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THE INSURRECTION IN PERSARMENIA IN CONTEXT OF MILITARY ACTIONS OF ROME AND IRAN IN BORDER ZONE (572-578)

The goal of the current paper is an attempt of assessment, from military-political perspective, of the chances of success (i.e. could it really lead to the independence of the country) of anti-Iranian uprising in Persarmenia.

Military-political situation at the eve of the uprising

Around 566 an envoy from king Xusrō arrived to Emperor Justin II (565-578) to renegotiate earlier peace¹.

In this period the Persian king was Khusro. And in the beginning they enjoyed a true peace. For this reason, in the second year of Justin, according to the kings' practice of sending one another gifts when they started to reign², the patrician John of Callinicum was sent to bring gifts of honour to the Persian king, and to make peace and unify the churches. (Mika'el Rabo 10. 1)

In last months of the following year Xusrō sent to Justin Mahbod Sūrēn, however the matter of Suania was not solved as per emperor's intentions. Mahbod only accepted suspension of payments for the Arabs³. The stalemate in negotiations was the menace of the following military conflict⁴.

* Լեհաստանի Սեդլցեյի համալսարանի պատմության և միջազգային հարաբերությունների ինստիտուտի դոկտոր, պրոֆ.:

¹ Dignas B., Winter E., Rome and Persia in Late Antiquity. Neighbours and Rivals, Cambridge, 2007, pp. 138-148; Maksymiuk K., Geography of Roman-Iranian wars. Military operations of Rome and Sasanian Iran, Siedlce, 2015, pp. 23-25.

² Maksymiuk K., Finanz Siedlungen während den Kriegen zwischen Sassaniden Iran und Rom, Historia i Świat, 2016, 5, pp. 149-157.

³ The History of Menander the Guardsmen, ed. R. C. Blockley, Liverpool, 1985, 9. 2-9. 3 (henceforth Menander).

⁴ Theophanes byzantinus, ed. C. Müller, Fragmenta Historicum Graecorum 4, Paris 1868; tr. in Wilson N.G. (1994), The Bibliotheca of Photius. London, 1

In 570 new ruler of the Naşrids Qabus (569–577) invaded the lands of al-Mundhir (569–581), son of al-Harith, but was defeated. Situation repeated next year⁵. Al-Mundhir turned to Justin with the request for intervention⁶, which was never effected and what is more important Justin had al-Mundhir, from unknown reasons, murdered. The assassination did not succeed but as the result of emperor's decision southern Syrian border remained undefended⁷. In 570 Persians intervened in Southern Arabia⁸, which resulted from Justin's negotiations with the Turks⁹.

Religious background of the uprising

(henceforth Theoph. Byz.); Turtledove H., Justin II's observance of Justinian's Persian Treaty of 562, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 1983, 76, pp. 292-301.

⁵ *Chronicon Miscellaneum ad a.d. 724 pertinens*, tr. J. B. Chabot, *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium Scr. Syr.* 3-4, Paris 1903; partial translation in Palmer A., Brock S., Hoyland R. (1993), *The Seventh Century in the West-Syrian Chronicles*, Liverpool, 1993, 143 (henceforth Chr. 724); Shahîd I., *Byzantium and the Arabs in the sixth century*, Washington, 1995, pp. 340-347.

⁶ *Iohannis Ephesini Historiae Ecclesiasticae Pars Tertia*, tr. E. W. Brooks, *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium Scr. Syr.* 54–55, Louvain 1952 (henceforth Joh. Eph. HE), 6. 3.

⁷ Joh. Eph. HE 6. 4; *Chronicon anonymum ad a.c. 1234 pertinens*, tr. J. B. Chabot, *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium Scr. Syr.* 55-56, Louvain, 1937 (henceforth Chr. 1234), 67; Whitby L. M., *The Emperor Maurice and his Historian: Theophylact Simocatta in Persian and Balkan Warfare*, Oxford, 1988, pp. 210-211.

⁸ Tabari, *The Sāsānids, the Byzantines, the Lakhmids, and Yemen*, tr. C.E. Bosworth, New York, 1999, 1, pp. 945-958; Turtledove H., Justin II's observance of Justinian's Persian Treaty of 562, p. 298; Bosworth C. E., *Iran and the Arabs before Islam*, *The Cambridge History of Iran*, 1983, 3.1, pp. 606-607; Shahîd I., *ʿ24. ʷ24. ʰ2 364-372*:

⁹ Joh. Eph. HE 6. 23; Theophylact Simocatta, ed. P. Wirth, Stuttgart, 1972 (henceforth Th. Sim.), 3. 9. 3-10; Theoph. Byz. 3; Menander 10. 1-3; Menander 13. 5; Turtledove H., *ʿ24. ʷ24. ʰ2 297, 298*; Harmatta J., *The struggle for the „Silk Route” between Iran, Byzantium and the Turk empire from 560 to 630 A.D.*, in: *Kontakte zwischen Iran, Byzanz und der Steppe im 6.-7. Jahrhundert*, ed. C. Bálint, Budapest, 2000, pp. 249-252.

In 555 synod in Dvin rejected the Chalcedonian creed stating this way the separation of Armenian Church from the “church of the emperor”¹⁰. Possible abandoning of the pro-Roman orientation by Armenia was wasted by Iran ten years later. In 564 Čihr Gušnasp the member of influential house of Sūrēn and the relative of the king himself was appointed *marzpān* of Armenia¹¹.

And then Khusro, king of Persia, raised to the office of hazarapet of Armenia one Suren, his kinsman, whose name was Chihor-Vshnasp, who, when he came, occupied our lands by greatly oppressing the Armenian nobles. (Stephen of Taron, 85)

When the Armenian and Iberian people, who had received the faith from the preaching of the apostles of Christ, were forced by the Persian king Khusro into the worship of idols... (Joh. Bicl., a.567?. 3)

The Armenians, because of the hostile treatment which they had received at the hands of Surena, particularly in matters concerning their religion (Theoph. Byz. 3)

At the same time (566-568) Justin took steps against the Christians rejecting Chalcedonian creed¹², which however proved to be futile. The emperor was forced to change his religious policy towards Armenia. In 570 Vardan Mamikonean¹³ and catholicos of Armenia made a secret

¹⁰ Adontz N., Armenia in the Period of Justinian. The Political Conditions Based on the Naxarar System, Lisbon, 1970, pp. 258-259; Van Esbroeck M., Impact de l'écriture sur le concile de Dvin en 555, *Annuaire Historiae Conciliorum*, 1988, 18, pp. 301-318; Garsoian N. G., Some Preliminary Precisions on the Separation of the Imperial and Armenian Churches. I: The Presence of Armenian Bishops at the First Five Ecumenical Councils, in: *Kathegetria. Essays Presented to Joan Hussey on her 80th Birthday*, ed. J. Chrisostomides, Camberley, 1989, pp. 279-281; Garsoian N. G., *L'Eglise arménienne et le grand schisme d'Orient*, Louvain, 1999, p. 197.

¹¹ Stephanos von Taron. *Armenische Geschichte*, tr. H. Gelzer, A. Burckhardt, Leipzig, 1907 (henceforth Stephen of Taron), 84. 23-86. 7.

¹² Allen P., Evagrius Scholasticus, the Church historian, Louvain, 1981, pp. 22-27; Cameron A., The early religious policies of Justin II, *Studies in Church History*, 1976, 13, pp. 62-64: places the beginning of the persecution in 572.

¹³ In context of the later events the strive of two houses to rule over Armenia must be highlighted [Patmut'iwn Sebeosi, ed. G.V. Abgaryan, Erevan 1979; The

agreement with the emperor who would recognize the independence of Eastern Armenia¹⁴.

...but all the remainder by the Persians - (whose people) revered (the practices) of the Christians and were being cruelly treated by the Persians, especially with regard to their faith, sent an embassy to Justin in secret. They begged to become subject to the Romans, in order that they might freely perform the honours (due) to God without anyone hindering (them). When the emperor had admitted (their overtures), and certain points had been agreed by the emperor in writing and guaranteed by solemn oaths (Evagr. 5.7)

To the Emperor Justin came Persarmenians with a great mass of woven silk, seeking his friendship, and assuring him that they were hostile to the Persian king (Gregorii episcopi Turonensis. Libri Historiarum X, edd. B. Krusch, W. Levison, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Hannover, 1951, 4.40)

The beginning of the military actions in Armenia

An excuse for insurrection was the decision of the *marzpān* to build a fire-temple in Dvin¹⁵.

Armenian History Attributed to Sebeos, tr. R.W. Thomson, comm. J. D. Howard-Johnston, with T. Greenwood, Liverpool 1999 (henceforth Sebeos), 67-68. 6; Hewsen R. H., The Geography of Ananias of Sirak. The Long and Short Recensions, Wiesbaden, 1992, p. 190.

¹⁴ Evagrius, Ecclesiastical History, edd. J. Bidez and L. Parmentier, London 1898; The Ecclesiastical History of Evagrius Scholasticus. tr. by Whitby M., Liverpool 2000 (henceforth Evagr.), 5. 7; Joh. Eph. HE 2. 22; Stephen of Taron 84-86; Manandian H. A., The Trade and Cities of Armenia in Relation to Ancient World Trade, Lisbon, 1965, p. 81; Preiser-Kapeller J., Kaysr, tun und 'asabiyya. Der armenische Adel und das Byzantinische Reich im späten 6. Jh. in der Darstellung des Sebeos zugeschriebenen Geschichtswerks, in: Junge Römer - Neue Griechen. Eine byzantinische Melange aus Wien. Beiträge von Absolventinnen und Absolventen des Instituts für Byzantinistik und Neogräzistik der Universität Wien, edd. M. Popovic, J. Preiser-Kapeller, Wien, 2008, S. 188-189.

¹⁵ Chronique de Michel le Syrien, Patriarche Jacobite d' Antioche 1166-1199, tr. Chabot J. B., vols. I-IV, Paris, 1899-1910 (henceforth Mika'el Rabo), 10. 1; Whitby L. M., ԶԶԼ ԶԶԼ, էջ 252; Lee A. D., Evagrius, Paul of Nisibis and the Problem of

(Khusro) sent a marzban to our region, accompanied by (p.82) (a force of) 2000 cavalry, who came first of all to us, to our city, delivering the directive that he should erect a fire-temple there for worshipping the king. (Joh. Eph. HE 2. 20)

The Armenians protested stating that Šāpur III (383–388) guaranteed them religious liberty¹⁶. Perhaps the temple was to be constructed for Persian settlers¹⁷, but the decision was received as hostile act of Iranian side.

In February 572 Vardan Mamikonean captured Dvin and killed the *marzpān*¹⁸.

For he committed adultery with the wives of the nobles, not accepting the husband as lord of his wife. With him the bdeashkh Vardan, son of Vasak, who was from the family of the Mamikoneans, became enraged; having waited for a suitable occasion, he killed Suren the marzban with the sword (and) threw him to the ground in the forty-first year of the kingship of Khusro, which was the seventh year of the kingship of

Loyalties in the Mid-Sixth. Century, *The Journal of ecclesiastical history*, 1993, 44, p. 583; Greatrex G., *Byzantium and the East in the Sixth Century*, in: *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Justinian*, ed. M. Maas, Cambridge, 2005, p. 489.

¹⁶ Joh. Eph. HE 2. 20; Chaumont M. L., *A propos d'un édit de paix religieuse d'époque sassanide*, in: *Mélanges d'histoire des religions offerts à Henri-Charles Puech*, edd. P. Leuy, E. Wolff, Paris, 1974, pp. 71-80; Greatrex G., *The background and aftermath of the partition of Armenia in AD 387*, *The Ancient History Bulletin*, 2000, 14, p. 42.

¹⁷ Whitby L. M., *Նշվ. աշխ., էջ 252*: suggests that there was no intentional policy of persecutions in Armenia.

¹⁸ Yovhannes Drasxanakertci. *Histoire d'Arménie*, ed. P. Boisson-Chenorhokian, *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*, 605, sub.115, Louvain, 2004 (henceforth Yovhannes Drasxanakertci), pp. 122-125; *Narratio de rebus Armeniae*, ed. G. Garitte, Louvain, 1952, pp. 77-78; Theoph. Byz. 3; Turtledove H., *Նշվ. աշխ., էջ 299*; Rubin Z., *Armenia in the fifth and sixth century*, *The Cambridge Ancient History*, 2000, 14, p. 673; Howard-Johnston J., *The Sasanians' Strategic Dilemma*, in: *Commutatio et Contentio: Studies in the Late Roman, Sasanian, and Early Islamic Near East in Memory of Zeev Rubin*, eds. H. Börm, J. Wiesehöfer, Düsseldorf, 2010, p. 52.

*Justinian, in the month of Areg, the 22nd of the month, which is of February, on a Tuesday*¹⁹. (Stephen of Taron, 85)

And it happened in the 41st year of the kingship of Khusro, son of Kavadh, (that) Vardan rebelled and withdrew from submission to the Persian kingdom, together with all the Armenians in unison. They killed the marzban Suren by surprise in the city of Dvin, and took much plunder and went into submission to the Greeks. (Sebeos, 67)

Xusrō demanded from Justin refraining from intervention however the emperor claimed that the conditions of peace ceased and a Christian must not refuse help another Christian²⁰.

Justin alleged that the terms of the peace had expired, and that it was impossible to reject the advances of the Christians who defected to (other) Christians (Evagr. 5. 7)

It seems that still in 572 Xusrō tried to keep the peace, but emperor's ultimatum demanding return of Nisibis provoked entering the Persian armies into Armenia²¹.

'I demand from you even the tribute which you have formerly received. For it is for him who requests peace to give tribute; and since you ask me for the country of the North, so we also demand Nisibis; for it belonged to the Romans, and it was given to the Persians conditionally, as is written in the archives.' (Mika'el Rabo 10. 1)

After capturing Dvin Vardan went to Constantinople to obtain promised military assistance. During the negotiations the emperor forced Vardan to accept "Church Union"²².

Then the Greek king made a vow with the Armenians and confirmed the same pact which had existed between the two kings, the blessed Tiridates and Constantine. He gave them an imperial army in support. And when they received the army, they attacked the city of Dvin and,

¹⁹ Dating discussed by Akinean H.N., Apstambut'iwne ev jajord tasnameay shrjane, Handes Amsorya, 1913, 26, pp. 79-80.

²⁰ Evagr. 5. 7; Mika'el Rabo 10. 1.

²¹ Menander 16. 1; Turtledove H., նշվ. աշխ., էջ 299, 300:

²² Rubin Z., նշվ. աշխ., էջ 673:

having besieged it, destroyed it from top to bottom, and expelled the Persian force which was located in it. (Sebeos, 68)

The pressure on religious matters made by the Chalcedonians resulted in weakening Armenia and caused the divisions among its inhabitants²³, however the positive result was that with active help from Roman forces Vardan was successful in pushing the Persians out²⁴.

The military actions on Irano-Roman front (572-573)

In 572 Roman forces passed Osrhoene and entered Arzanene which they robbed and withdrew to the fortress in Dara²⁵. In the next year (573) Justin made unsuccessful attempt of capturing Nisibis²⁶. Learning about the siege of the city Xusrō moved with his armies through Circesium²⁷. The Romans did not expect the Persian forces as the gossip of alleged Xusrō's death spread²⁸. This was corrected by Paul the Bishop of Nisibis²⁹. The cooperation with the Romans might be a result of a shift in Xusrō's religious policy towards the Christians³⁰. The *marzpān* of Nisibis asked Marcian, the commander of the Roman forces besieging the city to grant four months of truce in order to consult the king. In this time Nisibis was prepared for defense. One of the actions was expelling the Christians from

²³ Joh. Eph. HE 2. 23; Cowe S. P., The significance of the Persian War (571–91) in the *Narratio de rebus Armeniae*, Le Muséon, 1991, 104, pp. 265-276; Garsoian N. G., *L'Eglise arménienne et le grand schisme d'Orient*, Louvain, 1999, pp. 250-259.

²⁴ Evagr. 5. 7; Isaac B., The army in the late Roman East: the Persian Wars and the defence of the Byzantine provinces, in: *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East 3: States, Resources and Armies*, edd. A. Cameron, L. Conrad, Princeton, 1995, pp. 125-155; Howard-Johnston J., նշվ. աշխ., էջ 52:

²⁵ Th. Sim. 3. 10. 1-3.

²⁶ Evagr. 5. 8-9; Chr. 1234. 65; Justin ordered acceleration of the actions in Mesopotamia at the same time deciding to change the commanders there. The latter decision was to result with the animosities within Roman Army. Joh. Eph. HE 6. 2; Th. Sim. 3. 10. 6-11. 1.

²⁷ Evagr. 5. 9.

²⁸ Evagr. 5. 9.

²⁹ Lee A. D., նշվ. աշխ., էջ 576, 577:

³⁰ Lee A. D., նշվ. աշխ., էջ 580-584:

the city³¹. The Persian counter-strike took place in mid of 573 Xusrō sent part of the forces to Syria under command of Ādur Meh³², who captured Apamea and enslaved its inhabitants³³. At the same time the king himself crossed Tigris and after six months siege took the fortress Dara³⁴.

Reversal of the alliances in Armenia

In 573 a conflict burst among the allies. The direct cause was burning of the church of St Gregory, turned by the Persians into a warehouse, behind the walls of Dvin by the Romans in the course of military actions³⁵. This inspired enmity of the Armenians towards the imperial troops. King Xusrō benefited from this situation and appointed for *marzpān* an aristocrat Gōrgōn Mehrān³⁶ who gradually started bringing Persian control over the country back³⁷. Probably of great advantage for new *marzpān* was transferring Roman forces from Armenia to Mesopotamia.

The emperor neglected the interests of his Armenian ally and commenced the peace talks with Xusrō³⁸. Initially one-year truce was agreed for which the Romans paid in cash³⁹. In 574 the truce was extended for following three years however the truce did not include Armenia⁴⁰.

Thus Zachariah made a one-year truce in the Roman dominions in the East, but not for those in Armenia (Menander 18. 2)

³¹ Chr. 1234. 65.

³² Mika'el Rabo 10. 9.

³³ Evagr. 5. 10.

³⁴ Evagr. 5. 9; Joh. Eph. HE 6. 6; Chr. 1234. 66; Theoph. Byz. 4; Chr. 724. 145. 12-19; Th. Sim. 3. 10. 2.

³⁵ Sebeos 68. 7; Whitby L. M., Նշվ. աշխ., էջ 254-256: Garsoian N. G., L'Eglise arménienne et le grand schisme d'Orient, Louvain, 1999, pp. 250-262.

³⁶ Pourshariati P., Decline and Fall of the Sasanian Empire, London/New York, 2008, p. 103; Maksymiuk K., The Pahlav-Mehrān family faithful allies of Xusrō I Anōšīrvān, *Метаморфозы истории*, 2015, 6, pp. 163-179; Maksymiuk K., The Parthian nobility in Xusrō I Anōšīrvān court, in: *Elites in the Ancient World*, v. 2, eds. D. Okoń, P. Briks, Szczecin, 2015, pp. 189-198.

³⁷ Sebeos 68. 7; 70. 10-11; Yovhannes Drasxanakertc'i, 122.

³⁸ Th. Sim. 3. 11. 3-4.

³⁹ Menander 18. 2.

⁴⁰ Menander 18. 3-4; Howard-Johnston J., Նշվ. աշխ., էջ 54, 55:

When a truce had been made in the East, all the tumult (of war) was transferred to Armenia, which was partitioned between the two sides, and at the beginning of spring the war began (Menander 18. 4)

Probably its only aim was stopping further actions of Xusrō in Mesopotamia as already in 575 Jafnids leader al-Mundhir attacked the Naṣrids capturing and pillaging their capital - Hira⁴¹.

In 576 Xusrō attacked the cities supporting Rome.

This is that Vardan, against whom the Persian king, called Khusro Anushirwan, came in person with a multitude of armed men and many elephants. Having advanced through the province of Artaz, he crossed Bagrevand and passed beside the city of Karin. (Sebeos, 68)

The next year Xusrō reached Theodosiopolis without great effort⁴², most likely supported by the Armenians⁴³ and then turned west to Cappadocia⁴⁴. Entering of the Iranian forces resulted in panic and mass outflow of the population. The king burnt deserted Sebastea and Melitene. Roman counter-offensive ended up in the victory of imperial army in the battle of Melitene⁴⁵. Persian armies withdrew from Mesopotamia⁴⁶, the Romans entered the areas abandoned by the Persians⁴⁷.

In 577 peace negotiations were started⁴⁸. Armenia was to return under Xusrō's influence but at the same time the king had to agree for migration

⁴¹ Joh. Eph. HE 6. 4; Shahîd I., նշվ. աշխ., էջ 373-384:

⁴² Sebeos 68. 18.

⁴³ Menander 18. 6.

⁴⁴ Joh. Eph. HE 6. 8; Evagr. 5. 14; Honigmann E., Die Ostgrenze des Byzantinisches Reiches, Brussels, 1935, S. 21.

⁴⁵ Joh. Eph. HE 6. 9; John of Biclar, Chronicle, ed. T. Mommsen, Monumenta Germaniae Historica Berlin 1894; tr. K. Wolf, Conquerors and Chroniclers of Early Medieval Spain, Liverpool, 1990 (henceforth Joh. B.) a. 575?. 1; Th. Sim. 3. 14. 10-11; Evagr. 5. 14.

⁴⁶ Joh. Eph. HE 6. 9; Evagr. 5. 14; Honigmann E., նշվ. աշխ., էջ 88, 89; Whitby L. M., նշվ. աշխ., էջ 266:

⁴⁷ Evagr 5. 14; Th. Sim. 3. 15. 1; loh. B. a. 576?. 2.

⁴⁸ Joh. Eph. HE 6. 12.

of those of inhabitants of Armenia and Iberia who supported Vardan and took up the fight for independence to Rome⁴⁹.

...the Caesar too was very ready to hand over Persarmenia and Iberia to the Persians. For he saw very clearly that if they were deprived of this considerable tract of territory, they would never give up, even if Persian fortunes should completely decline and grow weak. (He declared), however, that he would surrender neither the princes of the Persarmenians nor their relatives, nor indeed anyone at all who had willingly deserted to the Romans, and, moreover, that he would make peace only on condition that there should be no impediment to those of the Persarmenians and Iberians who wished to leave their country and migrate to the Roman empire. (Menander 20. 2)

Catholikos together with the part of ecclesiastical hierarchy moved to Constantinople. Vardan was also forced to leave the country. The fugitives were settled in Asia Minor⁵⁰.

The warfare carried on still in 578 and Persian armies reached Martyropolis and Amida⁵¹, while the Romans directed to Nisibis⁵². The change of the ruler in Constantinople resulted in resuming peace negotiations⁵³. However, they did not change the situation of Armenia.

'I too want peace and welcome (it) because it is God-given, just as within me there is a natural friendship with you. Therefore I am prepared to give up all Persarmenia and Iberia, save indeed those of the Persarmenians and Iberians who wish to be subject to us. (Menander 23.8)

⁴⁹ Menander 20. 2.

⁵⁰ Charanis P., *Ethnic Changes in the Byzantine Empire in the Seventh Century*, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 13, 1959, p. 29.

⁵¹ Menander 23. 1; Joh. Eph. HE 6. 14; Th. Sim. 3. 15. 11-12; Szadeczky-Kardoss S., *Bemerkungen zur Geschichte (Chronologie und Topographie) der sassanidisch-byzantinischen Kriege*, *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 1976, 24, S. 109-110.

⁵² Agathias, *Historiae*, ed. R. Keydell, *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae*, Berlin 1967; tr. J. D. Frendo Berlin/New York, 1975, 4. 29. 7-8; Th. Sim. 3. 16. 1-2.

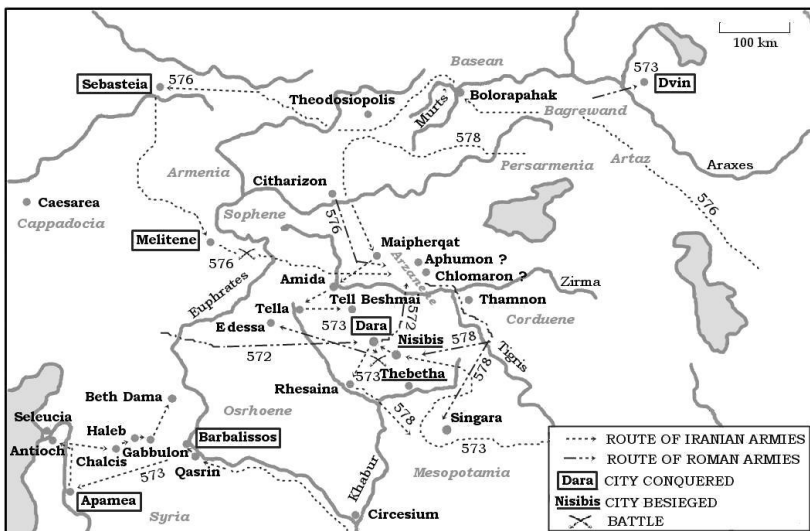
⁵³ Menander 23. 8; the Romans were ready to leave Armenia, Iberia and Arzanene but expected transfer of Dara, which was received unwillingly by the inhabitants of the border zones (Chr. 1234. 73).

Conclusion

When analyzing the warfare on Roman-Persian front in 570s, important role of Persarmenia in the border regions should be emphasized. Initially Xusrō underestimated the political ambitions of Mamikonean family by appointing his relative for *marzpān*. Armenia which recognized independence of its church stood in opposition to Constantinople but Iranian ruler could not use this political advantage. The religious decisions of the *marzpān* resulted with harp reaction of the inhabitants who took up open military actions. The Armenians were so much determined to reach the independence from Iran that they even decided to accept Chalcedonian creed. Although Roman support allowed pushing Persian forces out of Armenia, the Romans treated the country rather as occupied and not allied land caused of the reversal of the alliances. Clearly erroneous was the policy of the imperial court towards Armenia which on one hand forced “church union” on the other did not treat Armenia as equal partner. The key fact here seems neglecting Armenian interests in peace talks with Iran.

The key factor in analyze of Armenian insurrections against Persia seems their religious aspect and hostility of Armenians towards Mazdaism. The religious matters although very important were not the main point. The situation was stabilized when the member of the local aristocracy (Gōrgōn Mehrān) was appointed *marzpān*. The Armenians strove political independence of their state.

To sum up the described events in the military aspect it should be noted that Vardan’s decision to start fighting was correct one. Iran occupied in warfare with Roman forces carried in Northern Mesopotamia was unable to intervene successfully in Armenia. From political perspective the uprising had chances to succeed if only the emperor fulfilled his duties as ally. Outrageous was omitting Armenian matters during the peace negotiations between imperial court and Iran.



Military operations in years 572-578

ՄԱՔՍԻՄՅՈՒԿ ԿԱՏԱԺԻՆԱ

ԱՊՍԱՄԲՈՒԹՅՈՒՆԸ ՊԱՐՄԱԿԱՆ ՀԱՅԱՍՏԱՆՈՒՄ ՀՈՈՄԻ ԵՎ ԻՐԱՆԻ ՍԱՀՄԱՆԱԳՈՏՈՒՄ ՌԱԶՄԱԿԱՆ ԳՈՐԾՈՂՈՒԹՅՈՒՆՆԵՐԻ ՀԱՄԱՏԵՔՍՈՒՄ (572-578 ԹԹ.)

Հոդվածում փորձ է արվել ռազմաքաղաքական տեսանկյունից գնահատելու Հայաստանի արևելյան մասում հակաիրանական ապստամբության հաջողության հնարավորությունները, որոնք իրականում կարող էին հանգեցնել երկրի անկախացմանը: Ցույց է տրվում, որ Սասանյան պետությունը 560-ական թվականների վերջերին կրկին խստացնում է իր քաղաքականությունը Արևելյան Հայաստանում՝ խորացնելով հասարակական լայն շերտերի դժգոհությունը: Հայ ժողովուրդը հանուն հավատի և ինքնավարության պահպանության ապստամբում է պարսկական տիրապետության դեմ՝ ջախջախելով պարսկական զորաբանակները: Սակայն ուժերը խիստ անհավասար էին, իսկ հավատակից Բյուզանդիան խուսափում էր ապստամբ հայերին իրական օգնություն ցուցաբերելուց՝ հոգևորականության և նախարարների զգալի մասին ներքաշելով դավանաբանական հարցերի քաշքշուկի մեջ: