



In Cadore at the Time of Tiziano

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The upcoming celebrations in Cadore to remember the fifth centennial of the birth of Tiziano, whose house of birth is even today quite visible only a few steps from the central square of Pieve, it also provides a useful opportunity to reflect on the times of Tiziano and on the reality of Cadorine people.

This is the stimulus to a permanent pledge to properly study, in depth, its cultural roots, that the Magnifica Community would like to translate, among other things, the construction of a distinguished Center of Tiziano Studies, to be located in the historic *palazzo* of Tiziano the Orator in Pieve.

From this perspective this frames this publication, the idea of Mario Ferruccio Belli, with the helpful collaboration of Giorgio Viani, for the photographic images, and Giandomenico Zanderigo Rosolo, for the text. The authors, are in complete agreement with the Committee to promote the Cadorine and Tizano public showing this year, with the specific objective of contributing to the knowledge of the cultural heritage of Cadore during the century of Tiziano, narrowing the attention to around fifty works of art of that time, buildings, frescos, paintings or carved, wooden altarpieces, from the Cadorine territory, comprising also Cortina di Ampezzo, which, at the time of the fifteen hundreds, was an integral part of Cadore.

The work that has resulted, in summary with a popular, principle character, certainly indicates both the solid basis of research carried out by the authors, who were able to make up for the limited time with a clear dedication, and a balanced combination between the text and the iconographic parts, providing a document of great efficacy on the works and on the environmental context in which they appear, following a twofold itinerary: indicated by the Regia road, from the lowlands to the German region (an itinerary surely traveled by Tiziano), and that towards Friuli by the passes of Mauria and Sappada.

It is an original publication that offers, to the people of Cadore and the visitors of this land, the opportunity to learn more about the cultural and environmental heritage of this little known or overlooked area, while motivating appropriate intervention to restore and protect the works of that time that have been handed down to us.

The Magnificent Comunità, which gladly hosts this work in the collection of local culture in cooperation with the Regione del Veneto, warmly thank the authors for their skilled and unselfish collaboration, as well as the Archdiocese and parishes of Cadore, the Soprintendenza, and all of the wonderful artists and historians of the Veneto for their availability.

Pieve di Cadore, July 1990

Gian Candido DeMartin
President
Magnifica Comunità di Cadore

On The Regia Road

When Tiziano was a child, he lived in Pieve di Cadore, this was in the final years of the 14 century (the date of his birth is presumed to be between 1477 and 1490). At that time, Cadore numbered around 14,000 inhabitants. It was a *Comunità* with a broad autonomy, having been under the reign of the Republic of Venice since 1420. The territory, roughly corresponded to that of today but at the time also included the valley of Ampezzo, and was administratively subdivided into ten “*centurie*” or “centenary”:

1. Ampezzo (about 1,400 inhabitants);
2. San Vito with Borca (1,200);
3. Venas with Vodo, Peaio, Vinigo, Cibiana e Zoppe (1,300);
4. Valle with Nebbiu, Tai, Perarolo and Ospitale (1,500);
5. Pieve with Pozzale, Sottocastello and Calalzo (1,100);
6. Domegge with Vallesella and Lozzo (1,300);
7. Oltrepiaive, inclusive of Vigo, Laggio, Pelos and Lorenzago (100);
8. Aurronzo (1,000);
9. Comelico Superiore, inclusive of Padola, Dosoledo, Casamazzagno, Candide, Costa, San Nicolo and Mezza Danta (1,500);
10. Comelico Inferiore, inclusive of Costalissoio, Casada, Santo Stefano, Campolongo, San Pietro, Presenaio, Valle and Costalta (1,500);
11. An additional administration in Pescul, Selva and Caprile (1,100).

The population made a living almost totally from agriculture and breeding. Products from the fields were scarce, because of the threatening cold. The spacious meadows, on the plains and in the mountains were ample to reap: collective property, were used according to the rules of the particular statutes “*laudi*”. A century later a census counted 9,300 cows and oxen and nearly 20,000 smaller animals, namely goats and sheep for their milk, meat, wool and hides. In addition, there were still abundant pastures that would be able to be leased to outsiders. In the forests, they cut the timbers for both local needs and for the houses and the navy of Venice. Besides lumber, few of the other products were exchanged.

Near Pieve, which had always been the religious and civic center of the territory, we find the two guiding principles of both the economic and the cultural life. One was the road “Regia” or “Alemagna” that climbed from the plain along the Piave River and proceeded toward the Boite Valley towards Cortina d’Ampezzo and the German region. The other was the ancient road, which came from Carnia across the pass at Mauria. On the Regia road, even if it did not have the importance of the other roads to Germany, traffic flowed between the Tyrol and Venice: from the North came cloth, iron utensils, minerals, wool, and hides: from the South came wine, salt, and special grains. On the river descending to Venice were the lumber *zattere*: foremost with larch wood for foundations and beams for the houses, and fir for the boat masts which were built and repaired in the large yard of the Arsenale.

The Cadorini found the forests to be a supplement to the revenue of the land: cutting the timbers, preparing the logs, and transporting them on sleds and carts or floating them in the streams. From Perarolo on down, numerous sawmills extracted the timbers making planks, which they would then send by *zattere* along the river towards the lagoon. Towards the end of

the 15th century a record of the “*muda*”, namely the duties paid to the Comunità for this exported lumber, mentions, for one year, some fifteen firms (for the most part Venetian) and all together more than 110,000 logs, 40,000 square beams, 1,100 logs, to be used as masts for naval ships, and more than 5,500 cuts from other sources, originating from other than the Cadore mountains.

Other men with oxen and horses over saw the “*ròdolo*”, that is the transport of the merchandise along the road on behalf of the merchants, from village to village, with shifts, stages and fixed compensation by old customs.

Cadore, belonged to the diocese of Aquileia, had eight parishes with the archdeacon being elected by the Comunità with nearly thirty chaplains and other priests, some with origins in Germany or Southern Italy, taking care of the regions religious needs. The Patriarch and the archdeacon requested by the Consiglio of the Comunità, had to be recalled to their duties often since they managed taverns, and practiced the profession of commerce, being notaries, conducting an irregular life.

A Family of Notaries

Every village had a notary. The children of the most affluent families learned to read, write and to count from a teacher paid by the Comunità. They would then learn the art of notary at Udine or some other city and return to the mountains with sufficient preparation to administer their own estates, exercise the office of notary and the other public offices, to deal with the cases in the tribunal of the “*vicario*”, judge of the first appeal elected by the Consiglio of the Comunità.

From a family of notaries, that always combined the prestige of public office with the income of business, especially in lumber, came Tiziano Vecellio

The family Vecellio originally from Pozzale near Pieve probably belonged to a class of “*ministeriali*”, who received from the Counts of Camino and the Patriarchs the investiture of some modest feudal claim. Cristoforo an ancestor of Tiziano, in 1370 had been invested by the Patriarch Marquardo the right to cut, on Mount Rite near Cibiana, the wood necessary for the smelting of minerals from Vallinfernà and the Chiusa di Venàs. A year later, he had the tax on the merchandise to Valle, with the right to operate an inn. In 1407 the brothers Antonio, Cristoforo and Donato were invested with some houses by the Chiesa d’Aquileia located on the square in Pieve.

With the fall of feudalistic control, the family adapted themselves to the times. Inside the independent Comunità they continued to exercise the public tasks they already performed in the feudal regime. From military exercises and the practice of notary, they added the enterprise of mining and the commerce of lumber, without sacrificing the modest revenues, in a mountain area of fields and pastures. Without neglecting the interests of the pastoral consortia: it had rights on the mountains of Regole di Pieve and at Valle.

For more than two hundred years, Andrea, Giovanni, Antonio and, Conte (Tiziano’s grandfather), like their ancestors and their descendants, were important characters in the

Comunità of Cadore, where they were notaries and merchants of lumber. Tiziano and Francesco, becoming painters, broke that tradition.

How do you explain this inclination, moreover in the succeeding generations there were six good painters from the family Vecellio (Orazio, Cesare, Fabrizio, Marco, Tizianello and, Tommaso)?

Conte Vecellio had his first public commission in 1458, where he was the official of Selva (a location distant and unaccommodating, but maybe it was there he became interested in mining) from 1480 to 1485. He then became an official in the *centenaro* of Pieve, and until his death, which occurred near 1513, every year he was confirmed to the major offices of the Comunità, alternating between *sindaco* and consul. He was the ambassador of the Comunità to the Patriarch and the *Dominio*. Following him, his son Antonio and his grandson Tomà Tito, or the son and grandson of Andrea, the brother of Conte, inherited the most important offices.

Gregorio, the father of Tiziano, was maybe the only one in the Vecellio family who did not study the art of notary. For Tiziano's father, there may have been no other offices in the Comunità except for that of "*capitano*" of the *centenaro*: the honor and the trouble of putting in line and to have to periodically, march the civilian troops, called the "*cernide*". From 1494 Gregorio exercised the office of *capitano* of the Pieve *centenaro* for a number of years. In 1518 poverty awaited when Tiziano, already the official painter of the Serene Republic of Venice, was maybe in a position to aid the meager paternal budget. In 1525, Gregorio was able to assume the responsibility as administrator of Pieve's *fontico del grano* and other offices, like that of *pro-vicario* of the mine, granted to him, in 1525, by the Doge.

The Early Years

At around nineteen years of age, the two sons of Gregorio were sent to Venice, to the house of an uncle, to learn the art of painting. But the childhood of Tiziano, his brother Francesco and sisters Orsola, Caterina and Dorotea, certainly developed in Pieve in the Vecellio house not far from the town square, dominated by the figures of their grandfather, the well-educated great uncle Andrea, and a large number of aunts, uncles and cousins.

Exactly, which was the house of Tiziano? A nineteenth century critic has reconstructed the transfers of property of the small house (but at that time in Cadore, it was a notable building) in the district Arsenale or Loèra, on the slopes of Montericco, as indicated by Tiziano in a 1556 statement of income and a transfer of sale by his son Pomponio in 1580. An old belief points to a work by a youthful Tiziano of a Madonna painted with the juice of herbs on an old wall of an adjoining small, sixteenth century palace, today the Polocardi-Vallanzasca. Could a child get into other people's homes to "daub" on a wall? It is not the only uncertainty to be considered.

Little is known about the mother, Lucia. In Ampezzo tradition has it that Tiziano was the son of a young woman from Campo who went to Pieve as a domestic in the house of Vecellio. The hypothesis is not that odd, if you combine it with the information on Gregorio.

The early years of Tiziano were not the most peaceful for the Cadorine territory. To testify to that fact four churches were constructed in those years and dedicated to the Madonna “*della Difesa*” (of Defense), depicted with a sword in hand. The Patriarch of Aquileia and subsequently the Lion of St. Mark assured the Cadorine people four centuries of peace and the privilege of not having to fight outside their mountains. However, at the end of the Fifteenth century, the Turks arrived as far as Friuli and the Archduke of Austria, Sigismondo, made war on Venice for the borders of Trentino. Even amid the mountains of Cadore the shouts of war resounded, along with plunder and destruction.

Conte and Gregorio Vecellio, along with others, saw to the organization of the defense. The mustering of the “*cernide*” and the states of alert were frequent. They sent spies beyond the borders; they acquired arms, shot and gunpowder and brought in an artificer. The areas most exposed were Ampezzo, the Oltremonti (Caprile and Selva) and Comelico, where there were remained old disagreements over the borders, pastures and mines.

In 1474, the reconstruction of the castle of Podestagno began, to the north of Ampezzo, and a small fort was built at Misurina. In 1471, a system of walls was built near the “*chiusa*” of Venàs. On a confined passage, where the road of Alemanga runs along the slopes of the Boite, rises a small tower “*with a tunnel to an underpass, which passes, wine, timbers, and other sorts of merchandise, with its doors, able to be closed when the need arises*”.

In 1474 they invited forty-nine *gusatatori* (sappers) under the command of Guglielmo de Gidino of Ampezzo to construct defensive works along the Isonzo, some years later there was the threat of the Turks in the area of Comelico and on the mountain of Razzo.

In May 1487 an order was given to withdraw all disabled people and animals and enter the *chiuse*, namely the center of Cadore, between Venàs and Lozzo. For the Comeliani, the Ampezzani and the Sanvitesi it was not easy to abandon their houses. After a German incursion on Caprile, the Cadorini assaulted Livinallongo and the Germans were beaten. They moved forward towards San Vigilio di Marebbe and after alternative events, they were chased up to Ampezzo. They handed down episodes of ferocity.

In 1494-1499 a master mason (“*magister Manfesu*”) constructed a wall ending at Lozzo, near the present day church of Loreto, where the old road runs alongside the Piave. In 1478 they worked with sand and “*toffì*” (tufa) to fortify the castle of Pieve.

“Stand firm and don’t give in”

The worst came in 1508. Tiziano was already in Venice, he left the studio of Sebastiano Zuccato and went to the studio of Bellini and Giorgione. He was painting at the Fondaco dei Tedeschi (German Inn) and at Padova when the villages of Cadore were invaded, sacked, and put to flames by the soldiers of the Emperor Maximilian.

The old grandfather, was among the notables barricaded in the castle of Pieve, and was one of the most determined to resist: “*la bona morte iera stare saldi e non se render, chè rendendose morimo de tre pessime morti*”. Conte’s advice, handed down from witness, Matteo

Palatini, was to resist or die with honor: “because by surrendering we won’t have respect; the Germans will not keep their word and will occupy and sack the countryside. Then the Venetians will arrive and will do the rest, accusing us of betrayal”.

“Compirà de ruinarne digando essere stati nui ribelli.” But on advice of the elders and their concerns of loyalty to Venice (it could not be said up to that point to be genuine) the municipal doctor, the vicario-giudice, and above all the fearful capitano of the Veneto decided to surrender the parishes of Valle and Pieve (they sent a letter to the Germans to ask to surrender). The capitano admitting that in the castle, there were no individuals skilled in the art of war to such a degree to defend it in addition his family and his bailiff had fled.

The Germans arrived from Ampezzo with three pieces of artillery and twelve mortars; they had destroyed and overcome the wall at Venàs, which had been abandoned by the Cadorine soldiers. They arrived at Valle killing and ruining. The terrorized population fled into the forest. It was February. After the surrender of the castle at Pieve, the countryside was for the moment spared. About thirty of the nobles returned to their houses empty and barren of the provisions the people believed had been safely placed in the castle, now being occupied by the enemy.

Refuge into the Mountains

“Et tar le altre a quell tempo istesso, essendo fuggita madonna Barbara madre si mi Vecellio dall’invasione de’ nemici sopra un monte chiamato Lavinàs sopra un villaggio chiamato Calalzo con altre persone, ove praticano orsi, lupi et altri animali selvatici, ivi partori un mio fratello per nome Alessandro, et la meschina fece il suo parto miseramente in quei boschi et monti, et per suan stantia non haveva altro che un pocho di scorza d’alberi per ripararsi dalla neve, che cascava perchè era del mese di febraro...” This account was written by a cousin of Tiziano described as *“quanto figliolo carissimo”*.

The Cadorine officials had secretly been in contact with Venice. From the Carina, crossing through the Pass of Mauria, arrived 200 cavalry and many infantrymen led by captain Gerolamo Savorgnano. From the lowland, avoiding the Regia road and diverting across Zoldo and the pass of Cibiana, finding a passage through the snow, lower on the plain of Valle was the army of Bartolomeo d’ Alviano. The fifteen leaders of the Cadorine resistance, including Conte Vecellio and his brother Andrea, would be ready to demonstrate their loyalty to the Republic and to give counsel because the two armies would be able to unite overcoming the difficulty of the terrain. Thanks to this information, *“dae tar loro segretamente da homeni cadorini, che permonti andavano correndo come camorze”*, the Germans were able to be surrounded and beaten at Rusecco on March 2, 1508, Holy Thursday. There were 500 prisoners taken, and on the fields of Nogarè 1,800 laid dead. Other Germans, fled into the mountains, dying from the cold.

In 1538, Tiziano recorded this event on a large canvas, in the grand hall of the council in the Ducal palace and it soon became named, right or wrong, “The Battle of Cadore”.

A month after the massacre of Rusecco the Germans, descended from the pass of Monte Croce, sacking and setting fire to the villages of Comelico Superiore. In December the Pope, the

King of France, the Emperor Maximilian and other principle figures signed the League of Cambrai against Venice. Cadore was once again repeatedly invaded, the villages sacked and burned. The war and the uncertainty lasted for years.

In 1511 Ampezzo was lured by the promises of safety and protection by the Emperor who pledged his allegiance. Even when peace returned the representatives of the Ampezzani no longer attended the council of the Comunità, under the symbol of the lion of San Marco. For many years the council continued to hold for them their three seats, in the hope they would return, since they were Cadorine subjects to the Emperor “col corpo, non con l’animo” (in body, not in spirit). The council also noted their share of expenses to the Comunità, to which they remained in debt.

Did Tiziano see the Boite Valley as far as Cortina? It is probable. In January 1548 (already at the age of 58) Tiziano was at Ceneda (today Vittorio Veneto), the guest of Conte Gerolamo Della Torre, who wrote him a letter of recommendation addressed to Cardinal Madruzzo in the court of Carlo V: “...supplicandola voler aver per raccomandato il ditto messer Titiano in tutto quello gli potrà far favore...quanto alla persona mia propria”. Tiziano departed Ceneda arriving at the Emperors palace in Augsburg, probably travelling along the snow-covered road of Regia, through Pieve, Cortina, and Dobbiaco. Among the mountains, whose backgrounds he painted in many of his masterpieces, one will recognize Pelmo, Marmarole, and Monte Rite. The view of Pelmo would seem that which suddenly appears as soon as one crosses the chiusa between Venas and Vodo. But one would have to remember these rocks, today much admired, were then considered only a border between pastures, a place inaccessible and useless.

Certainly Tiziano crossed the Regia road many times, along the “canale” where the Piave flows between the rocky cliffs, both as a child to go to Venice, and when, already famous, he returned to Cadore for his business affairs. That road, between merchants of lumber and carters, was a part of the history of his family.

From Ospitale D’Ampezzo to San Vito

The Regia road descends from the Tyrol to Dobbiaco and the valley of Landro. A little after the saddle of Cimabanche, where the territory of the Serene Republic of Venice begins, one encounters Ospitale an early hospice with the attached church, open both night and day. The hospice, and the ample pastures belonged in former times to the “regolieri” of Vinigo, which in October of 1226 they proudly claimed the freedom of property before the representatives of the Emperor, the Patriarch and the feudal lords of Camino. To ransom some associates made prisoners by the capitano of Bruneck, the regolieri of Vinigo, at the beginning of the Fifteenth century, had to sell some of it to the Ampezzani. The hospice was a little neglected and the change occurred at Cortina, then the most populated village in Cadore.

Wherever you look the valleys begin to open with its green meadows (“luogo bellissimo tra le montagne”, “a most beautiful site among the mountains”, described a traveler of the time), the road had to overcome a precipice, dominated by the castle of Podestagno. The antique fortification was watched over by a capitano of the Venetian Republic with some soldiers, it was

repaired at the expense of the Comunità to oppose an invasion from the North. From 1474, every *centeraro* sent men to work there under the direction of Leonardo Barnabò, Guglielmo de Gidino and master mason Andrea de Francesco da Ampezzo. First, they prepared two lime kilns, stone, and sand. Then they were able to repair and reconstruct the walls, pillars, barbicans, crossings, trusses and, tanks for water. They placed there three rooms, with vaulted walls. The work had to be suspended many times, because of the lack of funds, and they asked Venice to be patient. Gerolamo Vecellio, another great uncle of Tiziano, was the person commissioned to organize the transport of the “*quadrelli*” (the square tiles for the floor), men from the various centenary transported them on carts from Termine.

The valley of Ampezzo was dotted by small hamlets, wooden houses with attached stalls and “*taulà*” for hay and items from the field. At the center is the church of Santi Filippo and Giacomo (not a typical construction for the eighteenth century). Around the church was the “*cortina*”, that is to say the cemetery, and a few buildings next to the square. Near the inn, which today is the Grand Hotel de la Poste, was another church, dedicated to Saint John the Baptist and Saint Catherine, with a chaplain by popular election. Bernardo di Vitulino of Serravalle painted the frescos towards the middle of the fourteenth century.

In addition, a stone house was also frescoed. Was this the house of the comune? The frescos, returned to the light a few decades ago, the remains the mysterious figures of four sibyls, removed and safeguarded inside the rural Cassa. Descending a few steps, on the edge of the Regia road there is an oratory dedicated to Saint Francis, on whose walls are found frescos of the Apostles: today the remains of four can be seen and the outline of a fifth. Finally farther down, towards the Bigontina stream, at the end of the fifteenth century was a kind of chapel dedicated to the Madonna of Defense, many times the protector of the Ampezzani against the neighboring Germans. The last time was February 22, 1508, when, descending from the pass of Tre Croci, “*li Todeschi perfidi barbari vennero in Ampezzo a ora di vespero occultamente dal spalto e montò su le monti sopra Staolin e de longo a Cortina, et avanti li rivasse alle case, parte di quelli di Ampezzo andorono incontro con le crose...*”. “The Tedeschi, those treacherous barbarians, secretly came into Ampezzo at the hour of vespers from the bastion and ascended the mountains above Staolin the length of Cortina, and advanced invading the houses from the area of Ampezzo ending at Tre Croci...” Near the church, there is a hospice cared for by the fraternity of the Battuti.

From Ampezzo the road descends to San Vito closely paralleling the course of the stream, touching upon the antique chapel of San Floriano, which also had frescos but were destroyed during the First World War.

Inside the Old Tiglio

In the principal village, there was a parish church, with a large Saint Christopher, frescoed on the outside, towards the road: the pedestrians, looking up at it, would be able to appeal for his protection (the fresco is still visible on a part of the wall absorbed into the eighteenth century church).

Inside the church is an altarpiece from 1524 signed by Francesco Vecellio, the brother of Tiziano. There portrayed, kneeling before the Madonna and Saints, is a devoted parish priest. Other church documents indicate the parish priest did not rigorously observe the sacred canons, having had a concubine and two children.

Adjacent to the surrounding cemetery there are some stone and wooden cubicles, which served as old barns, now in disuse like other “*cortine*” in Cadore.

Next to it, another church dedicated to the Madonna della Difensa, built as a votive made at the time of the war with the archduke Sigismondo (1487) and confirmed in the tragic subsequent decades. The frescos of the Difesa represent those terrible incidents: protected by an armed Madonna and Saint Floriano ready to pour water on the fires, the Sanvitesi negotiated with the invaders. The frescos were done by many hands over time. One altarpiece is the work of Francesco Vecellio. This church was under the care of the Confraternity of the Batutti, who a little later administered a hospice, endowed with a sizable income.

Already in 1492, in the square of San Vito, there was a fountain, (fed by a wooden pine pipeline) built by the parish priest Antonio Costantini and other companions. Next to it was a “*paveòn*” or “*loggia*” (public lodge), beside it rose a large, centuries old linden tree: around this tree, by ancient traditions, gathered the assembly of the heads of the family, the *regolieri*. In front of the old Cadorine parish churches there was always a linden tree. The Comunità used the linden tree as a symbol in its coat of arms. The old linden tree of San Vito was taken down in 1830, to make way for the new road of Alemagna.

Selva Oltremonti

Continuing down a slight descent, the road reaches Sala di Borca, a small village which disappeared in 1737 under a landslide from the mountain of Antelao. A mass of sand, stones, and warm, slow mud, made it possible to save some items from the church, among which was an altarpiece by Vecellio and a fifteenth century statue of a Black Madonna.

At Borca there is a “*porto*”, that is to say a site where merchants could stop to conduct business and sell merchandise. A wooden shelter, built in 1533 following an agreement with the merchants from the Fondaco Tedeschi of Venice, served as a refuge during the night. To avoid litigation, in 1538 it was determined that the carriers had to get goods to the porto before a certain time: “before the sun reached the foot of the Croda di Crovèra”.

At Borca there was a “*port*”, that is to say a place where the “*conduttori*” of merchandise stopped to exchange goods. A canopy of wood, constructed in 1533 following an agreement with the German merchants at the Fondaco in Vencie, serving as a shelter for the night. To avoid disputes, in 1538 it was established that the conveyors of Venàs had to get their goods to the *port* before a certain time: “*prima che il sole tramonti ai piedi della croda di Crovera*”, “before the sun reached the foot of the peak of Crovera”.

From Sala di Borca, bypassing the stream, detached from the major branch which connects the Cadorine villages of Pescùl, Santa Fosca, Selva e Caprile, in the Fiorentina Valley.

It was a path, more than a road. Exiting the forest, boldly scrambling for the *forcella* Foràda to Nord del Pelmo, this can be crossed only a few months of the year because of snow and avalanches. Yet the “*Oltremonti*” (except for Caprile, which has a particular position) was tightly bound to San Vito for community origins and belonged to this parish. The Val Fiorentina was the old and large collective pasture of the Sanvitesi, as far as Staulanza and the rocks of Civetta. Just how much these pastures and meadows were desired, is demonstrated by the price of a “*consorzie*”, namely the cost of the shareholding in the *consorzio pastorale* (pastoral consortium): a consortium on the mountains of San Vito at the beginning of the sixteenth century sold for 40 ducats, while that of Comelico were valued at 5 or 6.

In the Oltremonte lived charcoal burners and miners. It was here where the furnaces for the smelting of iron, linked with the mines of the local territory of the Bishop of Bressanone and with the furnaces and the forges of Zoldo. The investiture of the mines and the furnaces were occasionally the disputes for the exploitation of the pastures and the forests of the *regolieri* of San Vito. Many years later, the Sanvitesi succeeded to acquire even the furnace at Pescùl with the respective talent. Numerous are the judgments and the settlements regarding the borders, in which sometimes appear the names of the ancestors of Tiziano. As we have mentioned, it was the grandfather Conte, the uncle Antonio, the cousin Toma Tito who were officials in Selva for many years.

Did Tiziano ever pass over the precipitous Foràda, or under the vertical wall of Pelmo? Have you ever admired, in the church of San Lorenzo, the warm colors of the altarpiece painted by a fellow countryman from Tai and proudly signed “*Antonius Rubeus de Cadubrio pinxit*”? The devotion of the people of Selva, accustomed to a Spartan life and for many months almost isolated from the world, had been able to construct the beautiful church of Santa Fosca, with a spirited Saint Christopher frescoed on the façade, and that of San Lorenzo, frescoed in 1544.

Zoppe and the Mines of Zoldo

On the plain of Borca the smelting furnaces smoked, the metal transported from Oltremonti on the backs of donkeys. Even here there was tension with the population, from which was stolen a part of the forest for the needs of the furnaces. Merchants lined up along the Regia road where caravans carried the iron ingots to the blacksmith shops of Belluno and Serravalle.

Paths for mules and pedestrians departed from Borca and Vodo to reach Zoppe, a Cadorine village on the other side of the mountainous ridge, towards Zoldo. Even here lived pastoral families and charcoal burners. Also here come the interests of the very rich and enterprising families of Pieve.

Matteo Palantini of Pieve, a notary and merchant, with Conte Vecellio were among the advocates of the resistance against the Tedeschi in 1508 and the year after, “*inventor di recuperare et avere Zoldo sotto il Cadore*”.

The valley of Zoldo, in which there were numerous active mines, furnaces and, forges, did not enjoy the same autonomy as Cadore. It had always been subject, both ecclesiastically

and administratively, to Belluno. The consiglio of Belluno annually dispatched to Zoldo a noble such as a capitano, judge, governor, or head of the militia. In 1509, when Belluno was occupied by the Emperor Maximilian and lost control of the surrounding country, for Zoldo it presented the occasion to affirm their independence. On November 25 of that year, in the church of San Floriano, the representatives of Cadore took possession of the territory, which asked to become a part of the Comunità. The following January the representatives of Zoldo attended the consiglio of the Comunità of Cadore equal with the other centenaries, with their own official, two consiglieri and other jurists. The experience lasted until June 1517, when Zoldo was obligated to return to the jurisdiction of the Bellunese. In the last two years, the official of Zoldo was the great uncle of Tiziano, Andrea Vecellio. As we have seen, the family, had roots in the Zoldo.

But we return to Zoppè with Matteo Palatini, who in 1520 purchased a farm valued at 260 ducats and which was able to bring in from a lease some lira, 12 lumps of butter, a shoulder of pork and a half “*calvia*” of poppy, besides, maybe, the convenient of a nearby blast furnace.

Making a will in 1528, he obliged his heirs to construct and supply the furnishing for a church for the settlers of Zoppe, for which he remitted the debts provided they lend their work for the construction. The church, dedicated to Saint Anna, has a beautiful altarpiece. Tradition attributes it to Tiziano and the dates coincide; but critics turn up their nose at this idea. The answer is difficult, because in the days of the French invasion of 1797, to secure it from possible confiscation the painting was wrapped around a pole and hidden in a hayloft, where humidity or other things destroyed a large part of the colors. To complete the damage it was then “repaired”.

Towards the Chiusa of Venàs

Crossing the rich meadows of the *regolieri* of Vodo, we turn into the Boite Valley to take up again the Alemagna road. In the church of Santa Lucia di Vodo, endowed with a portico, a cycle of frescos was completed in 1472. In a village document of some decades later appears the name of “*magister Andreas de Como muarius*”. However, maybe the master builder was there, only passing through.

From the small village of Peaio, we spy above, on a hill, the church of Vinigo dedicated to San Giovanni Battista. The notary Antonio Vecellio, the great uncle of Tiziano, in the year 1493 wrote the inventory the “*lume*”, that is the fields and meadows whose incomes were assigned to the upkeep of the building and their furnishings. Like in the other places in Cadore, frescos, altarpieces, gonfalons, and other needs of the churches were acquired with the revenues of these goods, scrupulously administered by the *regolieri* and by “*giurati*” or “*sindaci del lume*” elected by the citizens.

The Vinighesi, wealthy in meadows (from the beginning of the fifteenth century also possessed the northern area of Ampezzo), had their church, in 1506, frescoed by a certain “*Iosepho da Civald*” and it seems an altarpiece had been commissioned to Francesco Vecellio (maybe today glowing with the gold and glitter of inexperienced restorers?).

Beyond the small fort of the *chiusa*, the road (repaired in 1505) arrives at Venàs, seat of the *centuria* and where another hovel serves as a “*porto*” for goods. At the entrance of the

village there was an aristocratic chapel for the family Dall'Asta, in which there was a painting with Saint Elizabeth, San Giovanni Battista and Saint Antonio Abate dated 1494 and signed "*Antonio Roso de Cadore depense*" (today it is in a private collection in Florence). In the old church of San Marco, a bit isolated from the houses, a Vecellio painted a triptych (today it is in the new church).

From Venàs, ones passes the ruins of the chapel called "dei Rizzi", the road descends decidedly towards Vallesina, a narrow area of land, where the sawmills work fast and furious. Then crossing the last of the branches to the other bank of the Boite, one crosses over a bad bridge. Beyond the steep forest are the houses and the pastures of Cibiana, bordered, beyond the pass, with those of Zoldo. Through here passed the army of Bartolomeo d'Alviano to surround the Tedeschi. In this poor village is the first evidence of the malaise within the regoliera community: in 1547 they added to the laudo-statuto articles to discipline the members of the assembly and to punish the offences of the leaders. In the church of San Lorenzo, in Cibiana, is a triptych done by a Vecellio.

Leaving on the right the fork for Cibiana and Zoldo, the road climbs again. Before long opens the sunny basin of Valle, rich in good land, solid houses and some small mansions with gothic windows. Upon entering the village, one encounters the church of the Pietà with the hospice of the Battuti. After a few steps is the square, with another "*porto*" for the merchants and the chapel of the Holy Spirit (demolished in 1825 to make room for the road). The chapel recalled the devotion to Venice, here approved by the pious and faithful consiglio of the Comunità after difficult discussions. Opposite is the Piloni palace, the home to a wealthy family, which at the time of Tiziano, relocated to the more comfortable Belluno.

Valle was the true commercial center of Cadore. Here, the Cadorino dialect yielded to the Venetian merchants. Here is where the novelties of the plain and beyond the Alps took root. The road, called "Romana", descends squeezing between the houses towards the parish church, built on top of a precipice of the Boite. There one can admire a new altarpiece with strong lines and colors.

The "Canale of the Piave"

Still descending, a little before the covered bridge of Rualàn (which still exists), the road that branches off to the left goes up to Tai and Pieve, then towards Mauria or Comelico. The Regina road descends amidst the ruins of Monte Zucco and passes the Boite stream in the vicinity of the "*Cidolo*", a dam made with tree trunks which served to stop the lumber being floated downstream.

Situated at the confluence of the Boite and the Piave is Perarolo, from which the sluice gates of both streams arrive almost all the lumber from Cadore and sometimes lumber from beyond the Alps. In the season of "*morbida*", when the rivers are swollen with water, expert loggers float thousands of timbers, all destined to the two *cidoli* of Perarolo, where they are graded, checked and diverted to the sawmills.

Perarolo lives exclusively because of lumber and the strategic position it occupies at the confluence of the two bodies of water, often with devastating outcomes. The inhabitants and the merchants have a good reason for placing their trust in the protection of Saint Nicolo, to whom is dedicated the new small church, rich in adornments and furnished with a Vecellio altarpiece.

In some way climbing over the piles of trunks and boards which are everywhere, the road runs along the bank of the Piave, rather high, narrow and with many ups and downs to avoid landslides, cliffs and marshes. In the winter, it was often lashed by avalanches. To protect the road they have maintained trees on the slopes: in January 1477 they made a “*vizza*” to banish the cut.

The statute of 1338 established this stretch of road, called “del Canale”, would be maintained at the expense of the Comunità. The consiglio usually provided for it with an annual contract and a “*stradarolo*”. Between Perarolo and Termine there were four large bridges, many times rebuilt and repaired over the course of time. In 1463 a certain Matteo de Mas, reconstructed the roof of the wooden bridge of Ospitale, but it appeared the work proved to be bad. The very same master builder, perhaps in the meantime he had mastered, in 1477 constructed a new stretch of road from Colle towards Ospitale. In 1463 Bartolomeo da Col of Cibiana and Piero “*Murator*” were assigned to reconstruct the bridge of Perarolo. They argued whether to make it of stone or of wood, or with two banks of walls: in 1443 already, there were talks of two stone arches, but in 1494 Gaspare Antonio of San Vito reconstructed it of wood and in 1521 steps were taken to redo the roof. In 1505 they repaired a stretch of road near Ciaupa Ventosa.

Below the valley of Perarolo, to Ansogne, the Vecellio’s had several sawmills. Tiziano inherited two, also getting a portion from the family. In the declaration of income from 1566 it states, from it he received a rent of 48 ducats, but he had to support, “*infinite spese per conservation di esse a ciò la Piave non me le porti via*”.

“Bonum Hospitium”

Near Ospitale the old road does not run, like it does today, near the Piave. It was a hundred meters higher, above the rocky cliffs. Where, among these opens a grassy plateau, it was rise to the “*ospitale*” (hospice) with the church (dedicated to the Trinity) and a few houses. A site where the wayfarer would be able to find lodging and rest his horses.

Little trace remains of the antique hospice today, maybe a window and some of the wall. Among the many merchants and pilgrims who stopped there, a friar of Ulm, Felix Schmidt, who recorded in his diary on January 20, 1484: “*it is a good hospice*”. Possibly, Tiziano also stopped under this roof during his visits to Cadore, the last time in 1565, when he was commissioned to complete a fresco in the parish church of Santa Maria. Perhaps his first trip to Venice was still alive in him: “*...havendo da puto in suso io Tician de ser Viecel de Cadore postome as imparar l’arte de la picture non tanto per cupidita del guadagno, quanto per veder de aquistar qualche poco di fama...*”

Beyond the wooden bridge over Rin di Valbona, the road leads towards Termine. A “*termine*” of stone near the edge signals the border between the Comunità di Cadore, the old domain of the Patriarch of Friuli, and the territory of Belluno garrisoned by the tower of Gardona. There a church was recently built, dedicated to Santa Maria Maddalena and a roof, some ten meters long, to protect the wagons with their loads. In 1538 Jacopo Sansovino, a friend of Tiziano, stopped there when he was commissioned to define the boundaries of the Tovanello forest, contested by both Belluno and Cadore.

A Marriage of Interests?

A short pause before climbing into the Piave Valley and returning to central Cadore. Towards the middle of the fourteenth century, there lived in Ospitale a prosperous notary by the name of Graziano, nicknamed “Conte”. He owned a house, stable and some land. Considering the location, the property may not have been very profitable. Yet some land near Ospitale had been the object of a feudal investiture. Graziano also owned land in Zoldo and Nogarè di Valle, four sawmills between Ospitale and Rivalgo, a house in Pieve and one in Serravalle. This better explains his wealth, memberships and prestigious commissions, like that of vice-vicario of Cadore, in which capacity he intervened in the questions between Auronzo and Dobbiaco over the borders of Misurina.

Transferred to Pieve, in November 1371 he married “*cum anulo aureo*” Uliana the daughter of Francesco da Dont di Zoldo. She brought a dowry of three farms, one of which was at Casàl and one at Goima di Zoldo, which annually brought in 44 lire and 10 soldi, 14 cakes of butter, a shoulder and bone of pork, a young goat at Easter and a lamb. The husband and wife were not very young when they married. Uliana already had a son, by the name of Andrea, a priest, probably from another marriage. Uliana gave Graziano a daughter, Bartolomea.

On December 17, 1380, before the main altar of the parish church, Graziano now ill made a testament. As a good merchant, he squared his accounts with the awareness of repaying ill-gotten gains: 1,000 lire, a conspicuous sum, for the poor. He made various bequests to churches and family members, guaranteed a good income to his wife and named his sole heir, his daughter Bartolomea, who was eight years of age. He named as his daughter’s guardian several noteworthy people, among those being the archdeacon Tommaso di Marquardo.

Among those who would counsel the daughter, Graziano would also name Bartolomeo Vecellio of Pieve, he also being a notary and a merchant of lumber, and a witness in the 1374 dotal contract of Uliana.

We are not certain if Bartolomeo was a good counsel. What is certain, some years later the girl became his daughter-in-law, wife to his son Vecellio. Vecellio came to inherit not only the assets of “Conte” from Ospitale and Uliana da Dont, but also the chapel of San Tiziano the “Conte” had built in the church of Pieve, endowed with a mass book, a silver crucifix, a lamp, and bequests for masses, oil and candles. In this gentle chapel, lying next to “Conte” are buried the Vecellio’s.

There are good reasons to be grateful and to give on many generations of the Vecellio's the names "Conte" and "Tiziano". And, thinking of the trade the old Graziano "Conte" had towards Serravalle, it does not appear casual the title of the chapel in Pieve to the pious bishop of Oderzo, whose worship is unusual outside the boundaries of the diocese of Ceneda (Vittorio Veneto).

The Cavallera and Damos

We climb again towards Perarolo and re-crossing the grand wooden bridge over the Boite, we leave the road of Alemagna, which rises towards the village of Valle, where we can see in the distance the church and some houses. Another road, on the right, goes down directly towards Pieve: the arduous "Cavallera", that requires additional oxen or horses to haul loads. In 1476 the Comunità appointed overseers to adjust the layout of this road, changed many times over the course of time.

Not far from the fork in the road of Perarolo, Tiziano in the early years of the 16th century, saw the construction of the church of San Rocco (the present day church was built further away in 1823). Cesare and Fabrizio Vecellio painted some altarpieces for it with the customary Holy Helpers in the flaws of travel and of life: Rocco with the cloak of a wayfarer and the buboes of the pestilence, Sebastiano pierced by the arrow (the young Milanese had given up his career to assist imprisoned Christians), Lucia tortured with the removal of her eyes and Apollonia with her teeth knocked out.

Where the road for Pieve overcomes the ascent and arrives on a plateau, one finds some houses surround by small fields and here is an occasion for a brief rest under the vault of a 14th century capital. Here was painted a fresco of a crucifixion, with lines still enduring. In the first years of the 16th century the capital was enlarged and became a church, much later Cesare Vecellio would fresco it a little better (the church of Sant'Andrea today silently watches over the small cemetery of Damòs, a village which no longer exists).

The road proceeds towards Sottocastello and then with an ascent under the cliffs of Montericco, arrives at Pieve. The house of Tiziano is among the first we encounter. On the right appears a station where they came to load and unload the lumber: the "Arsenale". From here, the loads of squared logs originating from Domegge, Auronzo, and Comelico could easily be transport by oxen. The cattlemen, who saw the destination draw near, would be able to quench the thirst of the animals and then enter the inn which looked out over the square, where, if they were in need, they could find loafers, lawyers, notaries, or scribes. The children rushed to the front to admire the wagons with large shafts, rough wheels, and hoops of iron. From Pieve to Perarolo the loads were taken in delivery by the merchants and the carters would be able to complete the day, returning with other merchandise, barrels of salt or sacks of grain.

To Tiziano, a son and grandson of lumber merchants, that world would have been familiar. In front of his house, on the path that led to the castle, would pass the *capitano*, the representative of the Republic of Venice, with a small garrison of soldiers.

The *Paveòn* of the Community

The capitano, who resided in the castle with his hired ruffians, sometimes had the temptation to be a bully. He would just take wood, in spite of the laws, declaring: “*Lo statuto sono io*”, (I am the law). Nevertheless, on almost every occasion he had to repent.

The authority of the “*magnifico*” Venetian Capitano was less than that of a governor. He would have to do the accounts of the *Magnifica Comunità*, always be at the ready to defend the freedom of appropriate statutes, the freedom to name the most important offices (like the judge and the archdeacon), to impose the taxes, and to take benefit from the forests.

In the square of Pieve (exactly on the place where today rises the monument to Tiziano) we encounter the road which comes from Domegge, that which rises to the castle or descends towards Perarolo passing by the Arsenale, which goes toward Tai to join at Valle with the Regia road. The municipal palace of the *Comunità* is located at the intersection in Pieve.

In antiquity, the consiglio of the *Comunità* gathered in an old house located to the north of the church, just outside the enclosure of the cemetery. In the 14th century and again in 1439 their documents were kept in a chest with a double lock, placed in the same church. Consolidated autonomy, a growing population and businesses, there was a need for some type of “civic center”: a place for the gathering of the consiglio, for trials and sentencings, and for drawing up contracts. At the southwest corner of the square, near an old linden tree, was built a “*paveòn*”, a wooden shelter. Then the *paveòn* was enclosed on the sides with planks, given a floor, getting a “*stupa*”, a room with a stove. A large building all of wood.

In 1447, a stone room was constructed on the southern corner to preserve the maps: the *cancelleria*. Above the *cancelleria* four beams were arranged, in expectation of better times, where a bell would be placed. Built with stone, the *cancelleria* became a tower and next to the tower there was an open room, probably with a grand fireplace, where the consiglieri of the *Comunità* and the notaries would be able to warm their back and numb hands on those cold winter days: the “*caminata comunis*”.

In 1467, the decision was to knock down the old wooden “paveon” and construct, next to the tower of the *cancelleria*, a stone building that also served as the dwelling for the *guiudice* (vicario). On the ground floor a large open room, with gothic arches: the “*logia*” or “*sala inferiore*”, where they held proceedings, the notaries wrote their records, and the regolieri of Pieve had the opportunity to meet. On the upper floor a large room for the meetings of the consiglio.

The “*calchera*”, which is the lime kiln, were prepared in the fields of Bartolomeo Vecellio (a great-uncle of Tiziano). While the work was in progress the consiglio held its sessions in the church. In 1473 the two floors of the palace were almost finished, with a pavilion roof (“*in quadrangulo*”). They used 2,000 larch boards (not shingles), they thought to complete it with a stone fireplace, with the “*somassa*” and the external steps towards the square. The consiglio in the summer months met in the new room. But in the winter they still met in the nearby house of Nicolo Palatini.

Finally, in the winter of 1480 the “*stupa nova*” was ready. The teacher asked to hold school there, but the consiglio probably had fear that it would be ruined by the restless pupils and did not allow it. After some time the teacher won his way, when a resolution was passed 12 votes for and 9 against.

In 1476, overloading the top floor, the beams of the ceiling began to give way and they had to support it with a stone column at the center of the lower loggia. It was not finished. Meanwhile, on the lower level, they began to fill in some arches and place benches for the tribunal reserving a case for each official to place paper and pens. On the upper floor in 1485 a warehouse was built to place the crops of the *fontico*. The fontico had been instituted thirty years before to aid in the event of a shortage of grain. The Comunità, acquired supplies of grain from Friuli, Trevisana, Venice, or in the Tyrol and, in the event of a shortage, would resell it at a fixed price to the population.

They also completed the cancelleria, transferred to the second floor of the tower, where previously the bell was located, and in 1491 the tower rose again in order to accommodate the bell and a clock. Not all were in agreement with the addition of a clock, but it passed with 18 votes for and 12 votes against, stipulating it should be paid for and maintained at the expense of those who regularly use it, namely the inhabitants of Pieve. In 1492 a lion of San Marco was installed on the tower, to gild it they taxed two foreigners who had attained Cadornine citizenship: one was Vitale de Bonetto Roncalli of Bergamo, who resided in Lorenzago.

The warehouse for the harvest on the upper floor was not large enough, because in 1502 they began to construct a room on the ground floor and an area was added to the west. The new walls did not support the load and “*magister Manfeus*” was fined.

The Treasure of the People

In 1506, the rooms of the fontico had two iron doors and iron bars on the windows. Even the cancelleria, besides having one wooden door also had a robust iron door, which would withstand an attempted break in, to the great satisfaction of the consiglio, protective of their documents as a true treasure (“*thesaurus ac solamen Cadubrini populi*”).

It was inside this building Tiziano ran barefoot, playing with his contemporaries. However, in July 1509 the building was sacked and burned by the Germans. Except for the statutes, which were stolen, almost all the records were able to be saved (today the complete series of the deliberations of the 15th century still exist). In 1510 the consiglio gathered in the castle and then, for a decade, in rooms which they rented. It remained in a lurch while the wall of the tower and the “*caminata*”, was covered and used temporarily. They started over again, in 1513 fixing the roof of the tower and in 1518 the cancelleria and the new bell, cast on site. For the door of the cancelleria they need the work of Giacomo da Ros, three “*bregeh*” of larch, 3 of fir and hundreds of “*agudi*” (nails), besides the fabrication work for the locks and “*polesè*” (hinges). In the spring, other actions were necessary to demolish the precarious walls of the “*loza*” and to “*far neto*” (remove snow and rubble). In July the brother of Tiziano, who in Pieve was commonly called “*mistro Cecho depentòr*”, frescoed some coat of arms and “*misièr san*

Marco protetor nostro cum la figura della Madonna". However, money was lacking and for a period of ten years the project did not go forward. Finally in 1531, the task would proceed. Among the overseers of the project were, Antonio and Tiziano di Andrea Vecellio, respectively the uncle and cousin of the painter.

Rebuilt were the loggia on the ground floor, the "*stubba*" on the upper floor, with a study for the judge (1539), a bedroom and a fireplace for the residency of the same (1546), another fireplace (1533), a covered outside staircase and a lavatory. And, exactly like eighty years before the load of rooms on the upper floor made the attic bow, which had to be propped up by a column (1554). The furniture, with seats for the tribunal in the loggia and with cupboards for the cancelleria, was completed in 1560. On May 6, 1588 the building caught fire, by accident. Once again, the documents of the cancelleria were saved. Soon it was rebuilt (it is the actual building, but without the merlons and other artificial elements, introduced with the restorations in the last hundred years).

Overseeing the rebuilding was another Tiziano Vecellio, the cultured, rich, and influential cancelliere of the Comunità (it is this Tiziano who was called the Orator). The family of the painter, who died in 1576, was by now destroyed, without any further connection to Cadore. His son Pomponio, who ended his days in misery in Venice, sold the house in Pieve, in 1580.

On the Benches of School

Even Tiziano, as a young scholar, sat on the benches of the "*stuba nova*" in the hall of the Comunità, heavy with the scents of larch and fresh mortar, to learn the alphabet and numbers from the public teacher, "*a prima tabella usque ad latinum*"? As we have already seen, the father Gregorio did not follow traditions. The study of law and letters had been more agreeable to the other youth in the family.

The teacher was salaried by the Comunità with about fifty ducats a year (but the local teacher was paid less); a portion was paid in part by the families. This stipend was almost equal to that paid the doctor. A doctor and teacher were also sought after by the Comunità of Udine, Venzona, and Padova. For some years, towards the end of the century, Zangiacomo Flumiani of Udine was the teacher, then a certain friar Giuliano, then Pietro Castagna of Milan, Nicolo della Granza, and a priest Antonio Costantini. The scholastic year started around October 10 and ended in March, or began in March and ended in the summer. There was also the case of a certain teacher Cristoforo, dismissed in 1502 because, it was said by all, the students did not learn and they wasted their time.

At the school in Pieve, Tiziano learned enough to make himself understood in writing and to keep his accounts. This came into play in the commerce of lumber, which he practiced for many years along with painting, in relations with the "greats" of the world, who commissioned him to create paintings for them but were late in making payments, and with the Comunità di Cadore, to which Tiziano lent, on several occasions, hundreds of ducats, repaid with interest in 1563.

In the latter years of his life (*“l’eta mia non lascia che io parli”*) Tiziano grasped the pen to write several lines in his own hand to the *“molto magnificia Comunità”* di Cadore. A heartfelt letter, written *“con gran passione di cuor”* (‘with great passion from the heart’), and a hard admonishment to his fellow citizens.

He, the painter, loved his dear homeland *“et cercato d’honorarla sempre et favorire le cose sue”*. In the new younger generation who now has the reins of the Consiglio it seems to be instead someone that: *“forse desidera la roina di quella magnifica Comunità”* e ciò *“è giudicata malissima cosa da chi ha intelletto. Non haverei già mai creduto di ricevere in ricompensa...”*. (‘perhaps you want the downfall of the Magnificent Comunità’) and (‘it is judged a vile thing by those who have intellect. I have never thought of receiving a reward...’)

Tiziano, was embittered by his fellow citizens. What do they, the youth, know of the favors he has done several times, both sought after and not sought after? They have not heard the words *“from those who were alive at that time?”*. However, those who sat with him on the benches of the school, many years ago are today no longer around. Even the son of the painter’s sister, was tainting the delicate jurisdictional relationship between the Venetian capitano and the consiglio of the Comunità. The old Tiziano had something to teach them: *“per quello vero amore che ho portato e porto a quella Magnificà Comunità, che ciascuno di voi voglia mettere amorevolmente da canto gli interessi particolari et private, et attender solo ognuno a le cose de la quiete, pace et beneficio pubblico...”*.

The Church of the Archdiocese

Between the hall of the Comunità and the church passes the main street towards Tai, skirting the wall of the *“cortina”*, the cemetery, and stretching toward the brook (today underground) which descends to Pozzale. Not far from there had to be a fountain, recorded in a 1504 document along with the *“necessarius”*, that is to say the public latrine.

From the main entrance of the *cortina*, to the west, there had to be an embankment with a narrow stairway, passing between the tombs one arrives at the main door of the church. Reconstructed in a gothic style in the second half of the fifteenth century, the church probably did not suffer severe damages during the invasion of 1509 (it remained almost unaltered until the end of the eighteenth century, when it was demolished to make the larger, current structure. The new church was dedicated to the Madonna, but the old church may have been named for the Saints Peter and Andrew, to whom the first Cadorine church, at Montericco was dedicated. It has an usual orientation (the choir towards the east); the cemetery extends mainly to the northwest side. The portal, which originally had to be rather simple and may have been made of wood, in 1578 was reconstructed with two columns and figures sculpted in white marble.

The interior presents us with a single nave with four spans, 16 meters long and 7 meters wide with the choir and several chapels. Under the floor are numerous tombs. Above the main door, there was the choir stall and organ, built in 1544 maybe by Vincenzo Colombo (the small door with the Annunciation and the Saints Peter and Paul were later painted by Cesare Vecellio). Supervising the construction of the organ had been the painters Francesco Vecellio and Michele Jacobi.

Against the walls of the nave, there were four altars. The first, to the right, was dedicated to San Nicolò da Tolentino, whose devotion was promoted in 1504 by the Veneto capitano and a special brotherhood. Later a second altar and the southern side door opened to a small chapel with two windows, belonging to the Genova family. Above the altar was a painting (which still exists) with a Madonna, San Rocco and San Sebastiano, possibly a work by a youthful Tiziano or his brother Francesco.

The choir, rather small, opens with an arch at the base of which there are two small pulpits. It was probably an iconostasis, formed by a beam of carved wood, above which there was a crucifix, and which hung some lamp and fabric. The choir had three windows (the one to the south was closed, in 1664, when the new sacristy was built).

The large wooden altar was carved, “*dorato dall’ alto al basso*” (gilded from top to bottom). It was constructed at Bressanone around 1497 and paid for with the consent of all of the villages of the parish. In the center there are statues of the Madonna and the Saints Peter and Paul, to the side are other statues and small doors painted on both sides representing the patron saints and evangelical scenes (The Annunciation, the Nativity, the Circumcision and, the Adoration of the Magi; the so-called “*tavole fiamminghe*”, which still exists). All of the cornices, spires, and embroidery are carved and gilded.

In the wall there was a tabernacle, of carved stone (but in 1566 it was rather neglected), it was replaced by a wooden one placed on the altar. From the choir one enters the sacristy, which proceeds to the base of the bell tower. This was situated to the north, close to the church and was reconstructed in 1533 by a master builder from Brunico. The sacristy was damp and from there prevailed a bit of confusion: in addition to the furnishings there was a chest containing the documents of the regola of Pieve and from here they would ring the bells (“*indecentia manga!*”, wrote ecclesiastic visitors).

The Frescos of Tiziano

In 1565 the fellow citizens of Pieve entrusted 200 ducats to Tiziano, for a commission to fresco the choir. Tiziano probably executed the outline while students and especially Cesare Vecellio, executed the fresco a year later. On the right wall, the Annunciation was represented, on the left the Nativity, on the vault between the ribs, are the Evangelists, festooned with flowers, fruit and other decorations. On the outside of the arches were represented eight prophets and respectively to the right and the left, The Adoration and Saint John the Evangelist.

In the choir stall, adorned by leather arabesques, were the places for the priests. The first was for the parish priest of Pieve, then a distinguished place for the archdeacon (it could be any one of the parish priests), then the parish priest of Santo Stefano, and one by one for the other parish priests and parsons, “according to the age of their church”. In the choir there were also positioned, to the right the capitano (the representative of the Venetian Republic), to the left the judges; during important festivals the deacon incensed them and offered them “peace” and the Missal for the kiss of the Gospel.

Outside the choir, from the side of the gospel there was a small statuette of the Pietà. Then, on the north side, opens the aristocratic chapel of the Palatini family, another old and illustrious family from Pieve. On the altar was a painting of the Madonna, San Giacomo (or San Antonio Abate) and San Giovanni the Evangelist (attributed by some to Tiziano, it is today lost).

Immediately following is the Vecellio family chapel, with their tombs and altar dedicated to San Tiziano. Built a little before 1380 at the wish of Graziano da Ospitale, it was somewhat low, obscure and irregular (an 18th century description indicated “*può chiamarsi sfondo piuttosto che capella*”, It can be called background rather than chapel.) For this chapel Tiziano painted a small altarpiece (still in existence) representing the Madonna, San Tiziano, Sant’ Andrea and a self-portrait. On the day of the feast of San Tiziano (January 16) the family customarily made a charitable donation: Tiziano mentioned this himself in a letter of 1560. Here, with his family, is where the painter wanted to be buried, unfortunately he was buried in the Church of Frari in Venice.

Outside the chapel, on the wall of the nave, there is the altar of the Trinity (with a carved altarpiece). This also was the patronage of a Vecellio, having been built in testament of Bortolo Vecellio, who died in 1398. It was then an altar with a crucifix used in processions, above which was placed, in 1584, a large painting by Cesare Vecellio depicting the Last Supper. A door between the two altars enters into a small room that served as a storeroom and maybe, at one time, it was the site of the meeting of the Battuti.

At the back of the church, on the north wall, is the chapel of Saint John the Baptist, with the baptistery. It was a frescoed chapel and very old, probably existing before the other parts of the church (in the 18th century it is noted that there were “*diverse intonacature pur anco colorite una sopra l’altra, dal che si può dedurre la di lei antichità nell’essere stata molte fiate ritabilita e ristaurata*”). On the altar, is a painting probably of German origin. Tiziano was also baptized in this old parish baptismal chapel.

On upper floor of the chapel, between the bell tower and the façade, there was the church of San Michele. It belonged to the Brotherhood of the Battuti, where they held their reunions and dispensed, “from the balcony facing towards the cemetery the bread on the Wednesday of Rogation Days”. This old church had a fresco of Saint Christopher and Saint Michael, dated 1483 or 1484 and the signature of the painter Antonio Rossoda Tai (the painter, according to local tradition is considered to have been the teacher of Tiziano, even if the critics do not agree).

The old archidiaconal church with the attached chapel (except the wall towards the bell tower) was demolished in 1765 to construct a new one, designed by Domenico Schiavi di Tolmezzo. Nevertheless, for many years the choir with the frescos was called, “the Choir of Tiziano”, it was left standing. The architect Sebastiano Boni proposed in 1812 to save it as a vestibule to the church, building the new choir on the other side. However, in the end the choir was demolished, in the name of progress.

Fairs, Doctors, Miracles

Colors and sounds, familiar and different, abounded in the childhood village of Tiziano. Amid the white walls of the archidiaconal church resounded the old melodies “*patriarchine*” and more recently the hymns introduced by the Battuti. Under the blackened beams of the “*padiglione*” inflamed discussions in the Cadorine dialect mixed in with that of the Veneto. In the morning, along village roads were heard the sound of the horn advising one the goats from the domestic stalls would be released to the herdsman.

During festival and holy days (Palm Sunday, Saint Peter, Saint Mary of September, Saint Michael, and San Martino) they would organize bow-shooting contests (with prizes of 6 to 13 lire, or the target). The lance and bow were armaments every Cadorino had a right to carry in public. The square was animated with performers (“pan pipers” or “flautists”, but in 1501 they became prohibited, it was not known what effect playing in public places would have). It was animated with foreign voices, of “*fachini et merzarii*”, of “*artifices theotonicii*”, fruit retailers with in season products (“apples, peaches, grapes, chestnuts, walnuts), which in 1498 were sold “by eye” and not by weight. In the inns or even in the square under the control of the jurymen (the wine had been a kind of monopoly of the feudal landlords), they tapped the barrels brought in from the plains: the “*trevisanum*”, or the “*ribosum*”, the “*vinum de Bassano*” or the “*navigatum*”. Then in the good vintage year of 1497, the sweet and mature “*vinum terranum*” and “*garbum*”. Besides wine, other products were subject to public control, the sale of bread (that of wheat of 8 ounces, that of rye of 12), meat (in Pieve there was a public butcher shop), oil, cheese, honey, cloth “*de lana nostrana*”. In 1520, the Comunità tried to restrain the speculation of the pub keepers and the wealthy families. It is not known how effective this was, in part because the burden for the acquisition of a series of *stadere* (sacles), was carried from village to village by the jurymen. Hunger, even in the years of scarcity, did not seem to have been cause for revolt.

Instead, the shouts were reserved for when there was a marriage, with a dance and the custom of the “*serragium*”, that is to say the street was blocked with the processional obliged to pay a kind of toll. And, some whisper about the professionalism of the doctor, salaried by the Comunità, the surgeon or the family doctor. In 1499 there is a certain Giovanni Maria, “*qui fuit hebreus*” (“he was Hebrew”). Some years later, another doctor was admonished because he kept an inn, and Simone da Tolmezzo became undermined by the competition of a Bellunese doctor who pledged, in addition, to open a pharmacy.

However the doctor was powerless before the plague, in its various manifestations. In these cases, it was agreed to place their trust in the saints, closed the passes and adopt other precautions. To avoid infections, in August of 1450 even the consiglio of the Comunità gathered in the open, maintaining a distance between each other, in the garden of Bartolomeo Genova. Dangerous infections reappeared again in 1465, 1466, 1468, 1497, 1513, and 1515.

For the unfortunate, the poor, the sick, and the insane, there was a hospice on the road between Pieve and Tai, near the field where the German invaders encamped in February of 1508. The “*Ca di Dio*” is a large house managed by the Brotherhood of the Scuola dei Battuti of Pieve. It had income from the fields and meadows throughout Cadore, left from testators or acquired

with lifelong contracts: old or sick people would surrender all of their possessions in exchange for assistance. Matteo Palatini (whom we have already met in Zoldo and a Zoppe) thought of the hospice of Saint Antonio in his will of 1528. Thanks to him, we have some news about the Hospice: a large room on the ground floor that serves as a dormitory, with two external doors and two windows facing the road. Matteo is worried about the cost of remaking the locks for the windows and doors, the cost of couches instead of straw bedding, and that the fireplace, with the chimney, was constructed at the center of the room.

A little beyond the hospice and its church, in the field of Valcalda, in 1540 a miracle cried out. While the country people were plowing the field, an ox bent down on its knees and would no longer plow. They dug down and brought to light a large wooden crucifix, that was soon taken and venerated in the church of the hospice, from then on it has become a destination of pilgrimage, all the more fervent in an era of religious crisis and in an area not far from Germany.

“Mistro Culau Murador de Carga”

From the square of Pieve the road descends towards the Northeast, cutting outside the houses of Calalzo, to connect the other villages of Cadore or proceed to the Carnia. Even this road was marked by arches, churches, fountains, and inns. The first church you will find is about a mile from Pieve, across the stream of Orsina. Here, since 1426 there was an arch and a “*porto*”, one of the many stopping places while transporting lumber. This station, in 1464, replaced the Arsenal of Pieve. Some ten years later the arch, which in 1471 had been frescoed a “*Maiestas*”, was replaced by a church dedicated to the Body of Christ and to Saint Francis. In the acts of endowment to the church we find the names of Matteo Palatini and Vecellio.

Many churches were built in Cadore between the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, before and after the violence of the German invasions. Many in large part come to us with austere lines even Gothic, in their solid and elegant simplicity. More or less recent foolish desires to embellish and restore them have in part tainted them, beginning with that of Orsina, where during this century the few and artless interior decorations and frescos have been covered and the plastered, whitewashed exterior has been enlivened with a reddish-orange tint.

In Lozzo towards 1460 and then in 1492, Valle in 1462, Domegge in 1463, Lorenzago in 1469 and again in 1487 and 1498, Caralte and Auronzo in 1472, San Nicolò in 1473-1475, Santo Stefano from 1478 and 1484, Calalzo in the years from 1481 to 1494, Pozzale in 1484-1487, Danta in 1486-1487, Casamazzagno in 1491, Vodo in 1499, Candide in 1502, these communities thought to build or repair their churches or bell towers. There are relief works, for which the local workers were not capable of completing. Already in 1492 appears the name of an “*alemannus*” rooted in Carnia: “*magister Ruopellus murator*”. In San Nicolo of Comelico worked “*magister Zuane de Chomo*” and Gianfrancesco da Tolmezzo who signed the frescos of that church in 1482. The frescos of Domegge, in 1478, were the work of Domenico da Tolmezzo. In the first years of the Sixteenth century in Vinigo and Pelos worked an unknown painter from Belluno, “*Iosepho da Civald*”.

But the great architect of the reconstruction of the Cadore churches (and not only churches) after the Cambri Wars, during the first half of the Sixteenth century, was Nicolo Ruopel, of Canale di San Canziano. The Madonna della Molina (1510-1515), San Leonardo di Grea (rearranged in 1536), Sant' Antonio di Laggio, the Difensa di Vigo (1512), Sant' Antonio di Candide (1538), San Leonardo di Casamazzagno (1545), Santa Caterina di Auronzo (1553), and still other buildings, although today either transformed or destroyed were built with mortar, stones and "tufi" worked by "*Culau q. Ruopel murador de Cargna*" and his associates and workmen. And with them, maybe a partnership, with a painter who decorated the modest arabesques and geometric figures, the vaults, the outlines of the windows, the *marca-angoli*, some fascia and cornices.

Nebbiù had a beautiful polyptych painted by Antonio Rosso (sold a hundred years ago and ending up in a Paris museum). For the niche of the altar of Vigo, Domenico da Tolmezzo, around 1492 carved a San Martino on a horse, which was stolen in 1963. Vittore Carpaccio, in 1519, completed a polyptych for the church of Pozzale (stolen and recovered some ten years later). For the altarpiece of the church of San Biagio the Calaltini, in 1566, turned to the studio of Tiziano.

Other wooden altarpieces were commissioned in those years by a "*giurati*" of the churches, which pledged large sums. In February 1525 "*mistro Nicholò depentor abitante in la tera de Bornichi*" made a contract with the marigo and other representatives of the community of Lorenzago for an altarpiece with its "*portele*" and their "*fegure indurate*", for a price of 200 ducats. Twenty-two years later in 1547, Lorenzago turned to Francesco Vecellio for a banner. The compensation also included a lot of timber.

From the Molinà to the Hermitage of Auronzo

Not only were lumber, wine and grains transported along the roads of Cadore. Together with merchants frequently coming and going, from North to South and from the Carnia to the Tyrol, there were also master builders, carvers and painters. After the "*porto*" of Orsina the road descends toward the stream of Molinà. The bridge was watched over by "*un capitello*", near which in the years of the war of 1508 miracles had been reported. Here then was constructed, on the precipice of the stream, a church with a hermitage. Here also, next to the Madonna delle Grazie, a grieving Santa Apollonia.

The out-of-date bridge, from where a path arduously rises to the slopes of Grea, the cart way proceeds conveniently towards the village and the church of Vallesella (San Vigilio), which had ties with the canon of Trento because of an old legacy. Here also is a work by Francesco Vecellio, as in the church of San Rocco, a little before Domegge, near the hospice of the Battuti (the house, with a fresco on the facade still exists today).

The parish church of San Giorgio di Domegge, surrounded by the cemetery, rises on a hill downstream from the houses. There were also wealthy homes, like those of the Barnabo, but at the end of the Fifteenth century, the poor sacristan lived with his wife and children in a hovel inside the bell tower. Between Domegge and Lozzo another *altariolo*, at the "*porto*" of Val de Cros. Another restless brook, and little else, the church of San Lorenzo, surrounded by the old

“cortina” (the site is today disrespectfully shabby). After Lozzo and its’ chiusa, rebuilt in 1494 in stone, other bridges over the Piave, were all of wood and covered.

A very old road leads to the east, crossing the Piave and the stream of the Piova , towards the convenient mountain pass, Mauria. Crossing through Pelos and Lorenzago, with the church of Sant’ Ermagora, surrounded by the cemetery and officiated by a Chaplin selected by the people.

Another church with a portico rises at the end of the village, not far from an old house of the Battuti, before the climb towards the pass. It was constructed as a vow on the site where notable Cadorini secretly met with the army of Savorgnan in February of 1508. In this church, dedicated to the Madonna della Defense, the suffering of so many men and women sought comfort in the frescoed and carved figures of the Saints Rocco, Sebastian, Lucia, Caterina, Apollonia, Maddalena, Elisabetta...

Opposite Lorenzago, across the Piova, is the village of Vigo and the more populated Laggio. At the service of less than 1,000 souls are located a good seven churches. And on the plain of Salagona, in the middle of square fields and meadows is the old Santa Margherita, entirely frescoed with figures of the Apostles, a rough San Cristoforo, Biblical scenes depicting the life of the holy martyr. In the crowded center of Vigo is a pleasing chapel wanted and gifted, in 1345, by Ainardo da Vigo and entirely frescoed a few years later with scenes from the life of Saint Orsola. Ainardo, a land owner in Cadore but with business affairs also in Serravalle and Carnia, died in Serravalle when the mortar of the chapel was still fresh, leaving a young wife who remarried a certain Pandolfo da Lienz. At the time of Tiziano the chapel had income, besides being able to maintain a priest it was also able to commission Michele Parth to complete a beautiful carved and gilded altarpiece.

The third church (but the most important) was the parish church of San Martino, encircled by a cemetery. Scarcely outside the fence there was the “*rovol*” (the secular tree which was felled around 1863). On the inside of the church is the wooden altarpiece by Domenico da Tolmezzo.

There is also a panel with the figure of the patron and the saints Candido and Maurizio. These two saints are remembered in a particular devotion: almost every year some of the Cadorine villages would go on a pilgrimage to the collegiate church of San Candido in Pusteria.

When the soldiers of Maximillian invaded Cadore, the people of Vigo took a vote and wanted a fourth church, dedicated to the Madonna of Defense, built next to the parish church. An ingenuous artist (the Friulano Pietro Foluto?) painted a fresco of the Resurrection and the scene of the vote, with the parish priest and the men of Vigo kneeling before the altar.

The fifth church, San Daniele in Monte, placed on a cliff on the side of Tudaio, which dominates the valley of Auronzo and from here, one would be able to control and signal danger. The Ansiei Valley begins somewhat difficult, first, it opens with ample meadows, forests and pastures under the rocks. Higher up, at the top of the valley, is the forest of San Marco, reserved for the navy yards. The Venetian Capitano banished, the Comunità made an act of donation in

1463, the men of the various centenaries would transport timbers from port to port. In Auronzo, there were lead and silver mines, which in 1497 had been leased to a certain "*Georgio Lingolzer alemano*". Francesco Vecellio also had business interests in the mines and the forests of Auronzo and after his death his brother Tiziano had to liquidate them. In these same years, although the cases were rare in Cadore, in Auronzo they were suspected of heresy: it was investigated by a certain Giacomo Rizzardi, who practiced in Germany.

At the beginning of the village was a hermitage already recorded in the first years of the Fifteenth century, with the church of Santa Caterina built by Nicolò Ruopel in 1533. It was the site of stoppage for the Comeliani, before beginning the ascent of Monte Zovo. The Comelico is reached with great difficulty by this road; by the ravine of the Piave between Cima Gogna and Santo Stefano, where there was a very bad pathway.

A Valley Almost Primordial

From the meadows of Monte Zoldo the Comelico appears with its rich pastures and forests, dotted with clearings with "*tabià*" and villages half way up the mountain. The houses were entirely of wood: those of Comelico Superiore were reconstructed with the churches after the plundering and the fires set by the Germans in the spring of 1508. From Monte Zovo a road reaches Danta and then descends to Santo Stefano. Another turns to the left for the forest under the Aiarnola, and arrives in Padola and proceeds toward the pass of Monte Croce and the Pusteria.

Even in the new church of Danta, a village which only recently acquired a legal aspect with its own "*regola*" (the first statutes were in 1575), there was a beautiful altarpiece by Francesco Vecellio. And the other Vecellio's (Tommaso, Marco, and Cesare) had been commissioned in almost every village in this isolated and harsh valley, and even more coarse in its dialect.

Towards the beginning of the Sixteenth century, the forests near Perarolo and along the course of the Piave are depleted, and the forests of the Comelico become of great value. Old "*vizze*" were confirmed (like that of 1327 above Casamazzagno, confirmed in 1512) and renewed. Along the stream at Pàdola, in 1521, there was already a "*stua*", a damn made of wood. The basin of water would be emptied to flood and carry the logs which were stored in the valley. The "*stua*" of Padola (many times rebuilt of wood, and in 1819, in stone, which even today endures) in the early Sixteenth century it belonged to various members, Comelicesi and foreign merchants.

In 1521, Dosoledo wanted an "*unam pulchram ecclesiam*" dedicated to San Rocco and, by order of the parish priest, to the saint of his name, Osvaldo. The family Zandonella dall'Aquila was in fact from Dosoledo, which from 1509 gave a series of priests to the parish of Santo Stefano, covering all of the Comelico. The wealthy family, like others, had emerged with commerce in corn and lumber.

At Candide there was an old cemetery in a prominent position, with two churches both recently rebuilt: Santa Maria, with the bell tower and a portico on the façade, and Sant'Antonio

Abate. Less than a mile, further up the ridge, is the church of San Leonardo. It was rebuilt by the same master builder Nicolo Ruopel. The churches, dependent on the parish of Santo Stefano, did not have their own priest. At the beginning of the Thirteenth century, under the portico of Santa Maria, the “*regolieri*” of the villages of Comelico Superiore, had already placed into writing, their customs, and their “*laudi*” were revised many times during the course of the Fourteenth century. In February of 1527 the *regolieri* governed the forest workers, already an organized collective; in 1540 they approved the inalienability of the shares of pastoral associations which were numerous “*Ultramontani Alemanni*” (in German hands was the inn of Pàdola and other activities).

Toward the valley, beyond the stream and some hills, are other houses with the church of San Nicolò signed by Zuanne da Como and Gianfrancesco da Tolmezzo, who there frescoed the Annunciation, the Nativity, the Adoration of the Magi, the Apostle, and the fathers of the church San Giorgio and San Martino.

On the plain, of the valley bottom, at the confluence of the Piave and the Pàdola, which transports the logs, is the parish church of Santo Stefano, surrounded by a cemetery. The church was reconstructed in 1478. Towards the source of the Piave, beyond the houses of Campolongo and the cemetery of San Pietro, are other small fields of rye, meadows, and forests. Towards Sappada, where the descendants of old German miners lived, is the road of Acquafredda and the Frisòn which leads to the Carnia. At the top there are the paths that, from the villages of Comelico Inferiore, lead to Visdende: a primordial pasture. It was a long time before the lumber merchants arrived here and designed “*stue*” along the canals. In the second half of the Sixteenth century even in Visdende there was an inn, which the “*marigo*” of San Pietro wanted to close because it was a disorderly place.

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Figure 1. Danta, the parish church. An angel musician, detail of the altarpiece attributed to Francesco Vecellio (1475-1559).



Figure 2. Map of Cadore in the volume of *Arte militare...*, Venice 1599 (G. Fabbiani. *Incisioni interessanti Il Cadore*, 1969).



Figure 3. Pieve, the church of the archdiocese. The Madonna feeding the Child between Saints Tiziano and Andrew. Painted by Tiziano around 1560, his self-portrait (on the left).



Figure 4. Mount Pelmo surrounded by pastures, meadows and forests of the old property of the Regolieri of Vodo, Borca, and San Vito as far as the Zoldo Valley.



Figure 5. The house of Tiziano in Pieve di Cadore, a drawing of 1760 (G.B. Cadorin, *Dello amore ai Veneziani...*, 1883).



Figure 6. Pieve, the church of the archdiocese. *La Circoncisione*, a painting for the old main altar done by Bressanone around 1497.



Figure 7. Pieve, a fresco on the inside wall of the fifteenth century palace Vallanzasca-Policardi, today Sampieri.



Figure 8. Vigo, the church of the Madonna of the Defense. The castle of Pieve is in the background of this devotional scene.



Figure 9. *La battaglia di Cadore* (The Battle of Cadore) by Tiziano in a drawing by Fontana (J. Gilbert, *Cadore of Titian's Country*, 1869). For the fame of the painter and his origins, the large painting of Tiziano came to be interpreted as a celebration of the victory of the Cadorini in 1508 over the soldiers of Maximillian of Austria. The painting was destroyed in the Ducal Palace fire of 1577.



Figure 10. Pieve, the church of the archdiocese. Saint Andrew, detail of the painting by Tiziano. Tradition states in the face of the saint, the painter depicted his brother Francesco, who with him studied and worked in Venice but , “eager to see new things”, he opted for a military adventure and unsuccessful enterprises in Cadore.



Figure 11. Cortina d'Ampezzo, the church of Campo. The altar and cabinet doors were the work of Nicolo da Runico, now in the church of Santa Caterina.



Figure 12. Cortina d'Ampezzo, the church of Campo. The martyrdom of Saint Catherine (detail of the altar and cabinet doors).



Figure 13. Cortina d'Ampezzo, Cassa rurale. A fresco representing the sibyls, taken from an old house in the center of the city.



Figure 14. Cortina d'Ampezzo, Cassa rurale. Detail of the lions crouched at the feet of the sibyls.



Figure 15. Cortina d'Ampezzo, in the locality of Ospitale. The church of the old hospice built along the Regia road that leads to the Tyrol.



Figure 16. San Vito, the parish church. The painting over the main altar, with the Madonna and the Saints Vito, Floriano, Giovanni Battista and Ermagora. It is dated and signed "F(ranciscus) V(ecellius) P(INXIT) M.DXXIII".



Figure 17. San Vito, the Church of the Defense. A fresco with scenes of the war between the Germans and the Venetians.



Figure 18. The “*Cortina*” (courtyard) of the parish church of San Vito, where the cemetery is a short distance from the small square, along the road of Alemagna. On a wall incorporated into the 17th century church is the remains of an old fresco of Saint Christopher.



Figure 19. San Vito, the Church of the Defense, the vaulted ceiling of the choir constructed next to the parish church around 1490 and has remained intact during the following centuries.



Figure 20. San Vito, the Church of the Defense. A detail of the fresco by the artist Tolmezzino representing the battle between the armies of the Venetians and the Germans.



Figure 21. San Vito, the Church of the Defense. A detail of the altarpiece by Francesco Vecellio.

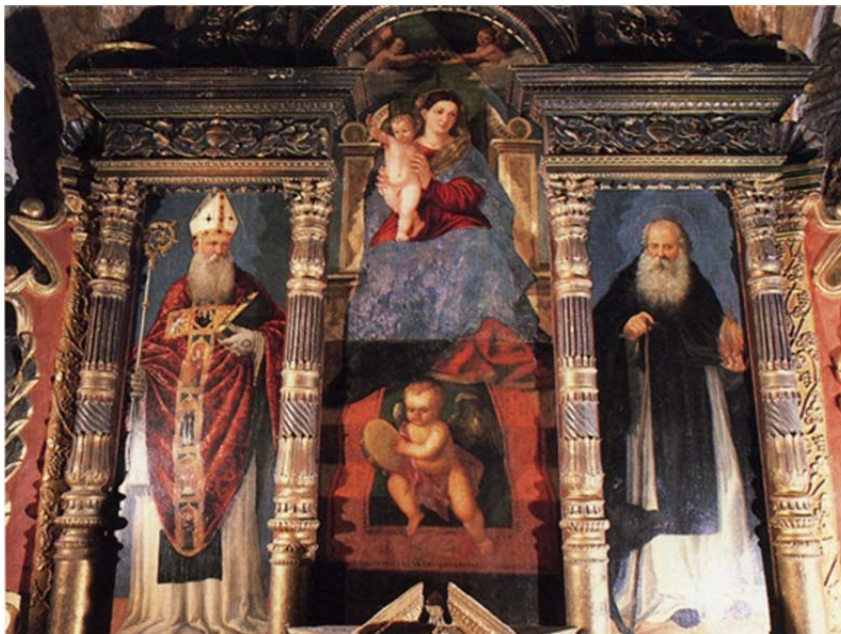


Figure 22. San Vito, the Church of the Defense. The altarpiece with the Madonna and the Saints Ermagora and Antonio Abate, painted by Francesco Vecellio. The feast of Saint Ermagora, patron saint of the Diocese of Aquilia, was solemnly celebrated in all of Cadore.



Figure 23. Selva, the parish church of San Lorenzo. An altarpiece with the patron saints, signed by Antonio Rosso of Tai (circa 1440-1510).



Figure 24. Selva, the parish church. A fresco from 1544 with scenes from the life of San Lorenzo, prophets, and other saints.



Figure 25. Zoppe, the parish church. The altar of the Madonna, Sant' Anna and San Matteo was placed a little after 1528 in the small isolated village on the border with Aoldo. The painting, which locals attribute to Tiziano, was ruined during the French invasion of 1797 and was successfully restored.



Figure 26. Vinigo, chiesa curaziale. Madonna with Child, Santa Margherita and Sant' Antonio Abate, the work of Cesare Vecellio (1521-1601), cousin and pupil of Tiziano.



Figure 27. Vinigo, chiesa curaziale. Detail of the altarpiece painted by Cesare Vecellio. The dragon on the leash of Santa Margherita, the boar of San' Antonio and the upside down staff records the triumph over illnesses.



Figure 28. Vinigo, chiesa curaziale. Detail of the altar piece of the main altar attributed to Francesco Vecellio, damaged by cuts and restorations.



Figure 29. Cibiana, the parish church. A poorly restored 16th-century triptych, formerly in the old church.



Figure 30. Venas, the parish church. Details of the polyptych attributed to Francesco Vecellio. It was in the old church of San Marco



Figure 31. Venas, the parish church. Details of the polyptych.



Figure 32. Valle, the parish church of San Martino. An angel musician, a detail of a sixteenth-century altarpiece attributed to Francesco of Milan.



Figure 33. Valle, the parish church of San Marco. Another detail with the Saints Fabiano and Rocco.



Figure 34. Valle, the Piloni palace. Situated in the district of Costa near the Regia road and the church of Spirito Santo where in July 1420 they decided to dedicate themselves to Venice. (G. Palatini, *Case Cadorine*, 1932).



Figure 35. The bridge of Rualàn, above a large gorge in a stretch of the Regia road that descends from Valle to Perarolo.



Figure 36. Perarolo, the “*Ciodolo*” on the Boite as it was at the beginning of the Nineteenth century (G. Fabbiani, *Appunti per una storia del legname*, 1959).



Figure 37. Ospitale. An elegant 15th century mullioned window of the hospice on the Regia road, or most certainly the house of a lumber merchant (G. Palatini, *Casa Cadore*, 1932).



Figure 38. Pieve, the archdeaconate church. Saint Michael weighs the spirits.



Figure 39. Pieve, the vicinity of Damos. The sixteenth century church of Saint Andrea along the old "*Cavallera*".



Figure 40. Pieve, the vicinity of Damos. The fresco of the 14th century chapel, incorporated into the church of Saint Andrea.



Figure 41. Pozzale, the parish church. A polyptych by Vittore Carpaccio. It was stolen and then recovered.



Figure 42. An angel musician, detail of the polyptych signed by Vittore Carpaccio and dated 1519.



Figure 43. Detail of a 15th century house in Domegge (G. Palatini, *Casa Cadorine*, 1932).



Figure 44. Nebbiù the parish church. Painting which came from the church of the hospice of San Antonio. It is the work of Marco Tiziano (1545-1611), second cousin and pupil of Tiziano



Figure 45. Domegge, the church of San Rocco. Detail of a painting by Francesco Vecellio.



Figure 46. Domegge, detail of the Barnabo house, today the “Serenissima” bar (G. Palatini, *Casacadorine*, 1932).

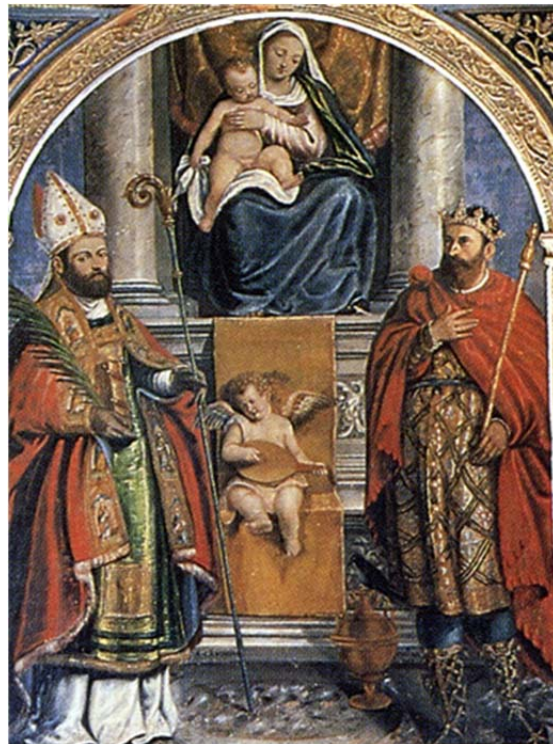


Figure 47. Tai, the parish church. Painting with the Madonna and the Saints Candido and Osvalso, is the work of Cesare Vecellio.



Figure 48. Pieve, the archdiocese church. The Annunciation painted on one of the small doors of the old main altar, built by Bressanone around 1497.



Figure 49. Detail of the Annunciation.



Figure 50. Pieve, the church of the archdiocese. Painting formerly in the noble chapel of the Genova family.



Figure 51. Detail of the Genova painting attributed to the first years of Tiziano or his brother Francesco.



Figure 52. Pieve, the church of the archdiocese. Detail of the altar piece painted by Tiziano for the Vecellio family chapel. In the face of the bishop San Tiziano the tradition of recognizing the features of Pompiano, the son of the painter.



Figure 53. Pieve, the church of the archdiocese. San Michele judge of the spirit of Santa Caterina d'Alessandria, over one door of the old, main altar.



Figure 54. Vallesella, the parish church. Madonna on the throne with Saints Rocco and Sebastiano, attributed to Francesco Vecellio.



Figure 55. Detail of the altar piece: San Sebastiano, pierced by arrows.



Figure 56. Domegge, the church of San Rocco. An altar piece with the Madonna and Saints, by Francesco Vecellio.



Figure 57. Detail of the altar piece: San Sebastiano. The church was attached to a hospice managed by the brotherhood of the Battuti.



Figure 58. Domegge, the church of San Rocco. Detail of the altar piece.



Figure 59. Calalzo, the church of San Francesco d'Orsina, constructed in 1512 near a "port" for lumber.



Figure 60. Grea, the church of San Leonardo, constructed at the end of the Fourteenth century and renovated in the later centuries.



Figure 61. Grea, interior of the church of San Leonardo, work of Nicolo Ruopel.



Figure 62. Grea, the church of San Leonardo. A fresco on the internal wall (by an unknown Friulano painter).



Figure 63. Auronzo, the church of Santa Caterina, reconstructed near an old hermitage by Nicolo Ruopel towards 1553. Architectural details.



Figure 64. Auronzo, the church of Santa Caterina. The vault of the ceiling with the original decorations.



Figure 65. Auronzo, architectural details and façade of the church of Santa Caterina. The two pilasters of the portico of the façade were constructed in the Sixteenth century.



Figure 66. Domegge, the church of the Madonna delle Grazie near the bridge over the Molina. Built at the beginning of the Fifteenth century by Nicolo Ruopel, following a vow made at the time of the German invasion.



Figure 66. Lozzo, the church of the Madonna di Loreto. It was built near the *chiusa*, a confined path along the old Roman road on the precipice of the Piave.



Figure 68. San Martino and the poor man, a statue of wood, sculpted by Domenico da Tolezzo, for the parish of Vigo around 1492. It was stolen from the church of Pelos in October 1963 (G. Fabbiani, *Chiese del Cadore*, 1964.)



Figure 69. Vigo, the ceiling vault of the church of the Difesa, constructed in 1512 by Nicolo Ruopel. It is among the few that still has its original decorations.



Figure 70. Vigo, the church of the Difesa. *The Resurrection*, a fresco above the choir, by a Carnic artist.

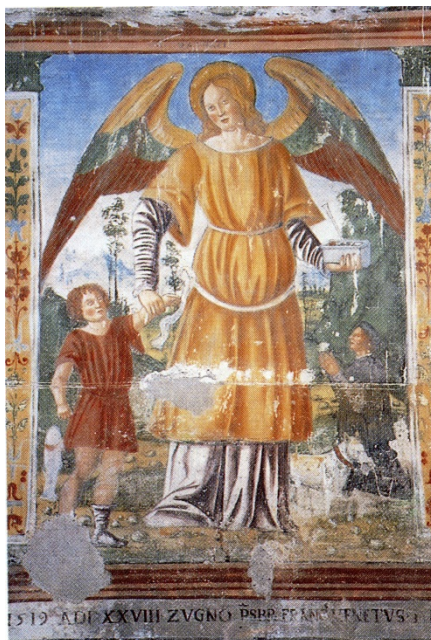


Figure 71. Vigo, the church of the Difesa. The angel accompanying Tobio. Fresco dated 1519 with the figure of the client priest.



Figure 72. Lorenzago, the church of the Difesa. Santa Maria Maddelena, detail of the fresco bu the Friulano painter Pietro da San Vito (C. 1517).

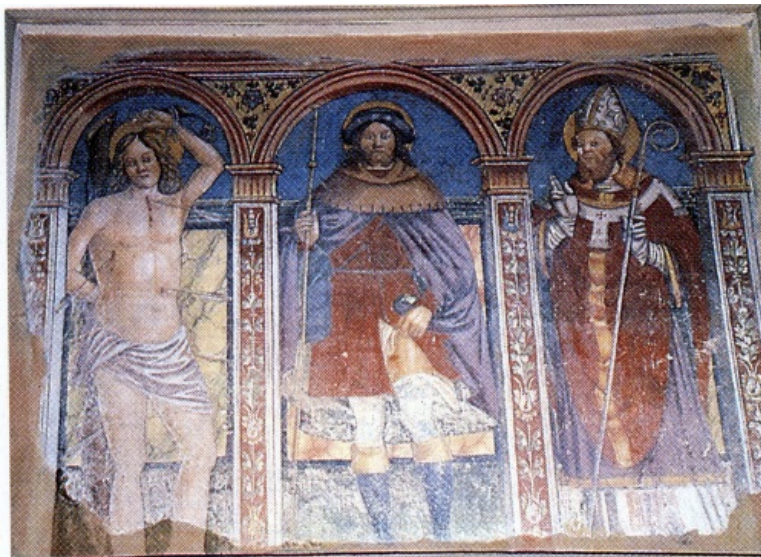


Figure 73. Lorenzago, the church of the Difesa. Part of the fresco with the Saints Sebastian, Rocco and Fabiano, by Pietro da San Vito (c. 1517).



Figure 74. Vigo the church of Sant'Orsola. The eleven thousand virgins (detail of the fresco painted around 1360). The story of the life and martyrdom of Sant'Orsola and her companions occupy the middle part of the walls.



Figure 75. Vigo, the church of Sant'Orsola. The burial and glorification of Sant'Orsola and the eleven thousand virgins.



Figure 76. Vigo, the façade of the church of Sant'Orsola, constructed and endowed in 1345 by Ainardo da Vigo, who is buried there.



Figure 77. Vigo, in the village of Salagona. The exterior and interior of the thirteenth century church of Santa Margherita. It stood near a village which disappeared during the following centuries (the photograph of the exterior is as it was forty years ago, before the building expansion, from the collection of the Biblioteca Cadorino in Vigo).



Figure 78. Vigo, the church of Santa Margherita. Details of the fresco. The figures of the Apostles and the holy patrons with Biblical scenes occupying the upper half of the walls.



Figure 79. Vigo, the parish church of San Martino. An altarpiece showing San Martino and the Saints Candido and Maurizio.



Figure 80. Vigo, the church of Sant' Orsola. The central part of the wooden altar of 1541, a work by Michele Parth.



Figure 81. Santo Stefano di Comelico. A statue apparently from the altar of the old parish church, a work from the Tolmezzina school from the end of the Fifteenth century.



Figure 82. A mountain ridge with a “*tabia*” in the district of Comelico Inferiore.



Figure 83. San Nicolo di Comelico, the parish church. The wall to the right of the choir, a fresco by Gianfrancesco da Tolmezzo done in 1482.



Figure 84. San Giovanni Evangelista, detail of the fresco by Gianfrancesco da Tolmezzo in the church of San Nicolo.

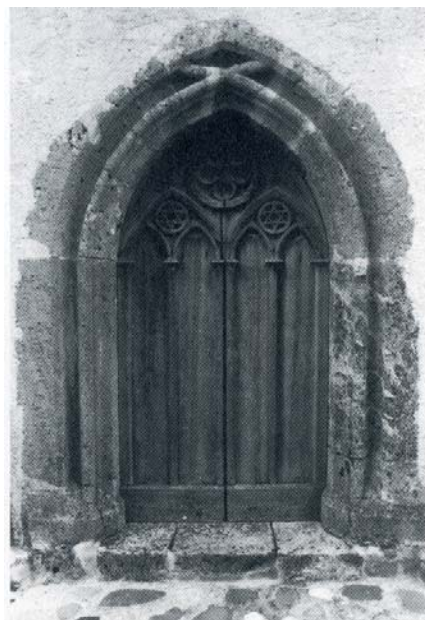


Figure 85. Casamazzango, the church of San Leonardo. The door is made of “tufo”, a local stone similar to travertine, easily workable and commonly used in old Cadorine buildings.



Figure 86. Candide, the church of Sant'Antonio Abate, details of the façade. Built in 1538 by Nicolo Ruopel, it has suffered a fire and various adaptations.



Figure 87. Casamazzagno, the church of San Leonardo, built by the Carnic native Nicolo Ruopel around 1545. Details of the window and the southern door.



Figure 88. Danta, the parish church. The Madonna and Child, details of the altarpiece. Even this small village of woodsmen and shepherds from Comelico wanted, five hundred years ago, a valuable work of art.



Figure 89. Danta, the parish church, San Rocco, detail of the altarpiece attributed to Francesco Vecellio, formerly in the old church.

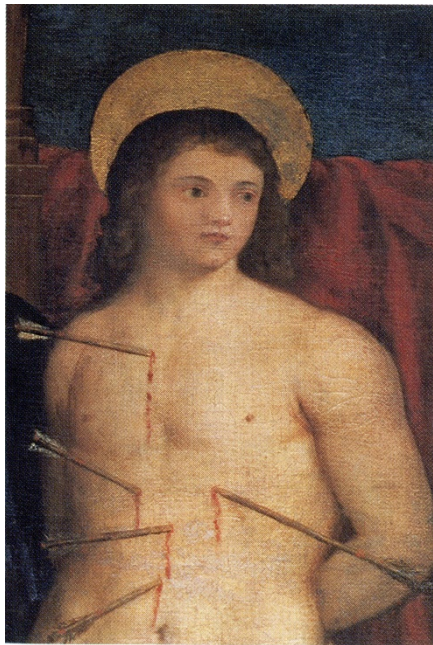


Figure 90. San Sebastiano, detail of the altarpiece from the church of Danta. The Saints Rocco and Sebastiano, were appealed to against the pestilence, they were a recurring subject.



Figure 91. The ravine of the Piave at Acquatona, along another branch of the old road between Cadore and Carnia, crossing the pass of Sapada.



Figure 92. Candide, parish of Santa Maria Sant' Antonio Abate protector of the animals, a work signed by Tommaso Vecellio (1587-1625).



Figure 93. Pieve, the church of the archdiocese, detail of the Madonna and Child. Tiziano's self-portrait within the painting.

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