangerous of the conflicts was the threat of the Turkish armies to the borders of the eastern state, which was the reason for the emergence of Bahram Jobin on the political and military stage.
3. Bahram Jobin was an Azerbaijani and Armenian satrap before his star shone and assuming leadership of the Sassanid army in the Turkish war.
4. Bahram Jobin won a great victory over the Turkish army and killed their king. This victory helped him to be an important pole of the state, who was loved by his soldiers.
5. The relationship between King Hormuz and the commander, Bahram Jobin, became tense after the latter lost the war against the Byzantines in the Lazica region, which prompted King Hormuz to rebuke and insult him by sending him women's clothes. This prompted Bahram Jobin to declare his rebellion against the king.
6. Commander Bahram Jobin led his forces towards the Sassanid capital for the purpose of isolating King Hormuz. He was able to sow discord between him and his son, Khusrā Abruise, after which he was able to enter the capital and declared himself king by the name of Bahram VI.
7. Some of the dignitaries took advantage of the turmoil of the situation after the Bahram Jobin rebellion, arresting King Hormuz, isolating him and blindfolding him.
8. Khosrau Abruise, son of King Hormuz, resorted to Byzantine Emperor Morik to seek assistance in retrieving his throne from Bahram Jobin as he was the legitimate heir. The Byzantine Emperor provided him with an army that was able to expel Bahram Jobin. Khosrau Abruise assumed the throne of the state.
9. After being defeated by Kesra Abruiz and the Byzantine army that supported him, Bahram Jobin took refuge in Turkey. He was respected and supported by them.
10. Due to the entrenchment of the theory of the divine right to rule for the Sassanid family in the Sassanid community, Bahram Jobin was considered a usurper of the throne. For this reason, it plotted an attempt to assassinate him, but it did not succeed.
11. The relationship between the Sassanid and Byzantine states improved during the reign of Khosrau Abruise, as part of the return of favor to Emperor Morik, who helped him regain his throne.

12. The ghost of Bahram Jobin, who sought refuge in Turkey, continued to haunt Khosro Abruiz for fear of his return with the help of the Turks. For this, he plotted the attempt to assassinate him in Turkey.

13. Bahram Jobin's attempt to usurp the Sassanid throne opened the door to another usurper, the commander Shahrbaraz, who managed to kill King Ardashir III and proclaimed himself king. But his attempt was met with popular rejection and ended with his death. --

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- xxxⁱ Baadghis: Its origin is Baad-Khiz which means the blowing of the winds due to the abundance of winds in it. It is a great region that extends between the Herat River from the west and the Upper Margab River from the east. It comes from the mountains of Kargistan. The eastern part of Badghis had three large cities. The southern part of Badghis has city of Dahstan, (LeString, Countries of the Eastern Caliphate, pp. 455-456.
- xxxⁱⁱ Herat: a famous city in the Khorasan region, Abu Al-Fida, Taqueem Al-Balad, p. 455.
- xxxⁱⁱⁱ Amad: The Diyarbakir Kasbah is located to the west of the Tigris, Abu Al-Fida, Taqueem Al-Balad, p. 487.
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- xxx^v Dara: The city of Dara is located on the Euphrates island. Its Roman name is Anastasia Polis. It is located in Turkey, Abboudi, S., Henry, Glossary of Semitic Civilizations, Lebanon, Dar Gros, 1991, p. 292.
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- xliii Christensen, Iran, p. 427; Al-Yaqoubi, History, Part 1, p. 166.
- xliv Christensen, Iran, p. 92; Diakonov, History of Iran and Pakistan, p. 353; Kamrij, History of Iran, p. 507; Bausain, the Persians, p. 68.
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- xl^{viii} Al-Akhbar Al-Tiwal, p. 130.
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- ^l Al-Masoudi, Notables, p.91.
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- xciii Al-Dinouri, *Al-Akhbar Al-Twal*, p. 141.
- xciv Al-Ferdowsi, *Al-Shahnama*, Part 2, p. 203.
- xcv Al-Dinouri, *Al-Akhbar Al-Twal*, p. 141.
- xcvi Christensen, *Iran*, p. 428; Cambridge, *History of Iran*, p. 510.
- xcvii Sykes, *History of Iran*, Part 1, p. 663; For more information about the attempt to assassinate Bahram Jobin, see: Al-Dinouri, *Al-Akhbar Al-Twal*, p. 141.
- xcviii Salih, *Sassanid Relations*, pp. 266-267.
- xcix Sykes, *History of Iran*, Part 1, p. 663; Diakonov, *History of Iran*, p. 355.
- c *Al-Shahnameh*, p. 210.

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- ^{ci} Al-Tabari, History, Part 1, p. 122; Al-Dinuri states that Theodos was the son of the Byzantine Emperor, al-Akhbar al-Tawal, p. 143.
- ^{cii} Al-Firdawsi, Al-Shahnameh, Part 2, p. 213; The holiest house of fire among the Zoroastrians was the fire house of the city of Shayz in Azerbaijan. So, everyone who took power from the Sassanid would go to visit it on foot, Ibn Khardadhba, Abu al-Qasim Ubaid bin Abdullah, (300 AH), Beirut, Dar Sader, pp. 119-120.
- ^{ciii} Al-Dinouri, Al-Akhbar Al-Twal, Part 2, p. 144; Al-Yaqoubi, History, Part 1, p. 169; For more information on the details of the battle between Bahram Jobin's forces and the Byzantine forces loyal to Kusra Abruiz, see: Al-Dinuri, Al-Akhbar Al-Twal, pp. 143-144; Al-Firdawsi, Al-Shahnameh, Part 2, pp. 214-215.
- ^{civ} Al-Dinouri, Al-Akhbar Al-Tiwal, p. 145; Christensen, Iran, pp. 492-493.
- ^{cv} Ghirshman, Iran, p. 306.
- ^{cvi} Al-Ferdowsi, Al-Shahnameh, Part 2, p. 203.
- ^{cvi} Al-Dinouri, Al-Akhbar Al-Twal, p. 148; Al-Tabari mentioned that Khusri Abruise distributed twenty million to the Byzantine soldiers, History, Part 1, p. 123, He did not mention whether they were dirhams or dinars. It is likely that it was twenty million dirhams because the Sassanid money is the silver dirham.
- ^{cvi} Al-Tabari, History, Part 1, p. 123; Sykes, History of Iran, Part 1, p. 665.
- ^{cix} Qomus: A region located between Khurasan and the mountain region. It is the city of Damghan, Abu al-Fida, Taqim al-Balad, p. 432; Al-Yaqoubi says that it was the first city of Khorasan, Ahmad ibn Abi Ya'qub, Scientific Books, 2002, p. 90.
- ^{cx} Khwarazm: a region cut off from Khorasan and from beyond the river, surrounded on the west and north by the Turkic countries, on the south by Khorasan, and on the east by the countries beyond the river.
- ^{cxi} Al-Dinouri, Al-Akhbar Al-Tiwal, pp. 145-146.
- ^{cxi} Al-Dinouri, Al-Akhbar Al-Tiwal, p. 146.
- ^{cxi} Al-Dinouri, Al-Akhbar Al-Tiwal, p. 146.
- ^{cxi} Bagawir: He is the brother of Khaqan al-Turk, Al-Dinuri, al-Akhbar al-Tawal, p. 146.
- ^{cxi} Al-Dinouri, Al-Akhbar Al-Twal, p. 148; Al-Firdawsi mentioned that Ghawir is a seductive form and that he was not but a brother to Khaqan al-Turk and that he was a brave leader. It was his habit to enter to Khaqan every day and take from the state treasury a thousand dinars. It happened that he entered once on Khaqan when Bahram Jobin was sitting. He took a thousand dinars. So, Bahram said what this knight told him. If we do not do what you see every day, we will not be safe from his evil, so Bahram said, "What do you think that I should save you from him?"
- ^{cxi} Al-Dinouri, Al-Akhbar Al-Twal, p. 148; Al-Tabari, History, Part 1, p. 123.
- ^{cxi} Al-Tabari, History, Part 1, p. 120.
- ^{cxi} Al-Razi, The Detailed History of Iran, p. 647.
- ^{cxi} Christensen, Iran, p. 372.
- ^{cxi} Ishaq, Raphael Babu, History of the Christians of Iraq since the spread of Christianity in Iraq to our days, Baghdad, Al-Mansour Press, 1948, p. 18.

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- ^{cxxi} Isaac, History of the Christians of Iraq, pp. 17-18.
- ^{cxxii} Isaac, History of the Christians of Iraq, pp. 17-18.
- ^{cxxiii} Christensen, Iran, p. 434.
- ^{cxxiv} Anonymous, The Little History, (Beirut: House and Library of Insights, 2010), pp. 26-27.
- ^{cxxv} Isaac, History of the Christians of Iraq, p. 18.
- ^{cxxvi} Pirina, History of Iran, p. 323.
- ^{cxxvii} Al-Dinouri, Al-Akhbar Al-Tiwal, p. 150; Al-Tabari, History, Part 1, p. 123; According to Al-Yaqoubi, his name is Bahram Jobin, History, Part 1, p. 170.
- ^{cxxviii} Al-Dinouri, Al-Akhbar Al-Tiwal, pp. 148-149; Al-Yaqoubi, History, Part 1, p. 170.
- ^{cxxix} Al-Ferdowsi, Al-Shahnama, Part 2, p. 227.
- ^{cxxx} Christensen, Iran, pp. 478-479; Abu Mughali, Iran, p. 164; Sykes, History of Iran, Part 1, pp. 678-679.
- ^{cxxxi} Al-Yaqoubi, Iran's History, Part 1, pp. 172-173; Al-Isfahani, Hamza bin Al-Hassan, (35 AH, History of the Kings of the Land and the Prophets, Beirut, Al-Hayat Library, 1390 AH, p. 54; Abu Mughali, Iran, p. 164.
- ^{cxxxii} Anonymous, p. 47.
- ^{cxxxiii} Anonymous, p. 47.