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# The Sinti Communities in Italy

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III. 1  
The geographical distribution of Sinti in Italy

Having been present in Italy for centuries, the Sinti communities have taken part in all the major events that have shaped the contemporary history of this country. The continuous presence in the territories of central and northern Italy and the short-range nomadism favoured the Sinti connection to the regions they are settled in, within which they are economically well integrated. Despite being territorially dispersed and maintaining strong relationships with the majority society and with other peripatetic communities, the Sinti kin networks maintain a feeling of affiliation that is rather dynamic, based on specific codes of respect and shared tools for the preservation of internal balances of power.

## INTRODUCTION

The presence of Romani communities has been well documented in Italy since at least the beginning of the modern age. The first written evidence available concerning their arrival dates back to 1422 and is found in the anonymous *Cronica di Bologna*. The document mentions a group of about a hundred people who settled next to the city walls of Bologna. This group claimed to be on a pilgrimage to Rome and was led by Andrea, ‘Duke of Egypt’. The Duke carried a letter signed by the king of the Kingdom of Hungary that explained the pilgrimage as their atonement for the sin of apostasy. A few weeks after their first appearance, this same group was registered in various other cities in Italy. These included Forlì, Lucca, and Fermo, and it is here that the word ‘*zengani*’ (in the current Italian ‘zingari’) was used for the first time in a written document in Italy.

In the following centuries the presence of ‘Gypsy’ communities is well documented all over Italy but only in the 19<sup>th</sup> century the ethnonym ‘Sinti’ starts to appear in sources. What we know today is that Roma and Sinti shared the peninsula for a long period of time. The Roma probably arrived mostly by sea from the Balkans as part of a wider Greek-Albanian migratory flow and settled in the southern part of Italy. The Sinti coming from Central Europe settled in the central and northern part. Speaking about their dispersion in the country, the anthropologist Leonardo Piasere identifies an imagined border passing through Cannes-Marche-Trieste that divides the Italian

territories traditionally inhabited by Roma and Sinti as well as their markets, according to internal rules of respect. In the region of this theoretical border, approximately corresponding to what was once the state of the church, some territories seem to be shared between these two communities, by scholars called of ‘ancient settlement’.

Currently there is no information about the exact number of Sinti in Italy but sources estimate a population of around 30,000 people, spread across the country. We can divide them into two main groups based on their period of arrival: The Italian Sinti, who arrived between the 15<sup>th</sup> and the 18<sup>th</sup> century, most likely in several waves (Sinti Lombardi, Sinti Piemontesi, Sinti Emiliani, Sinti Marchigiani, Sinti Veneti, Sinti *Mučini*, *Šinte Rosengre*<sup>1</sup>), and the German Sinti, called *Tajč*, who arrived between the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> and the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (*Eftavagaria*, *Estraxaria*, *Kranaria*), to which may be counted the Sinti *Krasaria* from the Karst region included in the new Italian borders after the First World War.

All these groups of Sinti are Italian citizens and have taken part in all the major events that have shaped contemporary Italian history. Their continuous presence in the country and their short-range nomadism favoured the Sinti connection to the

<sup>1</sup> Literally ‘Italians’ or ‘Tuscans’. The last attestation of their presence dates back to the early 1900s and the main source is the linguistic description of their dialect written by Sigismondo Caccini after his life-long experience with them.

## III. 2

*Un dolce ricordo* (a sweet memory), drawing by a Sinto man depicting a scene from the everyday life of the community in the past.  
Photo by Chiara Tribulato



## III. 3

Space of family life at the summer fairground of Lignano Sabbiadoro in 2017.  
Photo by Chiara Tribulato



regions they are settled in and has strengthened their perception of being locals, especially in opposition to the Balkan Romani groups who moved to Italy later. The self-appellations used by the Sinti reflect this sense of territorial affiliation. The categories 'Sinti Lombardi', 'Sinti Piemontesi' and 'Sinti Veneti' refer to the regions traditionally inhabited by the groups; they do not necessarily correspond to the areas where the individual families actually live but in connection with which they still retain a strong sense of belonging. Under the same ethnic name are then grouped together networks of families scattered geographically but connected by common traditions and language, both of which have lasted over a long period of time.

There are also self-identification terms used by the communities which are more specific and transitory. This is the case with terms like 'Sinti modenesi', 'Sinti reggiani', 'Sinti bolognesi', 'Sinti romagnoli' and so on, all of which refer to the 'core areas' (now often corresponding to a city or a town) where the individual families live or which, in the case of travellers, they use as stopover places, and where their socio-economic networks are based.

#### THE ECONOMIC NICHE

The Italian and German Sinti are fully dependent on the wider Italian economy within which they use the irregular resources. An analysis of their activities reveals a broad, fuzzy, and eclectic economic niche based on three ideological points: (I) the freedom from the main society, (II) the use of unexpected new opportunities, and (III) the theoretical possibility of maintaining a travelling lifestyle. The idea of submitting to orders and instructions of the *Gage* (non-Roma) is rejected by them. Paid employment is usually avoided and preference is given to self-employed business activities, often family-run. In certain circumstances wage-labour is considered as an occasional/short-term solution but is more likely accepted when carried out by women or young men.

*"A Sinto never wants to work under a master, he doesn't like to take orders from another. The real work has a start-time and an end-time. Freedom, on the other hand, is opening when you want, taking money from the drawer, not having*

*to kill yourself because you can't pay your debts or because your wife cheats on you while you're working away."*  
Sinto Lombardo man, Lignano, 2016

Flexible working hours and variety in occupations, locations, and customers are conditions often pointed out in the ethnic idea of work. Mobility and immobility are co-existing forms of economic and social adaptation that allow the utilization of resources that are dispersed and not stable in time. Travelling as a way of life is also subject to an inevitable emotional attachment – as the Sinti say: *"We are born on wheels, stationary in one place we would die"*. The anthropologist Colin Clark, dealing with the English travellers, pointed out that the advent of cars and caravans as well as the invention of the mobile telephone have facilitated the possibility to maintain a travelling lifestyle even when settled. According to his point of view 'The Journey' remains a central symbolic connotation for the settled Sinti communities that results in specific ways of living and maintaining relationships and that it is often emphasized in collective representations and decorative elements [III. 4].

The Sinti in Italy, are traditionally semi-nomadic and, together with other peripatetic groups, used to travel to seasonal markets and country fairs as horse sellers, animal trainers, gamblers, acrobats, actors, musicians, fortune tellers, and traders. These activities were often carried out alongside the female practices of *manghél* (beg and sell door to door) and *čorél* (stealing chickens and other food from farmers). It was in fact considered the woman's responsibility to provide for the basic needs of the family and was a source of honor and social appreciation for them. Nowadays, these practices are rarely maintained, more often they evolved, but there is still a strong emphasis on the economic role of women, albeit often just symbolic.

Over time, as their older occupations declined, Sinti communities were able to find new occupations, thus demonstrating their adaptability to changes in the wider mainstream economy. Currently, most of these occupations are related to the provision of goods and services and are often carried out in close contact with the wider society. Therefore, the Sinti are well integrated in Italian society which in turn makes them 'invisible'. We could consider 'invisibility' as a strategy that over time has allowed the Sinti to work in high competition with the *Gage*, making full use of their resources.



III. 4

Home decoration with horse head

Photo by Chiara Tribulato



III. 5

Caravan ready to travel

Photo by Chiara Tribulato



### INTO THE FUNFAIR

Although often uncredited, the Italian Sinti communities have played a crucial role in the birth and development of the modern circus and funfair since the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The latter is nowadays a complex system where both Sinti and non-Sinti travelling entertainers (who define themselves as *Dritti*, see III. 15) share the same living and economic spaces. Their marginalised conditions and the distinctiveness of their work have brought these two communities closer, thus creating the illusion of a collective identity built in opposition to the *Gage*'s world.

*“What brought us closer was the system... the caravan them, the caravan us, the pot to cook outside them, the pot to cook outside us, the fire them, the fire us, these are the things that made these two worlds meet. We got together because we used to have the same habits.”*  
Sinto Lombardo man, Venezia, 2016

The profession is marked in terms of identity and is transmitted through the generations from father to son. Through their work in the funfair the Sinti are able to maintain a good standard of living, while simultaneously defending their independence and strengthening their kin ties and alliance systems by means of travelling. Travelling from fair to fair allows them to solidify their connection with the territory and weave positive relationships with the local *Gage*. From both an economic and a practical perspective, the lifestyle of Sinti involved in funfairs is very different from that of Sinti involved in non-travelling activities, so much so that sometimes they do not recognize each other as a part of the same group. The former often define themselves as *Sinti dei mestieri* (Sinti of the rides) and call the latter *campisti* (people living in camps), a pejorative expression that refers to their habit of living in so-called ‘nomad camps’.

The Sinti involved in funfairs usually divide the year into two different seasons: the resting season (autumn/winter) and the working season (spring/summer). The first is considered the low-season and it is characterized by short-distance radial movements from the winter area of residence to country fairs or festivals. In contrast to this, the second season is characterized by

wider movements between large cities for long-term fairgrounds. The resting season is an important time of gathering that sees the extended family reuniting in one place and doing maintenance work on the residential grounds, the caravans, and the rides.

The ride is an important symbol of pride for a family within the funfair environment and as such is always subject to maintenance and improvement. By observing the spot occupied by the ride at the fairground as well as the route of fairs on which the ride is taken, it is possible to predict fairly accurately a family's position in the group's social hierarchy as well as its territorial ties.

In fact, the itineraries are essential to understanding social relations and respect between Sinti families. In order not to interfere with each other, the geographical areas through which families travelled with their rides are informally divided into non-overlapping units anchored in an agreed code of behavior, ‘a code of respect’ as it is often defined by the Sinti. However, in the last few decades growing competition for lucrative routes has made it increasingly difficult to maintain these boundaries. This has led to some families shifting occupations towards some newly emerging career opportunities, most of which are related to either the entertainment industry or the travel industry. Commercial activities that are fairly popular include the ownership and maintenance of food trucks, playgrounds for children, ice skating rinks, adventure parks, water parks, and permanent amusement parks.

### RAZZE

The Italian Sinti are organized internally into *razze* (literally ‘races’; singular *razza*), groups of people – including around five generations – who recognize themselves as descendants of common ancestors by paternal or maternal line. The name of the kin group is often derived from the surname shared by most family members or that of its common ancestor. The term *razza* is often translated as ‘family’, ‘lineage’, ‘strain’, ‘root’ or with the expression *la mia gente* (my people). The root of the word ‘*razza*’ is often associated with the concept of *rat* (blood), although these two forms are etymologically independent from each other. It is in fact the bloodline connecting those who belong to the same *razza* that creates the idea of a unity, whose vertical link

III. 6

Assembly of the roller coaster at the Bologna amusement park  
Photo by Chiara Tribulato



III. 7

A Sinto man shows his family's antique carousel  
Photo by Chiara Tribulato



with the deceased justifies feelings of solidarity and group cohesiveness. This concept ensures that each person is connected to the past while at the same time being part of a network in the present where he/she occupies a particular position that is known and respected. In various social contexts it is clear as each individual represents his *razza*, while in times of need he or she is represented by it. The awareness of these bonds and the interplay of personal and social identities creates a sense of ‘selves’ and ‘others’, thus ensuring a clear demarcation between ‘my people’ and ‘the other Sinti’. Support during crises, protection of honour, and maintaining a balance between families are the three central tenets that define the patterns of behaviour related to all contexts in which the concept of *razza* occurs. The most codified are:

- **Support during times of sickness:** Each person, on the basis of his or her own availability, geographical proximity and gender, supports the sick person and his/ her family until the moment of complete recovery.
- **Dealing with death:** The whole *razza* faces times of death together, including the period of mourning, the return to daily life and the defence of family honour through the protection of the memory of the deceased.
- **Solidarity during conflict:** During conflict, the family is supported by the physical and psychological presence of members until balance is restored once more.
- **Reciprocity of respect:** Invisible bonds of respect affect personal relations and influence the economic system as well as the territorial distribution of resources among the families belonging to the same *razza*.

The prestige of each *razza* is determined by a wide range of factors, among which the most important are the number of members in the *razza*, their group cohesion, and the strength that they can demonstrate during conflicts and other critical situations. The bigger the *razza*, the more powerful and influential it is considered. The two basic criteria for the establishment of the structure of the *razza* are age and gender. Elders are respected more than the young, and men more than women. Every individual is perfectly aware of his or her responsibilities and limitations given the position occupied in the hierarchy. The recognition of a morally super-

rior authority and a cascade of authority on a political and decision-making level is completely spontaneous. Within the nuclear family, after the father, a prominent place is occupied by the eldest child, who is considered a moral guide by the siblings. In the same way at the pinnacle of this hierarchical system, there are the elders – the generation connecting those alive with the deceased. They are the core around which the individual family branches are built and although they may no longer contribute towards work, theirs is the last word in all the important issues concerning the family life. The social status of the male elders is often marked by the use of a ring, often made of gold or silver, specifically for its owner. Many of these rings carry imprinted decorations belonging to the world of travel (such as horses or carts) or referring to the *razza* of its owner, for example names, symbols or rides [III. 13]. The bond between these rings and the people who wear them is very strong. They are recognizable objects that not only give information about the individual but also about his role within the family system. Considered guardians of the Sinti tradition, the male elders are invested with the role of teaching it to their children and grandchildren, making sure they guide the younger generations on moral matters through lessons learnt from the deceased and from their own life experiences. The deceased play a crucial role in holding together people belonging to the same *razza* and are therefore considered an integral part of it. The protection of their memory is considered a priority for the whole kin group whose members are called upon to react in the event of offenses or misconduct that may disturb their rest.

#### THE ELOPEMENT

Elopement is the traditional marriage system among the Italian Sinti communities. As an event it is important because it widens the *razza* while at the same time being critical for the maintenance of its integrity. Among the Italian Sinti this practice appears to be a complex process that revolves around two fundamental cathartic events: the escape of the couple and their return or the so-called *perdono* (forgiveness). In daily life, great discretion usually surrounds love relations. Young unmarried couples never appear together in public, preferring to meet secretly behind their parents backs, who pretend to be unaware about their



III. 8

Carny ride

Photo by Jari Bettanin



III. 9

Funeral vigil in Carpi. The vigil is usually organized in a tent which is built in the center of the living area.

Photo by Chiara Tribulato



children's affairs. This discretion of young people is taken to be a mark of respect and shame towards relatives and seniors who might be offended by more explicit signs of affection. During this quiet period the couple decides to elope, in most cases for a time period that can last anywhere between one to ten days. The duration of this period and the geographical location where the couple spends this time is not important as long as the desire to detach from the original family nucleus is explicit. If the relatives are against the marriage, they search them and bring them home. However, in case there is no opposition to their marriage, parents from both the sides meet and agree on certain conditions of this new union, such as where the couple will live, with what economic income, what itineraries they will follow and so on. Cousins and other trusted people meanwhile update the young couple and advise them on the best time to ask for forgiveness. Forgiveness is a long process that begins with the return of the couple who then visit all the family members, starting with those of the wife, followed by those of the husband. Then they visit the family graves, asking the living and the deceased for their blessings. This moment marks the entry of the new couple into the wider family and social context and is often an occasion for each partner to be introduced into the other's family network. After this rite the *signorina* (young woman) turns into a *maridata* (bride) and the *giovanotto* (young man) becomes a *maridato* (groom). The event has a clear impact on their social status and on the composition of the whole group.

After the forgiveness, the new couple's residence is usually patrilocal, meaning that the bride is supposed to travel with her husband's family as well as to contribute to their business activities. Nonetheless, the option of a 'trial period' is not uncommon, during this period the new couple resides close to the bride's family. This is considered a test for the husband who must demonstrate or confirm his good qualities and honourable intentions towards his wife and her relatives. The couple may also reside with the bride's family in cases of misconduct from the husband's side as well as under other special circumstances, such as in the case of death, illness or conflict situations. This means that despite the marriage, the bride retains her main affiliation to her *razza*, to which she must return, alone or with her family, in case

of mutual need. Correspondingly, her *razza* is also responsible for her behaviour and for the defence of her honour.

Although often not made explicit, the most desirable unions are among members of the same *razza* or between a Sinto man and a *Gagi* (non-Romani) woman. Marriage between blood relatives (often distant cousins) is considered an ideal solution in order to strengthen internal ties within the *razza* without incurring unnecessary risks for the future. The concept of 'tradition' is often used to explain the difficulty of establishing relationships of affinity with Sinti from different kin groups. "*Every razza has its own tradition*", they say – a particular way of living, travelling, working, interpreting relationships and the world, and showing respect for the dead. Marriage between two different *razze* is therefore always a mediation between different traditions. The new bond, especially when strengthened by the presence of children, will inevitably create links of alliance between families. However, the bond will also create new obligations and risks involving the maintenance of respect and honour. Conversely, if the Sinto man has married a non-Sinti woman, she is considered a blank slate which may be filled with new content. Since *Gage* use different, foreign codes, their trades are considered to neither interfere with the Sinti way nor with the integrity of the community. Mixed marriages are therefore encouraged as a method to avoid conflict situations.

*"When the marriage is within the Sinti, the problem is that they are not all the same, everyone has their own customs, and no one wants to cede. It's as if they were placing two positive poles next to each other: Boom. When a man marries a Gagi, on the other hand, he has no problems, she accepts everything she hears and makes it her own."*

Piedmontese Sinto man, Genova, 2016

#### CONFLICT RESOLUTION

The relations between *razze* are governed by an autonomous justice system that is almost entirely independent from the *Gage*'s world. The basis of this justice system is the acknowledgement of an original equality, the sharing of the same values, and the

III. 10

Sinti men holding the coffin during a funeral procession

Photo by Chiara Tribulato



III. 11

Inside of the tent after the funeral vigil in Carpi

Photo by Chiara Tribulato



same ability to react to conflict that unites all those who identify themselves as Sinti. This tacit equality is the reason why respect is considered to have been broken and why it needs to be restored. Duel, revenge, and mediation are the different methods that the Sinti use in order to maintain order and to maintain equilibrium, processes that are never individual but collective. These three forms of conflict resolution are not mutually exclusive, since it is possible to use one, two, or all three in different phases of the same dispute.

#### DUEL

The duel, or the so-called *resa dei conti* (reckoning) is the simplest way to avoid protraction of a dispute and is considered appropriate for minor conflicts. It involves close combat between individuals belonging to opposite parties. It does not need to be conducted personally by those involved in the dispute as long as they are represented by someone of the same *razza* and same age, since people are perceived as interchangeable representatives of their kin groups. The duel is conducted in a neutral terrain in front of some witnesses from different parties and is extremely stylized in order to be considered fair by everyone.

#### REVENGE

Revenge is a more serious form of resolution and consists of violent acts against properties and goods that are stolen, vandalized, or burned. Sometimes one of these acts is enough to rebalance an

unequal situation, while at other times the victims may feel the revenge is unfair and respond with another attack that can trigger a longer period of mutual hostility. In some cases, a cash compensation is offered after an act of revenge by the elders as evidence that the value of the attack is symbolic rather than economic. In the case of Sinti involved in amusement parks, the objects targeted most commonly are the rides and the family caravan.

#### MEDIATION

The mediation system holds a prominent place in this scenario. It is the method most used in cases of serious conflict and the Sinti depict it as the form that synthesizes the other two and that best represents values of the community. It is a form of resolution based on the intervention of one or more peacemakers who are called on by the kin group or alternatively offer themselves voluntarily to resolve the conflict. The peacemakers, together with the elderly people who represent the two parties in the dispute, reach *i patti* (the pacts) – bilaterally recognized agreements that usually consist of territorial regulations. The moral authority of the peacemaker is well established and is based on characteristics that are personal (diplomacy, empathy, justice, respect, shame, sense of proportion), related to his or her family (cohesion, strength, economic success), and social (past successes in the role of mediator). The reputation of a peacemaker often extends beyond the local level to the inter-regional, and in some cases the supranational level. Reaching the pacts as well as the chances of

III. 12

## Čáčape

The term *čáčape* can be translated as ‘truth’, ‘integrity’ or ‘sincerity’ and expresses the attitude to be honest with oneself and others. The corresponding adjective *čáčo* therefore indicates a person, especially a man, whose behavior is recognized as true to his words and in line with his principles. What he says must not only correspond to what he does, but especially to what he is: words, actions and principles are ideally in complete harmony. The truth is considered a crucial value, especially for the purpose of preserving the memory of the deceased. Men and women must show an ideal adherence to

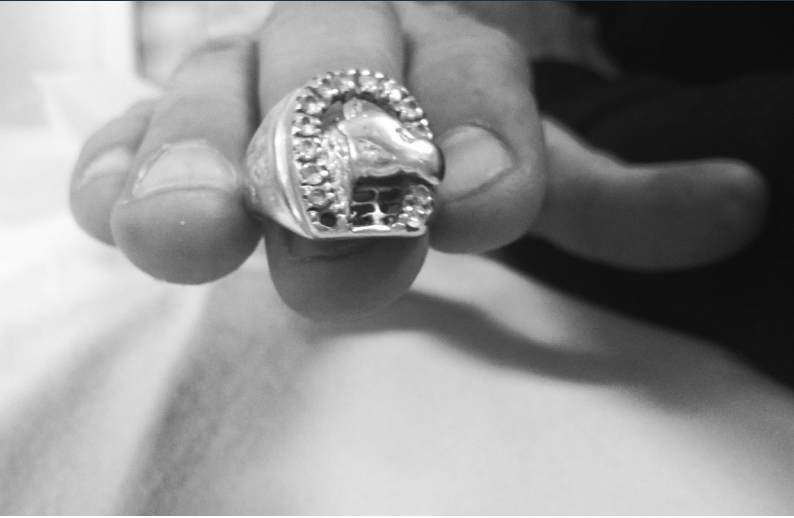
the teachings received, both in their words and their behaviour. Before starting to speak, the Sinti often say – “*I’ll speak just about my own family, because of the others I can’t be sure of, I’ll tell you about my history and then the others will tell you about their history.*” The *čáčo* man is one who speaks only about facts he truly knows, protecting in this way the memory of the dead and the traditions of which they are the custodians. History can be regarded as the territory of choices and teachings of the deceased and as such must be managed by people who can take responsibility and risk (the elderly, the close relatives, the older siblings). Integrity is therefore in a certain sense conceptualized as a bond between the present and the past, between the living and the dead – a bond that applies to every aspect of everyday life.



III. 13

Ring with horse's head

Photo by Chiara Tribulato



III. 14

'Truck of the *Movimento Evangelico Zigano* (MEZ)

at the Bologna meeting in 2019

Photo by Chiara Tribulato



their successful maintenance depend on the balance between the individual personality and the socially recognized qualities.

#### RESPECT AND SHAME

As in many other Romani groups, among the Italian Sinti, too, the concepts of 'respect' and 'shame' are essential to understanding the cultural practices and social dynamics occurring within the community. These interconnected concepts are constantly in search of balance. It is necessary to pass from one to reach the other and often the two ideas end up overlapping as different expressions of the same concept. A prerequisite for the understanding of the Sinti's usage of these terms is the awareness of an invisible structure supporting their society which is based on unequal relations. Ethnicity, age, gender, and social status are the main categories in this partition. The distances among social categories such as insider/outsider, elders/young, fathers/sons, husband/wife, married/unmarried and older child/other siblings are thus marked by relatively strict rules of deference in order to avoid the extreme discomfort of social shame. The shame, called *lač* in Sinto, is an attitude stemming from the perception of an asymmetrical position of certain group members within an assumed hierarchy based on respect. This emotion often translates into attitudes of modesty and avoidance: Not speaking, not looking, not showing feelings, and refraining from laughing, joking, drinking, and smoking. This self-control

is considered the most effective rule to maintain bilateral distance between people of different statuses and is considered the foundation of social order. The rules of conduct for being respectful are different for men and women. The ideal man must display physical and moral strength, courage, honor, and *čáčape* (sincerity) [III. 12] while the respected woman is supposed to be modest, maternal, hospitable, temperate and strong in relation to the outside world. Once they are recognized as appropriate in their social roles they are called *zio/zia* (uncle/ aunt) by the young as a sign of respect. Those who refuse these shared common values (for instance those who talk back to elders, speak with everyone at the same level, or use vulgar language) are labelled as 'shameless' or *narvali* (crazy, sick) and considered dangerous for the whole community. The concepts of respect and shame are often also applied to the ethnic idea of purity and impurity, most commonly conceptualized as a difference between 'clean' and 'dirty' or 'good' and 'not-good'. All these concepts, as well as the institution they embody, are currently involved in a process of change that originates from the affiliation of many families to the *Movimento Evangelico Zigano* ('Gypsy' Pentecostal movement). The mission, formed in France in 1948, arrived in Italy in the '80s and in 1992 comprised about a thousand churches and groups. The first evangelized communities were those of Sinti *Tajč* and many other communities followed. Since the '90s, the movement appears well known and widespread even among the Sinti involved in the world of funfairs.

III. 15

#### Dritti

Often improperly labelled as 'Gypsy' from the majority society, the *Dritti* are a group of people of Italian origin with a travelling tradition passed down from generation to generation. The term was traditionally employed as an ethnonym by vagabonds, artisans, peddlers, and animal trainers who travelled across northern Italy, following seasonal markets and traditional fairs. Nowadays, the term is commonly used to designate non-Sinti funfair workers. Sinti travellers refer to them as *caminanti*

(travellers) or *pirde*, which roughly translates to 'Gage that started travelling' or 'half-Sinti'. Moreover, the term *Dritto* also refer to an Italo-Romance-based jargon composed of a variable number of words embedded into the grammatical structure of the Italian language. *Dritto* is one of the few historical jargons that are still spoken in Italy today. Its use is popular among circus and funfair workers and is nowadays strongly influenced by the Romani spoken by Sinti.

III. 16

Extract from the unpublished diary  
of Jucky Herzembergher speaking  
about the mourning processWritten between 1986 and 2018  
(Tribulato & Pastori 2019)

*“The grief would last for a year. You couldn't go dancing or to the cinema, no television or singing, not even joking.*

*People who joked, when they saw a person in mourning, they stopped, they respected. When you went on a caravan to visit someone, if they had the television turned on immediately they turned it off and apologized.*

*Those who were in mourning, however, did not go around because they knew that if people would change the way they behaved and spoke. Then those who were in mourning tried not to go around. Mourning in those days was something, or rather a penance, that pleased those who wore it.”*

IL LUTO: SI PORTAVA PER 1 ANNO NON SI  
POTEVA: ANDARE, BALARE NEANCHE AL CINEMA  
NE TELEVISIONE NE CANTARE NEANCHE  
SCHERSARE DOVE C'ERA C'ESTE CHE NEVA  
SCHERZAVA CUANDO VEDEVANO UNA PERSONA  
CHE ERA IN LUTO: SMETEVAVO RISPETAVAVO  
CUANDO MAGARI SI ANDAVA SU QUALCHE  
CAROVANA A TROVARE QUALCUNO SE AVEVAMO  
IL TELEVISORE ACCESO LOSPEGNEVAMO IN  
MEDIAMENTE E CHE DEVAVO SCUSA?  
PERO CHI ERA IN LUTO NON ANDAVANO IN  
GIRO PERCHE SAPEVAMO CHE SE SI ANDAVA:  
CAMBIAVAMO SISTEMA ANCHE NEL PARLARE  
ALORA ANCHE CHI ERA IN LUTO CERCAVA  
DI NON ANDARE TANTO IN GIRO IL LUTO  
A QUEI TEMPI ERA UNA COSA ANSI PIU  
CHE COSA ERA UNA PENITEZZA CHE FACEVA  
PIACERE CHI LO PORTAVA ERA IL 1969

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