

Research Article

Studying the Role of the Remnants of the Qarakhanids and Naimans in the Conflicts Between Sultan Muhammad Kharazmshah and the Qarakhanids

Moslem Somali^{*} , Ali Bahranipour 

Department of History, Faculty of Literature and Humanities, Shahid Chamran University of Ahvaz, Ahvaz, Iran

Abstract

During the reign of Muhammad Kharazmshah, the political and military conflicts between him and the Qarakhatians were strongly influenced by the remnants of the Qarakhanids and the Numans. These two groups, given their rich history and military power, acted as the main rivals of the Khwarazmshah monarchy. The remnants of the Qarakhanids tried to restore their influence, while the Numans sought to preserve their lands and prevent the expansion of the Kharazmshah monarchy. This research, titled “Investigating the Role of the Remnants of the Qarakhanids and Numans in the Conflicts between Sultan Muhammad Kharazmshah and the Qarakhanids,” uses an analytical-descriptive method to answer the following questions: 1- How did the remnants of the Qarakhanids and Numans influence the military strategies of Sultan Muhammad Kharazmshah? 2- What was the role of cooperation or competition between the remnants of the Qarakhanids and Numans in weakening the Khwarazmshah monarchy? The research findings show that the survivors of the Karakhanids and Naimans were able to help weaken the Kharazmshah dynasty by forming temporary alliances and using common military strategies. Sultan Muhammad Kharazmshah was forced to implement military and political reforms to maintain his power due to the pressures arising from the conflict with the Karakhanids and the threat from the Naimans. Ultimately, these factors led to the collapse of the Khwarazmshah government.

Keywords

Qarakhanids, Naimans, Conflicts, Sultan Muhammad of Khwarazm, Qarakhanids

1. Introduction

In examining the role of the Karakhanid and Naiman remnants in the conflicts between Sultan Muhammad Kharazmshah and the Qarakhtayids, several key points should be noted. After the fall of their rule, the Karakhanid remnants sought to revive their cultural and political identity. Relying on their rich history and cultural connections with other tribes, they tried to form a new power against the Kharazmshah monarchy. Due to their past experiences in governance, this group was able to act as a

well-organized and well-organized force and compete with the Qarakhtayids. The Naimans were also influential in the political developments of the region as an independent military force. Given their geographical location and military power, they were able to resist the Kharazmshah monarchy. The Naimans not only sought to preserve their lands but also tried to limit the influence of the Qarakhtayids. These two groups sometimes collaborated informally to undermine the Khwarezm

^{*}Corresponding author: somali.moslem@gmail.com (Moslem Somali)

Received: 10 July 2025; **Accepted:** 21 July 2025; **Published:** 15 August 2025



Copyright: © The Author(s), 2025. Published by Science Publishing Group. This is an **Open Access** article, distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 License (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>), which permits unrestricted use, distribution and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited.

Shah dynasty. The conflicts between these groups reflected the intense power struggles of the period. Each of these groups tried to impose its supremacy over the other using different strategies. These rivalries not only affected domestic politics but also caused major changes in the social and economic structure of the region. Sultan Muhammad Kharezm Shah needed effective strategies to deal with these challenges. He tried to overcome the threats posed by the remnants of the Qarakhanids and the Naimans by creating new alliances and strengthening his military force. These efforts ultimately led to significant changes in the political map of the region and had a profound impact on Iranian history.

2. Background

During the reign of Muhammad Kharazmshah, the Central Asian region witnessed complex political and military developments, which were particularly influenced by the remnants of the Karakhanids and the Naimans. These two groups, with their rich history and cultural influence, posed serious challenges to the reign of the Kharazmshah as the main rivals for power. The conflicts between the Kharazmshahs and the Karakhanids were directly related to the activities and strategies of these two groups. In this study, the role and impact of the remnants of the Karakhanids and the Naimans in the developments of that period will be analyzed. This article attempts to examine the various dimensions of these conflicts, emphasizing the power relations and military strategies of each side. So far, numerous studies have been written on the role of the remnants of the Qarakhanids and Naimans in the conflicts between Sultan Muhammad Kharazmshah and the Qarakhanids, including: Vladimir Barthold (1973) *Turkestan-nameh*; Muhammad bin Ali Shabankarai (1982) *Majma' al-Ansab*; Rashid al-Din Fazlullah (1994) *Jame' al-Tawarikh*; Muhammad bin Ahmad Nasavi (1995) *Sirah Jalal al-Din*; Minhaj Siraj Jawzjani (1984) *Tabaqat Naseri*; Ata Malek Juwayni (1986) *Tarikh Jahangosha*. Finally, examining the role of the Karakhanid and Naiman remnants in the conflicts between Sultan Muhammad of Khwarazm and the Karakhanids reveals the political complexities of the period. These groups competed not only for territory but also for influence and power in Central Asia. The effects of these conflicts on the political stability of the region and the Khwarazm Shahi monarchy were significant, and they demonstrate the importance of relations between different tribes and states in the historical developments of Iran.

3. Osman Khan Afrasiab (Qarakhanid) (607 AH)

Al Afrasiab or Qarakhanids or Iluk Khanids were a tribe of Turks. This tribe was under the Uyghur Turkic confederation. Ibn Khaldun says about their beginnings: "These Turks were the kings of Turkestan, and I am not aware of their beginnings.

Except that the first of them was Setuk or Baghra Khan, who was called Abdul Karim, and Turkestan was his territory [1]. Barthold avoids attributing them to a specific tribe and says: "There is no information available about how the state of the Turkish khans who ended the Samanid rule was formed. Even the issue of attributing these khans to such and such a Turkish tribe is disputed and debated [2]. Overall, it seems that their Uyghur identity is mostly confirmed by historians and researchers who have spent many years of their lives shedding light on the dark corners of this state [3].

The geographical area of this state was located between Turkestan and Transoxiana, which was also called Maluk Khanate. But in 423, the united Karakhanid Khanate was divided into two parts, eastern and western. The western Khanate was centered in Samarkand or sometimes Fergana and Transoxiana. The survivors of Liao were defeated in the first attack to the west in 522 in a battle with Ahmad ibn Hassan, the Karakhanid ruler of Kashgar. The second wave of Karakhanid attacks to the west led by Yuldashi took place in 525. At this time, the ruler of Balasaghun (the seat of the Karakhanid Khanate) was Mahmud Khan ibn Muhammad Arslan Khan, who was frustrated by the attacks of the Qarlagi and Qanguli Turks. He invited Gurkhan to Balasaghun, Gurkhan entered Balasaghun and liberated the city from the Turks, but instead of handing it over to Mahmud Khan, he himself ascended the Karakhanid throne. Then he demoted him from the position of khan and granted him the title of Iluk Turkan [4].

Osman Khan ibn Ibrahim Khan, nicknamed Algh-e-Sultan, a contemporary of Muhammad Kharazmshah, was the last Afrasiyabi Khan who, in 604 and 607, tried to free the Qarakhanid Khanate from the Qarakhtayid yoke with the help of Kharazmshah. Juwayni says about his grudge against Gurkhan that Osman Khan harbored a strong grudge against Gurkhan because Gurkhan refused to marry his daughter to him. Therefore, he sent a message to Kharazmshah to come to Samarkand and minted coins in his name in advance [5]. In fact, Osman Khan was an important and decisive element in the outcome of the series of battles between the Khwarazmshahs and the Qara-Khattabs after 604. Almost all historians believe that Osman Khan harbored a strong grudge against the Qara-Khattab Khan because of Gor Khan's opposition to his marriage to his daughter, and this issue is considered the main reason for Osman Khan's shift of position towards Sultan Muhammad, the Kharazmshah. Khan Afrasiyabi's relations with the Kharazmshah can be examined in three stages. The first and second stages are related to the alliance with the Sultan in the battle against the Khatahids in 604 and 607, while the third period is Osman Khan's regret about the alliance with Sultan Muhammad and his return to Gor Khan, which had an unfortunate outcome for him and the rest of the Afrasiyabi dynasty. In fact, after Gor Khan's heavy defeat in the Ilam desert in 608, the Qara-Khattabs were no longer considered a major threat to the Khwarazmshah, especially since Gor Khan was heavily involved in the invasions

of the Naiman tribes led by Kuchalk Khan into the eastern lands. It seems that in this way, Osman Khan, who played an effective role in the chess between Gurkhan and Khwarazm Shah for the Sultan's interests, made a miscalculation in assessing his position and made a mistake in the election process, and finally failed to achieve his desires and dreams.

Juyani says about the fate of Osman Khan that when Sultan Muhammad betrothed his daughter to Osman Khan, he invited her to Khwarazm and arranged their marriage. According to the custom of the Turks, Turkan Khatun kept the groom in Khwarazm for a year. When the Sultan arrived in Samarkand to fight the Khatayans, the people became suspicious of Osman Khan's condition, and the Sultan, observing this situation, ordered Osman Khan to be returned to Samarkand. After the Khwarazm Shah returned to Khwarazm, the people around the Sultan's daughter reported that Osman Khan had taken a girl from Khatayan; she joined Gurkhan and mocked the Sultan in the banquet. The Sultan tolerated these news and did not give permission until the people of Samarkand, on the orders of Osman Khan, killed a group of people who had gone to the Mahdi Alia by the Sultan, and his opposition to the Sultan became clear. At first, he ordered Osman Khan's brother, Otkin, who was very popular with his brother, to be imprisoned, then he moved towards Samarkand. After a few days, Khan Afrasiabi, who did not see the strength to resist, was forced to surrender. The Sultan, who was very angry, ordered a massacre, which resulted in ten thousand people being killed, until the Sadat and the Solhi of Samarkand took up the Quran and asked for intercession. The Sultan, accepting their request, ordered a stop to the killing. So Osman Khan, who had greatly regretted his actions, rebuked him greatly, but he did not intend to kill him, but his daughter Khan Sultan ordered that he be killed at night [6]. Ibn Athir narrates that the Sahib of Samarkand regretted betraying the Khatayans due to the mistreatment of the Kharezmians by the people of Samarkand. Accordingly, he first sent a message to the Sahib of the Khatayans expressing his loyalty and friendship, then ordered the massacre of all the Kharezmians of Samarkand. He even intended to kill the Sultan's daughter, but he gave up due to the groans and pleas of Khan Sultan. Upon learning of Khan Afrasiabi's behavior, the Kharezm Shah became very angry and attacked Samarkand with all his might, and Osman Khan, who did not see the strength to resist, surrendered. The Kharezm Shah initially ordered the massacre of all the Samarkandians and foreigners present in Samarkand, but with the intercession of his mother, he changed his mind, but ordered the plunder of the city. After three days, with the intercession of the elders of the city, he ordered a halt to the plundering, then he killed all the dependents of the court of the Turkestan Khanate. Osman Khan was also severely rebuked by the Sultan, but although he did not intend to kill him, his daughter Khan Sultan killed him. The interesting point of this story is its complete similarity to Ibn Athir's story about the reason for Ibn Khurmil's rebellion. According to him, Ibn Khurmil also rebelled against the Sultan because of the mis-

behavior of the Kharizmians [7]. Regarding the reason for Uthman Khan's rebellion, both Ibn Athir and Juwayni's accounts seem to be dubious. It seems highly unlikely that Uthman Khan's main reason for his alliance with the Khwarezm Shah was his refusal to marry the daughter of Gurkhan, although this could have been an excuse for starting hostilities with Gurkhan, but it is not considered very strong evidence. In the author's opinion; Uthman Khan had an old grudge against him due to the long-standing pressure of the Qarakhtays on him and his ancestors, as well as the overthrow of the Ilak Khanate government by the Qarakhtays. Certainly; Khan Qarakhtay considered the presence of the Khwarezm Shah as a Muslim ruler a valuable opportunity to free himself from the many years of yoke of the Ilak Khanate at the hands of the Qarakhtays, but he needed an excuse to break the treaty with Gurkhan, which Khan Qarakhtay's opposition to his marriage to his daughter gave him this opportunity.

On the other hand, the narrative of this text, which seems somewhat unrealistic due to its unmistakable similarity to the narrative of Ibn Khurmil's rebellion, has an important point that may reveal new horizons of Uthman Khan's relations with Gurkhan and the Kharezmshah. While narrating the story of Uthman Khan, Ibn Athir mentions a message that Uthman Khan sent to Gurkhan after regretting his betrayal against the Qara-Khattabs, and summoned him to Samarkand [8]. Although Ibn Athir did not mention the content of the letter and the possible response of Gurkhan, it seems logical that Gurkhan gave him deceptive promises and perhaps a promise of independence in response to his message. In the author's opinion, Osman Khan probably thought that after establishing his position in Samarkand, he could take advantage of the potential of the Qaraqatayids against Sultan Muhammad, and on the other hand, since Gurkhan lacked the previous power, he was unable to harm him. In fact, Osman Khan intended to play a balancing role between Gurkhan and the Kharazmshah, which would eventually lead to the formation of an independent government. However, the governor of Samarkand, considering his power and the remaining Gurkhan forces sufficient against Sultan Muhammad, made a miscalculation that ultimately cost him his life and the end of the rule of the Eastern Khanate in Samarkand and its surrounding areas.

According to Juwayni; After the end of Osman Khan's work, Khwarazm Shah appeased the people of Samarkand and sent messengers to the emirs of Fergana and Turkestan, inviting them to follow him. Then he set out with his army towards the remnants of the Qara-Khattab army before Gurkhan could mobilize an army again. In the meantime, the envoy of Kuchel Khan arrived at the Sultan, who carried a message of alliance from Kuchel Khan for the battle against Gurkhan. According to the Joveni conversation, an agreement was made between the Sultan and Kuchel Khan on the basis that if the Sultan was ahead in defeating Gurkhan, Kashgar and Khotan would be his, but if Kuchel Khan succeeded in winning earlier, Ab Fanakt would be his. The Sultan went ahead and advanced to Bishbaligh, then returned to Samar-

kand and built the famous Grand Mosque of this city. Juyani mentions the continuation of Gurkhan's work as follows: The Khatai army reached Balasagun on its way back, but the people, hoping that the Sultan was pursuing Gurkhan, closed the gates and resisted the Qara-Khattai forces. Gurkhan's army also broke down the city gates using elephants and began to kill and plunder the city. In this plunder, 47,000 people were killed and Gurkhan's treasury was filled. Mahmud Khan, fearing Gurkhan's greed for his wealth, called on him to confiscate the property of the Qara-Khattai emirs and nobles, and Gurkhan did the same: amidst the dissatisfaction of the Qara-Khattai emirs, Kuchalak Khan, who had recently been defeated, took advantage of the opportunity and, in a moment of negligence, imprisoned Gurkhan. Although Kuchalak looked at Gurkhan with respect after that, he took possession of the daughter of a great emir who was Gurkhan's fiancée. Gurkhan also passed away after 2 years [9]. Rashid al-Din also describes the end of Gurkhan's career based on these Juvaini narrations [10]. After these events, the role of Kuchalak Khan Naimani became more prominent than ever, which will be explained below.

4. Little Khan Naimani

In his valuable book *Jame' al-Tawarikh*, Khwaja Rashid al-Din Fazlullah provides valuable information about the Tatar, Turk and Turkic tribes. He considers the Naimans to be branches of the Atraks and generally considers the names of the Naiman kings as Boyroq Khan (commander) or Kuchel Khan, meaning the king of the people and the great. Taiyang Khan was the father of Kuchel Khan, the Naiman king of the Naiman tribe. The Naimans were constantly in conflict with them due to their territorial affinity with the Karaites. As Genghis Khan's affairs increased, the Naiman Khan sent a message to Alaqush Tegin, the king of Ongqut, to unite and suppress Genghis, but Alaqush Tegin conveyed this news to Genghis. In the end, Taiyang Khan and his allies, including Toqtay, the king of the Mergits, Alin Tashan, the Karaite emirs, Qutreqeh, the king of the Oyran, and Jamuqeh Sachan, the Jajirat tribe, who, of course, joined Genghis at the last moment, were defeated by the Mongol Khan; Taiyang Khan was killed and after his murder Temujin was honored with the title of Genghis Khan. After the murder of Taiyang Khan, his brother Boyeruk Khan, who had been living in the mountains for a long time due to a dispute with Taiyang Khan, was killed by Genghis in the hunting ground. Taiyang's son, Kuchel Khan, along with Tokhtay, were again defeated by Genghis in the last battle. In this war, Tokhtay was killed, but Kuchel Khan managed to escape. He took refuge with a small number of his soldiers at the court of Gurkhan of Qarakhatai. Gurkhan also received him warmly. Shabankarai considers Kuchalak Khan to be the son of Avang Khan Karaite, which seems to have been a mistake taken from Juyani [11]. There is a different opinion about the life history of Kuchel Khan Nasvi. He believes that he was the son of another khan of the same name,

and he considers Kuchel Khan the father to be an ally of Genghis, after whose death Genghis did not pay attention to his son due to his young age, so Kuchel Khan the son separated from Genghis. It seems that the reason why Nasvi considers Kuchel Khan the son of Kuchel Khan the elder is due to the common use of this title among the Naimans for the head of the tribe. However, Nasvi further adds that after separating from Genghis, Kuchel went to Qayyik and Alalyq and allied himself with Mammad Khan, son of Arslan Khan, one of the emirs of the Western Ilk Khanate in Turkestan. This coincided with the defeat of Gur Khan by Sultan Muhammad of Khwarezmshah in 608 [12].

Of course, it seems that Rashid al-Din's access to Mongol documents and correspondence, as well as the presence of Mongol and Chinese historians in the court of Ghazan Khan, contributed to the accuracy and precision of his narratives about the history of the Mongols and other tribes, including the Naimans. There are also different opinions about the presence of Khan Naiman in the court of Gurkhan. Juyani narrates two narratives in this regard. The first narrative is that after the defeat against Genghis Khan, Kuchelk was captured by Gurkhan's men and taken to Khan Qarakhtai. The second narrative, which Juyani describes in more detail and probably for this reason is more credible, is that he took refuge in the court of Gurkhan with the rest of his men, then was honored at the court of Gurkhan to the extent that he took his daughter as his wife [13]. Shabankarai prefers Juwayni's second narration and considers it to be without any flaws or defects [14]. Rashid al-Din describes the arrival of Kuchelk at the court of Gurkhan in more detail than Juwayni. He considers the year of Kuchelk's arrival at the court of Qara-Khattai to be 604. According to him, after the arrival of Khan Naiman, he fell in love with Gurkhan's daughter, Qonqur, and this affair ended in marriage. After that, Kuchelk's position rose day by day until he became Gurkhan's special attendant. He considers Kuchelk Khan an ally of Sultan Muhammad and Osman Khan in the battle with Gurkhan. According to him, after the rebellion of the eastern Qara-Khattai emirs and their joining Genghis, Kuchelk Khan, who was trusted by Gurkhan in all matters, noticed the instability of his kingdom. He separated from him with a trick, intending to gather his scattered troops and help Gurkhan, but in fact his main goal was to seize Gurkhan's kingdom. Rashid al-Din considers Gurkhan to be an oppressed ruler who naively trusted Kuchelk Khan.

However, after entering Turkestan, Kuchel Khan managed to gather his scattered forces and with their help began to invade the lands under the command of Gurkhan. Gurkhan also could not take any action to repel him due to the instability of his government. A treaty was concluded between the envoys of Kuchel and the Khwarezm Shah that the Sultan would attack Gurkhan from the west and Kuchel Khan from the east simultaneously, the content of which is consistent with the Juwayni narrations. However, Kuchel Khan outran the Sultan in attacking Gurkhan, but his attack failed and he was forced to flee. After that, Gurkhan was defeated by the

Khwarezm Shah and his ally Osman Khan and entered Balasagun in a chaotic manner. In Balasagun, Gurkhan was subjected to a sudden attack by Kuchel Khan and was captured. After that, the Karakta Turks came under the control of Kuchel Khan and became the ruler of Turkestan, after which he began to harass Muslims [15]. Another group of historians who were contemporaries of these events include Ibn Athir, Jawzjani and Nasavi who describe the arrival of Kuchelk in Turkestan and his relations with the Khwarezm Shah in a different way. Ibn Athir says that after Gurkhan's defeat of the Khwarezm Shah in 608, a group of Tatars led by Kuchelk Khan, upon hearing the news of the defeat of the Qarakhtay Khan, attacked his defeated army and defeated them. It was before the beginning of this attack that Gurkhan and Kuchelk sent separate messages to Muhammad Khwarezm Shah asking for help. The Khwarezm Shah simultaneously helped both of them, but in practice he waited for the outcome of the war and the determination of the winner until Gurkhan was defeated and the Khwarezm Shah plundered the rest of Gurkhan's defeated army [16]. Jawzjani also agrees with Ibn Athir to some extent in this regard. He also believes that the Tatar Kuchel Khan suddenly attacked the army of Gur Khan from Turkestan and captured him, then separated the Khatay emirs and the Afrasiabi sultans and killed some of them [17]. Although Nasavi has a different account in this regard, he agrees with Ibn Athir and Jawzjani regarding the invasion of Kuchel Khan from Turkestan after 608. He believes that Kuchel Khan, after facing Genghis's unkindness after the murder of his father, went with his companions to Qiyalik and Almalik, then allied with Mamdu Khan, son of Arslan Khan. This event coincided with the defeat of Gurkhan by Sultan Muhammad Kharazmshah. After that, Kuchel Khan, at the instigation of Mamdu Khan and with his help, attacked Kashgar and captured Gurkhan. From then on, Gurkhan ruled in a nominal manner. After hearing this incident, the Sultan sent a commanding message to Kuchel and asked him to extradite Gurkhan, while threatening Kuchel with an attack if his demand was not fulfilled. Kuchel Khan initially treated the Sultan's messengers with respect and returned them with gifts. He sent a message with the Sultan's messengers in which he asked for intercession for Gurkhan. Nasavi examines the reason for this request for two reasons. He considers the first reason to be Gurkhan's request and plea to Kuchelk not to surrender him to the Sultan, and the second reason is the fear of public condemnation [18]. The common narrative of these three historians seems to be much closer to the truth due to the coincidence of these events and greater realism than Tarvati Juyini and his successors, who are not even able to answer the question of where and how the remnants of the Naiman army spent their lives after their defeat by Genghis Khan and their dispersion, or how Kuchel Khan managed to gather this defeated army.

But the most important part of Nasavi's statements is about the message that the Sultan sent to Kuchel Khan in the second stage. When Kuchel Khan hesitated in responding to the Sultan's requests, one of Nasavi's relatives named Amir Muham-

mad, son of Qara Qasim Nasavi, was sent to Kuchel Khan as the last messenger. Nasavi quotes him as saying that he was ordered by the Sultan to be rude to Kuchel Khan in carrying out the mission, which also led to his imprisonment. Nasavi continues to narrate that the Sultan failed several times to defeat Kuchel Khan [19]. The most important part of Nasavi's statement seems to be the perception of the type of relationship that prevailed between the Sultan and Kuchel Khan. In fact, the Sultan's attitude, which requires his messenger to be harsh towards the unfaithful Khan, is due to his superior position to Kuchel Khan, which seems to have been unprecedented before against the Ghorians and even after the defeat of the Qara-Khattabs; in fact, the Sultan was an unrivaled ruler who did not feel the need to respect a lesser king. After describing these events, Juyini and Rashid al-Din do not narrate any more about the relationship between Sultan Muhammad and Kuchel. They narrate the rest of Kuchel's life in such a way that after marrying the daughter of Gur Khan, he was strongly influenced by her. After conquering Kashgar and circumcising the Muslims there, he required them to choose between Christianity and idolatry, he closed Islamic rituals and laid the foundation for oppression and tyranny. There is also a story about Imam Muhammad Khotani who was killed for his bold response to the insult of Kuchalak Khan against the Prophet. Kuchalak Khan Naimani was in power until 614. He finally fled without resistance when the Mongol general Jebbe Nayan arrived and was finally killed in Badakhshan [20]. Regarding the continuation of the relations between the Sultan and Kuchel Khan, Ibn Athir's account is almost similar to Nasavi's account. He believes that a group of Tatars led by Kuchel Khan attacked the Khatayans. Kuchel Khan and Gur Khan simultaneously asked Sultan Muhammad for help. After the victory of the Naimans, Sultan Muhammad plundered the rest of the Qarakhta army. After that, he sent a letter to Kuchel and attributed his victories to the battles he fought with Gur Khan, and asked him to divide the captured cities with him. Kuchel Khan rejected the Sultan's request and offered him war. The Khwarezm Shah led an army against him, but while Kuchel was waiting for the battle with the Sultan, the Khwarezm Shah plundered his goods and buildings. Kuchel, in a message, likened the Sultan's actions to theft and plunder and reproached him. "It is unlikely that Kuchelk would have made such a complaint because he himself had resorted to such a method of warfare and had achieved complete success, and as a result, he had won the battle against the Khwarezm Shah [21]. Ibn Athir further narrates that after losing the battle with Kuchalak, the Sultan was finally forced to relocate the people of Chach, Fergana, Kasa, and Asfijab to Islamic cities [22]. Yaqut Hamavi in Mu'jam al-Bulandan, when introducing Asfijab, confirmed Ibn Athir's narration: "There was no city in Khorasan and Vara-Rud that did not pay tribute except Asfijab, which, since it was an important border post, was given tribute to pay for the manufacture of weapons and to stay there. They did the same with cities like "Taraz", "Sabaran", "Sanikath", and "Farab". Until the events of the times began to overwhelm them. First, the Kharazmshah Mu-

hammad, son of Tekesh, son of Alp Arslan, son of Aq Sanqor, son of Muhammad, son of Anushtkin, when he captured Vararud and overthrew the "traitor" kingdom, was unable to govern it, because every corner of it was in the hands of one of that family, and he had destroyed them all. So most of the vast country and the border cities were devastated, his armies tore it to pieces, and his people were forced to emigrate, although their hearts were there and their eyes were worried about it [23]. Based on these narrations, it can be said that it seems that the decline and weakness of the Kharezm Shahs' kingdom had begun years before the Mongol invasion; as can be seen, Sultan Muhammad Kharezm Shah had become desperate in the face of a less powerful rival such as Kuchalak Khan, so much so that by vacating the mentioned cities, he practically followed a scorched earth policy. "The empire of Sultan Muhammad Kharezm Shah, despite its external grandeur, splendor, and greatness, was like a plane tree that was rotten inside; so much so that Kuchalak Khan's resistance caused this plane tree to tremble, and the Mongols' severe blows also uprooted it" [24]. But this annoying rival, shortly after these challenges with the Kharezmshah, easily lost the battle following the attack of Genghis' son Joji and was eventually killed. According to Ibn Athir; Kuchalk Khan Naimani was eventually killed by Joji Khan and all his treasures were looted. Nasawi also refers the narration of the murder of Khan Naiman to the narration of Ibn Athir. Jawzjani also narrates almost the same narration as Ibn Athir and Nasavi about how Kuchalak entered Turkestan and his domination over the Qaraqays. The only difference in Jawzjani's narration is the mention of the place where Kuchalak was killed, which is in the town of Keykarb in the foothills of Samarkand [25]. The special advantage of these three historians over Juwayni and his successors is that their lives coincided with the occurrence of these events, while the similarity of their narratives is an important factor in their proximity to reality, compared to Juwayni and his successors.

5. Conclusion

The performance of Osman Khan Sultan and Kochlek Khan Naimani have some similarities. As it turns out, Osman Khan, with his political performance, was seeking to restore the lost power of his ancestral government amidst the conflicts between the two great powers of that era. He was initially successful in this path to some extent. In this way, he managed to gain a high status in the court of the Kharazm Shahs and even advanced to the position of son-in-law of Muhammad Kharazm Shah. However, as tensions increased, he was unable to manage this crisis and from then on, amidst these conflicts, he became a pawn in the hands of Muhammad Kharazm Shah, which ultimately led to his destruction and his aspirations. Similarly, Kochlek Khan Naimani, who saw the power of the tribe, and at its head, his father, lost, tried to seize the heritage of the Qara-Khatta while restoring the lost power and also obtaining his legitimacy from the Qara-Khatta aristocracy. He initially achieved some success in confronting the invasions of Mu-

hammad Kharazm Shah, but when Genghis Khan's forces arrived, he lost his ability to resist and was killed. Another common feature of these two influential elements in the political sphere of that era was their destructive performance against the Qara-Khattab Empire, which led to the dissolution of the forces of Gur-Khan and the subsequent increase in the power of the Kharazm Shah. As a result, it seems that the political and military behavior of these two elements led to the disintegration of the Qara-Khatta Empire, the increase in the power of Muhammad Kharazm Shah, and the neighboring Mongols and the Kharazm Shahs. Finally, it can be said that these factors had their impact on the decline of the Kharazm Shahs' rule in the medium term, which resulted in the destruction of the Kharazm Shah government and the conquest of western lands in 617 AH.

Author Contributions

Moslem Somali: Writing - original draft

Ali Bahranipour: Writing - review & editing

Conflicts of Interest

The authors declare no conflicts of interest.

References

- [1] Ibn Khaldun, Abd al-Rahman ibn Muhammad Abu Zayd (2008). *Al-Abr*, Volume 2, Mohammad Ayati, Tehran, Humanities Research Institute, p. 645.
- [2] Juveini, Atamalek, (2006). *History of the World Explorer*, Volume 2, edited by Mohammad Qazvini, Tehran, Donyayeh Kitab, p. 93.
- [3] Fadlallah, Rashid al-Din (1994), *Jame' al-Tawarikh*, edited by Mohammad Roshan and Mustafa Mousavi, Tehran, Alborz Publishing House, p. 28.
- [4] Fadlallah, Rashid al-Din (2010). *History of the Sultans of Khorezm*, first edition, edited by Mohammad Roshan, Tehran, Written Heritage Research Center, p. 124-126.
- [5] Shabankarai, Mohammad bin Ali, 2002, *Majma' al-Ansab*, Volume 2, First Edition, Hashem Muhaddis, Tehran, Amir Kabir Publications, p. 140.
- [6] Juveini, Atamalek, (2006). *History of the World Explorer*, Volume 1, edited by Mohammad Qazvini, Tehran, Donyayeh Kitab, p. 46.
- [7] Fadlallah, Rashid al-Din (1994). *Jame' al-Tawarikh*, Volume 1, edited by Mohammad Roshan-Mostafa Mousavi, Tehran, Alborz Publishing House, p. 461-464.
- [8] Ibn Asir, Ezzeddin Ali, *Complete History of Iran and Islam*, Volume 31, Electronic Edition, Ali Hashemi Hayeri, Iranian Books Printing and Publishing Joint Stock Company, Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance, pp. 210-212.

- [9] Jawzjani, Minhaj Siraj, 1984, *Tabaqat Naseri*, Volume 2, First Edition, Edited by Abdolhai Habibi, Tehran, Donyayeh Kitab, pp. 108-309.
- [10] Barthold, Vladimir (1973). *Turkestan Nameh*, Volume 1, Karim Keshavarz, Iranian Culture Foundation, Tehran, p. 542.
- [11] Nasavi, Muhammad ibn Ahmad, 1945, *Sirah Jalal al-Din*, first edition, Muhammad Ali Naseh, Tehran, Saadi Publishing House, pp. 12-14-150.
- [12] Juveini, Atamalek, (2006). *History of the World Explorer*, Volume 2, edited by Mohammad Qazvini, Tehran, Donyayeh Kitab, p. 50.
- [13] Fadlallah, Rashid al-Din (1994). *Jame' al-Tawarikh*, Volume 1, edited by Mohammad Roshan-Mostafa Mousavi, Tehran, Alborz Publishing House, p. 465.
- [14] Barthold, Vladimir (1973). *Turkestan Nameh*, Volume 2, Karim Keshavarz, Iranian Culture Foundation, Tehran, pp. 761-762.
- [15] Ibn Asir, Ezzeddin Ali, *Complete History of Iran and Islam*, Volume 31, Electronic Edition, Ali Hashemi Hayeri, Iranian Books Printing and Publishing Joint Stock Company, Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance, p. 213.
- [16] Hamavi, Yaqut (2002). *Dictionary of the Worlds*, Ali Naqi Khosravi, Volume 1, Tehran, Cultural Heritage Organization Publications, p. 224-225.
- [17] Qafsogholi, Ebrahim (1988). *History of the Khorezm Shahs*, translated by Davud Esfahanian, Naqsh-e Jahan Publications, Tehran, p. 273.
- [18] Ibn Asir, Ezzeddin Ali, *Complete History of Iran and Islam*, Volume 31, Electronic Edition, Ali Hashemi Hayeri, Iranian Books Printing and Publishing Joint Stock Company, Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance, p. 214.
- [19] Nasavi, Muhammad ibn Ahmad, 1945, *Sirah Jalal al-Din*, first edition, Muhammad Ali Naseh, Tehran, Saadi Publishing House, p. 16.
- [20] Jamshid Rousta, Saharpour Mehdizadeh (2019). *Qarakhtaeans from beginning to end*, Sokhan Publishing House, Tehran, p. 138.
- [21] Juveini, Atamalek, (2006). *History of the World Explorer*, Volume 2, edited by Mohammad Qazvini, Tehran, Donyayeh Kitab, p. 88.
- [22] Juveini, Atamalek, (2006). *History of the World Explorer*, Volume 2, edited by Mohammad Qazvini, Tehran, Donyayeh Kitab, p. 76.
- [23] Fadlallah, Rashid al-Din (1994), *Jame' al-Tawarikh*, edited by Mohammad Roshan and Mustafa Mousavi, Tehran, Alborz Publishing House, p. 25.
- [24] Juveini, Atamalek, (2006). *History of the World Explorer*, Volume 2, edited by Mohammad Qazvini, Tehran, Donyayeh Kitab, pp. 124-125.
- [25] Ibn Asir, Ezzeddin Ali, *Complete History of Iran and Islam*, Volume 31, Electronic Edition, Ali Hashemi Hayeri, Iranian Books Printing and Publishing Joint Stock Company, Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance, pp. 205-209.