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## Historical Presentation of State-Religion Relations in Kyrgyzstan

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### Abstract

In this study, state and religion relations in Kyrgyzstan, which appeared in world scene as an independent state in 1991 will be discussed. The issue of religious education, in which these relations are more observed and cause both internal and international disputes will be subject of factual evaluation as a sub sample. The purpose and basic thesis of the study, is to present the new aspects in Kyrgyz history deriving from the religious discourse, religion based movements and organizations that we come across at current social and political developments in Kyrgyzstan. In other words, purpose is to expose historical bases of institutional and social relations of Kyrgyzstan with religion if any, and if not, disconnections with the past. Within this framework, while making this analysis, history of Central Asia which Kyrgyzstan is a part of, its inheritances from the past inside the country's current borders will be taken into account and will be evaluated in competence with ethnic, social, economic and modernization criteria. Under the light of this factual evaluation, thesis of this study will be supported and some studies which are generally approved in literature will tried to be disproved and in the final stage, problematique that includes new titles of problems will be presented systematically.

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**Keywords:** Central Asia; Kyrgyzstan; Islam; Religion; State-Religion Relations.

## **1. Introduction**

With the fall of Soviet Union in 1991, new emerging independent states in the geography of Central Asia, faced with several problems. These problems caused political, social and economic tensions in the arguments on whether regime or ideological continuity approaches of history would continue to exist or not. In the process of transition to a new era in history, if we go back in time for these states to Soviet system with the experience of seventy four years and if we go back further to Tsar Regime in Russia, this history composed and still composes the dynamic inheritance of this tension. Soviet past in Central Asia (Marxist, Leninist and Socialist) and its social order (Soviet People, In the Soviet Union model, it was foreseen that language of the individual is “Russian”, religion is “ateism” and nationality is “Soviet” as the official policy of the state and several precautions were taken in order to achieve these goals [36: 32]. Both theoretical (ideological/doctrinal) and practical aspects of these precautions will be embodied in the further stages of this study), is the integration process of societies living on this geography to on and into this structure of doctrine. This integration effort, has been directed to the parameters of basic components of basic components in related societies of region such as religion, language, history, tradition, culture and identity.

Within this framework, in this study, Kyrgyzstan, a part of Soviet Central union of states, will be evaluated. From past to present, Kyrgyzstan had been through Xionghu Empire (I. Tu-kiu), Gokturk Empire (II. Tu-kiu), Uyghurs, Karakhanids (Çağatay), Timurids, Kyrgyz Knahate (1470), Hokand Khanate, Russian (Tsar) Empire, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [1, 2].

As a tribe that speaks Turkish for the first time of which name took place in official Chinese documents in 201 BC [1: 53], mentioned historical accumulation of Krygyz, will compose a set of data that would be attributed during this study. Attitude of today’s Republic of Krygyztan towards religion, social grounds of religion and its area of scope, will take an important reference from this historical background. Within this framework, in order to make a factual evaluation, some certain questions should be pointed out. How affective is this historical background on state-religion relations of independent Krygyztan, its approach towards religious education and relations within this context? Data obtained from factual analysis for the answer of this question, will be more understandable with the effect of Russian influence spread to Krygyztan geography in 1730’s on Krygyz clans. Russian occupation began in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and ended with the invasion of Hohand Khanate in 1876, initiated a process that went to Soviet period [3: 66]. Identity and religion policies that had been adopted in this period will be analyzed along with Krygyz identity and religious values of that period [4].

On the other hand, during the study, it will be seen that tension between these two sides is an important factor in the argument of state-religion and religious education issues in modern Kyrgyzstan. Continuity aspects of the past that forms one of these two sides (Kyrgyz nomad culture and religious/cultural acceptances, impact of Tsar Russia), took a new form inside as of Soviet period. Russian Soviet Socialist Republic, which emerged after Bolshevik Revolution in 1917 as a successor of Tsarist Russia, composed Turkistan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic in 1918. After that, in September 1924, Soviet Socialist Neighboring Region (Republic after

1924) was established, Kyrgyzstan national unity had been formed which continued till today [5: 415]. Historical, political and cultural accumulation that come till today, will take a form of continuity aspects of future, by feeding from the new sources of tension that will be built in this period. Aforementioned continuity aspects of which details will be given further, will be subject of actual evaluation throughout this study. Within this framework, the answer to the question “What is the penetration of emptied Soviet in Kyrgyzstan, meaning parallel structure of continuity thesis of Soviet institutions and norms on state-religion and religious education?” will be investigated.

Simultaneously, our other question emerges this way. Experiencing of traditional Kyrgyz social structure in the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Central Asian Soviet Republics in general) a unique and fast modernization process, what would be the effects on religious conscious and living in today’s Republic of Kyrgyzstan? Is there any parallelism between religious education and state-religion relation and attitude of independent Kyrgyzstan which is in the identity building process? Besides, in this new period, what are the places and effects of factors of Soviet inheritance of parallel and official Islam distinction and out of region interpretations of Islam on state-religion relation and religious education in Kyrgyzstan? As a result of expansion of tsar Russia to Central Asian geography and meeting with Islam geographies, in the period of Czarina Katerina II, and in process lasting till the Soviet period, several religious administrations had been built under different names and muftis were appointed to the head of these administrations. In 1789, a religious administrative center was built in the city of Ufa under the name of Orenburg Mufti. In the period lasting till 1943, finally in the geography of Central Asia, very important Central Asia and Kazakhstan Muslims Religious Administration (SADUM) had been established of which headquarter was at Tashkent [10: 90 etc, 42: 165]. This intellegence of Islam has been evaluated in literature as “official Islam”, on the other hand, continuing Islamic ternds and organizations within the society called “parallel” [10: 205, 207, 25: 42].

Along with all these arguments and questions, another issue that comes to surface is that, generally in post-Soviet period, the identity policies that Central Asian republics and especially Kyrgyzstan falls in. Within this context, both Islamic history and ethnical, social and cultural history of Kyrgyzstan will be taken into account. Because, even in different degrees, these aspects compose the attribution and motives of new period identity policies. But these aspects will be evaluated in consideration with administrative and judicial structure inherited from Soviet period thus picture of a sui generis structure will be exposed. While exposing this picture, it will be seen that, besides affecting every area in the new republic, it is also an important factor in religious education and relations between state and religion.

In contrast with the unique fast modernization of traditional Kyrgyz social structure in 20<sup>th</sup> century mentioned above, in the Soviet period, Kyrgyz Islamic modernization had been suspended. The main reason behind this was in the region relation and communication with Islam world had been cut [6: 129]. In fact, the most definitive two characteristics of Soviet modernization was its being assertive and comprehensive in favor of building equalitarian society. Soviet modernization that presented an alternative modernization with social revolution made it assertive and following social transformations made it comprehensive [7: 17]. It can be said that this point composes the sources of current problems on the subjects of religious education in Central Asian states and Kyrgyzstan that emerged in post-Soviet period. Both in state and out state areas, outdated situation of

syllabus and organization of religious education comparing with its current samples, emerged as both result and the problem. On the other hand, different with the arrangements and discussions on religious education in West, problems in this country related with religious education, take place within the discussion including modernization on method and syllabus. Although it is accepted that this situation composes a problem, divergence on religious education provided and supported by the state to individuals and in case of providing such services, the problem of content are also in parallel with the discussions of multi-dimensional modernization of Islam.

On the other hand, above mentioned continuity aspects and change aspects emerged in Kyrgyzstan in post-Soviet period, were connected with state-religion, identity, social-economic aspects and became visible on the issue of religious education. This situation also caused the emergence of Uzbek-Kyrgyz events which gained an ethnic dimension between 1990-2000 [8]. Within this framework, religious awakening and reconstruction of identity process, made time to time some potential problems visible in the country.

Besides, all these issues mentioned in the beginning of the study point out that, old continuity and new change parameters which will be subject to factual and systematic evaluation, will be based on these antithesis. Against the thesis of nationalism is not a Soviet policy asserted by the names such as A. Bennigsen, H. C. d'Encausse, the thesis of "existence of Soviet People in Central Asia and way of organization of Soviet state system, in the last analysis, is a nationalist policy" will be asserted [9: 24].

Within this context, factors that determine the attitudes in general towards Islam and its social, political, cultural and pedagogic outputs in Kyrgyzstan are seen as follows [10, 11: 33, 12]: i) Kyrgyz cultural/religious, social and political past, ii) Soviet inheritance, iii) solidarity (clan) groups, iv) ethnic problems, v) existence of out region religious movements, vi) democratic, economic weakness and their interactive relations.

## **2. From History to Today: State and Religion in Kyrgyzstan**

When the journey of a nation from past to today has been traced, it is seen that this journey does not always follow a flat line. Nations pass through an active process with the geography they live in, others they meet on the way, religion and other norms they adopt. Moving from this point on, it will be deceptive to evaluate the religion and culture as homogenous and constant facts [13]. Above all, our approach to Kyrgyzstan which carries itself to modern times and coding the spirit of time (zeitgeist) will be considered within this framework.

Theory suggesting that nations are built by certain factors within the history other than ethnic grounds (biological-racist approaches) of national and social structures, has become the point of focus in modern times, especially approaches following World War II. These are several factors that cause deep changes and determinations in the cultural content of identity such as war and conquests, exile and slavery, flow of migrations and desertion [14: 49]. Each society has set of values and perceptions deriving from the fact that being a society. Mentioned identity elements which some authors seek in the base of the society, although they compose a paradox along with the change factors, in fact they give the current meanings of identities when they come together. Smith [14: 67] "religious reforms, cultural borrowing, participation of populations and mites

related with ethnical selectivity; along with geography, place, autonomy, multilingualism, commercial skills and organized religion, despite all changes in social interaction and cultural contents of certain ethnic societies, some mechanisms that facilitate their existence to today”.

Besides, moving of Kyrgyz society from Yenisey/Siberia region to today's Kyrgyz area and completing the migrations in the 18<sup>th</sup> century and settlement of most of the society and becoming a sedentary society in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, becoming main components of a civilization and Islamization happened in the same period. This situation supports the thesis of Şeriati [15: 51] that societies which adopted new land by the way of emigration, reach to civilization in the end of this process.

Within this context, together evaluation of Kyrgyz ethno-national structure with the basic independent variables from archaic period and dependent variable factors that reach today, will be explanatory. In this section, an evaluation will be made including a definitive period under the light of certain leading factors such as religion-politics and internal-international politics, cultural, religious dominance [12: 121, 4: 136, 16]. These are; i) Analysis of basic ethnic and cultural core of period, before Kyrgyz society had met with Islam, ii) existence of Islam in the region between 8-14<sup>th</sup> centuries, iii) period of 15-18<sup>th</sup> centuries in which Islam had been adopted, iv) 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries where out of area powers played a role and v) period after 1991.

### ***2.1. Kyrgyz in the period before Islam***

Kyrgyz were first mentioned in Chinese sources in 201 BC as the Turkish speaking society and within this framework, they are the first known Turkish society in history. In the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC and in periods where Christianity had emerged, this society had been settled on the rich and fruitful valleys in the region which included Minusinsk and Abakan cities (Big arm of the Siberian rivers, around Yeni Çay) of today (Big arm of Siberian rivers, around Yeni Çay) [1: 86]. But in the following periods, it is estimated that some parts of Kyrgyz society departed Yenisey region in the 1<sup>st</sup> century AC and settled somewhere southern around Talas, and some other parts as the result of pressure from Chinese Empire, had settled to around Talas and Issik Lake and Tanrı Mountains, the remaining parts in 840's, with the raids to Uyghurs in Mongolia, had settled to Kuça, Beşbalık, Pençul (Three Turfan) and Kasghar [17: 396]. Together with this, etymological root of name Kyrgyz, gives a preliminary information on social and social economic life of such entity. These assumptions and claims appeared at the myth and ethnographic edges. According to these, this name is explained iz (two, twin) added kırk root; thus this shows that Kyrgyz live in clan settlement like Oguz and Tatars; but in the verbal sources deriving from public etymology and legends, it is assumed that it comes from kırk and kız [1: 87, 18: 73]. On the other hand, there are certain leading opinions: The name of Kyrgyz comes from kır-kes, kır-gez, the one walks in rural areas; in the old Turkish language adjective kırığ (kırgu) red takes plural add z the 'kırık' adjective takes ız plural add and turns into Kyrgyz which means red earth, the ones living on red earth, red hand [2: 9]. Besides, the word Kyrgyz is mentioned in Arabic, Persian and Turkish sources as Hırkız, Hır hız and Kır-kız and mentioned in Byzantium sources as herkiz [2: 8].

Like all other societies living in Central Asia, it is observed that Kyrgyz also adopted shamanism. Within this framework, it is not a coincidence that the Turkish equivalent of shaman, *kam* was firstly used in Kyrgyz in the

rule of Tang [1: 90]. Turkish tribes generally call kam (gam, ham, kham) to shamans. Kyrgyz-Kazakhs call baksı, bakşı. But Kyrgyz had used the word kam as the same in Mongol language. [21: 48]. But this belief does not have a holistic structure. In the beginning of the civilization phase of prehistoric societies in Central Asia, like in all other prehistoric societies, there is the concept of nomadism. Creating of this situation a social or communal consciousness is observed to be on the basis of brotherhood. The meaning of this term bloodhood is very close to the concept of developed by group feeling developed by İbni Haldun. It is the feeling of common interest, feeling, division of labor and responsibility in which people feel each other in a nomad living style (19: 186). This also brings the sense of protection. Being desperate against nature and earth and social nationality which are among the main basic religious motivation hypothesis of religious psychologists, caused the formation of religious beliefs in competence with social and political organizations in these nomadic communities (20: 252-270). Shamanism, as an institution that feeds the characteristics of bloodhood society, stays in parallel with the borderless characteristics of nomadic life. This belief plays an integrative role for bloodhood and brings it the specification of universality. Within historical continuity, Turks are subject of this universality characteristics in transition to Islam, other divine religions or Budism. Even they do not adopt these religions, they always show respect to these divine religions that claim to have universal characteristics [1: 151].

Within this framework, shamanism defines the organization of bloodhood society or vice versa, bloodhood society structure explains shamanism. This parallelism among social structuring-living and religious beliefs, affected all other components of Kyrgyz society throughout the history. Even shamanism had been experienced in several parts of the world, in different periods of time or simultaneously, it had varieties due to the own internal determination criteria of bloodhood society in terms of characteristics and components. In this society, Shamanism, which will be detailed in the following parts, played as an important tool to provide society's holiness as a result of division of labor and borderless of nomadic living style. At this point, shaman is considered as a product of specialization that endures the continuity: Shaman executes the routine works related with being a member of clan and above all, is a member of tribe, they do not reserve all of their times to the holly public activities, and it is even determined that they attributed only small portion of their time to the works related with society's holiness [21: 66]. In Shaman beliefs, of which basic principles were based on inspiration from spirits, the oldest cult in Kyrgyz was Mother Umay (Umai Enye). This cult of cult, composes the source of all other gods or source of spirits. Mother Umay is believed to be the protective and guardian of infants and other youngsters and also is believed to help the birth of Manas (a legendary figure which is accepted as the ancestor of today's Kyrgyzstan and plays important role in the identity building process of new term); there is also attribution to Mother Umay among other gods such as Sky and Earth-Water gods [4: 134]. In parallel with this religion of spirits, it is observed that clans and tribes have their own totem beliefs. The reason behind this basic instinct is Töz (tös), which means beginning, scenarios related with the origin [21: 127]. It is determined that, Kyrgyz also have beliefs, fed by this totem and tengrizm (Sky God). In the beginning, it should be kept in mind that "tengri" means "sky" and sky is used in the name of blue and then, tengri means the word of god [21: 81-142]. It is known that Kyrgyz had worshipped to ox, wind, porcupine, magpie, wolf, owl, deer and good looking trees, Saturn and Venus, and considered Mars as the source of evil [17: 398]. Belief of Sky God, as an important component of Kyrgyz accumulation of belief, still exposes its signs as cultural and verbal outputs. For instance, while praying for someone, or wishing for someone, it is said 'Tenir koldoi ker'(sky, support me),

Tenir zhalgasyñ' (Let the sky bless you), or while cursing someone it is said 'Tenir ursun' (Let the sky punish you) [4: 134]. This situation can be interpreted as Tengri belief is determinative among all this accumulation despite the existence of varieties in Kyrgyz accumulation of belief. Considering Kyrgyz society has always been subject to interactions during history, the reason of this pluralist belief is understandable. Within this framework, in summary, the belief of Tengri, is a system which is eternal and everlasting, holly, mighty, creative or non-creative due to earth being created or emerged, gives orders, puts pressure on people, does not know punishment other than death penalty, only bird spirits of deaths where the spirits land or shamans may reach and communicate with people only with eagles, hawks and beams that give life and fertilize women [1: 147]. But the belief of Kut; ayasıt takes place in the feminen souls. Some of those women and children of human while others protect animalbabies and female animals. Main duties of Ayasıts are gathering and uniting components of life. This job is named as kut. When the Kut is whiffled to infant in the mother's womb, the babies become alive, according to the beliefs of Yakuts, Ayasıks land on as the shape of mares (for detailed information, look) [21: 85].

Kyrgyz, who adopted many polytheistic, totemic beliefs among Shaman, and sky god belief of which details will not given here, had issued these to their own cultural codes. Within this framework, rituels of birth, death, wedding, family, ancestor-father-mother traditional acceptances continued. In parallel arcaic period prayers short term passings and not recognition of certain situations, today, Kyrgyz pray in natural attitudes and this can be interpreted as the reflection of simple and less complicated structure of other living styles that compose the intellectual structure of nomadic culture [22: 219]. Besides, there are some examples and similarities with the recent period's funeral rituels such as crying and mourning near the death, eating together, making another similar ceremony forty days following the death, buryin the death body on high hills of the mountain (close to sky), making graves and tombs; arranging marries for the deceased husband's wife with the brother of the deceased (the rituelof burying of the spouse near the deceased husband along with his goods in the arcaic period has evolved into this rituel especially after adoption of Islam) [1: 149-150]; being respectful to water, fire, nature, mother and father [1: 149-150].

Variety of beliefs and living styles prior to Islam, is related with the variety of societies and communities that Kyrgyz were affected by. But it is observed that, this variety did not disturb the principle bloodhood situation, partially changed material existence of shaman and tengri belief structures but built a ground for the variety of totems. In this period, Kyrgyz were under domination of Xiongnu Empire (I. Tu-kiu), Gokturk Empire (II. Tu-kiu). In the following section, analysis of the periods of Uyghurs, Karahan State, Mongol domination (Çağatay), Timurids, Kyrgyz Khanete (1470) including the Kyrgyz meeting with Islam will be exposed within this framework.

## ***2.2. Meeting of Kyrgyz with Islam and social-political restructuring***

Raids of Kyrgyz from Yenisey region where they emerged in history and left their marks on to the south, ended up with result of their meeting with Islam. But, before this situation became real, land of today's Kyrgyzstan, which acted as a bridge for this region, had been subject to the raids of Turkish tribes such as Karluk, Yağma and Çiğil and Persian Sogd tribe from Balasagun (Ordu-Balık) and Uyghur Khanete where this region again

would serve as capital (742-840) and Arabs and Chinese. In 744, defeat of Tu-kiu (Gokturk Empire), caused the emerging of a particulate structure in Yenisey region as well as its southern edges [23: 56].

In this period of time, on these empty lands the opportunity of a Chinese domination emerged, but the Talas War in 751 had impeded this opportunity. In 750, Chinese General Kao Sien-ce raised the claims that King of Tashkent who he appointed and honored as guardian of the borders, did not fulfill these liabilities properly and executed the King of Tashkent, but situation had changed when son of the King who had survived from these events had managed to transmit his demand of health to Arabs and Karluks that were at the moment dealing with rivals of Sogds against Islam. These groups, who had accepted the demand of help, defeated Chinese and from that time on, Islam strengthened its existence in Central Asian land [1: 155]. On the other hand, in this period, Uyghur Khanate which had domination on Yenisey region and Chinese land continued its existence on Kasghar and Sogd institution at Balasagun. But the fall of Uyghur existence in Mongolia had turned to be the start of Kyrgyz movement to the south. In 840, those who started rebellions against Uyghurs asked for the help of Kyrgyz of Yenisey and took positive responses. As the result of these events, Kyrgyz had entered to Ordu-Balık and captured the empire. When the short experience of Kyrgyz steppe empire reached to 924, their existence in this region ended with the condition of not returning to this “holly” Turkish land with their exile from these lands (Orhon, Selenga and Danube rivers) by Kitays (proto-Mongolians) [1: 167]. Although very few things are known about this experience in terms of policy and social life, Barthold [41: 34], defines as follows: “Also in the period of Islam, Islam trade caravans were coming to the regions where Kyrgyz were settled. Kyrgyz were dealing with the trade of misk, which had significant importance at that period. If we compare the first information of Islam geography experts with their later information, in the first information, it was seen that, the civilization had emerged slowly. According to the early data delivered by Chinese and Islamic sources, at that period in the land where Kyrgyz were settled, there had been only a central city that Kyrgyz Khanate lived in, and there were not any civil cities and villages except that city. Most of the population were composed of nomads while the others were dealing with hunting which could be called as primitive. Reşidüddin, mentioned about the existence of many cities on the land of Kyrgyz during Mongol period. In the previous, the reason of agricultural development, was along with commercial relations, the fruitfulness of Minusinsk state”. Some of the Kyrgyz had settled around Talas and Issık Lake and Tanrı Mountains while some others were supposed to migrate to Kuça, Beşbalık, Peñçul (Three Turfan) and Kasghar while chasing Uyghurs in Mongolia in 840 [17: 396]. Although coming dates of Kyrgyz to central Tanrı Mountains was not certain, Arabic geography scientists of 10<sup>th</sup> century İstahri (death 933) and İbn Havkal (death 951) Fergana, named the mountains around Ilak and Sas (Tashkent) as “Kyrgyz Mountains”, thus it is understood that, Kyrgyz had been living in those mentioned areas [17: 396]. On the other hand, in 840 domination of Karahan started that had adopted Islam, which was composed of tribes under Arabic effect (Karluk, Yağma) and moved to the south of Yenisey region, and including Kyrgyz and Uyghurs which were settled on Karluk land of Cunguria. In 960, one of the leaders of Karahans, Satuk Bugra Khan, had converted to Islam and approximately two hundred tents followed this decision. Within this framework, in 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> centuries, it can be said that western Sin-king valleys and Chu and Talas (northern of Kyrgyzstan land) valleys all converted to Islam [23: 56-59, 1: 194]. In the following process, this region – which met with Islam late than the other regions of Central Asia- would be under Mongol domination beginning with 13<sup>th</sup> century. This domination, following the death of Cenghis Khan,



would reach to the period of Çağatay [1: 306], one of the Mongol-Turk states which adopted Islam, Timur who adopted Islam and maintained the political unity of region (1399) and Khurghız Khanete [2: 34]. Çağatay period, can be separated into phases as Çağatay Khanete (1227-1348), Mongolia Khanete (1348-1514) and Yarkent Khanete (1514-1644). In the period where Islam had been adopted, Tarma Şirin, sybling of Kebek Khan whowas tha Khan of Çağatay who was very tolerate to Islam and executed activities fort he expansion of Islam in the region. [17: 408]. But, yet in this period, it is observed that not all Kyrgyz in the high areas and nomads had not meet with Islam. With the domination of Timur of Kyrgyz land towards the area of Issık Lake, we observe Islamization activities in the area. According to the assumptions in Kyrgyz registry, Timur had defined Kyrgyz population as “wild”, “illiterate”, “heretics that worship fire” and “nomads that make living on stock breeding”, promised khanate and horse units for those who were able to teach and expand Islam among them [17: 410]. On the lands of Turkistan which belongs to today’s Kyrgyzstan, there were very famous medrasa operating in the cities such as Özgen, Oş and Balasagun. For instance, in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, students were coming from very long distances to medrasa in Özgen city [24: 257]. On the other hand, Ahmed, Halil and Muhammed names of the Kyrgyz Khans is a proof that most of Kyrgyz population had already adopted Islam in this period.

Within this historical accumulation, it will be adequate to focus on political, social and cultural restructuring and relations in the region affected by Islam. Regions which had met with Islam earlier periods with the effect of early period Arab raids, were mostly southern regions of Central Asia such as Samarkand and Bukhara. This situation gave its first fruits in 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries with the emergence of Sufi groups and intellectuals of Islam. Important Sufi groups like Yeseviye, Kadiriye, Nakşibendiye affected the political and social life in Central Asia. Yeseviye cult had been developed by sheikh (master) Ahmet Yesevi who was the student of Skeih Yusuf-u Hemedani in the northern part of Turkistan in the second half of 12th century. Yesevi, who was born in Sayram, passed away in 1166 in the city of Yesi (located in the Sri-Derya valley at Southern Kazakhstan). Yesevi, who was a poet that wrote in a simple language for society, adopted the Islamic doctrine to the regional conditions, significantly affected by the pre-Islam Turkish beliefs and traditions, his cult expanded from 13th century to the 15th century in all Central Asia. In the end of 19th century, crowded Yeseviye groups were observed in the valley of Fergana [25: 85, 12: 95]. Kadiriye cult had been developed by Abdulkadir Geylani (1077-1166) in Baghdad. This cult, which existed in and affected various geographies, found most of its followers in the region of Central Asia. It accessed into the Central Asian geography in the end of 12th century with the helpof Arab merchants to all Turkistan cities including from Baghdad to Bulgarian Kingdom in Volga River and cities located in the fergana Valley [16: 2, 25: 82-83]. Nakşibendiye, was built by Abdulhâlık Gucdevanî (1182-1221) born and died in Gucdevan near Bukhara. Bahauddin Nakşibend (1318-1389) whose name was given to cult had developed the movement with the dicipline of Gucdevani [16: 4]. This cult had been the one with most followers and effective one in Central Asia. It was able to absorbe other cults within its plot [25: 80]. It had a common history with Timur, Şeybani (Uzbek)and Eşterhani khanates. These kinds of organizations gave important outputs only after 15th century in terms of relations with current political, military and economic order. Beginning with the 15<sup>th</sup> century, they both affected Kyrgyz and Islamization of Kyrgyz geography [25: 80]. Their existence with ups and downs made them visible in social life as well as in political life of the region. Turning the applications on state-religion relation and religious education into customs, were

realized as the result of this process. Different than other religious civilizations, religion as one of main components of Islamic states in this geography had always been related with state and had not considered as dominant administrative power. This tradition was a result of continuity of regions unique characteristics, history and customs in the Islam period as well. Relations of ulema, religious intelligentsia with the officials of state or state institution, showed parallelism with institutional state structuring of the religion after four caliph period. This parallelism could be interpreted as considering of religious intelligentsia and political state elite and administrators against them, the region as a factor to provide justification, a structure to be protected and a tool to facilitate social order. Intelligentsia also preferred the administrative effect of state mechanism to anarchy for the continuity of existence of religion [6: 41]. But the difference in Central Asia, emerged in a different way for the nomads in this region. Nomad communities considered only Koran as Islamic source, acted in competence with its guidance and adopted the ancestor-father tradition in the interpretation. They united the inheritance of previous beliefs and applications with Islam and ancestor-father tradition had been protected [6: 43]. Besides, with the effect of nomadic life, Islam in Central Asia found a point of attachment with the help of religious movements and Sufi cult traditions. Wide inclusive definitions of the cults, as well as their simple methods and acceptances in their organizational structure, made it easier for the society to adopt Sufi traditions. Both horizontal and vertical effects of these cults which were largely accepted by community in social life, became a factor that political authorities on this land could not dare to ignore.

In this new period, within the political and Islamic structuring, a distinction appeared among the Islamic intelligentsia (ulema) under the order and authority of the state and sufi sheikh order. In the state-ulema- sufi cults triangle, there had been authority-domination struggles and sometimes harmony [12: 96]. After the fall of Mongolian Empire, in the period of Timur which maintained the political unity in Central Asia including the land of Kyrgyz and in the following departed period of khanates; Nakşibendiye appeared as one step forward among other cults with its different methods. This existence would compose building of awareness among the relations between state and religion, historical tension areas and experience of continuity.

### ***2.3. State-Religion relations in the process of deepening of Islamic tradition***

In the 15<sup>th</sup> century, in the regions that composed the northern parts of Kyrgyzstan land, it is observed that Islam had not properly expanded in real terms. But the deepening of Islam in the region, its dominance on the groups with nomad living style on the steppe both in Mongols and Timur, was realized with the help of sufi cults among these societies. Nakşibendi cult reached to Kyrgyz of Tanrı Mountains with the migration of Nakşi Sheikh Hodja Tafsiddin from Samarkand to Bukhara in the ruling period of Çağatay Khan Soltan Ahmad (1487-1503). Again in 1514, after the establishment of Yarkent Khanete by Soltan Seyid Khan, the most important masters of Nakşibendi like Hodja Muhammed Yusuf, grandson of Hodja Ubeydullah Ahrar (1403-1490) in 1521 came to Kashgar passing through Fergana region Kyrgyz and executed invitation activities among two centers [17: 415]. It is observed that they had adopted Islam in large populations beginning with 15<sup>th</sup> century and sufi cults, especially invitation activities of Nakşi groups and sheikhs had played a vital role. Son of Nakşibendi sheikhs Mahtum-u Azam, Hodja Ishak executed expanding activities for 12 years among Kyrgyz in southern and western parts of Tanrı Mountains and gained many followers to the cult and thus, with this way, last Kyrgyz in the mountains were included to Islam [17: 416]. Beginning with 14<sup>th</sup> century in Central Asia,

although their relations with state or political authorities had changed, the effects of sufi sheikhs on Central Asian political and social lives mainly seemed as follows. One of the main reasons why they were effective actors was that, most of the authorities in the region were composed of their followers. Timur himself was the follower of Nakşibendi hodja Abdulhalik-il Gücdevani and Yusuf Hemedani, who was the master of Hodja Ahmed Yesevi and his connection with Yesevi movement can be considered as the proof of this situation [2: 96]. Besides, sheikhs providing support to the leaders they chose, these cults having important social diffusion and effect, social population that these cults had, on the other hand, reverends who had holy situation could execute negotiations with the enemy at the time of war and acting as an envoy, were the main causes of their prestigious situation. Finally, the most important factor was sheikhs and cults had very important foundation properties [2: 97]. This situation felt important economic influence.

Yesevi and Kadiri movements, which continued their existence until the 15<sup>th</sup> century and became effective in society time to time, lost their social, political and economic influences in the society against Nakşibendi cult which survived as a political actor as well as being a religious power and an école. While the basic doctrines of Nakşibendi cult were refusing extremist attitudes, earthly rules and orders and accumulation of goods and properties, this rough attitude loosened with Bahaddin Nakşibendi and a horizontal expansion was observed. This was the result of being inclusive. The four rules that Nakşibendi cult had contributed to Islam doctrine (radical/extremism, ascetism, refusal of bigotry and carrying of universal moral values) composed the formation of a new social action [16: 5]. These rules allowed bigotry within the society, advised to learn to live with the others in society, considered a hearth full thoughts and living would be sufficient to name Allah, thus defined that a heart coming bigotry would protect asceticism in all parts of the society in all times. These grounds of doctrine affected the penetration of the group to all parts of society (retailers, merchants, peasant) and became important factors. Sufi intelligents attributed special importance to Hodja Ubaydullah Ahrar (1404-1489) after Bahaddin Nakşibendi. Because, with the period of Hodja Ahrar, politization of Nakşibendi union had started beginning with Semerkand region; and followers of cult reached to enormous numbers due to easy conditions as well as simple acceptance procedures [25: 81]. Hodja Ahrar, who constituted a Sufi sheikh image with political identity, wanted to play a role of mediator between human and the authority. On the other hand, he criticized customs, state laws, rules, secular additional taxes that replaced Islamic law. He had been the first spiritual authority tried to provide the ruling of Islamic law over the law of state. In the 16<sup>th</sup> century, political positioning, opposite attitude and other characteristics that Hodja Ahrar contributed to Nakşibendi union, continued. In this period, competition emerged among the union on politization of religion of Central Asia and this struggle had been observed as political competition mostly among follower high level officials rather than Sufi sheikhs in the union [16: 7-8]. Within this framework, in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, Sufi cults had formed various fraction networks (solidarity groups) related with inter union family and friendship ties developed by their leaders [10: 129-148]. Existence of these groups reached to today as the continuing factor. Related with this point, with these centuries, Sufi cults had similar organizations and structuring with khanates in Central Asia.

Kyrgyz started to involve today's Ala-dağ region which is included within the borders of today's Kyrgyzstan beginning with 18<sup>th</sup> century, in this period, under the rule of (Bek) Muhammed Kırğız, (Kyrgyz Khanate) showed its existence, it is observed that most of Kyrgyz had adopted Islam [26: 472]. But this adoption was not in classical meaning. Since the cultural structure of Kyrgyz (at the same time observed in Kazakhs as well) that

loved freedom and being open to new experiences; it was observed that Arabic language religious set of rules of Islam were not mentally executed in complete form. Spiritual flexibility provided by Sufi cults and the structure of Kyrgyz society affected by the shaman (pagan) beliefs prior to Islam were the reasons of emerging of such situation [4: 136]. But this situation did not cause a dispute among the society, instead a harmonization had been formed and new continuity version had been created.

Within this framework, in the 1700's, which can be considered composed a certain experience as the beginning of a new era, in the historical context, in Kyrgyz state-religion relations, until the emergence of out of regional actors (Tsar Russia and USSR). In the following period, a different method was adopted based on this experience. Before mentioning this point, it will be good to focus on Hokand Khanate. Southern Kyrgyz became under domination of Hokand in 1700. On the north, Kyrgyz living in Kazakh steppe (around Almati) and eastern Turkistan lived under the pressure of Kalmuk and Chinese. It was also observed that, Kyrgyz taking important positions in military and administrative structures of Hokand Khanate, caused the coming of more Kyrgyz to the region from the other areas [17: 401]. In the period that reaches to 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century, Fergana valley had been considered as the heart of Hokand Khanate. In that period, in the region there was a structure which was very complicated in terms of ethnicity, where Turkish and Persian languages were spoken, which included settled groups like Sarts as well as other nomadic or semi-nomadic communities such as Kyrgyz, Kypchaks, Kurmans, Turks and other nations [4: 136]. This structure would turn into trans ethnicity position and formed a whole on the ground of Islam. At the same time, this region showed varieties in terms of Sufi cults which followed different method than teachings of Orthodox Islam. Nakşibendiye groups had lost their influence after Hodja Ahrar but with reawakening of Indian branch of (Ahmed Sirhindî) (1624) and adaptation of old expanding principles, made it visible again in the 18<sup>th</sup> century [16: 9]. In political terms, although there had been an intervention in 1700's, masters of Sufi again continued their attending activities toward Kyrgyz. Kyrgyz mostly still adopting their nomadic traditions and they had been withdrawn from the center of Hokand, composed an obstacle situation on the way of true reflection and adaptation of Islam. That is why religious activities were executed in two separate ways as official and civil, mollas were appointed to the regions where Kyrgyz were living as the necessity and duty of Islamic disclosure in Hokand Khanate and mesjids and medrasa had been built [17: 417]. Along with it, it is also known that, Hokand Khanate had made cooperation with "manap" and "biy"s, which were the nobles and individuals with economic and political influence in order to reach out to Kyrgyz that had been living in northern Kyrgyzstan. Furthermore, it was also observed that biys and manaps had considered this cooperation with the perception of being protective of a spiritual status and tradition and encouraging the domination [27: 116]. But, prior to the Tsar period, in the period where there had been the political domination of Islam, it is seen that Kyrgyz Islam and religion perspective and its political-social relations, composed very complicated structure. For instance, existence of culture, religion and acceptance of Kyrgyz communities before Islam (Zoroastrianism, Buddhism, Maniheim, Shaman, Panteism, Tegrism, Hellenistic totems-cults) continued; figures like Bürküt Ata (god of rain), Kanbar-ata (protective of horse), Dikan-baba (god of agriculture) were interpreted within the context of Islamic belief and harmonization had been made and had been adopted [12: 98, 4].

In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Kyrgyz society, which had completed a unique Islamization in its own way and where Islam found a larger area of dominance in competence with earlier periods, met with an out of region source for the

first time. What caused this situation was the reaching of Russians to the Kyrgyz land. This situation would be a threshold both in formation of new continuity components in the basic principles of belief system and its relations with politics and education.

### **3. Tension Between Change and Continuity: Tsarist Russia and USSR**

Expansion, started in 1730's with the medium and small Cüz (Administrative structuring or part of division named Cüz or Orda) of Kazakhs entering into Russian domination, it was seen that in 1840's when it had been reached to (Grand) Big Cüz, relations of Hokand Khanate with Russians had become tense. Kazakh steppe which had been traditionally bound to Hokand Khanate being under Russian domination, Russians building administrative structures and collecting taxes in the region were not in competence with the interests of khanates, also Christianization policies of Tsarist Russia raised the reverse thoughts and reactions. In the letters of Hokand Khan Tashkent Kusbeyi to the Governor of Western Siberia, it was mentioned that, local communities were forced to change their religion, and letters contained recommendations that Muslims should be left in their orders [28: 72-76].

In the following periods, in 1855, Russians expanded to the roads on the countries at the south of Sırderya, took Tashkent at 1865, Bukhara Emirates in 1873 and Hive Khanate at 1874 under their domination. After that, in 1875 they reached to Fergana Valley and they terminated their biggest rival, Hokand Khanate in 1876 [25: 52]. As of this date, it is observed that, Tsarist Administration had ignored old culture, belief system and administrative structure deriving from these customs of Kyrgyz. In the period of Hokand Khanate, there had been a change in the situation of Manaps which were important actors in the expansion of Islam among Kyrgyz. Tsarist administration used to make cooperation of Manaps in the first years, but then they excluded Manaps out of this structure following the maintenance of control in the region. The ones that stayed in the system preferred to make cooperation with Tsarist administration in order to endure their status in the society but they opened the ways of applications against Kyrgyz culture, customs and traditions. Tribal life where the current social and family lives of Kyrgyz were based on were terminated, while at the same time moral values were shaken. Tsarist policies weakened the relations among relatives and clans and dissatisfaction arouse among Kyrgyz and also forced Russian peasants to migrate to Kyrgyzstan with the purpose of solving their internal problems [27: 118]. On the other hand, on the basis of political rival which will be explained below, intervention to education and to religion within this context, became effective. Within this structure, traditional Islamic method (medrasa, mesjid, Sufism) of Kyrgyz society which had met with Islamic education and its institutions in the second half of 19<sup>th</sup> century, had weakened in the beginning. For that period, religious requirements of Kyrgyz were mostly met by Uyghur, Uzbek and Tatar mollas. It is declared that, Uyghur mollas coming from Kashgar provided religious service to northern and eastern Krygyz, Tatar mollas from Orenburg and Kazan gave service to Kyrgyz or Tokmok, Uzbek mollas coming from Fergana gave service to southern Kyrgyz and they considered this profession as the duty of settled community [29: 494]. On the other hand, Gaspıralı ideas that also started efforts of reform in Islam, had been seen in this geography, too. Along with this, if we try to mention about the divergence of opinions among groups and individuals that objected to the Russian policies without giving further detail, there were divisions in the objection movements among reformists (cedidçiler) of which leader was İsmail Gaspıralı, old school with their recognition policy and refusal and protection policies developed by

traditionalists. Thus, it was observed that Russian policy makers had used this situation as a tool [46: 49 etc]. In the end of 19<sup>th</sup> century and in the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century, like in other Central Asian states, Usul-u Cedid schools were opened as an alternative to old medrese style religious education in Kyrgyzstan. But also Russian (Tüzem) schools were established by Tsarist regime for the education of children of non-Russian local community. This situation caused the weakness of modernization trends in education as well as their institutional effectiveness.

In parallel with this, some important social rivals had emerged in the building process of the other. These rivals would be the start of new period attitude of above mentioned classical state-religion relations. The basic characteristics of this period, was the intervention of religious organization to the actual events in policy. After the periods of Hodja Ahrar and Ahmed Sirhindî, Nakşibendiand other Sufi groups had effects in small groups in the social lives of which political influence on political elite decreased. In the first years of Tsarist period of administration, the rival had been initiated by semi-nomadic Kyrgyz, was organized under the flag of Sufi in Fergana [16: 10]. The rivals were mostly composed of reactions against suppression and penetration into the areas of influence and they continued with the rivals of 1892, 1898 and 1916. In 1892, in Tashkent and around (including Fergana, Namangam and Oş), there had been a huge rival based on several reasons such as increasing of cotton production, its coming back to the region in a processed status, decreasing of compatibility of local community, nationalization of land and areas against the old rules of land share, the emergence of lepra epidemic and Tsarist Russia staying indifferent to epidemic [28: 324 etc]. This rival, Dükçi İşan rival in 1898 and the following rivals became effective in the emergence of nationalist independence movements. When we look at the reasons that the leader of cult İşan had both organized and initiated; several factors were found effective including among economic factors such as underestimating of Islam religion which acted as the main power to manipulate the spiritual life of the society, limiting the material principles of religion, reading the name of the Tsar in the Friday prayers, emergence of an image that the society had been living under the domination of Russians. Kyrgyz from Susamir, Narın, Namangam and Oş supported this rival [28: 345-352-354]. The final target was defined as the formation of a state which was bound to Islamic local methods and principles [16: 11]. But in the end, rival was suppressed by the bloody intervention of Russians and İşan had been executed. This rival movement had been a point of break and became effective in the formation of future perception and image in religion-politics and social relations.

In the year of 1917, tsarist policies and local social factors continued their existence. But there had been basic significant changes in the ideological sources and managements of these sources. Besides, actors, thoughts and institutions, which continued in the previous period but of which existence were accepted unbearable, were removed. Without a doubt, like in all other states in Central Asia, this situation would lead to a determinative factor for the future of society for Kyrgyz community as well. In order to understand the basic logic of this period, one should know these periodical two political attitudes which were also valid for other periods. Because this attitude interfered with continuity factors that composed Kyrgyz political-economic and social-cultural and belief systems, new version that form the basis of current problems with dialectics, had formed the basis of tension between continuity and change. First of all, we come across with 1917-29 interval. This historical interval is the period where Soviet Union had been established, one of the most critical periods of building the regime. The main color of this period was the secularist perception of Soviet Union Communist Party. This

perception based on several principles, came in the shape of political practices. First of these emerges in an anti-relation style with religious institutions that form the main actors of unique hierarchy of pre-capitalist period of Soviet Union Communist Party. Second one is the struggle with the sources, which were damaged during establishment of capitalist production relations but reproduced themselves in the shape of tradition in the following period. In this period, generally the factor that determined the attitude of Lenin towards religion was, his reading of Marx. According to this, in his notes on "Socialism and religion", Lenin defined Marxism as materialism and mentioned that in order to build socialism, there should be struggle against religion and continued: "We do not know how to fight against religion, for this we have to explain the sources of religion and belief to the crowds with materialist methods" [30: 26]. This thought had formed the basis of such period's struggle against religion and in the 10<sup>th</sup> July 1918 dated Constitution of Soviet Russia, freedom of religion, religious exercises and freedom of belief were guaranteed, on the other hand, anti-religious propaganda right was also taken under guarantee [31: 712]. The reason of this attitude was the tactical thought of Lenin, following the anti religious approach of Marx. This attitude had been based on the assumption that, instead of starting a radical and actual war against the religion and its factors in the society, the success would be achieved in this struggle by explaining the social roots of religion to wide masses with materialist thought [32: 166]. Lenin also adopted the idea of Marx that with the removal of bourgeois economic order, in other words, complete establishing of socialism, would automatically remove the religion [33: 66]. On the other hand, second interval is 1929-39 period. Again, the factor that had been effective in the determination of this period was the change in method in Soviet Union in their struggle and policy towards religion. The main determinative component of this period was the death of Lenin (1924) and changes in political attitudes following Stalin took the office. The reflection of this attitude came to surface at the congress of "Military Atheists Union" of 1929, which had been the main body in determination of policies on atheism and thus, struggle against religion. In this Congress, one of the two basic thesis that Marxism developed on the subject of religion voluntarism came to the fore in comparison with the other (determinism) In this congress, policies that were executed but in fact not adopted by certain parts such as explaining the social roots of religion to wide crowds by using materialism or the assumption that religion would be naturally and automatically would diminish in case of settlement of socialism completely in the society, were suspended for a while. Instead, more interfering and solid methods and political attitudes were adopted against religion and to groups that had been adopting religion in order to achieve more visible and quick results [31: 714-15].

Moving from this point on, in this period, addition to the Soviet policies towards Islam and anti-religious propaganda in Central Asia, popular names of Islam, members of Islamic intelligentsia, mollahs were arrested. On the other hand, Muslim Religious Administration had been cancelled, Islamic communities (such as cults) had been forbidden, mosques and medrasa were closed; religious education in schools or in places other than schools were forbidden; at the end of this period we see that more than 14 thousand mosques or medrasa were closed, and more than 50 thousand Islamic leaders or pioneers were subject to this pressure policy [34: 163]. On the other hand, in parallel with these policies, starting with the beginning of 1930's, the Soviet administration had initiated the collectivization process in order to remove the traditional social structures in Central Asia which they considered as the carrier of religion and religious culture and naturally as the remaining of bourgeois ideology. But social results of these policies that served for the purpose of building infrastructure for the

collapse of these traditional structures were devastating, within the new social structuring, heavy burden of tax liabilities were brought for mollahs, exiles and discharges were applied in case such liabilities had not been fulfilled [35: 129]. As a result of this policy, there had been a huge scarcity in Central Asia during 1931-33. Agricultural collectivization was given start with the cotton as the main product of the region, and as a result of decrease in the lands reserved for wheat and rice, a big scarcity and hunger emerged. At least 3million people in Central Asia died as a result of this situation, and hundreds of thousands were forced to migrate Siberia and other parts of Soviet Union within the scope of collectivization and thousand had passed away during this process. [35: 128]. Addition to these hard methods of anti-religious pressures and discharges, many anti-religious and atheist meetings were organized in this period, traditional Muslim religious days and feasts were tried to be replaced and redefined by secularist Soviet feasts (Big October Feast, 8<sup>th</sup> of March Women's day etc). Within this context, Soviet authorities both brought the alternative of atheism against religion and took precautions to provide the control over the religious structures [36: 32].

Besides, Soviet authorities had campaigns and policies towards women in Central Asia who they considered as the significant carriers of Islam; activities were executed in order to avoid the use of kerchief and veil, success in anti-religious policies was tried to be achieved, with an atheist-materialist ideological movement that would born in the social-cultural source of the religion [37: 416]. Besides, within the scope of activities aiming to remove the cultural and social roots of Islam, reflections of a materialist world view had been tried to be involved in social and literate elements such as poems, myths, folk songs and songs [38]. This political attitude adopted towards Central Asia within this framework had caused the formation of political-ideological and social-cultural impacts and reactions. Existence of direct relation and connection between Islam and politics and various anti-religious attitudes that Soviet administration had adopted in the post revolution period, caused the emergence of political impacts in the Central Asian Islam world. In the years following the revolution, policies on discharging of private property and Islamic law, closing of medrasa that formed the basis of Islamic political-cultural system and which would facilitate the carrying of the system to future, were the main components of Soviet administration in its struggle against religion [37: 412]. Political impacts of revolution, exposed themselves in the Soviet political structuring in the Central Asia and Soviet republics as a result of applied infrastructural policies. From the beginning of the first years of revolution, Central Asian Soviet administrative tools (such as Türksovnarkom), national communist parties built with land partition, local Soviet governments of countries, assemblies, institutions, caused deep rooted changes in Central Asia which were mostly nomads before revolution, at most of settled ones were living in the rural areas and had clan/khanate type governments.

These multi-dimensional interventions on traditional, social and spiritual continuity of religion were materialized over Soviet Human (Homo Sovieticus). This structure, of which language was determined as Russian, religion as atheism, had been the pre-condition for building of Soviet upper identity. At this point, composing of local, national structures with the help of land partition in Central Asia, had been established for the localization of this ideal. But, these structures, who would gain their independencies in the future including Kyrgyzstan, would continue their existence as new continuity elements of once built Soviet institutions.

In parallel to this, multi-dimensional Central Asian policies of Soviet period, had forced Islam, which was a social reality and had an important activist and deep rooted history, or Muslim Human (Homo Islamicus) who



lived in Central Asia to be in harmony with this system. Muslim Central Asian population, who were not able to find a living space on the contrary, did not consider the situation as a disadvantage, rather, used them as the tools of continuity in the current situation. Within this framework, passive, relatively non-opponent living style and traditions of Homo Islamicus, had evolved into a structure not all the time but mostly religious based, that acts as a tool of control and solidarity, evolves into a passive struggle, lives in harmony with the current system and considers all these as the carriers of national awareness [39: 92]. This situation will show its reflections on Islamic understanding and state attitudes with independency and this structure will locate itself as a continuity approach against the elements of change.

At this point, it is seen that, the basic motive in the application of anti-religious thoughts and policies in Central Asia in Soviet period, was the establishment of social secularization and to form an experience in this direction. Without a doubt, these general policies had parallel effects in Kyrgyz society as well and composed the sources of social, cultural and religious problems that occurred with independency. As a product of loosening and controlling attitude towards religion which was adopted by the Union after World war II, Central Asia and Kazakhstan Muslims Spiritual Administration (SADUM) was established in 1943, and local mufti structures had been established. This structure gave birth to an actor called official Islam which was central and operated under the domination of communist parties. Besides, formation of mufti structures in each republic, composed the institutional grounds of Islam in building of national identities. On the other hand, in the periods of Tsar and Soviet, spiritual respect to Manap/Biy- Klan groups which had important place in Kyrgyz social life, became dominant actors by composing a social reality. In Central Asia, especially in Kyrgyz society Clan; are the societies that emerge under the reference of common ancestor, that involve direct or indirect relative relations (marriage, localism brought by land partition, neighborhood), where common local traditions, customs are exposed and within this framework social, political and economic organization and solidarity are observed [44: 17]. Just like the role of cults and religious paths of western middle age in the inclusion of daily life to religion [40: 370]; these clan groups that were respected and took their roots from social-spiritual source, played a similar role of a bridge in the modern ages.

These groups formed an anti-area to the area Soviets adopted against religion and its rules and institutions. Demolition of traditional relations of religion with politics and society, caused the continuing of these local solidarity groups (Clans) in a new version. Land collectivization, discharging of previous local authorities, order and election methods, changing of the source of legitimacy, had caused the result for the Clan political-social existence to find its place among solidarity groups of religion and religion based culture. With 1950's, Manap/Biy or Clan policies that were dominant in Kyrgyz communist party, getting benefit from state institutions and finances process, was an indicator that in fact nationality should be supported against religion. But this situation caused the strengthening of clan structures and made them determinative in the process that went to independency. Besides, it will be seen that clan policy would play a key role in understanding the situation on politics-religion-state and education issues in the independence period. But this should be kept in mind that, in 1990's, just before independency, many of the factors that stand at the basis of identify, legitimacy, culture and belief crisis, are the aspects of historical continuity elements that took shape in the Soviet period. Like in any republic in Central Asia, naturally, this situation has been inherited to Kyrgyzstan as well.

#### **4. Conclusion**

If we can speak of a development that is valid for Central Asia in general and Kyrgyzstan in special, without a doubt, it will be related with continuities in the social and political structure, as well as deductions and separations. Within this direction, it is important to evaluate Kyrgyz society in terms of its social harmonization. Because only with this way scope of current social and political actors can be determined, their bases can be traced, and their resistance on continuity can be exposed. Within this framework, Kyrgyz society has respectable data. Because since independence, many local and national organizations emerged. Some of these organizations stood near the line of historical continuity, while some others emerged after the breaking created by Soviet modernization. Even though they had different levels of powers in terms of political impact, their existence alone is enough to prove how the developments in near and far history affect on daily practice of the society.

It is seen that, the source of political, cultural and social problems that Kyrgyz society faced with in post-independence period, are derived from sudden breaking moments in the near historical background. In Central Asia in general, and Kyrgyz society in private which went through long cultural and social inversion process, the suppressed and less visible elements in the modernization and secularization processes in the Soviet period, became visible again. But the systematic separation of history in the past, did not find the adequate environment for the necessary information accumulation and guidance activities for healthy building of normalization process in the new period.

Relations between religion and state in Central Asian communities should be evaluated over their unique dynamics and local elements and institutions in the historical process defined above. Above mentioned elements are important to understand social tension that had been created by out of region religious organizations and congregations operating in today's Kyrgyzstan. As a result, in the settlement of problems like how the religion and religion related facts will be located in Kyrgyz society and how and in which ways religious education will be exercised, the state and religion should be considered as a tool of cooperation within the context of building identity, instead of a matter of struggle.

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