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Agion Anargyron Monastery of Kastoria: The Cultural Heritage, Its Endowment Property and the Church of Kosmas and Damianos

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Abstract. Agion Anargyron Monastery is one of the cultural heritages of Kastoria, whose name was recorded in the Ottoman archival sources at first time in 1440s as one of the Christian endowments in the region. Records in the archival documents dated to the later centuries show that the monastery was the largest religious foundation in the region and endowment properties of Agion Anargyron Monastery indicate that the monastery played a significant role in the socio-economic development, seasonal labor force movements and manufacturing culture of the traditional industries of Kastoria for centuries. Also 19th and early 20th century documents in the Ottoman Archives, including a letter of the monastery's monks and a letter of intelligence informing about a planned attack to the monastery, are valuable sources of information on the history of the religious complex and its cultural heritage. The documents in the Ottoman Archives are very important sources of information that may contribute transmitting the unknown history of the cultural heritage across generations and borders and these sources have yet to be studied in this paper to shed light on the institutional history of the cultural heritage and its contributions to the social, economic, and cultural development of the region in the Ottoman era.

Keywords: Agion Anargyron Monastery, Endowment, Kastoria, Kosmas and Damianos, Ottoman Era.

1 Introduction

Kastoria had been a center of manufacturing, trade, and an important center of Orthodox Christian culture in Western Macedonia since the Byzantine era, when the region became a part of the Ottoman Empire in 1380s. The first cadastral survey of the province was conducted almost half a century later due to the war with Bulgaria (1388-1396), the Battle of Nicopolis (1396) and, the long period of instability caused by endless struggles between Ottoman princes for the throne after the Timurid invasion of Anatolia in the early 15th century [Inalcik, 1991; Inalcik, 1986]. Kastoria city center, villages, seasonally cultivated arable lands (*mezraas*) and pre-Ottoman Christian endowments of the region were recorded in the first Ottoman cadastral survey in the

first reign of Sultan Murad II (1421-1444) [BOA, 1444/1445]. Among these endowments, Agion Anargyron had been recorded as the only monastery of the region. The registers and documents in the Ottoman Archives are very rare and precious repositories for the cultural heritage of the monastery and they have yet to be examined in this paper as valuable primary sources of the institutional history of the monastery in the period of mid-15th and early 20th centuries. This study analyzes the endowment record of the monastery and the important contribution of its endowment properties to the development of the region through centuries. Also, this study sheds light on the construction story of the Church of Kosmas and Damianos as the last building of the original monastic complex and the importance of the monastery during the ethnic violence and conflicts in Macedonia in the early 20th century.

The first Ottoman survey of Kastoria transmits a picture of the socio-economic and religious structure of the region in the late medieval era. More than a thousand households and unmarried men registered in the survey book indicate that Kastoria city center was an important concentration of population in the first half of the 15th century [Ocakli, 2022, p. 311]. There are twenty Christian quarters, one Jewish quarter and a small Muslim community without any quarter specified by name were in the city center [Ocakli, 2022, p. 312]. The Christian community comprising at 89% of the total population is the largest demographic grouping in the survey book, while the Jewish households accounting for 9% and members of the Muslim community taking up 2% of the total population of the city [Ocakli, 2022, p. 310]. Kastoria was an important center of commerce and manufacture in the region possessing a distinctive craft and trade network and a recognizable division of labor in the early Ottoman era. There were ten trade quarters of blacksmiths, fabric weavers, furriers, merchants, tailors, pottery makers, and more recorded in the survey book, which illustrates the occupation-oriented medieval urban structure of Kastoria [Ocakli, 2022, p. 313]. The 65 households registered in the furriers' quarter indicate that fur manufacturing based on family specialization and household industry had already become the most important traditional craft of the city long before the Ottoman era [Ocakli, 2022, p. 314]. So, it would appear that late medieval Kastoria was a multicultural and populous urban center, and an important center of craft manufacturing and trade of Macedonia in the first half of the 15th century.

2 Agion Anargyron Monastery in the 15th Century Ottoman Survey of Kastoria

15th and 16th century Ottoman cadastral surveys of the Balkans are very detailed register books of taxable sources and taxpayers who are categorized as householder men, unmarried men, and widow householders in cities, towns, and villages of the administrative units. Also, there are lists of Christian endowments and their properties were carefully registered in these survey books, which are the most important records examined by the central authority in any case of disputes between the people living on the endowment lands and Ottoman fief holders in provinces. These detailed records of endowments kept for the administrative purposes are now rare and precious repositories

ries for the pre-Ottoman religious endowment system in Macedonia, one of which is the first Ottoman survey of Kastoria as the earliest detailed archival source for the pre-Ottoman monasteries and churches of the region. There is the list of eighteen Christian endowments in the survey book of Kastoria, among which Agion Anargyron Monastery is the earliest Ottoman archival record of a monastery in Kastoria [BOA, TTD.d. 237, p.87]. Figure 1 shows that name of the monastery had been recorded as Ayo Nargyry (1) in the survey but in the later centuries, name of the monastery was recorded as Aya Anargyros Monastery and Aya Nargyr Monastery in the Ottoman archival documents.

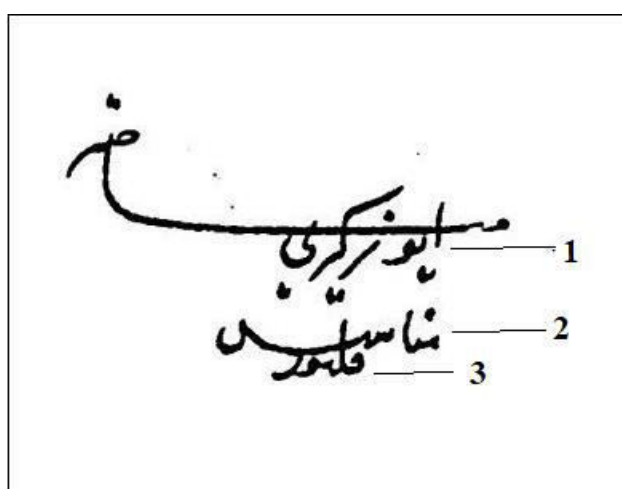


Fig. 1. Ayo Nargyry Monastery in the first 15th Century Survey of Kastoria

Ayo Nargyry is the only endowment recorded as monastery (2) in the register book and the term kaloyor (3), the survey officer recorded the word as he heard, is kaloyeros, which means monk in Greek and name of places in Greece [Zachariadou, 2001, p. 147; Dora, 2008, p. 160; Allen, 1977, p. 55]. Also this term referring monk in monastery was recorded in the other Ottoman era documents in the archives and two examples of which are about Sakta Katerina Monastery. The first document explains that the monks of the Sakta Katerina Monastery in Santoron Island in Mediterranean called as kalogyre and the term was recorded without an explanation in the second document as “the imperial decree that had been given, in the hand of the kalogyres of the Orthodox Greek monastery in Santorini Island in Mediterranean”, which is very likely that the term “kaloyor” and “kalagor(ye)” are the different pronunciations of the same term recorded in the Ottoman documents, most probably, due to the difficulties of the Ottoman survey officer to understand the local accents of Slavic and Greek languages of these regions [BOA, 1815; BOA, 1819]. For this reason, it is likely, this is an indication that Ayo Nargyry was an active monastery with monks in residence in the first half of the 15th century. Although there are not any register of endowment properties or sources of revenues for these eighteen endowments in the first Ottoman

cadastral book of Kastoria, the 16th century survey books of the Balkans include records of three Christian endowments and their properties in the region.

3 Agion Anargyron Monastery and the Other Monasteries of Kastoria in the 16th century Ottoman Survey Books

In the reign of Sultan Suleyman I (1521-1566), a sophisticated system of keeping land and tax surveys was developed for the systematic management of land resources and tax revenues. Periodic registers were carried out in all provinces of the empire during the sixteenth century and the series of imperial cadastral survey books (Daftar-i khakani/tapu registers) were created in this era [Veinstein, 1997, p.837]. These registers were carried out due to various reasons such as when a new territory was subsumed into the empire, or when a new sultan ascended the throne but principally, the registers were to be updated regularly every thirty years [Lutfi Paşa, 1909, p. 24]. Two of these imperial survey books are the detailed land registers of the Ottoman Balkans (Vilayet-i Rumeli) launched in 1530 and 1566, which record the properties of three Christian endowments in Kastoria: Monastery of Aya Nicola Ispilio, Monastery of Mavriyotisa and Piskopos (Bishop) Monastery [BOA, TTD.d. 433]. Although Ayo Nargyry is the only monastery recorded in the first 15th century Ottoman survey of Kastoria, the 16th century registers indicate that there might have been other pre-Ottoman monasteries in the region whose names were misspelled or not registered in the first Ottoman survey of the region.

Figure 2 shows the original record of a Christian endowment in the first 15th century survey of Kastoria, which is likely to be the Monastery of Ayo Nikola Ispilio [BOA, TTD.d. 237, p.87]. Name of the endowment was registered as Ayo Nikola (1) Ispiliot (2) but there is not any term or information in the record indicating whether Aya Nikola Ispiliot is a monastery or a church.

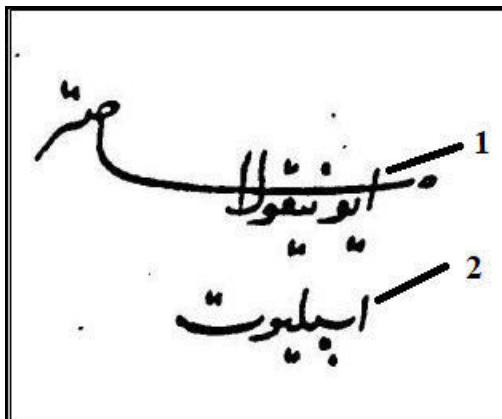


Fig. 2.The Record of Ayo Nikola Ispiliyot in the First Survey of Kastoria

The second Christian endowment in the 16th century surveys is the Monastery of Mavriyotisa, whose name had not been recorded in the 15th century survey of Kastoria. Considering that generally there are always misspelled names, missing information, and incomplete records in the first survey of a region, it is very likely that name of the Monastery of Mavriyotisa is misspelled or not recorded in the first Ottoman survey of the region. Local terms, Greek and Slavic languages of the Balkans, local accents and different versions of names and words are all significant difficulties for the Ottoman survey officers while registering the first survey book of a new region. For this reason, comparison of 15th and 16th century survey books do not always provide proper or consistent information for the researchers.

Table 1 shows the 1530 register of the detailed endowment properties of Ayo Nikola Ispilio Monastery, Monastery of Mavryotisa, and the types of endowment properties of Piskopos (Bishop) Monastery, which is the largest religious foundation in the region of the diocese of Kastoria. Although there is not any monastery named Ayo Nikola Ispilio or Ispiliot today in the region, Monastery of Mavryotisa is Panagia Mavriotissa Monastery in Kastoria built using the medieval brick technique of construction, which is the same as many other medieval monuments of the city, and the monastery is famous with the late eleventh-early twelfth century fresco decorations [Epstain, 1982, p. 21; Epstain, 1980, p.202]. The detailed endowment property and revenue records of Ayo Nikola Ispilio and Monastery of Mavryotisa are likely indicators that these monasteries were responsible for the management of their endowment properties and maintenance of the monasteries by themselves, and in case of any misconduct of local military governors or fief holders, endowment properties of the monasteries were recorded in detail in the 1530 survey book.

Monastery of Ayo Nikola Ispiliyo			
Location of the Property	Property	Amount	Revenue
Mavrova Village	Vineyard	5 Pieces of Land	600 akche
Krimpani Village	Vineyard	5 Pieces of Land	600 akche
Islimishte Village	Arable land	5 pieces of Land	150 akche
		Total	1350 akche
Monastery of Mavriotisa			
Location of the Property	Property	Amount	Revenue
Mavrova Village	Vineyard	5 pieces of Land	900 akche
Mavrova Village	Arable land	3 pieces of Land	150 akche
		Total	1050 akche
Piskopos (Bishop's) Monastery (in akche, Ottoman silver coin)			

Endowment of Piskopos (Bishop's) Monastery in Kestorya. Endowment property of the monastery has been holding by the Metropolitan of Kestoria. The Metropolitan of Kestoria has imperial decree to hold the endowment property of the monastery. All taxes of the monastery's endowment properties (<i>öşr</i> and <i>rusûm</i>) are paid to the zeamet-i Kastoria (generally holding by chief security officer or local governor of a region) and rest of the crops' revenues are spent for the monastery.			
The crops of gardens, mill, fishing weirs, trees, arable lands, public bath, and other properties. Annual revenue.			
		Total	2144 akche

Table 1. Endowment Records of the Three Monasteries (1530)

On the other hand, the third monastery, Piskopos (Bishop) Monastery as the largest religious foundation of the region is an interesting case recorded in the 16th century registers. Examination of the first 15th century survey of Kastoria indicates that Ayo Nargyry had been the only record of a monastery in the region, which is a likely indicator of its importance since the pre-Ottoman times. For this reason, it is possible, based on the information and implications in the Ottoman archival sources of the 15th and 16th centuries, to speculate that the largest religious endowment of Kastoria registered as Piskopos (Bishop) Monastery is Ayo Nargyry Monastery recorded in the Ottoman archival documents since the first half of the 15th century. The information record of Piskopos (Bishop) Monastery implies that this is not the original name of the monastery but a term stating the special status of its endowment. The endowment property record of the monastery in Table 1 clearly shows that the monastery is the biggest and the most important Christian endowment of Kastoria and the local bishop is fully responsible for the management of its endowment properties and spending of the revenues for the maintenance of the monastery. The 15th and 16th century surveys exemplify other cases like Piskopos (Bishop) Monastery in Kastoria, which indicates that local metropolitans or bishops were granted the endowment revenues of the most important monasteries or churches of their diocese. The endowment revenue of “Kilisa-i Piskopiye (Church of the Bishop)” recorded among the fief revenues of the Piskopos (Bishop) of Kanina in the 15th century fief survey book of Albania and Metropolid (Metropolitan) Monastery recorded in Serres city center with 4920 akche endowment revenue in the 1530 survey indicate the practice of granting the management of the most important Christian endowment of a region to the local bishop or metropolitan in the provinces of the Ottoman Balkans [Inalcik, 1954, p. 43; BOA, TTD.d. 167, Fol.79]. The endowment register of Agion Anargyron Monastery as Piskopos (Bishop) Monastery in Kastoria in the 1530 survey is a very significant record including only a summary of the monastery's endowment properties, most probably, due to the reason that the management of the endowment was completely granted to the bishop of Kastoria and that's why the central authority did not need to keep detailed record of the endowment properties even in the era of the meticulous record of everything in the survey books in the 16th century. The general land registrations of the empire were updated every thirty years and the detailed endowment properties of the most important and the largest religious foundation of Kastoria were recorded

in detail after thirty-six years, in the 1566 survey book of Macedonia [BOA, TTD. d. 424, 886].

The codex of metropolis of Kastoria in the National Library of Greece and in the Volidis Collection of the Gennadius Library in American School of Classical Studies in Athens are the other likely sources of information for the real name of Piskopos (Bishop) Monastery and its endowment properties [Chrysochoidis, 2011]. The oldest of these codices in the National Library of Greece contains the decisions of the years 1529/1530-1566, indeed which is the period when the endowment properties of Piskopos (Bishop) Monastery were recorded in the two Ottoman cadastral surveys [Chrysochoidis, 2011, p. 64]. Also, the codices of Kastoria in the Volidis Collection of Gennadius Library contains the decisions of metropolis of Kastoria for the years 1578-1580, which is about 15 years later from the last record of the monastery's endowment properties in the Ottoman survey books, and it is very likely that still the monastery's endowment properties were held by the metropolis of Kastoria and the real name of the monastery and other information about its endowment properties might have been recorded in the 1578-1580 codices of Kastoria [Chrysochoidis, p. 2011, 59-60]. Considering that the bishop of Kastoria had been responsible for the management of the largest endowment of the region, it is expected to be the records of decisions in the codices of Kastoria about the long term or the short term renting of endowment properties, purchasing new properties as it was in the case of the Suluca Monastery in Thessaloniki [BOA, 1569], donations of new properties for the endowment as it was in the case of Sakta Katerina Monastery in Santoron Island [BOA, 1815] or issues concerning lending and borrowing money as in the case of the Monastery of Kostanca (Kostandja) [BOA,1715].

Appendix 1 shows the original record of the endowment properties of Agion Anargyron (Piskopos) Monastery in the 1566 survey book and the English translation of the document, which indicates the significant amount of the monastery's revenue sources were held by the bishop of Kastoria. Unlike the other two monasteries in the region, almost half of the endowment properties and revenues of the monastery were in the Kastoria city center. Urban settlements of a region are political, economic, and cultural centers of the provinces and generally, the sources of revenues in these cities and towns are not included in the fief or free-hold properties of local military aristocrats or fief holders but they are allocated to the central treasury or endowments of the rulers or members of the ruling dynasties. The endowment properties of the Agion Anargyron (Piskopos) Monastery in the Kastoria city center are likely indications supporting the oral tradition that attributes the foundation of the monastery to the Byzantine Emperor. Alexius Comnenus is the emperor who was in the region during the war period with the Normans in 1080s [Head, 1977; Shephard, 1973]. Also, the 1566 survey register book clearly shows that the same practice of keeping the revenue sources of the city center out of the fief system and allocating them to the central treasury was the case in Kastoria in the Ottoman era and almost all the revenue sources in the city center were allocated to the central treasury of the sultan (*an hassa-i âlem penah*) in the 16th century [BOA, TTD.d.424, 752].

The endowment properties of the monastery in the Kastoria city center include arable lands such as fields, vineyards, vegetable garden and reed-bed, which are very

significant sources of revenues located very close to the market-place of the city center. On the other hand, there is the tax farming (*mukataa*) revenue of seasonal laborers among the endowment properties of the monastery in the city center, which indicates seasonal labor force movements to Kastoria to cultivate the arable land properties of the monastery's endowment in the city center. Implications of this information is very significant for the contribution of the monastery to the socio-economic structure of the city. The first 15th century cadastral survey indicates that Kastoria had been the center of craft manufacturing with the ten trade quarters and the household numbers of these quarters show that the craft communities of the city consisted of almost half of the total population in the city center [Ocakli, 2022, p. 312]. This information is the likely indication that there was not enough labor force to cultivate the agrarian lands in the city center but cultivating the arable lands is surely important to feed the craft communities in the trade quarters manufacturing fur and producing other goods and services complimenting and contributing to the fur manufacturing industry [Ocakli, 2022, p. 314-315]. The seasonal migration of laborers is very important for feeding the craft communities of the city and the agrarian land properties of the monastery in the city center cultivated by the seasonal laborers significantly contributed to this very purpose. Also, cultivating on the endowment lands of the monastery was very favorable for the seasonal laborers due to the reason that they were being protected against the misconducts of landlords and fief holders, any kind of forced labor, and the extraordinary taxes levied in the times of wars and economic crises. There are other examples of seasonal labor force movements in the 16th century endowment survey books and the mother sultana Ayshe Hafsa Sultan's endowment register book includes a very similar case as it was in Kastoria [Biyik, 2014]. There are seasonal laborers coming every year to the endowment lands of the mother sultana and the information record in the survey clearly explains that when seasonal laborers regularly come to cultivate the endowment lands for three years, the tax revenue paid by the laborers becomes the revenue of the endowment [Biyik, 2014, p. 36]. The case of the laborers cultivating the agrarian lands of Agion Anargyron Monastery indicates that the seasonal labor force movements were regular for some times because the tax revenue of the laborers had already become one of the permanent revenues of the endowment and registered as a *mukataa* in the 1566 survey book indicating that the monastery auctioned the right to collect the tax revenue (*iltizam*, tax farming) to a tax farmer (*mültezim*) who committed to pay the biggest sum in advance, which is the way of successfully overcoming the lack of banks in the Ottoman financial system in the case of an endowment's immediate need for cash. [Gerber, 1993, p.508; Matuz, 1991, p.241] Ottoman tax farming system (*mukataa*) is a very practical solution for immediate cash needs of the central authority as well as the other institutions of the empire such as Agion Anargyron Monastery of Kastoria. Also, the fishing weir of Kastoria, two mills and fourteen mulberry trees in the city center that most probably for gathering raw silk from cocoons, contribute the traditional industries and the economic development of the city. There were tax revenues on raw silk recorded in the villages of the region, which indicates silk production of the waiving industry in the late medieval Kastoria and on the basis of this information, it is possible to speculate that the 14 mulberry trees among the endowment properties of the monastery contrib-

ute silk production industry of the city. [Ocakli, 2022, p.314-315]. Considering that fur garments had been lined with silk fabric through ages, it is likely the silk fabric produced in the fabric waivers' quarter in the city center was principally used for this very purpose and the mulberry trees of the monastery in the city center are likely to supply raw silk to the craft community of the fabric waivers contributing to the fur manufacturing industry of the city [De Pinedo, et al., 2019, p. 59-60].

The 1566 survey book shows that the endowment properties of the monastery in rural Kastoria greatly contribute the traditional socio-economic structure of the region. There are eleven pieces of arable lands, seven pieces of vineyards, fishing weirs, two public baths and a mill as the endowment properties of the monastery in the villages and these sources of revenues, kept out of the military fief system, generate agricultural production and cash money for spending socio-economic development of the region, which is the reason why lands of big endowments were the center of development and welfare in the Ottoman era. Especially five pieces of vineyards in Kripani Village and ten pieces of arable lands in Tikveni Village indicate that a considerable part of the agrarian lands in these villages are the endowment properties of the monastery. The survey of 1566 records only tax revenues of the peasant households in the fief system and the households living and cultivating on the endowment lands were not registered in the survey book because they were out of the fief system.

On the other hand, Table 2 listing the demographic profiles of the fief villages indicates that population of the households in the fief system in Kripani and Tikveni villages are considerably smaller than the other fief villages in the region, which is a likely indicator that a part of the households in Kripani and Tikveni villages were living and cultivating on the endowment lands of Agion Anargyron Monastery and for this reason they were not registered in the 1566 survey [BOA, TTDD. 424, Fol. 802, 798, 809, 800, 788, 801].

Population of the Villages in the Fief System (1566)				
Village	Households	Bashtina	Unmarried Men	Widows
Krimpani	16	14	7	5
Tikveni	30	1	7	8
Bojigrad	47	N/A	35	10
Knomlat	61	N/A	55	3
Kumanich	83	5	18	N/A
Tiholishte	70	N/A	22	4

Table 2. Population of the Villages in the Fief System

4 Construction of Cosmas and Damianos Church in the Inner Courtyard of Agion Anargyron Monastery

When the golden age of the meticulous registers and survey books closed at the end of the 16th century, the general land and tax surveys were not carried out anymore and the endowment properties of the Agion Anargiron Monastery has not been recorded, so far, in the documents of the Ottoman Archives again. On the other hand, consider-

ing that the cataloging process of the 150 million documents and survey books in the Ottoman Archives is going to take decades, there might be new documents about the endowment of the monastery in the updated catalogs of the Ottoman Archives in the future [BOA, 2010, p. 27]. On the other hand, a 19th century document folder in the Ottoman Archives is an important source of information for the institutional history of the monastery as one of the most important cultural heritages of Kastoria. This folder including three documents dated to 1857 sheds light on the construction story of a new church, the final composition of the monastery's buildings, and the architectural development of the original monastic complex in the Ottoman era.

The story begins with the letter of Aya Anargyros Monastery's monks asking for permission about the construction of a new church. The letter explains that there is not any church in the monastic complex, which causes great difficulties for the monks of the monastery while performing their regular prayers [BOA, 1857]. For this reason, they asked for permission to build a church in the size of 21 m 22 cm length, 12 m 89 cm width and 6m 82 cm height (*tulen yirmi sekiz ve arzen on yedi ve kadden dokuz zirâ*) in the inner courtyard of the monastery, which was going to be dedicated to Kuzma and Damyanos (Cosmas and Damianos). In the documents, size of the church was given in *zirâ*, the architectural unit of measurement, and 1 *zirâ* is equal to 75.8 cm in metric system [Erkal, 1991, p. 412]. There are two more documents in the folder explaining the details of the construction story of the church and the permission process. One of these is a draft letter to the governor of Kastoria (*Kesriye kaymakamına tahrirat-ı şerife*) summarizing the details of the request of the monastery's monks in the letter. Also, the letter to the governor of Kastoria states that the request of the monastery's monks was presented to the court by the patriarch of the Orthodox Christian community (*Rum milleti patriği tarafından bâ-takrir istida olunmuş*). The Ottoman archival documents indicate that the Patriarch of Constantinople was Patriarch Krilos (Cyril) in 1857 [BOA, 1856, Fol. 3; BOA, 1857/2, Fol. 3]. In the letter, it was asked the governor of Kastoria to investigate the three issues: 1. If there was a church in the village, 2. If there would be a request of extra land nearby the monastery for the construction of the church, 3. If there was enough space in the inner courtyard of the monastery for the construction of the church. The last document in the folder consists of two parts: The first part of the document on the upper half of the page is dated to 4th of July 1857, which summarizes the letter of the monastery's monks and asks the order of the sultan, Sultan Abdulmecid (r. 1839-1861), for the request. In the second part of the document, on the lower half of the page, the order of the sultan permitting the construction of Kuzma and Damyanos (Cosmas and Damianos) Church was written and at the end of the text, the sultan's order was dated to 12th of August 1857. The final word of the Ottoman imperial court documents "it has been ordered" (*buyuruldu*) is written on the right upper corner in the second part of the document.

The construction story of Kuzma and Damyanos (Cosmas and Damianos) Church in the Ottoman archival sources indicate how and when the development of the original monastic complex was completed, which is an important information for the development of the monastery since the Byzantine era. In fact, the legal procedure of obtaining permission for construction work was a very detailed process in the Ottoman era to ensure the fulfillment of many requirements in the building regulations of

the state [BOA, 1881; BOA, 1882]. The Ottoman archival documents clearly state the three prerequisites for the issuance of a building permit for the construction of a new church or a restoration work in the second half of the 19th century: 1. Submission of a request by the Patriarchate of Constantinople, 2. Inspection of the building site, 3. Architectural plan of the building and the budget of the construction work [BOA, 1888; BOA, 1884; BOA, 1885]. The building permission process of Kuzma and Damyanos (Cosmas and Damianos) Church indicates that this was not the case for the new church of Aya Anargyros Monastery. The request of the monks was submitted by the Patriarchate of Constantinople and inspection of the building site by the governor of Kastoria was ordered but neither an architectural plan nor a budget for the construction project was asked by the central authority. After the inspection of the issues such as if the construction work is required and if there is enough space in the monastic complex and no extra land requested for the project, there was not any document asked by the central authority for the available financial sources and the architectural plan of the project, which is likely this is an indication that the monastery's endowment still had considerable revenue sources and the monastery was rich enough to complete a construction project using only the financial sources of its endowment properties in the mid-19th century. Kuzma and Damyanos (Cosmas and Damianos) Church is the last building added to the monastery in the Ottoman era and the church is the only building of the original religious complex that is still standing in the inner courtyard of the monastery today.

5 Agion Anargyron Monastery During the Ethnic Violence and Conflicts in Macedonia (1905)

Agion Anargyron Monastery was still one of the most important religious institutions and cultural heritages of the region that was under a serious threat during the ethnic violence in Macedonia in the early 20th century. A document dated to 1905 in the Ottoman Archives shows that the cultural heritage of the religious complex made the monastery the target of the banditry actions in this era. Appendix 2 shows the original document and the detailed English summary of its content. The document is an order dated to 11th May 1905 to be sent a notification to Hadi Pasha (the commander of the Monaster (Bitola) regional military forces) and the local governorship (of Monaster district) [BOA, 1905]. The document explains that a letter of intelligence informing that Bulgarian bandits have intended to burn down Aya Nargyr Monastery has been received. To be prevented such a provocation in the region, it is ordered to be increased the security and protection of the monastery by locating 8-10 soldiers of the imperial army (from the administrative district of Monastery). The document appears to be the last source of information, so far, on the importance of the cultural heritage of Agion Anargyron Monastery for the region in the Ottoman era.

6 Conclusions

This study appears to be the first detailed historical research on the cultural heritage of Agion Anargyron Monastery of Kastoria covering the 15th to 20th century archival documents. Results of this study provide information on the late medieval history of the monastery and importance of its cultural heritage for the province during the Ottoman era. It is very significant that the findings of this study demonstrate the very purpose of rulers or members of ruling dynasties for founding endowments to keep important sources of a region out of the military fief or free-hold property system and allocate them for the socio-economic development of a region. Important land and financial sources of a region out of the military system provide substantial contributions to the efficient use of local sources without exploitations and misconducts of the landlords and fief holders, which makes lands of big endowments the center of development and welfare for ages. Indeed, the case of Agion Anargyron Monastery of Kastoria is a very clear example indicating the purpose of the large religious foundations in the pre-Ottoman times and reason of why the Ottomans adopted the Byzantine era endowments of the region into the Ottoman system. The endowment properties of Agion Anargyron Monastery in the Kastoria city center and villages feed the traditional craft communities of the city, while providing raw materials to the guild communities complementing and contributing the most important traditional sector, fur manufacturing, of the city. The Ottomans' adoption of the largest religious foundation of the city into their system is a very practical solution to promote manufacturing of the luxurious goods and their trade in Kastoria, while increasing the tax revenues out of the military system and allocating them to the central treasury. Also, the implications of the demographic data recorded in the survey books show that the endowment properties of the Agion Anargyron Monastery had a significant role in keeping the villages of the region well-populated and ensuring the regular migration of seasonal laborers and their cultivation of the empty arable lands in the city center. All these findings in the Ottoman archival documents clearly demonstrate the crucially important role of Agion Anargyron Monastery, as a cultural heritage of Kastoria, for the traditional economic structure and manufacturing culture of the city since the pre-Ottoman times. Indeed, the analysis of the socio-economic role of the monastery's properties supports the findings about the great financial power of the monastery even in the 19th century. Also, last document in the Ottoman Archives indicates the important cultural implications of Agion Anargyron Monastery for the region in the early 20th century that was carefully protected by the Ottoman central authority to provide peace in locality during the times of ethnic violence and conflicts among the Orthodox Christian communities of the region.

The Ottoman archival sources meticulously record the details related to the financial and administrative issues, which are parts of the institutional history of Agion Anargyron Monastery but the information in the official documents in the Ottoman Archives are not enough to write a comprehensive history of the monastery. It is very likely that the codices of metropolis of Kastoria in the National Library of Greece and in the Volidis Collection of the Gennadius Library record many more details on the history of the cultural heritage of Agion Anargyron Monastery and

comparative studies conducted on the Ottoman archival sources and the codices of Kastoria are going to demonstrate the best findings to write the comprehensive history of Agion Anargyron Monastery and its important cultural heritage for the province of Kastoria.

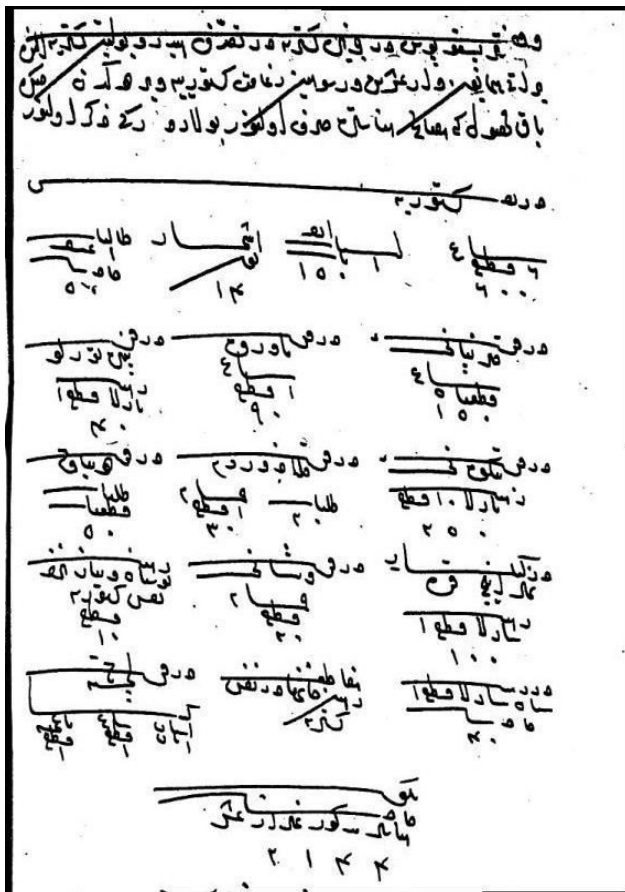
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- BOA. The Collection of Tapu ve Tahrir Defterleri, TTD.d. 424 Selanik livasına mülhak Yenice-i Vardar, Karaferye, Serfiçe, Hurpeşte, Kestorya (Kesriye) kazaları kurasının nüfus ve hasılatını ve tımarlarını ve Evrenos Bey oğullarına ve sairlerine aid evkafı, manastır ve kiliseleri ve mezkur kazaların bac, taşir ve Memlaha kanunlarını havi mufassal defter (1566).
- BOA. The Collection of Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi Evrakı, TS.MA.e 1014 33 Selanik'te Suluca Manastırı keşişlerince kullanılmakta olan bağ, arazi ve diğer emlakları Selanik emini Mustafa Bey'in beytülmal adına manastır rahiplerine sattığı (1569).
- BOA. The Collection of Ali Emiri Ahmed III, AE.SAMD.III 54 5371 Metropolit ve Kostanca Manastırı keşişlerinin Siroz sakinlerinden Muameleci Hacı Sefer oğulları Hacı Ali Efendi ve Ahmed'den aldıkları borç paraların ödenmesi (1715).
- BOA. The Collection of Cevdet Adliye, C.ADL. 23 1389 Akdeniz'de Santoron cezirisinde Sakta Katerina Manastırı'ndaki kalogorye tabir olunan rahiplerin babalarının cihaz namı ile verdikleri emlake vaki müdahalenin men'i (1815).
- BOA. The Collection of Cevdet Adliye, C.ADL. 26 1541 Akdeniz'de Santoron Ceziresi'ndeki rum manastırının kalogoryalarının ellerine mukaddema verilmiş olan ferman zayı olduğundan bahisle yenisinin itası istirhamına dair merkumlar tarafından verilen arzuhal (1819).
- BOA. The Collection of Hariciye Nezareti Belgeleri Mektubi Kalemî, 1856 MKT. 157 54 Tolev mütemekkinlerinden olup mugayir-i ayin hareketler yaptığı için Aynaroz'daki Hilandar Manastırı'na sürgün edilen Baba Filibos adlı rahibin Sünne Boğazı taraflarına kaçtığı (1856).
- BOA. The Collection of Hariciye Nezareti Belgeleri Mektubi Kalemî, HR. MKT. 201 40 Kesriye Kazası Evalisne köyündeki Aya Anargiros Manastırı'nda yapılmak istenen kilise hakkında tahkikat yapılması (1857/1).

- BOA. The Collection of Hariciye Nezareti Belgeleri Mektubi Kalemî, HR. MKT. 175 39 Sayda'daki Hıristiyan tebedadan toplanacak ianenin Rumi sene itibariyle yetmiş bir yılına ait olduğunun bildirilmesi (1857/2).
- BOA. The Collection of Sadâret Divan-ı Hümâyûn Kalemî Mukâvele Kısımî Belgeleri, A.}DVN.MKL. 20 27 Ebniye Kanunu Layihası (1881).
- BOA. The Collection of Sadâret Divan-ı Hümâyûn Kalemî Mukâvele Kısımî Belgeleri, A.}DVN.MKL. 22 27 Ebniye Kanunu (1882).
- BOA. The Collection of İrade – Dahiliye, İ.DH. 910 72340 Manastır'da Ömerler karyesinde Rumlar için yeniden bir kilise inşası (1884).
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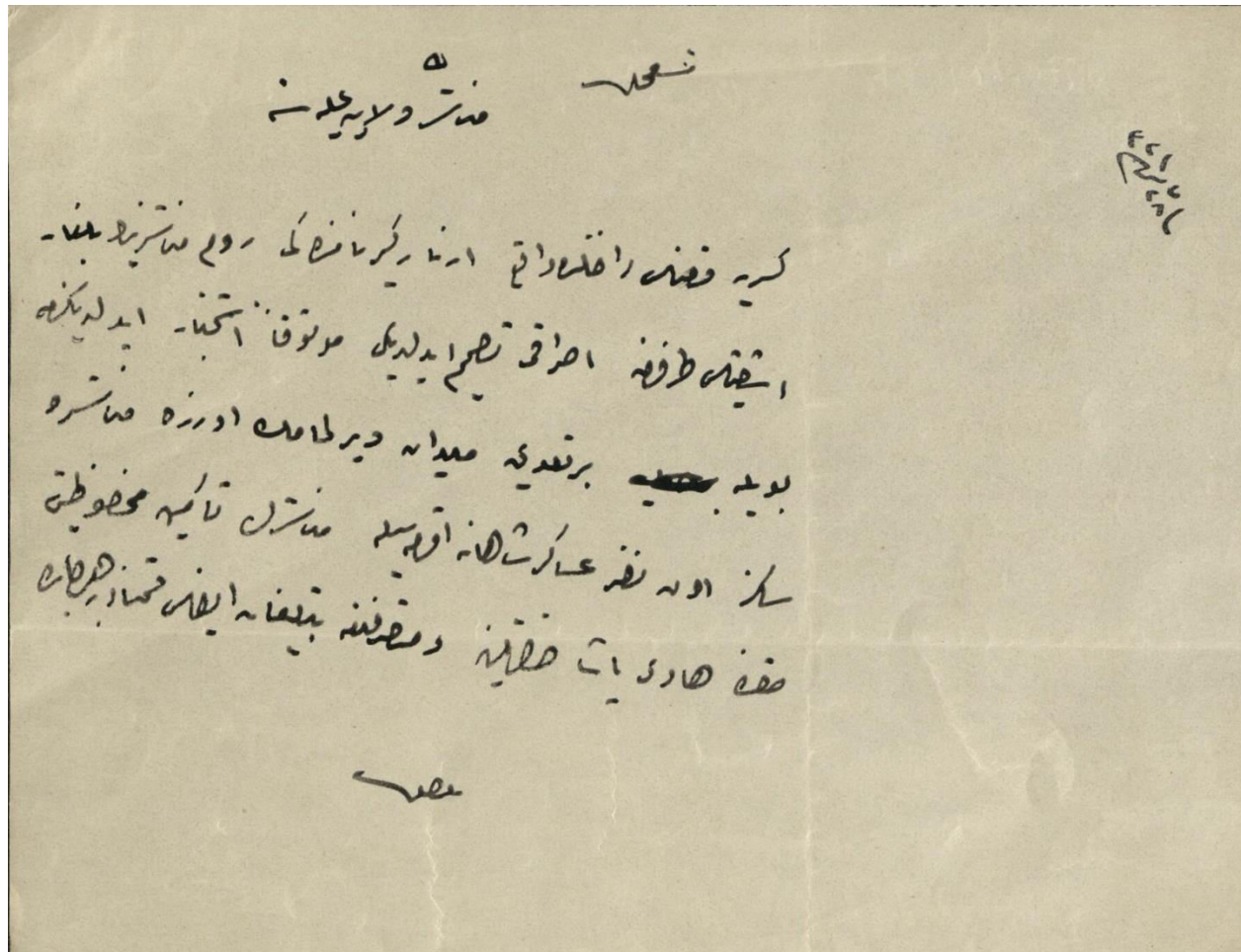
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Appendix 1: The Endowment Record of Piskopos (Agion Anargyron) Monastery



Endowment Property of Piskopos Monastery in Kesteriye City Center			
Endowment property of Piskopos Monastery is located in the Kesteriye city Center (<i>der cezire-i Kesteriye</i>). Metropolitan of Kesteriye holds the endowment property of the monastery, for which the Metropolitan of Kestoria has imperial decree in his hand. All land and agrarian taxes of the endowment property of the monastery (<i>öşr</i> and <i>resim</i>) are paid to the zeamet-i Kesteriye (large military allotment generally hold by the chief security officer, <i>subashi</i>). All crops of the endowment lands and their revenues are spent for the maintenance of the monastery, which are mentioned above.			
In the Kesteriye City			
A fishing Weir 50? akche	Mulberry Trees in the city center 14 trees	One mill in the city center 150 akche	6 pieces of vineyards in the city center 600 akche
	One piece of arable land in Pendaturlo Village 40 akche	A piece of vineyard in Mavrova Village 90 akche	Five pieces of vineyard, Kripani Village 150 akche
	Fishing weirs in Dubyak Village 50 akche	A fishing weir 20 akche and a public bath 30 akche in Klodorom 50 akche	Ten pieces of arable lands in Tikveni Village 250 akche
	A vegetable garden and a reed-bed in the city center 10 akche	A public bath in Vishani Village 20 akche	In _____ a piece of arable land 100 akche
	A mill, a piece of vineyard and a piece of garden in Lichishte Village N/A	Tax farming revenues of seasonal laborers in the city center N/A	One piece of arable land in the city center 40 akche
Total Revenue of the monatory's endowment properties without agrarian taxes (<i>gayr-ez öşr</i>)			
2144 akche			

Appendix 2: Agion Anargyron Monastery During the Ethnic Violence and Conflicts in Macedonia



The document dated to 11th May 1905 is an order to be sent a notification to Hadi Pasha, the commander of the military forces in Monaster (Bitola) administrative district, and the local governorship (of Monaster). The document explains that a letter of intelligence informing that Bulgarian bandits have intended to burn down the Aya Nargyr Monastery has been received. To be prevented such a provocation in the region, it is ordered to be increased the security and protection of the monastery by locating 8-10 soldiers of the imperial army (from the administrative district of Monaster).