

menian so that he would become a companion of his Muslim fellow craftsmen and would participate in the peştemal (artisanal investiture) ceremony. The Fütüvvet expression başka çıkarmak<sup>31</sup> refers in general to all candidates, Muslim or non-Muslim, but for the Christian who had gone through the Islamic rite it had a different connotation. As explained by Urakh Grigor, the Turks could claim with regard to the Christian artisan, "We have separated you from Christ and his flock, and made you subject to the antichrist's pastoral staff" (ibid., pp. 57b-58a).

With the consent of the guild's şeyh, the "transformation" of the Armenian candidate had to be confirmed by the so-called revanlık assembly with the bestowal of the peştemal (lit. large bath towel, waist cloth, apron). The name revanlık was given to those general assemblies of the Fütüvvet where the agenda was devoted to the ceremonies of bestowing the peştemal, that is, the investiture of full membership in the guild. Revan olmak meant "to pass from one state to another," that is, the new artisan passed from his former nebulous and nonlegal status to a legal one. Urakh Grigor called the ceremonies that took place during the *revanlık* "satanic machinations." These rituals began with the display of the *âlem bayrağı* (universal banner) followed by the Prophet Muhammad's banner, accompanied by the lighting of candles and torches. All of this, Urakh Grigor tells us, was designed to be an appeal to non-Muslims to "come toward the light of Muhammad and to become illuminated, so that you would not remain in the darkness and would be freed from the hand of satan" (ibid., pp. 58a-58b).

Before being presented at the revanlık meeting, the Armenian artisan had to learn by rote from elderly Armenian masters a series of Islamic formulas and supplications known as *tercüman*,<sup>32</sup> which were recited during the rituals. Urakh Grigor states that "when they learn them, they are happy and joyful, and, taking presents and gifts, they go to the *şeyh sabaa*, who is seated in front of the banner" (ibid., p. 58b).

The descriptions of the revanlık ceremonies in Urakh Grigor's text are the same in the Fütüvvet-Nâmes. They are replete with formulas peculiar to the Islamic religion which, with all their allegorical significance, constituted a unity of religious and moral knowledge, which had to be fully comprehended by the candidate seeking admission into the ranks of artisans. Osman Nuri attests that the Muslim applicant received the necessary assistance to prepare for the ritual from the nakibs who played a crucial role between the candidate and the elders.<sup>33</sup> In contrast, there is no indication in Urakh Grigor's text that the nakibs served as guides for Armenian candidates; rather, they learned the *tercüman*s by rote with the aid of elderly masters