

were not antithetical but complementary craft organizations. The artisans, as an economic and social entity, constituted a single unitary organization throughout the Ottoman Empire, even though each craft had its specialized guilds. Thus all artisans simultaneously belonged and were subject to two separate administrative systems. The artisans represented two institutions, the Fütüvvet and the lonca, that were in harmonious relationship with each other. The former, which was older and richer in traditions, was governed by religious principles, while the latter was run by the state. The Fütüvvet, with its religio-social character, was a legitimate institution within the theocratic structure of the state. In matters of dogma and ritualistic traditions, however, it has been influenced by Persian Shi'ism; hence on occasion it attracted sharp criticism upon itself,²⁹ and the Ottoman imperial authorities deemed it necessary to exercise direct state supervision over them. This policy was enforced by the establishment of a dual system of governance effected by the imposition of the lonca system, which was directly responsible to the state apparatus. This explains the structural duality of the Turkish artisanal organization.

The data provided in Urakh Grigor's document relate to the activities of the Fütüvvet and not to those of the lonca. This conclusion is arrived at by a close examination of Grigor's document and the texts of the existing Fütüvvet-Nâmes.

In Urakh Grigor's text we read:

When a man or a boy goes to learn a craft and learns the craft, they do not accept him as a workman and do not give him a workman's wages. They will not allow him to engage in private business saying, "You are not worthy to earn money, your profits are unlawful." And this goes on, until finally, led by a master craftsman and taking with them many gifts, they go to the *şeyh*, who is the image of the antichrist (Mat. MS 9121, pp. 57a-57a).

The reference here is to the Armenian craftsman who, deprived of legal rights, had no recourse but to follow the prescribed Fütüvvet procedure.

According to the Fütüvvet-Nâme, the candidate applying for membership would proceed to the guild together with his master or his parent, and there, after certain preliminary preparations, he would select from among the elders of the guild a *yol-usta* (tarikat master) as his *pir*, who would become his mentor. He would thus join the initial ranks of the Fütüvvet.³⁰

In accordance with this procedure, the Armenian candidate, too, together with his master, would appear before the chief of the guild of his choice, and select his *yol-usta*. The candidate would be formally received with religious rituals and with the blessings of the *şeyh*. This initial ritual was designed to "transform" (*başka çıkarmak*)³¹ the Ar-