

referred to as *ahl-i şadd* (masters of the şadd),<sup>51</sup> as well as *ahl-i urfet* and *ahl-i fitirfat*. The latter two seem to us to be corruptions of the Arabic-script text and should read *ahl-i muruvvet* (representatives of humanity) and *ahl-i fütüvvet* (people of the fütüvvet).

The last part of Urakh Grigor's text deals with the festivities and the prayers of thanksgiving that follow the rituals:

After that they go and sit at the table of the antichrist happily and cheerfully, eat food with them, and commune with the antichrists. After eating, they express words of gratitude and thanksgiving to the pirs, the pişkadems, the twenty-four pirs of the impure antichrists, namely, Halaci Mansur, Salmani Pak, Comardi Kassab, Akhi Avran, Nuri Daban, Mahmudi Piryan, and others" (ibid., pp. 64b-65a).

The names just enumerated belonged to the ranks of pirs who had achieved fame as master craftsmen in the classical tradition. The ritual of the bestowal of the *revanlık* and *peştimal* thus comes to an end, and the Armenian artisan, now "transformed," obtains the right to practice his craft.

We have seen that the basic outlines of the *revanlık* rituals were similar in the Fütüvvet-Nâmes and in Urakh Grigor's text, and that there are only slight "modifications" in the Fütüvvet regulations to accommodate the religious and legal distinctions between Muslims and non-Muslims. It is significant to note, however, that despite these distinctions, the Turkish authorities had found the means to allow the non-Muslim artisans to practice their craft within the context of the Fütüvvet.

Going through the *revanlık* rituals and receiving the *peştimal* meant that the individual had become a member of the Fütüvvet. But this applied only to the Muslim artisans, as attested in the Fütüvvet-Nâmes which indicate that membership in the Fütüvvet was denied to those who might cause peril to the Islamic community, principally the *kâfirs* or *gâvurs*, that is, nonbelievers and non-Muslims.<sup>53</sup> This is made amply clear in the Fütüvvet-Nâmes of Seyyid Huseyn who states that the *kâfirs* "cannot attain the truth," and the Koran also states that "the idol worshipers are loathsome;" hence, unless they willingly accept Islam they are not cleansed and do not deserve to join a Fütüvvet."<sup>54</sup> According to the Fütüvvet-Nâme's basic principle, then, the non-Muslim artisan, since he was considered to be a *kâfir*, was generally deprived of the right to join a Fütüvvet. In other words, he had to voluntarily embrace Islam before the doors of the Fütüvvet would be opened to him.

Yet the evidence presented here shows that in the beginning of the eighteenth century, if not earlier,<sup>55</sup> the fundamental principle of