

CALIGULA

Reconstruction, analysis and its place in Tinto Brass' oeuvre

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I. Introduction

1. History of the film “Caligula”

The movie “Caligula”, originally filmed by Tinto Brass in 1977, is today known as a scandalous, sexual exploitation-film which combines a cast of world-renown actors with scenes of hardcore pornographic and shockingly violent nature. This judgement is certainly true if we look at the finished, unrated North-American version (runtime 156 min), released in theatres and available on DVD today.

But the film was not planned in this manner: While filming, director Tinto Brass had intended the movie as a dark political satire combining shocking, political and comical scenes. The script was written that way, and the sets, costumes and acting support this vision.

During editing, however, Tinto Brass was literally “locked out” of the editing-room, and producer Bob Guccione (owner of “Penthouse-magazine”), assisted by editor Nino Baragli, assembled a completely different film. They used the raw footage Tinto Brass shot and combined it with pornographic scenes filmed during secret re-shoots on the same sets. Guccione removed almost all of the political scenes, and changed the editing-style radically. In that form, the film was released, and hardly resembles Tinto Brass’ vision at all. [1d], [3] Instead of being a “sarcastic film” ([1d], 00:02:43), it now seems like a drama with over-the-top set-design that shows an Emperor’s aimless madness in order to depict lots of violent and sexual scenes.

Almost thirty years after release, the Penthouse-vaults were opened and more material concerning the production was published. Thus, for the first time it is possible to try and reconstruct Tinto Brass’ original film, which would probably have been one of the most radical political satires ever produced and might have had a very different impact on both the movie-world and Brass’ career had it been released in Tinto Brass’ intended version.

2. Main tasks of this paper:

1. Analysis of the story: Can we reconstruct it?

The movie’s story-line is similar, yet very different between the released and the planned version. Can we restore the version planned by the director?

2. Comparison: Can we find similarities to other films by Tinto Brass?

By looking at the screenplay and the rushes of “Caligula”, we can see many similarities to other films by Tinto Brass. How does “Caligula” in its intended version fit Tinto Brass’ Oeuvre? Can we try and reconstruct the editing at least for a few scenes?

3. Analysis of Tinto Brass’ original version: Can we reconstruct the initial themes?

If we are able to reconstruct the original intentions for Caligula, can we try and analyse what the main themes of “Caligula” in its original form would have been like?

Is it possible to see how subjects of earlier films reoccur in this film?

3. Focus of this paper.

The aim of this paper will be the reconstruction of Tinto Brass' original ideas for "Caligula", and to analyze how the film he intended would have fit his oeuvre. In order to do so, we will very often have to refer to the released version, edited by Nino Baragli and Bob Guccione.

It will only be referenced as one source among others to try and reconstruct Brass' ideas from it, and sometimes to show how we can re-discover some of Tinto Brass' trademarks in it. A few times, we will see how Guccione changed the meaning of scenes. But analyzing the story-telling and storyline of the Guccione-cut would be a task for a different paper.

The focus of this paper is to reconstruct and analyze Tinto Brass' ideas. A task, which, till today, was never done in detail. Although Ranjit Sandhu's website [3] gives readers a good overview and features some valuable sources, it only reconstructs the rough, overall story-structure according to the screenplay, along with some general observations about the editing.

4. Methods used for reconstructing and analysing the film.

For reconstructing the film, we will work in a few steps:

1. First, we'll find out how much we can reconstruct of Tinto Brass' own workprint from the released material. As his workprint was partially dismantled, some of these parts will be reconstructed by matching splice-marks and other methods described in the appropriate chapter.
2. Afterwards, all other parts not available in Tinto Brass' own edit will be reconstructed by comparing all available footage to the different screenplay-versions and to the shooting-record available at Houghton Library, Harvard College Library.
From this, we get a good idea on Tinto Brass' ideas for the whole film, and manage to get insights even into improvised and ad-libbed sequences. Parts that we don't have the footage for will be reconstructed using the shooting-record.
3. Finally, the editing-style will be (partially) reconstructed by comparing Tinto Brass' reconstructed workprint (which we reconstructed at step one) to his other 1960s/70s works, trying to extract his ideas for "Caligula".

Once we get a good approximation of Tinto Brass' intention by using the above steps, we will analyse the film by regarding its topics and themes in context with Brass' other 1960s/70s works.

II. The director: Tinto Brass



1. Tinto Brass (*1933)

(Source of photo: <http://rjbuffalo.com/tinto1.html>)

Tinto Brass was Born in Milano in 1933. He studied the laws and finished his university degree, but in 1957 moved to Paris to work at the Cinémathèque Française. There he directed his first short film.

In his early career, he experimented with lots of filmic genres, be they comedy (“La Disco Volante”, 1964), Western (“Yankee”, 1965/66) or crime (“Col Cuore in gola”, 1967).

His camera- and editing-style up until the early 1980s were unique and very experimental:

He liked quick, unexpected cuts, coupled with lots of unconventional camera-moves and angles, making his movies of that time very “impressionist”. For that reason, during his whole career he has always insisted on editing his own movies. Another important characteristic was that on set, he used lots of improvisation in order to make actor’s performances natural and spontaneous looking.

In the 1970s, he directed one great commercial hit (“Salon Kitty”, 1975), which coupled arthouse-cinema character-set-pieces with shocking sexual and violent scenes. This film, although banned and censored in many countries, opened doors for Brass’ biggest production yet: “Caligula”.

But “Caligula”, starring well-known actors like Malcolm McDowell, Helen Mirren, Peter O’Toole and John Gielgud, proved to be problematic: Brass was not allowed to edit it (which resulted in a very conventional, slow editing style), and the producer decided to delete/restructure major story-scenes and add hardcore sexual footage which changed the film immensely: A political, shocking satire became a pornographic drama. For that reason, this film, which Tinto Brass is best known for internationally, only faintly resembles his original vision.

Starting in the 1980s, his films became more and more erotic, which often overshadows his earlier, more experimental work: Today, he is mostly known as a director of “Softcore erotic films”. Currently (2011), he is preparing to direct a 3D erotic comedy about the Emperor Caligula. But reading the synopsis (http://www.filmexport.it/4/who_killed_caligula_108902.html), we see that it will have almost nothing to do with his “Caligula” planned in the 1970s.

III. Sources: An overview

1. What different versions of “Caligula” can we find on DVD?

Before we try to reconstruct and analyze the movie, it makes sense to first take a look at the different sources which we can use to find out about Tinto Brass’ intentions. The author wants to resort on using “primary” sources like the film itself, workprints and screenplays most of the time, instead of referencing second-hand accounts.

First of all, on the filmed material itself: What versions of the film are available on DVD?

1. “Imperial Edition” DVD release

The “Imperial Edition” of Caligula, first released 2007 in the USA by Image Entertainment, can be considered the most complete release of the “Official” film-versions. It includes two versions (“Uncut Version” and “Pre-Release Version”, titled “Alternate Version” in the European release). The UK-Release release additionally includes a “Theatrical Version” as well.

→ What are the differences between the versions of “Caligula” found in these editions?

- **“Uncut Version” [1a] (156 min runtime):**

This is the best-known version of “Caligula”, which was edited by Nino Baragli under Bob Guccione’s supervision and was released in 1980. It includes hard-core pornography shot by Bob Guccione and Giancarlo Lui.

It will be referenced to as the “Released version” [1a] in the analysis.

- **“Alternate Version”/ “Pre-Release Version” [1b] (153 min runtime):**

This version derives from a “Pre-Released” version of the film, according to the booklet which accompanies the American Release of the “Imperial Edition” by Imaged Entertainment. It will be referenced as [1b] in the analysis.

The shorter runtime stems from the exclusion of Guccione’s pornographic scenes. Despite the shorter runtime, it actually shows more footage shot by Tinto Brass: During Caligula’s and Drusilla’s idyllic scene in the forest, we see more of how the scene was supposed to play out. But, except for that scene, we get to see no significant new material, and the film’s editing-style and sound-design largely remain the same as in [1a].

Most importantly, this version restores the beginning of the exposition to be at the start of the movie, instead of having it pop up about 26 minutes into the film. Nonetheless, it feels like it was made quite recently by editing [1a] without having access to much addi-

tional footage. Besides the couple running through the woods and a few cutaway shots, it restores or extends no other scenes, which leads to having the storyline still missing important pieces. It sometimes even resorts to showing grainy 16mm behind-the-scenes documentary footage shot as a “Making Of” to fill some gaps caused by the removal of pornographic footage (Like during [1b], 00:02:07. It can easily be proved that it was shot for the “Making Of”, as the same footage is available in an unedited form on the “Behind the Scenes” part of the disc described later).

So, although being slightly more faithful to the script, this version is still not at all similar to what Tinto Brass had in mind.

- **“Theatrical Version” (101 min runtime):**

This version tries mimicking the 1983 R-Rated version of “Caligula”. That cut was commissioned by Guccione, and the cutters had access to the film’s raw footage in order to re-edit it in a less “offensive” version. According to [3], www.imdb.com/title/tt0080491/trivia and ([1b], Ernest Volkman’s audio commentary, 00:58:00), that version looked quite credible, as the cutters hid cuts by showing scenes from different angles and utilizing much alternative footage.

Apparently, Bob Guccione didn’t like this version very much in 1983 as he was an opponent of censorship, and when he re-released the film in 1999, he ordered a new R-Rated cut to be made. The reasons for this are not clearly documented, but the author assumes that maybe the negative for the original R-Rated cut was lost or dismantled.

The new R-Rated version – which we get on the DVD – was made by editing [1a] without having access to any additional footage. Therefore, it features jump cuts in the audio and strange editing involving cutaway-shots that repeat over and over because of the lack of different, tamer material. For the lack of any additional footage, this version can only be of interest in order to see which material was deemed objectionable for an R-rating. Besides that, even the casual viewer will notice how many shots repeat over and over, and will surely be confused by it. An example for this is in the beginning, when we see Caligula going through Tiberius Grotto. In this sequence, we see a wide-angle total of the scenery, in which Caligula and Tiberius step up on the third floor. This shot is repeated multiple times, although Caligula and Tiberius move a lot in the sequence. Thus, their positions seem to switch constantly.

As this version features no new material, it will not be used for the reconstruction of Tinto Brass’ intended film.

2. Italian DVD-release: “Io, Caligola” [11] (124 min runtime):

The Italian version of “Caligula” differs from the American one. Parts of it were assembled differently, using different shots for some scenes, or even extending two scenes: Proculus being thrown in front of the killing machine, and Nerva’s suicide. As we will see later, these extensions and alternate edits seem to originate from using small parts of Tinto Brass’ workprint, which makes this version especially valuable: Some part of Brass’ workprint can only be seen here.

This release of “Io, Caligola” will be referenced as [11] in the analysis.

3. Workprint with temporary audio and visible splice-marks [12]:

On the website of the “Guccione Collection”, we find a full workprint of the film for download.¹ It is mostly the same as the released version [1a] in terms of editing, but includes audio taken on the set without redubbing, and it is visible how the shots have been spliced together by horizontal splicemarks. There are some minor changes, however: Most notably, the sequence in Caligula’s bedroom after he had been declared Emperor in the senate is now almost complete according to [10], including a transition after Caligula chases away some spies and before Charea enters, and the end, when him and Drusilla decide to appoint Charea as commander of the Praetorian guard. The end of that sequence however is not included, but can be found in Tinto Brass’ workprint.²

One other interesting fact about the workprint is that – until the end of the scene of Macro’s execution – many shots are in black & white. Looking at shots found on [1] from Tinto Brass’ workprint, we notice that the splice-marks of the black&white shots in [12] match the splice marks of Tinto Brass’ workprint. Also, we notice that no shots used in this workprint are included in the 16mm reduction on the DVD (Most notable, in the scene where Tiberius is murdered). Thus, it seems likely that the “leftover” shots from Tinto Brass’ workprint that weren’t used by Guccione’s editors were reduced to 16mm, while some others were used in the final workprint of the film. This is the most valuable finding about this roughcut concerning reconstructing the version Tinto Brass wanted: Combining the black&white shots from this roughcut with the ones found on the “Imperial Edition”, we can e.g. re-assemble the scene of Tiberius’ murder and other sequences as Tinto Brass assembled them, as will be shown later.

¹ <http://store.guccionecollection.com/products/caligula-full-length> Accessed on September 6, 2013. The workprint appears to be transferred from an old video-tape. It was probably transferred to the tape in the 1970s, while the film was being edited.

² [1], Disc 2, Deleted Scene: “Drusilla comforts Caligula”.

2. What additional materials can be used to find out Tinto Brass' intentions?

The "Imperial Edition" provides plenty of bonus-material, which allows us to get an insight into the material shot for the film. Most of it is presented as "raw-material", featuring no explanations or analyses. Here is an overview and explanation of the most important sources. See the appendix for a complete and thorough list of all sources used in this reconstruction.

1. Parts of Tinto Brass' workprint (found on [1])

Before the film was taken out of his hands, Tinto Brass had been able to put together a rough-cut for the first part of "Caligula"³. Although it was dismantled afterwards, a silent 16mm Black & White-Copy survives. Parts of it are released on the DVD and allow us to perform an analysis of his intended style.

2. Two drafts of the screenplay ([1e] and [1f])

We get two drafts of the screenplay: The first draft, which differs much from the final movie, and a very late draft (July 1976) which can be used to reconstruct parts of the film. But still, we have to rely on the filmed footage, as this is not the final draft. The July 1976 draft is similar in many parts, yet has many notable differences to the final film. For example, Proculus – the officer whose bride is raped by Caligula – survives in that version and helps plotting Caligula's assassination, and many other scenes play out slightly differently, too.

3. "North American Bonus Footage" ([2a])

This is one of the most important parts, only released on the European "Imperial Edition"⁴. It contains parts of a workprint that was quite far advanced. All scenes it shows are either shortened or absent in the released version, and often, this "North American Bonus Footage" is our only source for them. It's, in fact, one of the most important sources to reconstruct the film's second half. For some parts, the audio does not survive, but many missing lines can be reconstructed by using the different screenplays and the shooting record mentioned below. Nonetheless, this workprint was surely not edited by Tinto Brass, as he didn't get that far into the movie before he was fired. To support this, the editing-style of this "Bonus Footage" matches the one of the released film, and does not resemble Tinto Brass' style at all.⁵ This "Bonus Footage" contains some parts of Bob Guccione's reshoot of the orgy on the brothel ship, which can be easily identified. They were not used for the reconstruction.

4. Rushes for some scenes (found on [1])

"Rushes" is the term for a whole unedited roll of film, showing exactly what a camera filmed without any cuts. The DVDs includes them for some scenes, and they allow us to get glimpses at many visual ideas which did not end up in Guccione's cut.

³ The booklet accompanying the US Imperial Edition, page 9, mentions Brass' roughcut running 38 minutes. As shown later in this paper, Tinto Brass likely assembled significantly more before his departure, until Macro's execution.

⁴ As an extra on the DVD with the "Theatrical Version".

⁵ See the detailed analysis in this paper, part VI, end of a.2.

6. Audio-Commentaries (found on [1b])

Three audio commentaries accompany the “Alternate Version” / “Pre-Release Version” of “Caligula”: One with Malcolm McDowell – the actor who portrays Caligula, one with Helen Mirren (Caesonia) and one with journalist Ernest Volkman who was present on the set during the making of the movie. For this paper, the latter is the most important one, as it sheds some light on some of the film’s story-telling aspects, while McDowell and Mirren mostly talk about casting-decisions, on-set anecdotes and facts which don’t touch the storyline in depth. In fact, besides of the added pornographic scenes, Malcolm McDowell seems unaware of how much Guccione was involved during the editing, almost never mentioning any details of scenes that got cut. After about 30 years, McDowell seems to think that the film basically represents Brass’ vision with added hardcore-pornography, which is not the case.

7. “Making-Of” (long version: 61 min) ([1c])

The “Making-Of” documentary was mostly shot during the filming of the movie, but edited afterwards. Thus, it includes moments of interviews with Tinto Brass, Malcolm McDowell and other people involved and shows some parts of scenes deleted from the released film.

7b.: “Behind the Scenes Footage” (found on [1])

This footage shows rushes of the material shot for the “Making-Of” documentary. We get glimpses at additional things going-on on-set. For our analyzes, one fact is most important: We see a few times that Tinto Brass operates the camera himself. This signifies how much he was concerned about the film’s style.⁶

8. Interview with Tinto Brass ([1d])

This interview with Tinto Brass was recently conducted, probably to prepare the “Imperial Edition” DVDs. He offers some interesting insight into the making of the film, as well as some stories behind it. Unfortunately, he doesn’t talk about the storyline in great detail.

9. Shooting record for the final film. ([10])

At Harvard University Archive, we find shooting records for “Caligula”. They contain a transcription of the lines actually spoken on set – which we find spread over two sources: Written into a draft of the screenplay, and on separate sheets of paper⁷. This proves very valuable to reconstruct many parts of the film to their intended form. But the notes are incomplete, making it still necessary to use screenplay [1f] for the reconstruction of some parts.

⁶ In the Making-Of, we can see such shots as well: ([1c], 00:29:18.

⁷ These items are not catalogued yet, but can be found at: Houghton Library, Harvard College Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Gore Vidal Papers, 1875-2004. File Folder: (GORE VIDAL'S) CALIGULA - SCREENPLAY 1976. Call Number until it is catalogued: *2001M-52 Box 45. Further lines can be found in a thermal photostat strangely placed into the folder “CALIGULA MANUSCRIPT - TREATMENT OF R. ROSSELINNI 9,“. For this analysis, lines from both sources were used to get the most complete overview.

IV. Story and structure: Reconstruction (overview)

There are lots of differences between the released version of “Caligula” – which was not edited by Tinto Brass – and the version he originally intended. As this paper tries to analyze “Caligula” in its intended form conceived by Tinto Brass, it makes sense to first reconstruct the basic storyline with help of the released version of the film as well as based on other mentioned sources. This task is rather easy: If we use the July 1976 screenplay as a guideline, we can reconstruct the placement of most scenes very clearly. As that screenplay is not the final draft – some scenes differ significantly from the filmed ones, while others were obviously never filmed as the dialogue from them was moved to other scenes – we can not rely on it to represent what was filmed. But in combination with the “North American Bonus Footage” – which includes at least parts of all deleted sequences – we can pierce together a full synopsis that is most probably very close to Tinto Brass’ original intention.

In chapter VI we will analyze the film and editing in-depth, so this is just an overview to get familiar with the film’s planned story. Details on the reconstruction, which forms the basis and reason for this synopsis, can be found in chapter VI as well.

The following synopsis is quite detailed, as the released version is very different in many areas from the movie intended by Tinto Brass, making it necessary to re-tell the planned version in detail. This is often done scene-by-scene as ordering of sequences differs from the released version, or they are put in a different context there.

The biggest changes can be found in the second and third part of the film.

Scenes / parts of scenes removed from the released version or moved to other places there are marked in red. Most of the deleted scenes can be seen – at least in part – in the “North American Bonus Footage”. More details on the editing can be found in chapter VI a.

“Caligula”, as planned and filmed by Tinto Brass: Full synopsis

1. Caligula on Capri

We start by watching Caligula lying next to his sister Drusilla, awakening from a nightmare. His first words are full of sorrow that his grandfather Tiberius, Caesar of Rome, is going to kill him, just like he killed Caligula’s father and brothers. As a black bird flies in, he jumps behind a bed and panics, while his sister laughs about it. Drusilla – with whom he has an incestuous relationship – calms him down, when suddenly Macro, commander of the Praetorian guard, enters⁸. Drusilla hides while he brings news from Capri, the Emperor’s place of residence: Tiberius orders his grandson by adoption – and heir – Caligula to visit him there. Macro assures Caligula that he has nothing to fear, as he and the praetorian guard are loyal to Caligula. We also get to know that Macro intends his wife to marry Caligula at some point in the future – we can assume to bond Caligula stronger to Macro and give him a secure place under Caligula’s future reign.

When Caligula arrives in Capri, he soon meets senator Nerva – an old friend and advisor to Tiberius, who seems very sane and rational. While they walk down the corridor to the entrance of Tiberius’ villa, Caligula already witnesses some people being brutally tortured behind some curtains, which gives the place a very morbid and horrifying atmosphere. Nerva seems to be discontent with Tiberius, as he apparently ordered several senators to be executed for treason in the last month, who were “all good men” according to Nerva. Caligula answers witty and tries to keep the façade of loyalty towards the Emperor: “If they were all good men, why could their beloved Emperor find them guilty of treason?” ([1a], 00:09:31).

Arriving in Tiberius villa, Caligula is very subordinate and careful around Tiberius, who first humiliates him by forcing him to perform a strange dance, which Caligula apparently performed when he was a child. They take a walk around Tiberius’ villa and grotto – which are filled with slaves having to perform strange sexual fantasies for Tiberius. While they walk, Tiberius tells Caligula how depraved the government and the Senate are, and about his lifestory. During all of this, Tiberius is drunk and constantly orders more wine.

Caligula is very intimidated, as he witnesses Tiberius’ cruelty and depravation when the Emperor orders a guard to be brutally murdered for being drunk on duty. Tiberius even tells Caligula directly how he suspects him to have an incestuous relationship with Drusilla, that he is sure his

⁸ In the released version [1a], this scene is edited in a way that doesn’t show Caligula’s and Drusilla’s faces while talking for the most part. It can be strongly suspected that Tinto Brass wouldn’t have chosen this editing – and in the Making-Of, we can see a very different edit of the sequence, revealing their faces. ([1c], 00:04:11). This edit could stem from Tinto Brass’ workprint, but no proof of this is available, so this is a mere suspicion – stressed by the fact that Tinto Brass apparently edited the first part of the film until Proculus’ fight, as will be demonstrated later. Note: In the Making-Of, the shot of Caligula and Drusilla talking is mirrored. Additionally, the editing is a little mixed-up, and shots depicting the end of the sequence precede the dialogue. The actual, suspected edit of the dialogue starts in the wide-shot found at 00:04:11. The author suspects that parts of Tinto Brass workprint were used for this part of the Making-Of, but taken apart by the editors, explaining the wrong order of shots.

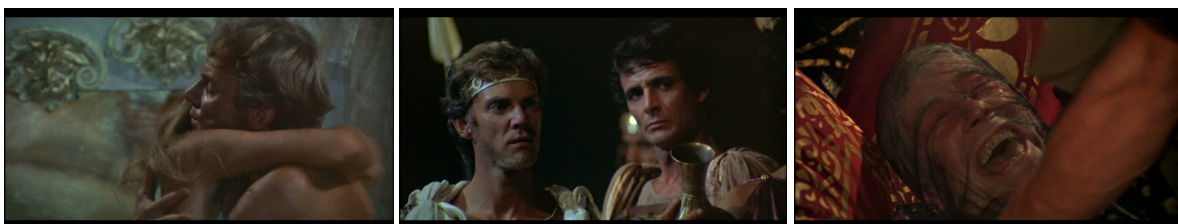
grandson is close to Macro's wife, etc. In fact, Tiberius would favour his real grandson Gemellus as his successor, but he is still too young for the task. In fact, Tiberius even tries murdering Caligula with a cup of poisoned wine, which Caligula declines and therefore kills a slave who drinks it while Tiberius walks away seemingly unaffected, while Caligula – now without being witnessed by the Emperor – signs a document with Tiberius' seal, already murmuring: "I, Caligula Caesar, command in the name of the Senate and the people of Rome!" **This is treason, and there have been many slaves witnessing this, which gives the scene a tense end.**

On Capri, Caligula meets with Ennia – Macro's wife – while his beard is ritually shaved to symbolize his transition to manhood. Before they can get intimate, they hear a howl and run in that direction.

They arrive in a room where Nerva just cut his wrists in order to commit suicide. Tiberius talks to his bleeding friend who is sitting in a bathtub, who tells him how he doesn't want to continue living: **He's afraid that Caligula will be transformed into a monster by power, just as Tiberius was.**⁹ Reluctantly and sad, Tiberius accepts the decision and walks away, while Caligula remains and asks Nerva how it feels to die. When the old senator tells him that he doesn't see any god, Caligula gets furious and shoves his face under the water surface.

Later, while slaves in Capri perform their morning-routines, Caligula gets informed that Tiberius has been lying in bed – apparently dying – since Nerva died. He talks to Macro, who again swears his loyalty, after which we get to see Tiberius' bedroom.

In his room, Tiberius is lying in bed motionless. When Caligula finally is alone with him, he takes the sealing ring from his seemingly dead or almost-dead grandfather. As he tries on the ring, Tiberius re-awakes and commands Caligula to give him back the ring. Shocked at first, Caligula declines strong-willed and is about to kill Tiberius with a hand-mirror, when suddenly Macro enters and kills the Emperor by strangling him, therefore leaving no traces and making his death seem natural. As Macro leaves, Caligula discovers Gemellus who hid behind some curtains and witnessed the murder. The scared boy swears his loyalty to the new Emperor, and Caligula's reign begins.



- 2. Left:** Caligula embracing his sister before departing to Capri
- 3. Middle:** Caligula and Macro while Tiberius talks in his grotto.
- 4. Right:** Tiberius is being suffocated by Macro.

⁹ In the release version [1a], the dialogue was simplified, changed and shortened to remove references to "power". But the shooting-record [10] paints a different picture: Nerva is worried because if power even turned educated Tiberius – his friend – into a monster, it could do even worse things to the uneducated Caligula. Watching Brass' workprint for this part reveals that he edited the dialogue exactly as in [10]. See this paper, chapter VI.

2. Caligula's reign begins – The orgy of power

Caligula is officially named Emperor at Tiberius' funeral. At first, he tries to play the grieving grandson, but after people in the audience express their discontent with the dead Emperor, he quickly switches to his normal personality by granting a general amnesty to all prisoners, making him extremely popular. He adopts Gemellus as his "son and heir", declares his mentally retarded uncle Claudius his consul, and even includes his sister Drusilla to be called alongside him in official vows. Macro warns him to be careful of Gemellus, which Caligula doesn't really respond to.

Being in power, Caligula at first is overwhelmed by being able to do "anything I like to anyone", as he tells Drusilla in bed. That moment, he discovers that he is spied upon from a secret chamber in the wall, and Drusilla advises him to start by getting rid of Macro. **They continue their conversation, when suddenly Charea – apparently a senator – enters and tells Caligula about a dispute between two senators who accompany him. Caligula settles this in a humorous and strange way by weighting each of their documents in his hands and playing "scales of justice", without knowing their content. As they leave, Caligula jumps back into bed. Drusilla joins him, and while making out, they decide that Charea would be a good new commander for the guard.**¹⁰

We cut to a parade of the Praetorians, where Caligula has Macro arrested by signalling scared Gemellus to point at the murderer of Tiberius. When the Praetorians hesitate to arrest their commander, Caligula buys their loyalty by granting every one a one-time extra payment. Although not officially appointed yet, Charea orders the guards to arrest Macro.¹¹ **Here, for the first time, Longinus is introduced as "Chancellor".**¹²

Caligula's next action is arresting Ennia and officially appointing Charea as the next commander of the Praetorian guard. While Macro is sentenced to death and his wife is banished to Gaul, Drusilla tells Caligula that he should find a suitable wife. At first, he suggests marrying her, but Drusilla talks him out of it and he agrees to visit the Temple of Isis to find a suitable priestess as a wife.

At the temple, he first likes Livia – a beautiful virgin – but Drusilla talks him out of it because the young woman is the fiancée of Proculus, an officer. Instead, Caligula picks Caesonia – an older, more experienced woman – although Drusilla warns him of her, as she is "divorced (...), extravagant, always in debt..." But Caligula ignores her warnings and has sex with Caesonia in a small room next to the temple.

¹⁰ This decision of Caligula can be found in the available footage, as the ending part depicting Caligula and Drusilla in bed survives in Tinto Brass' workprint – but only without sound. But in [1f] the dialogue is written down. It is almost certain that this part of dialogue takes place during the bed-scene, but because we see few close-ups of their faces, it is impossible to say if Brass changed the dialogue during shooting. Details on this sequence: see this paper, chapter VI.

¹¹ Being barely invisible in the background of a long shot in the released version.

¹² See: [10]. As the dialogue was shortened a lot in the release version, Longinus is never properly introduced there.

We jump to Macro's execution in an exaggerated Roman stadium, where a giant killing-machine kills convicts. Caligula, Caesonia, Drusilla and many others watch the spectacle; While Caesonia is chained like a dog on her collar, Caligula tells Drusilla that he will marry Caesonia once she has born him a son. He assures his sister that any child Caesonia might be expecting will surely be his, as she is guarded by homosexual, castrated guards. At the execution, he discovers Proculus – the soon-to-be husband of Livia. **Caligula orders that he is thrown in the stadium, where Proculus fights a guard and wins quickly. Angrily, Caligula gives Proculus the "crown of victory" and remarks that he is "looking forward to the wedding".**

At Proculus' wedding, he appears with Caesonia and Drusilla, and rapes both Livia and Proculus in a nearby kitchen, obviously enjoying the fact that nobody dares to interfere, and that he can order anyone to do anything for him. Drusilla is angry and leaves the place, but Caesonia laughs at the notion that Caligula never "had" a virgin before – a hint on her status as a divorced woman.



5. Left: Temple of Isis. This shot can be found in [1b] and most likely is 16mm Making-Of footage.

6. Middle: Caligula, after raping Livia and before molesting Proculus.

7. Right: Caligula in Longinus office, shortly before stopping to sign laws.

Afterwards, when Caligula is in the office of Longinus – he soon stops signing laws. Instead, he commences to issue one senseless edict after the other, and plays with the fact that Longinus always agrees with him. In the end, he is annoyed and remarks: "No wonder life's so dull!", because Longinus (and supposedly everybody) always agrees with him.

We cut to a scene in which Caligula wakes up at night and watches a shadow run on the balcony in the middle of a storm. He jumps up and runs out, driven by the thought that it was Gemellus trying to kill him. He runs around the rain on the balcony, shouting that Gemellus wants to kill him and that he, Caligula, is loved by Jupiter. Drusilla and Caesonia run after him and get him back in bed, where they both comfort him. We see zooms towards a hole in the wall, implying that they might be spied upon.

After this, we cut to a big banquet where Caligula orders the Praetorians to arrest Gemellus for "treason", as he apparently took an antidote before attending. Drusilla is angry at her brother and calls him an "amateur", for which he slaps her. While she runs off, Caligula tells the other attendants some jokes and forces – now pregnant - Caesonia to perform an erotic dance for him.

Afterwards, Caligula has Proculus tortured and murdered for being an “honest man” and therefore “not a good Roman”.¹³

Following this scene, Caligula – visibly weak and sick - walks around his stable, mumbling to his white horse Incitatus about his actions, justifying them. While doing this, he picks up flies with a golden needle, and talks to Incitatus about Drusilla, in the end calling his horse “Drusilla”. In the end, he vomits.

Next we see him lying sick in bed – first beside his horse, which soon is taken to its stable. While he is lying sick, Longinus, Charea and other senators discuss on the balcony, and they agree that it is better to have tyranny than anarchy, and therefore it wouldn’t be a good idea to kill Caligula. But they are sure that he is going to die anyway due to his sickness. But after Caligula dictates his will and a Senator theatrically offers Jupiter his life in exchange for the Emperor’s – an offer which Caligula agrees to take, so the surprised senator is executed – the fever breaks, meaning that the Emperor will survive.

We see one idyllic scene afterwards in which Caligula and Drusilla run around in a forest like young people freshly in love.¹⁴

But immediately afterwards, we see the public birth of Caligula’s child. Before knowing the gender, the Emperor marries Caesonia, only to find out that the kid is female. Nonetheless, he declares that there is one month of free games to celebrate his “son Julia Drusilla”, which shows that his word has so much power that he can declare his child a son regardless of the gender. At the same time, Drusilla – now looking feverish and sick – falls down, probably having caught the illness Caligula had before.

While Caligula is playing with his wife and Daughter a few months later – judging from her looking about 6 months old now – he sees a black bird. He is scared of it, and takes it as a sign to run to Drusilla’s room. As he arrives, she dies, even though he offered the goddess Isis his life in exchange for that of his sister. Furiously, he smashes the goddess’ statue and runs around the palace holding her dead body, screaming. As Caligula carries Drusilla out of her bedroom, Longinus and a few of his assistants peek around a corner: They witnessed all of this.

¹³ This sequence has no equivalent in the July 1976 screenplay [1f], as Proculus survived there (even in the 1975 first draft [1e], a similar sequence was placed at a completely different part of the story). But, as the author suggests, it only makes sense to place it here: Caligula mocks Proculus by remarking that his wife Livia is expecting a child and they do not know who of the two the father is. Seeing that Caesonia is pregnant in the sequence before, this could be a realistic spot timing-wise, especially since Caligula might have been frustrated and drinking at the banquet before, releasing all his frustration on Proculus. (And, although he is dressed differently than at the banquet, he is bringing two women with him who were lying next to him during the dinner.)

¹⁴ See: “Pre-Release version” / “Alternate Version”, [1b], 00:56:10. This scene was difficult to place in the film, as there is no trace of it in any released screenplay, and it was placed in wrong locations in all released film-versions. But the shooting-record [10] clarifies that it belongs here. Story- and editing-wise, it makes most sense here as well: Caligula has one last idyllic time with his sister, before everything changes with the birth of his daughter and Drusilla’s death.

Desperate, he starts walking the streets of Rome incognito, and witnesses the miserable life of many people there. At a performance he watches people form a “human pyramid” representing the structure of the state (slaves as the lowest layer, while the Emperor is the uppermost). As the actor portraying the Emperor mocks Caligula, he is enraged and throws down the pyramid by thrusting a man in the lowest level. As he does so incognito, he is beaten up and carried away by soldiers.

At Longinus’ office, Caesonia is worried about Caligula’s whereabouts. Apparently, there are many rumours about where the Emperor might have gone, but nobody knows for sure. While Longinus suggests many different locations, Caesonia is sure that Caligula is still in Rome, testing them. **Longinus smiles, and mentions some of Caligula’s edicts ironically¹⁵.**

In the meantime, Caligula – still incognito – waits in prison and watches strange behaviour by the inmates, who are seemingly led by a deaf-mute Barbarian in stereotypical Germanic armour. He tries to take Caligula’s ring, but as soon as the Barbarian takes a close look at it, he discovers that it’s the Emperor before him and bows down, as all the other prisoners do, too.



8. Left: Caligula lying sick in bed, while signing his last will

9. Middle: Caligula and Drusilla enjoying one last idyllic time before she dies. (Scene found in [1b])

10. Right: After Drusilla’s death: Caligula roaming the streets incognito

¹⁵ Found only in the shooting record [10], proving that these lines were filmed. They are not in any version of the screenplay.

3. Battle of Britain – Caligula romp through the state’s institutions

Still in a dirty prison toga, Caligula – accompanied by his new Barbarian friend from prison – runs into the Senate house and proclaims himself a god. The senators are very irritated about this, but nobody dares to interfere. Caligula has Claudius – his retarded uncle – take the senators’ vote, and they all shout “Aye!” in agreement. Caligula enjoys this display of his power, and mocks them by making sheep sounds which they repeat, too. Amused, he announces that the period of mourning for his sister Drusilla is now over. While he rushes out of the Senate, the black mourning-curtain is dropped on the senators who get flocked like sheep by the Barbarian who wields a whip to get them to stay below the curtain. Caesonia watches this in amusement.

We cut to her in Caligula in their bedroom where she massages him. She is worried about his decision to declare himself a god, and seems very sceptic about this. Caligula asks her if she really believes this, and she ironically replies: “Oh yes, I do”. Caligula, angrily, tells her: “Then you’re as stupid as the rest of them!” Angrily, she runs out of the room, but returns a few moments later to continue her massage. As she starts making out with Caligula, he laughs: “You can’t! I am a god...”

Following this, we cut to a Roman temple in which the statues’ heads are being replaced by heads of Caligula. He oversees the works, in the presence of Caesonia, Longinus, his horse and other characters. There, he teases Longinus about the statues and tells him about his idea to start a war against Britain. Longinus is worried about the finances and suggests to raise taxes, an idea which Caligula hates. We can see Longinus frustration as Caligula, Caesonia and the Barbarian present a new “march” which Caligula suggests teaching to his legions. The High Priest – a minor character who appears in many scenes – watches in frustration, too.

Probably, a transition to the next sequence – which can be found in the “North American Bonus Footage” – is missing, which would explain his next action a bit: Standing in the temple, people throw gold in a casket, most likely as donations to finance his campaign against Britain. In sped-up motion, Caligula and the Barbarian collect the money with a basket and throw it in the treasury. This sequence reminds one of silent movie-comedies, as they move quickly and have humorous interactions. Even Longinus donates for the campaign – although not very happily and only after Caligula stands directly in front of him, holding up the basket.

In the treasury, Caligula jumps into the gold-coins and seems very excited by the wealth contained there.

After Caligula filled up the treasury, we jump to a public ceremony taking place in the temple a while later. Caligula is supposed to sacrifice a bull by killing it with a giant hammer. Instead, he smashes a priest’s head with it, which gets him some laughs from the audience. He very theatrically and humorously declares that he is the greatest god now and that Jupiter is very angry about it. He leaves, taking parts of the temple’s treasury with him, declaring that “Jupiter’s treasury is now mine!”. Sarcastically, he remarks to Longinus: “And you wanted to raise taxes...”, implying that he takes the money for his campaign against Britain.

Back in his palace, we see Caligula getting dressed-up in a fancy glittering armour by Caesonia and the Barbarian. As the Barbarian pinches him with a needle, Caligula playfully slaps him, but Caesonia is comforting him. Longinus enters and gets to know Caligula's new plan: To prostitute the Senator's wives in an imperial brothel, as the "pimps" are the "richest men in Rome". Probably he either tells Caesonia or Longinus his plan to use this money for the Battle of Britain, as we never get this explicitly stated in the released version. It probably is a part of the deleted footage. In a room next door, we see the brothel: A giant ship built in a large hall, which is populated with women and men performing sexual acts. They are shown in passing, and not in great detail¹⁶. Caligula walks around the ship, advertising the cheap rates, while most of the women actually seem to enjoy being prostituted. He constantly teases Charea and Longinus, who seem to be very angry at the Emperor as they talk in private next to the Brothel-Ship. In the end, some soldiers perform Caligula's strange march which he demonstrated earlier while walking around the ship, being (playfully?) mocked by bystanders. Towards the end, we see a shot of Charea and Longinus looking at each other uncomfortably, as they both share the anger for Caligula's actions.



- 11. Left:** Caligula storming in the Senate before declaring himself a god.
12. Middle: People donate money in the temple. (Scene found in [2a])
13. Right: On the Brothel-Ship.

After this fundraising-campaign, we finally get to see the "Battle of Britain": The army is waiting in front of a lake, which is only a few hours march from Rome. Caligula – dressed as a military leader – orders the army to attack papyrus cane on the shores of the lake. Charea carries on the order, and the soldiers start assaulting the papyrus – most of them in the nude. While Caligula and his barbarian bodyguard laugh frenetically at the ridiculous attack and Caligula shouts insults at the attacking soldiers, Charea, Longinus and Caligula's uncle Claudius watch in the distance.

We cut to a dinner banquet in which senators and the Emperor celebrate the victory in Britain. As a proof for his conquest, Caligula presents papyrus cane and other "spoils" from Britain, to which the senators cheer. As Caesonia is worried about the important men (senators and Consuls) now hating Caligula, he replies: "So important that they approve all I do? They must be mad. I don't know what else to do to provoke them!"

¹⁶ In [1a], lots of hardcore-pornographic footage not filmed by Tinto Brass was cut-in, while many story-relevant elements of this scene were cut out, making the sequence hard to comprehend there.

As this banquet develops into an orgy, Caligula becomes disgusted. He interrupts the orgy and starts mocking the senators by ordering them to do different, ridiculous behaviours, and they follow his orders. All who fail get put on a list by Longinus¹⁷, and Caligula finally orders the arrest of all those who “failed” Rome. They are arrested on the spot, and the Emperor orders the remaining guests to continue their dinner. Caesonia warns him about Charea, but Caligula doesn’t take it seriously. He asks Longinus if there is any plot against him, but mocks the latter’s careful reply. The scene ends with Caligula asking Claudius when the next Consul-Election will take place.¹⁸

We cut to the Senate house where Caligula proclaims his horse Incitatus a consul in a very official ceremony, with lots of senators and people in attendance. He starts proclaiming: “In the name of the Senate and the people...”, but quickly corrects himself: “In the name of the people of Rome, designate as Consul, Incitatus!”. This leads to cheers from the ordinary people in the audience. As Longinus remarks to Charea: “The Senate counts for nothing!”

But afterwards, we see Caligula and the Barbarian alone in the temple of Jupiter. Caligula takes the new heads off the gods’ statues and starts talking to them. “What would you do if you were me?” As there is no answer, he remarks: “You don’t exist!” and starts smashing one head after the other with a hammer while the Barbarian fetches more and more heads and gives them to the Emperor. As he is finished, Caligula breaks down and starts weeping while muttering the phrase: “You don’t exist.”



14. Left: The victory-banquet for the Battle of Britain.

15. Middle: Declaring his horse a Consul in the Senate (scene found in [2a])

16. Right: Smashing statues’ heads: “You don’t exist!” (scene found in [2a])

Slowly walking through the empty Senate with his bodyguard, Caligula ascends the stairs to the top platform and lets out a silent scream¹⁹. Afterwards, when ascending the stairs to his bedroom in the evening, Caligula seems tired and broken. His barbarian Bodyguard accompanies

¹⁷ This part of the scene does not survive in any of the released workprints or screenplays, but can be found in the shooting-record [10], which has this scene play out similar to the parts that were used in [1a]. This proves that the scene was filmed like that.

¹⁸ This part of the scene only survives in the screenplay [1f] and the shooting record [10].

¹⁹ This can only be found in the screenplay [1f]. The opening of the scene however can be found in the released film, but is cut short of the end.

him to his balcony in front of the bedroom and they both stare at something in shock / surprise.²⁰

Entering his bedroom, Caligula murmurs to Caesonia that he needs some sleep, while she seems worried. As a black bird flies into the room, she panics, but Caligula seems very calm about it.

We cut to a religious play for Isis in which Caligula and Caesonia act, while being watched by Longinus, Charea, Claudius and other people. As their play is over, Caligula, Caesonia, their daughter and the Barbarian leave the stage and want to exit. The Praetorian guard blocks the way and Charea asks for a passwords. As Caligula tells him, he replies: "So be it!" and stabs the Emperor, Caesonia and the Barbarian. The whole guard starts stabbing Caligula, and their daughter is also killed. Longinus, the Praetorian guard and other officials proclaim scared Claudius Emperor, and Longinus takes Caligula's ring.

As they depart, Caligula and his family are thrown down the stairs, and Caligula's horse starts running around the stadium. Some servants try catching it. Witnessing this, mortally wounded Caligula convulses one last time in terror before dying.

²⁰ According to a still image found on: [1] → Disc 3 → Still Images → Color Film Stills → 00:01:50.

V. Character: The Eight main figures.

The characters are presented according to Tinto Brass' intended version, which differs from [1a]. The most important ones for the storyline were chosen. This derives from research conducted in chapter VI.

1. Caligula:

The main character: In his late 20s / early 30s, he is the grand-son (by adoption) of Tiberius Caesar. Although being a scared young man in the beginning, as soon as he gains power following Tiberius' death, he changes: At first, he enjoys ruling without limits and behaves like a spoilt child irresponsibly "playing" with power: Although he issues a general amnesty – which makes him popular with the people – and edicts in favour of the people, on the other hand he rapes the bride of an officer at their wedding without anybody daring to interfere. His character changes after the death of his sister Drusilla, with whom he had an incestuous relationship. He becomes more serious afterwards, gets emotionally closer to his wife Caesonia, and starts using his power to perform an anarchist romp against state and religion to rule in favour of the people. He starts by declaring himself a god, and plunders religious treasuries to perform a fake-war against Britain. He ultimately is murdered by his Praetorian guard, guided by their chief Charea.

2. Drusilla:

Caligula's sister: She has an affair with her brother, although she is married to "Marcellus", whom we never see or hear of again after he is briefly mentioned in the exposition. She seems very reasonable and tries to guide Caligula in his political decisions, warning him of Macro, the chief of the Praetorian guard. Although she does not seem to have too much influence on his actions (he rapes an officer's bride in spite of Drusilla displaying anger), she is very loyal to him, even lying in bed next to him while he has a contagious sickness. She is rational and does not like the idea of Caligula marrying her. Instead, she insists he marries someone else, which ultimately leads to Caligula marrying Caesonia. Drusilla dies of a sickness similar to Caligula's earlier one a while after her brother's marriage.

3. Caesonia:

Caligula's wife: He meets her at a ceremony in the "Temple of Isis", where Drusilla leads him to find a wife. Caesonia is called the "most promiscuous woman in Rome" by Drusilla ([1a], 01:03:15), but Caligula takes a liking in her nonetheless. In the beginning, he is treating her rather badly, having her chained like a dog ([1a], 01:07:29). She seems very decadent and cold-hearted when Caligula wants to rape the bride, as she starts laughing hysterically at the idea that Caligula never had a virgin before. ([1a], 01:12:02). As their daughter is born and Drusilla dies, she and Caligula get closer to each other and become more and more like a "normal" family with their child Julia Drusilla. Although Caligula appears "mad" in public by having people address him as a god, in private he and Caesonia don't actually believe it. She too is murdered by the Praetorian guard.

4. Tiberius:

Caligula's grand-father by adoption: He is the Roman Emperor, but resides on Capri in a villa filled with slaves who perform sexual perversions for him. We can assume he has some classical education as he recites Homer, and that he had not wanted to become Emperor. As his successor, he favours his real grandson Gemellus, who is still too young for the task. He predicts that Caligula will have him killed (which, later in the film, actually happens), and tries to poison Caligula. After Nerva, Tiberius' best friend, dies, he becomes weak and ill. When Caligula takes the Emperor's signet ring from the almost-dead Tiberius laying in bed, the Emperor suddenly re-awakes. Caligula is terrified, but Macro – commander of the Praetorian guard in the first part of the film – kills Tiberius, paving the way for Caligula to become Emperor.

5. Macro:

Commander of the Praetorian guard in the beginning of the story: Loyal to Caligula, his goal is to make Caligula become Emperor and have him marry his wife Ennia, whom he intends to divorce for that purpose. That way, he hopes for a high-ranking position in Caligula's government, but is executed after Caligula finds two spies spying on him, whom Drusilla suggests were sent by Macro.

6. Charea:

Macro's successor as the commander of the Praetorian guard: We don't get to know his character very well, but he is described as a "stoic" in a late draft of the screenplay. He seems to be connected to the regular army too, and together with Longinus, is plans Caligula's assassination, executing the first strike on the Emperor.

7. Longinus:

Caligula's "financial wizard" ([1a], 02:05:38): We don't get to know his exact position, but he seems a financial / legal advisor to the Emperor. He is a very subordinate "Yes-Man". Caligula often mocks, insults and provokes him, which Longinus takes without showing the Emperor any anger. Secretly, however, he is extremely frustrated, and as Caligula starts humiliating the Senate openly, Longinus plots with Charea to kill Caligula.

8. High Priest:

Most likely an important religious leader in Rome: The High Priest Bergarius²¹ is a character of whom very few shots remain in the released version, and of whom we find no traces in the available screenplay-drafts. He can be seen in many scenes, and surely plays a part in Caligula's assassination. Caligula mocks and provokes him especially in the third part of the movie, and in the end, the High Priest is one of the people crowning Claudius Emperor.

²¹ The name "Bergarius" only appears in the shooting-record [10] in a line deleted by the producers in [1a].



Caligula and Drusilla, Caesonia

17. Left: In the intended opening shot, lying in bed before Caligula gets summoned to Capri.
18. Right: Caesonia laughing in a deleted sequence from the Temple of Jupiter.



Tiberius and Macro

19. Left: Tiberius in his Grotto, talking to Caligula
20. Right: Macro standing in Tiberius' palace, listening to the Emperor's talk stoically.



Charea and Longinus, The High Priest

21. Left: In the brothel ship, looking angry in a moment deleted from the released version.
22. Right: In the temple of Jupiter, upset about Caligula's actions.

VI. Detailed analysis and reconstruction: The initially planned film.

Before analyzing the film's storyline, it makes sense to take a look at the editing of "Caligula". For Tinto Brass editing is an integral part in directing a film, which is the reason he always insists on editing his films himself²².

Thus, our analysis of the film needs to take into account the way he would probably have edited the film had he been allowed to do so. As we will see later, some scenes – although being similar to Brass' intentions story-wise – would have had a very different impact on the viewer, had some of Tinto Brass' shots been used in the released version, instead of being discarded completely.

a. Visual style and editing

a.1. Tinto Brass' workprint: How much can we reconstruct?

Our first goal in this reconstruction needs to be an evaluation of Tinto Brass' roughcut. As mentioned earlier, he got to assemble the beginning of the film. How much of it can we reconstruct to get a first-hand insight into his editing-style for "Caligula"?

We have three sources: 16mm reduction b&w footage, mostly available on [1], some colour footage available in [11], and shots in black&white deriving from Tinto Brass' workprint in [12]²³. Combined, they allow us to reconstruct some sequences.

²² [1d], 00:22:54.

²³ There are multiple clues that make it almost certain that the black&white shots in [12] derive from Tinto Brass' edit: First, the splice-marks on them match the splice marks found in the 16mm reduction found on [1]. This means that a shot from [12] that was supposed to go right before or after a shot found on the 16mm reduction always has a splice-mark that matches the one found on the 16mm reduction in both location and orientation. The author observed this on all the shots he compared, without exceptions. On [12], the black&white shots sometimes have multiple splice marks, showing that they had been spliced back together anew after they had been spliced for the first time. This demonstrates that they had been part of an edit before they had been spliced into [12] – a logical find, as Tinto Brass' cut had probably been transferred to black&white, which preserved the splice marks. As [12] was assembled, the editors used some shots from the black&white footage, splicing them together anew, creating a new splice-mark found on the image.

Additionally, we find no b&w shots in [12] after Macro's execution. As shown later, Tinto Brass almost certainly edited no further than this scene. Thus, the editors of [12] could only use such footage from Tinto Brass' cut until that sequence – which again makes it highly probable that the b&w shots in that edit derive from Tinto Brass' print.

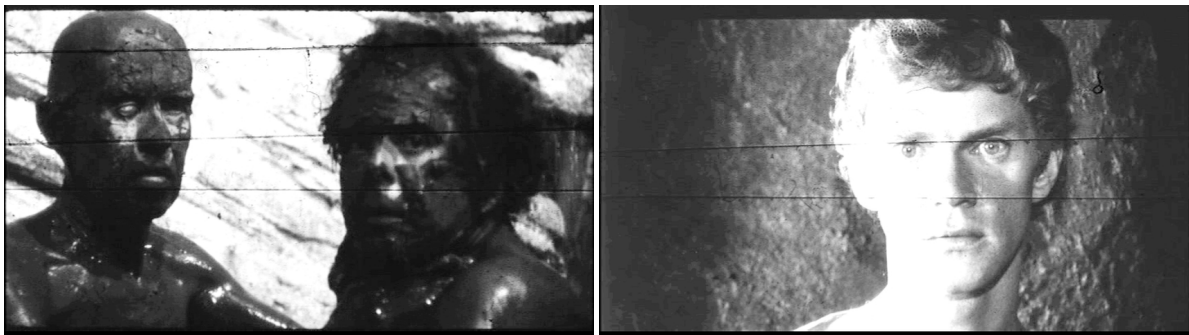
a.1.1. Black – and – white shots from Penthouse-vaults and Guccione’s workprint:

1. Capri: After Nerva’s suicide until Tiberius’ death.

Looking at the parts of the roughcut presented on [1] in black and white 16mm footage, the first one we have contains two sequences: The morning in Capri that was to follow Nerva’s suicide, and Tiberius’ murder sequence²⁴.

The workprint found on the DVD only consists of shots that, at first, seem to be assembled at random, mixing shots from the two sequences. Ranjit Sandhu in his booklet to [1] suspects that these shots were just roughly assembled by Tinto Brass to be a pool of footage for later editing, but examining them closely proves this wrong:

If we take apart this piece of the workprint shot-by-shot and assemble the shots back together in chronological order, we see that they actually fit together and form an edited sequence. Even the splicemarks at the beginnings and ends of shots match if they are put in their correct order²⁵. But unfortunately, a lot of shots seem to be missing, so we can only reconstruct a few moments with lots of missing footage in between.²⁶



Examples of matching splice-marks

23. Left / 24. Right: Slaves staring at Caligula in shock. Notice that the splice-marks in the middle (horizontal lines) match on both shots. The additional splicemark in the top third of the left picture might derive from Lloyd splicing the shots together out-of-sequence to copy them to 16mm film.

Why is this like that? We know that Russell Lloyd had Tinto Brass’ cut transferred to 16mm footage after Tinto Brass was not allowed to work on the film any more. Also, by looking at the shots in the workprint, it becomes clear that the editors of the final film didn’t use the workprint

²⁴ [1], Disc 2, Deleted Scenes: “Killing Tiberius (...)”.

²⁵ See, for example: [1], Disc 2, Deleted Scenes: “Killing Tiberius (...)”, (00:01:39).

²⁶ Even with the shots found in [12], there are still a lot of gaps.

as a guideline for many parts²⁷. As we know, while Tinto Brass was still editing the film, he edited colour-rushes, while Lloyd used black-and-white 16mm reductions. As soon as Brass was fired, Lloyd started using the colour rushes²⁸. However, as mentioned earlier, looking at [12], we find that in the film's almost final workprint, done without Brass' participation, black&white footage was used, too. Looking at the splice-marks of the b&w shots there, we see that they can be intercut with the shots in the 16mm footage, and their splice-marks match the 16mm reduction as well.

We can thus assume that Lloyd copied Tinto Brass' colour workprint to black&white before switching filmstocks. Probably, he did not want to use Tinto Brass' edits right away. Instead, he probably had Brass' edit taken apart and spliced back into the rushes. This could explain the many splice-marks found in the rushes at the end of [2a]²⁹. But, probably, after taking this part of the workprint apart and including a few of the shots in his own cut, Lloyd decided to copy the remaining shots for reference to 16mm black and white, which explains why they are in seemingly random order and why we find no duplicates with the b&w shots found on [12]³⁰.



Two shots from Tinto Brass' workprint for Tiberius' death-sequence.

25. Left: Two slaves weeping beside Tiberius' bed. This shot was not used in Guccione's final edit.

26. Right: Dissolve-mark, proving that Brass already had planned the transition to the next sequence.

Tiberius' murder in this sequence ends with a fade-mark³¹, which makes it probable that Tinto Brass already started editing the following sequence, in which Caligula is proclaimed emperor: To do a dissolve to the next scene, Tinto Brass would have surely at least picked the first shot for the following sequence.

The sequence as edited in the final film [1a] is very similar to Tinto Brass' assembly, with two exceptions: One shot of two weeping slaves was not used (shown above; it was simply taken out,

²⁷ In the final film, even different takes are used for some parts. See, for example, the shot of slaves bathing in mud, which uses a different take in Brass' edit: [1], Disc 2, Deleted Scenes: "Killing Tiberius (...)", (00:00:52).

²⁸ Remark by one of the film's crewmembers involved in post-production to J. E. Chaffin during an interview in 2007. (Source: J. E. Chaffin, unpublished typescript.)

²⁹ See, for example, [2a], 00:26:50.

³⁰ On a side-note: Trying to match the splice-marks in the rushes found towards the end of [2a] to the shots in the 16mm reduction proved impossible. None of the shots in the available parts of the black and white reduction are present in the published rushes. Probably, looking at the (unreleased) full work print and all rushes would provide answers which at present – without access to Penthouse archives – cannot be answered.

³¹ [1], Disc 2, Deleted Scenes: "Killing Tiberius (...)", (00:02:15).

according to splice marks in [12]. It was meant to be shown right before we see Charicles looking at Tiberius), and after Macro enters the room, in [1a] we find a different shot.

Looking at [12], we find that not all the shots from Tinto Brass' workprint were used in the assembly by Guccione's editors, and a lot of them are found in the 16mm footage found on [1]. However, even as [12] shifts between color and b&w, we find that a lot of the color-shots use exactly the same images as found in Tinto Brass' workprint. It appears that the editors took Tinto Brass' assembly of the scene, changed / removed the two shots mentioned above, and then replaced some of the shots found b&w with identical ones in color. Why this was done appears a mystery, but in conclusion, looking at the whole workprint by Guccione's editors [12], even though we can safely say that the b&w shots were from Tinto Brass' cut, we can not rule out that some of the color-shots used in the edit were identical to the ones used by Tinto Brass in his cut. Choosing which color-shot was by Brass requires a lot of guesswork. As we know that the editors often didn't follow Brass' intentions (demonstrated later), for this reconstruction we solely use the black&white footage from [12], as those are the only shots from [12] to be attributed to Tinto Brass' edit with certainty.

Overall, it's almost certain that every b&w shot in [12] derives from Tinto Brass' edit – but on the other hand, we know that some shots in color also derive from it, but it is impossible to prove which ones without access to Tinto Brass' cut itself.

2. Nerva's suicide

In Penthouse's archives we find another, unpublished 16mm b/w reduction: Nerva's suicide. It is assembled in sequence, and runs much longer than in the final film – its dialogue being the same as in the July 1976 screenplay [1f] and as in the shooting-record [10], as we can see by lip-reading. This proves that the dialogue in the final film was changed in post-production, and not on-set by Tinto Brass.

This sequence consists of almost entirely different shots / camera-angles than [1a], proving that it was not used as a guideline for editing the released film.

This workprint is far-advanced and probably represents Tinto Brass' final edit. But both the beginning and end of the sequence are missing – although they were surely also edited by Tinto Brass: The 16mm reduction starts with a few frames of a shot depicting Ennia, which belonged to the previous sequence. It would also have made no sense for Tinto Brass to start editing a sequence in the middle of a shot – and, as we will see later, there is actually even a workprint for the previous scene, not found in Penthouse's vaults.

3. Drusilla caressing Caligula

Before Caligula arrests Macro, there is a moment in the palace belonging to the previous sequence that's deleted in all released versions: Drusilla joins Caligula in bed and they talk about

appointing Charea as commander of the Praetorian guard. This moment survives in an almost intact workprint that's probably Tinto Brass' final edit of that scene. It will be described later. Assuming that Tinto Brass edited the movie in sequence, this moment proves that he got quite far in the edit – probably right to the sequence in which Macro is arrested, if not further³². In Guccione's workprint [12], we find some moments leading up to this sequence, again intercut with black & white shots, making it very probable that the sequence in [12] was again taken from Tinto Brass' cut.

4. The execution-machine and Proculus

This sequence – again in black and white – is the first one that's actually a "Work-in-Progress". Tinto Brass started editing the end first (Proculus being thrown in front of the execution-machine), and finished the end of the sequence roughly, while the rest consists merely of a gathering of footage for later editing. (E.g., we see multiple different takes/shots of the same action, from which he would have assembled the final edit.)

Most likely, while working on this scene, he was fired. So Lloyd's 16mm reduction in this case represents an interesting insight into Tinto Brass' working methods.

Probably, this is as far as Tinto Brass got into editing the movie. It cannot be assessed for sure if he edited the film in sequence, or rather each scene on its own in no particular order. But, as we only have workprint-material of the beginning of the film, we can assume he started editing with the beginning of the film, working sequentially towards the end.



The execution-machine: Two shots discarded by Bob Guccione.

27. Left: A humorous shot, featuring Claudius grimacing and throwing eggs, while the High Priestess of Isis to his right looks irritated.

28. Right: Caligula applauding Proculus.

³² The assumption that Tinto Brass edited the film in sequence is reinforced by a remark a crewmember of "Caligula" involved in post-production made to J.E. Chaffin during an interview in 2007, saying that Tinto Brass started editing with the opening scene of the film. (Source: J. E. Chaffin, unpublished typescript.)

a.1.2. Colour footage from “Io, Caligola”

Looking at “Io, Caligola”, we immediately notice that it was edited based on the released version [1a], which was not edited by Tinto Brass. But it includes some different assemblies/shots, which are most likely from Tinto Brass’ workprint, as we can assume with great certainty. The scenes are listed not according to their position in the film, as we first have to prove why it is so likely that they derive from Tinto Brass’ workprint.

1. The execution-machine and Proculus (colour)

Watching this sequence in “Io, Caligola”, we immediately notice that the end is basically a slightly shortened edit of Tinto Brass’ version – put rather obviously after the beginning of the scene as it is assembled in [1a]³³. Probably, due to censorship-reasons, it lacks the closing shot of Tinto Brass’ workprint – which features full-frontal female nudity.

Comparing “Io, Caligola”’s assembly to Tinto Brass’ workprint, we notice that it uses the same shots, for the same duration of frames. As we will see with the next sequence, this can be viewed as a very strong hint that the producers of “Io, Caligola” somehow had access to small parts of Tinto Brass’ workprint – which is very valuable information. But, as we will again see later, they didn’t include all the footage available.

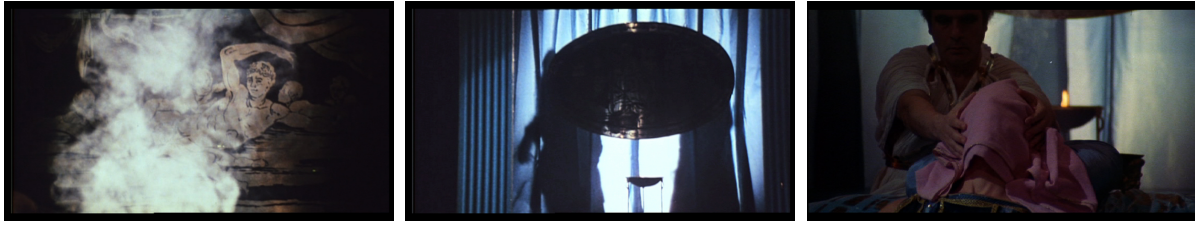
2. Caligula being shaved on Capri, and Nerva’s suicide

Caligula being shaved on Capri is edited differently in “Io, Caligola” than in [1a], and it includes a different opening to Nerva’s suicide. At the beginning of Caligula’s shave, we see Macro and Ennia as shadows behind the wall, approaching Caligula, whose face is hidden under a towel. This gives the scene some tension, as we do not know who is approaching the basically defenceless Caligula – who in the previous scene committed treason, already calling himself “Caligula Caesar” after Tiberius left. Probably, an establishing shot depicting Caligula being shaved and covered with a towel is missing.

The way it stands, the sequence opens with a close-up of a painting on a wall. If we look at the wide-shots, the painting is right above Caligula. Analysing the close-up, we can see that it is the last part of an upwards pan.

So probably, the sequence was supposed to start with a close-up of Caligula getting shaved and slaves covering his face with a towel, which panned up to the close-up of the painting.

³³ [11], 00:52:08.



Caligula getting shaved: Tinto Brass' roughcut

29. Left: The opening features a slight pan upwards while showing a painting up-close.

30. Middle: Two shadows approaching behind the curtain. This shot was not used in [1a]

31. Right: Caligula's face is hidden underneath a towel.

The remaining parts of Caligula's and Ennia's dialogue are basically edited the same way in both versions, but [1a] cuts a brief moment that's found on "Io, Caligola" ([11], 00:20:04).

When Tiberius discovers Nerva in the bathtub, both versions again differ greatly.

The beginning of Nerva's suicide in "Io, Caligola" ([11], 00:20:40) is edited exactly the same as in the previously described 16mm reduction in the Penthouse-vaults – exactly the same shots are used, for exactly the same amount of frames. But only the beginning of Nerva's suicide is edited like in Brass' rough-cut. Very obvious and rather clumsily, "Io, Caligola" cuts back to the version from [1a] after a while ([11], 00:21:18)³⁴.

From this, we gather an interesting insight:

Apparently, the editors of "Io, Caligola" had access to pieces of Tinto Brass' rough-cut and used frequently, replacing [1a]-scenes that were edited differently.

But, as we see in the sequence of Nerva's suicide, they didn't include whole scenes, but rather brief moments here and there. In the 16mm b&w reduction by Lloyd, we see that Tinto Brass had edited this sequence in its entirety, while the editors of "Io, Caligola" only used the beginning. Interesting enough, the beginning had dialogue according to the screenplay, while the editors of "Io, Caligola" chose to keep it silent.

From these observations, we can assume that most parts that are differently edited in "Io, Caligola" compared to [1a] also derive from Tinto Brass' workprint.

³⁴ Watching Tinto Brass' roughcut and comparing it to [10], we see that the editors of "Io, Caligola" didn't put the intended dialogue over the beginning of the scene. Tinto Brass intended a dialogue to be heard in the now-silent opening of Nerva's suicide sequence.

3. Opening of the film: Caligula waking up next to Drusilla.

The film's opening-sequence is edited very differently in "Io, Caligola", consisting almost entirely of different shots than in the released version³⁵. This continues for the starting dialogue, until Caligula jumps back into bed. As he jumps back, ([11], 00:03:50), "Io, Caligola" reverts back to the editing of [1a].

Most importantly differences between this version and Guccione's cut are: In [1a], the camera does not zoom away much from the couple talking in bed in the opening shot, while in "Io, Caligola", we zoom out far more to reveal the whole room – which makes sense as to establish the location in the first moments of the film.

Another interesting difference is that we see a shot of servants chasing away the black bird, which flies out of the window in return.

But we do have one jumpcut in "Io, Caligola", that surely was not part of Tinto Brass' intention: We start with the close-up of Caligula's face, and immediately cut to the same shot, already zoomed-out farther. It is not noticeable with the Italian soundtrack, as the dubbing for that version was probably done after the jumpcut got "introduced".

But if we put the English lines that were spoken on set together with the "Io, Caligola"-footage, we can immediately see that the scene makes no sense with the jumpcut.

The original lines: "He's going to kill me... Just like he killed our mother, our father and our brothers..." become: "He's going to kill me..." – Jumpcut – "... and our brothers". As Caligula's brothers are already dead at the beginning of the film, this modified line wouldn't make any sense, proving that there was surely no jumpcut in Tinto Brass' intention. Other than that, we have the whole sequence in very good condition, in a working, final edit.



Caligula awakening: Tinto Brass' original opening shot.

32. Left / 33. Middle: The close-up to the left directly cuts to the medium shot in the middle, resulting in a jump-cut as they belonged to one continuous zoom-out.

34. Right: The shot finally zooms out further to reveal the whole room.

³⁵ ([11], 00:02:30 – Compare to [1a], 00:26:21).

4. Caligula proclaimed emperor

When Caligula is proclaimed Emperor, “Io, Caligola” cuts to a few additional shots that are not present in [1a]. ([11], 00:33:50). They are close-ups of people in the audience, awaiting a reaction from the Senators, intercut with a shot of the silent Senators that’s also not in [1a]. It even includes one of the rare close-ups of the High Priest.

With all the evidence above, we can assume that all footage in Io, Caligola that doesn’t derive from [1a] somehow derives from Tinto Brass’ workprint. Thus, these shots might be from his edit of this sequence.

5. Temple of Isis

In “Io, Caligola”, we see one shot from a rotating overhead-camera towards the end of the “Temple of Isis” sequence. ([11], 00:48:34). This probably again stems from Tinto Brass’ edit. As we saw before, he was most likely in the middle of editing the execution-machine sequence when he was fired, so he might have already edited the Temple of Isis, assuming he edited chronologically.

6. Isle of Capri: Establishing shot.

In the beginning of “Io, Caligola”, we see an establishing shot of the Isle of Capri. This is very obviously edited very rushed in a final print of [1a], as it interrupts a dissolve between the previous and the next sequence. ([11], 00:05:29). Ranjit Sandhu on [3] doubts that this shot was shot by Tinto Brass – and as it features no actors or sets from the film, it’s impossible to say. Probably it was put in the film to provide context of the following scene – probably by “Io, Caligola” producers. But if it was shot by Tinto Brass, it’s very likely that it derives from his workprint.

7. Caligula carrying dead Drusilla on the veranda.

Late in “Io, Caligola”, there is a single shot of Caligula carrying dead Drusilla up onto the palace-veranda. ([11], 01:25:38). It could again be part of Tinto Brass’ workprint, but it’s strange to have it at such a late place in the film. If Tinto Brass didn’t edit sequentially however, he might have started to edit this sequence as well.

a.1.3. Summary: Tinto Brass' workprint

So, all in all, which sequences can we reconstruct from Tinto Brass' workprint for sure? How far advanced is their editing, and how much of them do we have?

1. Opening: Caligula wakes up in bed, until he jumps back in bed.

Editing complete. The scene is available entirely except for a jumpcut in the opening shot.



Caligula awakening: Tinto Brass' workprint

35. **Left:** Drusilla soothes Caligula after his nightmare.

36. **Middle:** Servants chasing away the black bird.

37. **Right:** Caligula is relieved, and about to jump back into bed.

2. Caligula gets shaved on Capri

Editing complete. The opening shot might be missing a few seconds, as explained above.



Caligula getting shaved: Tinto Brass' roughcut

38. **Left:** The opening features a slight pan upwards while showing a painting up-close.

39. **Middle:** Two shadows approaching behind the curtain. This shot was not used in [1a]

40. **Right:** Caligula's face is hidden underneath a towel.

3. Nerva's suicide

Editing complete, continuous with above. Scene complete, but missing the last moments after Tiberius leaves. The opening is available in colour, while most of the dialogue is only available as a 16mm black and white reduction. The audio for a few lines can be restored with the production audio found on [12].



Nerva's suicide: Tinto Brass' workprint

41. Left: Macro, Ennia and servants run into the room.

42. Right: Nerva's dialogue is much longer and different in Tinto Brass' workprint.

4. Slaves awaking at Capri / Macro swearing loyalty

Scene continuous with above. Most likely, Tinto Brass completed the editing on this sequence. Only a few shots with lots of gaps in between are available. Ending can be reconstructed entirely using the 16mm rushes and [12], similar to the one used by Guccione's editors, but a few shots edited differently.



The morning in Capri: Tinto Brass' workprint

43. Left: A couple embracing. This shot is not used in Guccione's cut.

44. Middle: The slaves talking is longer and uses a different take than in the Guccione-cut.

45. Right: Caligula about to kiss Macro. In the Guccione-cut, a closer shot was used.

5. Tiberius' murder

Continuous with above. Most likely, Tinto Brass completed the editing on this sequence. Can be reconstructed almost without gaps until Caligula discovers Gemellus, using the 16mm b&w shots and [12].



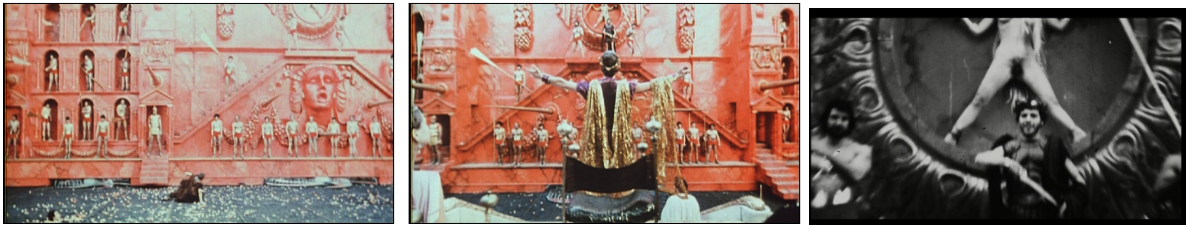
Tiberius' murder: Tinto Brass' workprint

46. Left: Caligula bowing down to Tiberius in a shot not used in Guccione's cut.

47. Middle: Macro joins them. While [1a] zooms to a close-up of Caligula at this point, Tinto Brass chose to show Macro instead.

6. The execution-machine

We have the whole scene in a very early stage of editing, mostly just an assembly of footage for further editing. Whole footage is available in black&white, plus a shortened version of the end in colour.



48. Left: Proculus running in front of the killing machine.

49. Middle: Caligula congratulating Proculus.

50. Right: A zoom onto this shot would have ended the sequence and led to the orgy at Proculus' wedding.

a.2. Comparison between Brass' edit and the released version

Tinto Brass' films of the 1960s/1970s were always filmed and edited in very unconventional, unforeseeable ways. Though Brass was never allowed to edit "Caligula" entirely, fragments of his workprint are available, as mentioned above. By looking at these fragments, we can reconstruct some stylistic decisions he would have made for his original version of "Caligula".

In an early scene, it becomes clear how Tinto Brass wanted to create meaning through editing – and how the editors of the final release version completely changed that part.

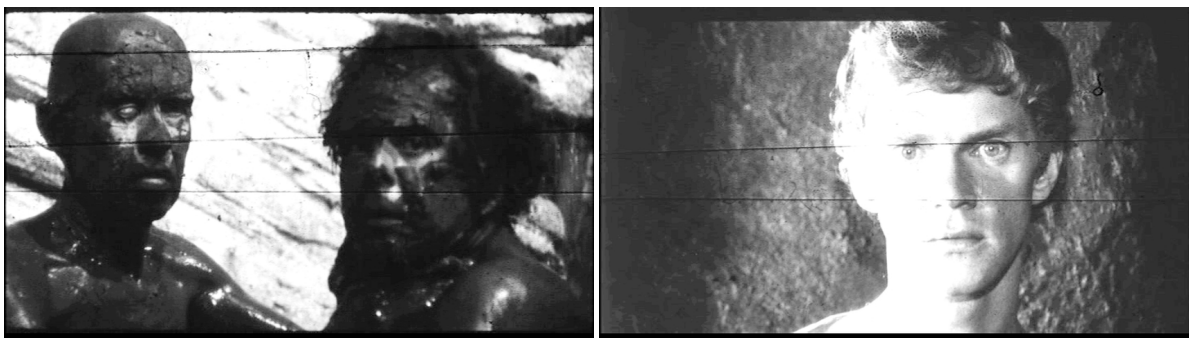
When Caligula watches some slaves bathing in mud, talking about Tiberius, we get to see a close-up of his face ([1a], 00:34:24). In the released version, this is intercut with shots depicting torture which occurred in the opening scene on Capri, but was not shown on-screen there. During the sequence starting with Caligula's close-up, we hear ominous music. After a few moments of these shots, we cut back to Caligula's face and he meets Macro, starting a dialogue. This probably implies that the shots of tortured people are a "dream" or a violent fantasy of the Emperor.

But this scene seems strange: By showing shots which were not shown before, it rather confuses the viewer. However, if we look at Tinto Brass' workprint, we see that he intended it to be very different: The preceding shot of slaves bathing in mud uses a different, longer take than in the release version, and Caligula's close-up is intercut with very different shots.

The workprint-fragment³⁶ was taken apart before being copied to 16mm film, and thus the shots appear on it mostly in random order. By looking at the splice-marks, however, it's possible to reconstruct almost the entire sequence:

Tinto Brass' workprint for the scene:

Reconstructed by observing the splice-marks.



51. Left (End of shot 1): Slaves staring at Caligula in shock.

52. Right (Start of shot 2): Caligula staring at them.

After these two shots, at least one shot is missing, as judged by the splice-marks at the end of shot 2 and start of shot 3, which don't match each other or any other shot found on the DVD. After that gap, the whole sequence can be reconstructed as seen below.

³⁶ [1], Disc 2, Deleted Scenes: "Killing Tiberius (...)"



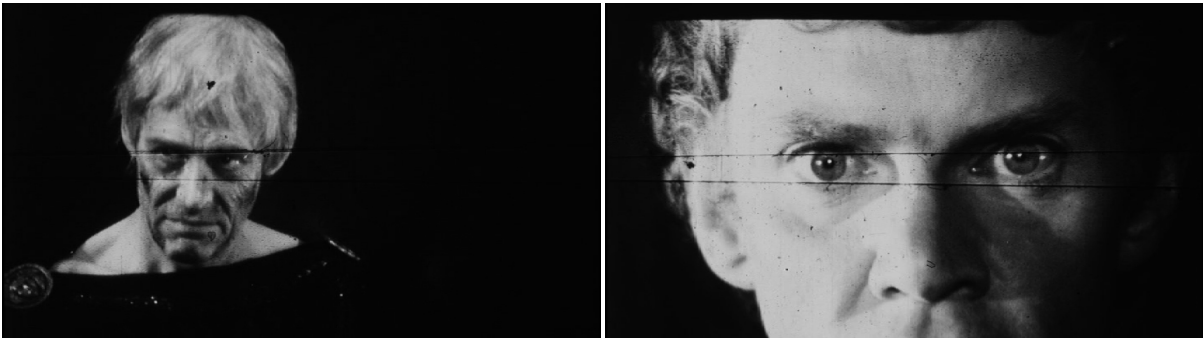
53. Left (End of shot 3): Caligula's face in a close-up.

54. Right (Start of shot 4): A corpse is taken down from the one. Notice the matching splice-marks (vertical lines in the middle).



55. Left (End of shot 4): The corpse being taken down cuts to:

56. Right (Start of shot 5): A close-up to a flashback of Tiberius' menacing look as he leaves Nerva.



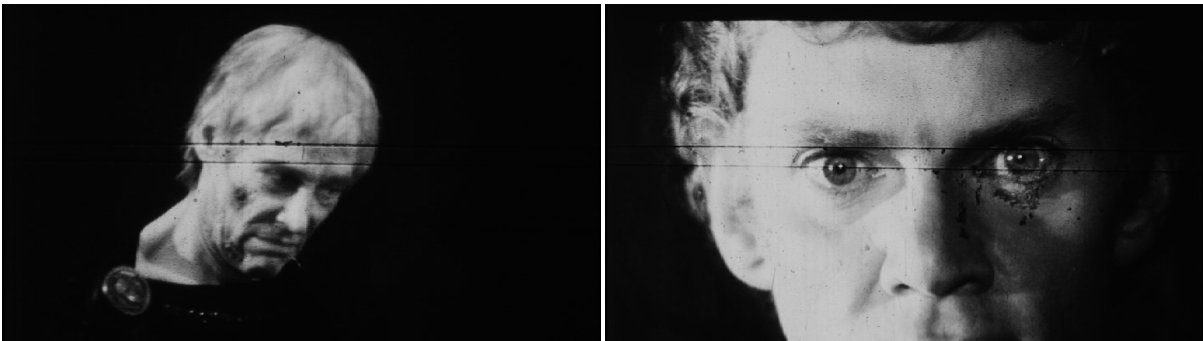
57. Left (End of shot 5): Tiberius' glance

58. Right (Start of shot 6): A close-up of Caligula's stare.



59. Left (End of shot 6): A close-up of Caligula's stare.

60. Right (Start of shot 7): Tiberius slowly walks off from the dying Nerva.



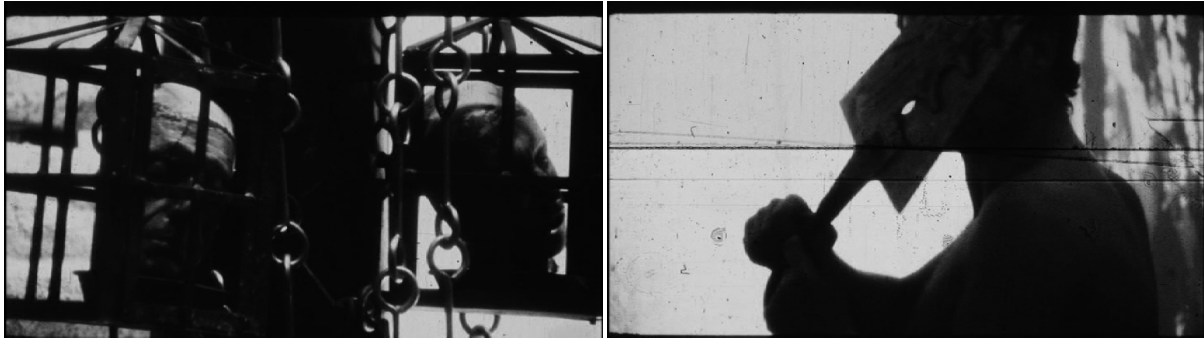
61. Left (End of shot 7): Tiberius slowly walks off.

62. Right (Start of shot 8): Close-up of Caligula's stare.



63. Left (End of shot 8): Caligula's stare.

64. Right (Start of shot 9): The corpse is carried away from the wall of Tiberius' grotto.



65. Left (Middle of shot 9): The camera pans to some cut-off heads in cages...

66. Right (End of shot 9): The pan concludes by showing a man holding a giant knife.

This order of shots suddenly creates a meaning: In the preceding sequence, Nerva committed suicide and warned Tiberius of Caligula. Though Tiberius defended his grandson, after this point in the story it is plausible that Caligula is afraid of the Emperor. Tiberius' angry look – intercut with the close-up of Caligula's eyes – is probably meant as a flashback. Together with the intercuts of corpses we can interpret this quite clearly: Caligula looks at the remains of people who got killed – and at the same time, pictures of Tiberius' menacing look go through his head. In Brass' edit, this brief scene has nothing to do with Caligula "fantasizing" about violence – instead, it was probably meant to show Caligula's fear that he might end up like the dead people in the grotto. Probably, the sound-design would have shown this even clearer, but the workprint only survives in a silent version.

Looking at a workprint-shot of a later scene, we see an interesting editing-idea that references Brass' earlier 1960s films: In a medium-shot depicting Caligula turning around at Tiberius' deathbed, watching the living Tiberius in terror, we can notice a few splice-marks following each other in rapid succession. ([1], Disc 2, Deleted Scenes: "Killing Tiberius (...)", 00:03:58): This leads to one suspicion: Maybe Tinto Brass – in this shot – experimented with a stylistic means he had used in his earlier films "Deadly Sweet", "Nerosubianco", "L'Urlo" and – to a very limited extend – in "Salon Kitty": A rapid succession of images intercut with images of a face. For example in "Deadly Sweet", Brass intercuts Trintignant's Face with only frame-long images multiple times (e.g. [8], 01:08:25). Or in "Nerosubianco", when Barbara sits in a photo booth, we see frame-long shots intercut with shots showing her face. ([6], 00:47:08) But actually, it is surprising that Tinto Brass would use this kind of editing in "Caligula", as he almost didn't use it in "Salon Kitty", his preceding film.³⁷ The only instance in that film would be in the end, when Wallenberg is shot ([4], 02:09:28): We can see him falling to the ground, intercut with brief shots of pigs being slaughtered from an earlier scene.

But having such a quick editing in this scene of "Caligula" makes sense storywise: Caligula, who

³⁷ Although Tinto Brass used this technique extensively in his late 1960s films, he almost completely abandoned it in his 1970s works preceding Caligula: "Dropout", "La Vacanza", "Salon Kitty", which the author checked for this paper. "Dropout" was never released on home-video, and "La Vacanza" was only briefly issued on VHS in Italy. The author wishes to thank Tinto Brass for allowing him watch Brass' personal copies of "Dropout" and "La Vacanza".

already feels like being Emperor, takes the ring and watches himself in a mirror. When suddenly Tiberius awakes, Caligula's shock is very clear: Tiberius saw him taking his ring, and will surely have him tortured and killed, like all "traitors" before. To symbolize this shock, intercutting Caligula's face with brief, frame-long shots of e.g. tortured prisoners seems very effective. Of course, this is pure speculation, and Tinto Brass might have dropped the idea as the shot of Caligula turning around is spliced back together in the workprint. But he at least experimented with this style.

Actually, it is doubtful if the editors of the released version actually consulted Tinto Brass' workprint for most parts (even though they used it for some parts like Tiberius' murder, as shown earlier):

Brass' version of the opening sequence – seen in "Io, Caligola"³⁸, consists almost entirely of different takes / shots than the version featured in the final release version ([1a], 00:26:25). While Brass uses an opening take that zooms out a lot to reveal the whole room, the editors of [1a] chose one that shows Caligula and Drusilla in a medium-close-up.



67. Left: In Brass' version, the opening shot zoomed out a lot to reveal the room.

68. Right: In the released version, another take was used, only zooming a bit to a medium close-up.

On the other hand, we can see that the editing of Caligula's shave in [1a] basically is a trimmed version of Brass' edit – even retaining the same shots and same cuts in many cases. But as soon as we get to Nerva's suicide, suddenly different shots are used, and [1a] departs completely from Brass' editing choices. For this – seemingly random – choice between using Brass' edit in a modified form or discarding it there is no explanation in the released documents. The author suspects the following scenario:

We know that Russell Lloyd started editing the US-version of film parallel to and independent of Tinto Brass working on the Italian one (booklet to [1]). After Brass was fired, Lloyd dismantled Brass' workprint and copied it to 16mm.

Probably, while Lloyd worked parallel to Brass, he didn't consult Brass' editing choices. This

³⁸ [11], 00:02:30.

could explain why the opening of the film is edited so differently compared to Brass' version. After Brass was fired, Lloyd probably looked through the director's workprint, and used all the scenes he hadn't already edited as a basis for his own edit – while discarding the rest. Thus, Lloyd had probably not yet edited Caligula's shave scene when Brass was fired – and as he got access to Brass' workprint, he simply chose to shorten it and include it in his version. This scenario could explain why some scenes are similar to Brass' workprint in [1a], while many others bear no resemblance. Thus, looking at [1a], it becomes even harder to decide which stylistic choices derive from whom as long as we don't have Brass' workprint for the scene in question.

One very interesting and revealing stylistic comparison between Tinto Brass' vision and Bob Guccione's finished product can be made in the scene which takes place in Caligula's bedroom after Tiberius' funeral: Caligula joins Drusilla lying in bed, they talk for a while and then start kissing, before being interrupted by spies. ([1a], 00:48:24)

The end of this lengthy sequence was removed in the released version: After they decide to get rid of Macro and settle a dispute between two senators, Caligula jumps back into bed and they talk a bit about Charea while making out. This last part survives in Tinto Brass' workprint in what seems a far advanced, if not final, edit. So we can compare the choices of camera-angles and cuts made by Brass for the end and Guccione/Baragli for the beginning of the long sequence in Caligula's bedroom. (More about the content of the scene can be found in **f.2**)

Tinto Brass uses lots of cuts, intercutting close-ups with a shot from a central perspective, showing the bed framed by the doorways. His editing is typical of his style, which can be observed in almost all his films: Using quick cuts, editing shots filmed by many cameras together to mix lots of visual ideas.



69. – 71.: Examples of two intercut camera angles: The end of the sequence from Tinto Brass' workprint is edited with many intercuts, in order to give it visual variation. Note: On the left you can see the "Moon-Mask" in the background. After chasing away the spies, Caligula and Drusilla enjoy making out again.

The released film uses much less cuts in the beginning of the sequence. Right after Caligula joins Drusilla in bed, we cut away from the central-perspective to a close-up of both, filmed through a see-through black curtain. We stay at this shot and watch the scene, without having it broken up by other shots. Of course, Tinto Brass might have edited the beginning differently than the end as well, but showing a static shot for such a long duration is not typical for him. Even if he shows static shots of dialogue, they are often broken-up by interesting visual ideas / camera-moves/ motifs. E.g., in "Salon Kitty", we see a similar scene with a couple lying in bed talking.

Their static shot continues quite a while, but in the end a camera-turn reveals that we watched them through a mirror. ([4], 01:03:41)



72. / 73.: In [1a], the scene starts with the first camera-angle, but is then shown exclusively from the one on the right, without intercutting to others. This shows the producer's slower editing-style. (And, in this case, was probably done to emphasize nudity by showing Drusilla's breast close-up.)

All in all, this brief overview demonstrates how distinctively the released film's editing departs from the director's initial ideas in both style and choice of shots: Guccione's editors eliminated shots and cutaways, and often used different takes than Brass in the final film.

This proves that it is impossible to try and analyze Caligula's style without having access to all available source material, as it is impossible to see what is missing by looking at the finished movie. We can try and reconstruct the story and themes to an extensive degree using the screenplay and surviving footage, but the emotional and artistic impact of the film will remain enigmatic.

Along this, looking at some material of the "North American Bonus Footage" included on the British DVD-Release, we can clearly see that Tinto Brass filmed more scenes of torture in the corridor of Tiberius' palace of which we can not even find a trace in the final version. ([2a], 00:28:26). These scenes were surely planned as cutaways or "introduction" shots, giving the place an even more morbid and menacing atmosphere. Indeed, such scenes can change the impact of some scenes without being specified in the script. Thus, although we can reconstruct the story with adequate accuracy, the atmosphere intended by Tinto Brass remains enigmatic.

For example, one of the opening scenes (Caligula's chat with Nerva while they walk through the corridor, [1a], 00:08:33) could have had a completely different impact than it has now, had it shown people tortured behind the curtains. Some footage of this was used in Caligula's later "dream-like vision" by Guccione's editors, as mentioned before, but had it been used in the beginning, the place would have been shocking from the beginning. This would have been on-par with Tinto Brass' earlier "Salon Kitty", which features exceptionally shocking scenes in the beginning, too. (Like pigs being slaughtered, [4], 00:08:34) The way the scene is now, it's more menacing-haunting, with cries of pain in the background and shadows of tortured people behind curtains. Other moments also hint at footage which is missing today, like Caligula and Drusilla giggling at the beginning of the "Temple of Isis"-sequence. ([1a], 01:01:03). We cannot see the reason for his giggle, as it has been cut. Instances like this are numerous, and in one case, we can

clearly see the motivation: To take humour out of the film and make it more dramatic. This can be observed at the beginning of the sequence in which the senator's wives are forced to work at a giant brothel-ship. In the film as it stands, Caligula and Caesonia are preparing his armor, while his bodyguard is standing asides, rubbing his cheek in pain. ([1a], 02:05:00). Now, let's take a look at the "North American Bonus Footage": Here we can see the beginning of the scene in an unabridged form: Caligula's bodyguard puts a needle on his master's armor while dressing him, and hurts him by accident with the sharp tip. Surprised, Caligula playfully slaps his bodyguard's cheek and continues dressing, while Ceasonia smiles at the bodyguard and comforts him – although he doesn't seem to be in bad pain. ([2a], 00:19:03) This brief moment looks improvised, and surely there were many of this kind, which made certain characters more pronounced or brought "life" into scenes. It can be guessed that Bob Guccione cut this moment out in order to make the second half of "Caligula" more "serious" and to portray Caligula more "inhuman".



Caligula playfully slaps the Barbarian.

74. Left: In [2a], we see the Barbarian help him dress in the beginning, before accidentally hurting him.

75. Right: [1a] starts with this shot, trying to de-emphasize the action as much as possible.

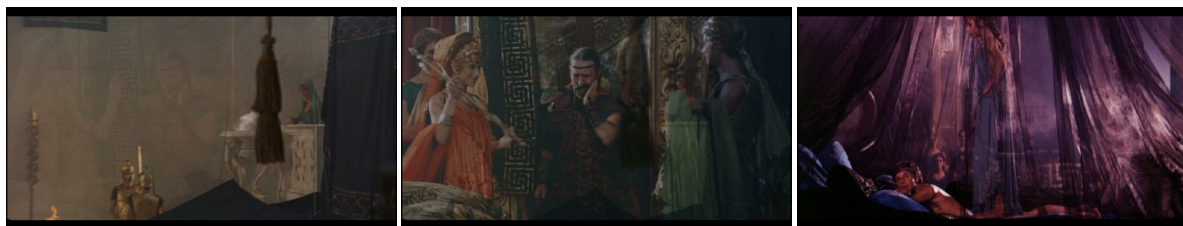
Generally speaking, many scenes, editing-wise, seem to lack a proper beginning and/or ending.

Tinto Brass likes to end his scenes by having the camera pan away from the action, often coupled with a zoom, followed by a hard cut to the next scene. This technique allows him to elegantly switch from one scene to the next by clearly showing that this scene was "over", while maintaining a visual "flow".³⁹

However, if we look at the released version of "Caligula", only one scene features this ending: When Caligula first meets Caesonia in the Temple of Isis and they make love, the camera pans upwards to show the statue of Isis, which cuts directly to Macro's execution. ([1a], 01:06:46). But this is the only instance of that camera-move followed by a hard cut which survives in the final film. However, it is certain that Tinto Brass would have used this stylistic device more often had he been able to edit the film. In nearly all of his film this is a very prominent style element,

³⁹ See, for example, "L'Urlo" ([7], 00:18:20), "Salon Kitty" ([4], 00:11:32, 00:57:56)

even as late as 2002 in “Senso ‘45”⁴⁰. And if we watch another of Tinto Brass’ workprint-fragments showing Proculus’ fight on the killing machine, the scene again ends in such a way: After Caligula pronounces Proculus a “Roman Hero” and says that he is “looking forward” to his wedding ([2a], 00:18:55), the camera pans up to a nude woman who is tied to the machine directly above Proculus. ([1], Disc 2, Deleted Scenes: “Proculus Runs the Gauntlet”, 00:02:32) This would have made the transition to the following scene, the orgy at Proculus’ wedding, much smoother by showing the nude woman and then cutting to the semi-nude people eating at their beds. Instead, Guccione and his editors resolve to a simple dissolve between scenes, as they did in many instances of the film, especially if they shorten scenes or remove some parts. This, for example, can be seen in the scene of Caligula declaring himself a god in front of the Senate. It should have led to the scene of Caesonia massaging him and talking to him. As Guccione decided to remove many scenes which should have appeared after Caligula’s declaration, in the released version this scene directly leads to Caligula’s preparation to board the “brothel ship”. The transition between the scenes involves a shot which Tinto Brass might have used to end the scene as well, but in a very different way: After Caligula has pulled the curtain down to cover the senators and has his bodyguard beat them with a whip, he leaves the Senate-house laughing. As he does so, we see a panning and zooming camera-move to Caesonia, who is watching all this in the distance and seems to laugh about the event. ([1a], 02:04:55). This shot, followed by a hard cut, could have been a very good transition to the scene of her massaging Caligula. But the way it’s edited in the released version, it’s not easy for the viewer to recognize Caesonia: We see her only very briefly before the shot – while still zooming-in – dissolves into the next scene: The preparation for boarding the Brothel-Ship. As the dissolve starts quite early, it’s not easy to realize that we see Caesonia in the distance before fading to the next scene. Knowing Tinto Brass’ editing-style, we can assume with some certainty that he would have let the zoom continue a bit further and then just cut to the next scene using a hard cut. Examples of this are numerous in his oeuvre, as stated before.



76./ 77.: Left & Middle: We only see a glimpse of Caesonia before dissolving to the brothel ship in [1a].

78. Right: The scene which actually should have followed after the Senate: Caesonia massaging Caligula.

In one sequence, it is impossible to decide if crucial footage was removed, or if shots have been re-arranged: After Caligula awakes from a nightmare, marches around and shouts that Gemellus tries to kill him, he is comforted by both Drusilla and Caesonia in his bed. This scene’s original

⁴⁰ See e.g. 01:48:03, German PAL-DVD by Starmedia.

intentions, looking at its released form edited by Guccione/Baragli, remains enigmatic. Guccione decided to intercut Caligula's threesome (which is filmed without revealing any explicit details, as far as we can judge by looking at the footage used in the film) with hardcore-pornographic material showing two lesbians making love. In order to make this scene – shot without Brass' knowledge – “fit” into the movie, Guccione utilizes a shot – which Brass had filmed – to try and make the transition to it clearer: While Caligula is being comforted, we see a zoom-in to the “Moon-face”-relief on the bedroom wall, which has a hole in its mouth. ([1a], 01:19:39) In an earlier scene of the film, spies use this hole to watch Caligula's actions. Guccione takes this shot to cut to the sequence with the lesbians who are watching Caligula through the hole in the wall. That “lesbian”-sequence does not fit the mood of the surrounding scene at all, and slows down the story by a few minutes.

One question arises: Why did Tinto Brass film the zoom-in on the hole? It implies that Caligula is spied upon in that scene, because behind the hole, a spy can be hiding. Otherwise, it would make no sense to show the hole explicitly. This also explains why Gemellus looks frightened in the following dinner-sequence and takes an antidote before dining: If Caligula was spied upon, the spy could have told Gemellus about the Emperor's dangerous paranoia of him. This observation is also made by Ranjit Sandhu and James Ellis Chaffin on [3]. Having access to the shooting script, they state that in the screenplay, Caligula is not spied upon. (This is also true if looking at [1f], p. 76/77). That implies that Tinto Brass improvised the scene while shooting.

Now, there are two possibilities: Either footage showing a spy (and maybe have him report everything to Gemellus) was removed by Bob Guccione, and no trace can be found of it in the released material. However, the author suggests one different approach, which would be very much in touch with Tinto Brass other films, as well as with the July 1976 draft of the screenplay which does not include any reference to a spy behind the wall. If we look at “Salon Kitty” for example, in numerous instances we are not given information explicitly: When Wallenberg takes a liking at Margareta for example, we do not see him ordering her to come to his apartment. Instead, we cut from his smiling face while he watches her (without her knowledge) to a shot depicting her walking into the apartment house. ([4], 00:25:00) The viewer will conclude that she was summoned by him during their dialogue which takes place in Wallenberg's apartment a few moments later, but the fact is never explicitly stated.

This approach can be found often in Brass' films in order to speed up the storytelling, and he might have edited Caligula's bed-scene in a similar way: Again, a zoom would have concluded the scene – this time on the hole in the wall. A hard cut, probably to a close-up of Gemellus' scared face at the dinner banquet, could have then been an effective transition between the scenes. It would imply that a spy told Gemellus about Caligula's behaviour – without stating it expressively in the film – or even that Gemellus himself watched the Emperor hidden behind the wall.

Seeing the hole in the wall followed by a close-up of Gemellus (probably with the sound of the bedroom-scene slowly fading to the sound of the banquet) would be very effective and surprising: We see the hole and expect to see who's watching behind it. Indeed, we cut to Gemellus' close-up and may think for a few moments that it's him behind the hole. But as he is at the ban-

quiet, he's lit with a different lighting and dressed more elegantly than he would be while spying behind the wall. If the audio slowly fades to that of the banquet, it would leave the viewer puzzled for a few moments, before we cut to a wide shot really presenting the new setting of the banquet hall. This is a very effective transition that could challenge the viewer.



How the mentioned scene probably would have been edited by Tinto Brass:

79. Left: Caligula being comforted after having the idea that Gemellus is trying to kill him

80. Middle: A zoom-in on the hole in the wall, indicating that they are being spied upon.

81. Right: Close-Up of scared Gemellus, who was probably informed by a spy about Caligula's plans.

A similar kind of editing (zoom-in followed by a hard cut to a close-up of a face) can be observed in the beginning of "Salon Kitty": After Kitty Kellermann's opening chanson, we see a zoom on the SS-Chief standing in the audience, applauding. This cuts to a close-up of Wallenberg's (his subordinate's) face, who is greeting him in a bathhouse. ([4], 00:03:54). Again, this links two scenes in a quick way without using any fades between them. Of course, without access to all the rushes, it cannot be decided for sure if Tinto Brass would have really edited the scene like that. But it wouldn't seem unlikely, as this kind of editing would be similar to many others in Tinto Brass' oeuvre.

One stylistic device which Tinto Brass uses in some films can be found in a deleted scene of "Caligula": The use of sped-up motion while the Emperor is collecting coins to put into his armory. ([2a], 00:03:06). This gives the scene a very slapstick-like look, and, as there is no dialogue, it reminds one of silent movie-comedies. One cannot know how Tinto Brass would have done the sound-design for this scene, but for DVD-release, we get an upbeat-sounding music to accompany it. Although this surely isn't the music Tinto Brass intended (see section a.2.: "Style: The music of the film"), we can assume that he might have done it similarly, using music which evokes a similar, upbeat mood, as he did so in his film which immediately followed "Caligula": "Action" (released 1980). This movie also features instances of sped-up footage, set to happy-sounding music. ([9], 00:10:50).

One notion concerning the "North American Bonus Footage": Although this is a workprint, we can be sure that it was not edited by Tinto Brass. This can be proved very easily by analysing the style and comparing it to other films by Brass, and by watching how some shots weren't used. Just one example: During the "sacrifice"-scene in the temple of Jupiter, we hardly see what is happening in the beginning, as the editor uses a wide shot of the whole scenery. Watching one of

the rushes, we clearly see that before the sacrifice, the High Priest talks to Caligula⁴¹. This isn't shown in [2a], which is in line with the producer's goal to reduce the role of the High Priest. Additionally, in the rushes we see a close-up of Caligula wielding the hammer in slow-motion⁴². A close-up Tinto Brass would surely have shown, as it gives the scene more tension. We can also see that Proculus' fight at Macro's execution is edited differently in [2a] than in Tinto Brass' workprint. This proves that the workprint which the "North American Bonus Footage" derives from is not identical to the one Tinto Brass assembled. Additionally, as shown earlier, Brass likely only got to edit the film until Macro's execution, and the scenes in [2a] are from later parts of the film. Many scenes in [2a] feature fade-marks to signal the negative-cutters a dissolve between scenes. This is another feature that clearly implies Brass didn't edit them. As mentioned before, he rarely uses fades between scenes, and having nearly every scene dissolve into the next is a technique rather used by Guccione's editors in the released film.

As an interesting side note, in the "Making-Of" [1c], we see glimpses of the "Temple of Jupiter"-Sequences. (00:23:33 and 00:23:50). They are edited very differently than in [2a], featuring more close-ups and a visual joke by Brass that is removed in [2a]: A big, ridiculous golden Penis is carried out of the Temple of Jupiter's treasury ([1c], 00:23:37), which is impossible to see in [2a] due to the chosen camera angle. Therefore, the author suspects that in the Making-Of, we see glimpses of a different rough-cut of the film, probably assembled by yet another editor who came before Nino Baragli, but after Tinto Brass⁴³. For the material in [2a], the author suspects that Baragli first assembled the film with a scene ordering as intended in the screenplay, before shortening and re-ordering it. Therefore, [2a] are probably scenes from the final edit before shortening, removing some visual jokes and de-emphasizing the High Priest as much as possible.

⁴¹ [1], Disc 2, Deleted Scenes, "Temple of Jupiter", 00:51:00.

⁴² [1], Disc 2, Deleted Scenes, "Temple of Jupiter"

⁴³ In the Making-Of, it is noteworthy that two sources of footage were used: Some shots derive from the 16mm behind the scenes cameras, which were used most of the time. The author suspects them to be from a 16mm camera due to the grain structure of the filmstock. These 16mm shots fill the whole 4x3 frame of the Making-Of. Some shots, however, feature small black bars on the top and the bottom of the frame. Comparing them to the released version, we can see that in some parts of the Making-Of, these shots match exactly those used in the final film. Therefore, the author is convinced that shots with black bars on top and bottom derive from 35mm material shot by Brass' cameras. However, most sequences featuring such material are edited very differently in [1c] when compared to [1a], making room for speculation on the editing process after Brass was fired from the project. As the focus of this paper is Brass' intended version only, researching the editing-history of the film after he left is a matter for another paper.

a.3. Making the film more dramatic through editing

Generally, it seems that Bob Guccione tried to give the story a more serious, dramatic feel by editing the film himself, in order to get rid of most “funny” or “not-too-serious” moments.

A few facts lead to this suspicion:

→ The scene in which Caligula rapes Livia, Proculus’ bride and molests Proculus afterwards feels very realistic in the released version and is therefore very hard to watch. According to the audio-commentary by journalist Ernest Volkman, who was present on the set during the shoot, there were many discussions how to do that scene. According to him, Tinto Brass wanted it to be very horrible and realistic, while Malcolm McDowell wanted a tamer version, and others had different ideas. ([1b], Ernest Volkman’s audio commentary, 00:36:30). If we watch the released film, we get the impression that Tinto Brass went with the realistic approach while showing the rape, which is very uncomfortable to watch, giving the scene a very dark tone.

But if we watch some of the rushes for that scene – which can be found on the “Imperial Edition” DVD release – this changes. As we discover shots which Guccione didn’t use, we get some insight in which ways Tinto Brass might have intended this scene.

The scene, which can be found since the first screenplay draft (1975 draft [1e], p. 98ff), shows Caligula raping Livia who is still a virgin at her wedding. He “tests” this and discovers that she bled during his rape, which proves that she really was a virgin before.

In the rushes, we actually find shots showing the floor filling with a ridiculous large amount of very fake-looking blood, which - by looking so artificial and over-the-top - disrupts the viewer’s illusion that this scene is really happening.

([1], Disc 3, “Behind-the-Scenes Footage”: “The Wedding Rape”, starting at 00:05:02. The amount of blood in the end is ridiculously large. (00:07:19) In the beginning of the scene, it is still smaller, (00:05:16) but flowing in a continuous stream makes it look unreal nonetheless.)

Actually, such a shot fits Tinto Brass’ style quite well: We know from his audio-commentary for “Col Cuore in Gola” (1965) that he is not really fond of showing very violent torture-scenes in his films, and even in that movie he felt uncomfortable filming a scene necessary for the storyline in which the main character was tortured.

“I don’t like all this stuff (...)” [8], English Audio Commentary, 01:16:54)

This contradicts Volkman’s statement that Brass wanted it “horrible and realistic”, but on the other hand, Volkman refers to the molestation of Proculus, which was changed before the filming. (In the 1975 screenplay draft, Caligula actually rapes Proculus).

This can be seen in his other movies as well: Although there are plenty of violent scenes in “Nerosubianco”, “L’Urlo”, “Salon Kitty” and “Action”, none are very graphic or shown for too long. See for example in “Salon Kitty”, how Margareta shoots a German officer, which is shown very briefly. ([4], 01:34:22). Or, take a look at “Action”, in which the couple is assaulted by a gang of punks on a garbage-dump ([9], 00:48:02). Neither scene goes on too long or shows the attacks very explicitly, so it seems likely that Brass didn’t like showing people being tortured or suffer-

ing in much detail. The torture-scenes which Caligula observes in Capri and Proculus' killing seem to be exceptions of this, but one can assume that Tinto Brass would have edited them very differently than what we can observe now, so he would have surely shown the violent shots for a much shorter time than Guccione did. This fits into his remark during his video-interview in which he states that Guccione edited the film not like a film, "but like a magazine" (i.e. showing shots for too long) ([1d], 00:25:41). In addition, the tortures in Tiberius' palace affect characters that are not introduced to the viewer. Therefore, their torture-scenes establish a morbid atmosphere, but do not have an emotional impact that witnessing a character established earlier in the storyline being abused has⁴⁴.

Now, looking at the rape-scene in "Caligula", this seems similar. The scene in its released form is very realistic and uncomfortable for the viewer to watch, its mood being very much like its description in the July 1976 screenplay. In fact, finding any likeable traits about Caligula seems very difficult if not impossible after witnessing such a harsh and violent scene. Had Tinto Brass edited it, he might have used shots depicting the brightly coloured fake-blood dripping on the floor in ridiculously large amounts. This would have allowed the viewers get a piece of "rest" in this brutal scene, by disrupting their illusion that what they are watching is really happening. By making clear within the film that this is just a very badly-done effect, this scene would suddenly become ridiculous, essentially removing large parts of its horrid impact⁴⁵.

The rather Brechtian idea to disrupt the illusion of having a film portray reality was not new in Tinto Brass' works: In "Nerosubianco", he had the band freedom appear and address the viewer directly, in the end even referring to the film we are watching as "this tale" ([6], 01:13:10). Or, take "L'Urlo", in which during the beginning, we hear a male announcer telling us that the very film we are watching is a "simple documentary" ([7], 00:08:40), reminding us of the fact that we are watching a film and not reality. As Tinto Brass progressed to "Salon Kitty", he dropped this Brechtian approach, but might have seen it fit to re-include it in "Caligula" for the rape-scene in a new way: By using a ridiculous blood-effect.

Of course, the way Tinto Brass himself would have cut the rape-scene remains enigmatic, as he obviously filmed a more violent beginning in which Livia tries resisting Caligula, too. ([1], Disc 3, "Behind-the-Scenes Footage": "The Wedding Rape", 00:01:25): He might even have used only some frames of the blood-effect, making it look realistic. But having filmed such a large amount of blood on the floor proves that he at least considered making the scene rather ridiculous instead of horribly realistic as an option. Perhaps he filmed the different versions to see which one fits best during editing – which was – to his surprise – taken out of his hands for "Caligula".

In an other instant, Guccione changes a scene and its place in the film completely to make Caligula seem more "mad" and give the film a more dramatic and serious feel: Before Drusilla dies,

⁴⁴ On a side note, these observations concerning torture and violence only include violence against humans. If we watch Brass' films, there is plenty of detailed violence against animals, like pigs being slaughtered in "Salon Kitty" ([4], 00:08:34) or a goose being beheaded in "L'Urlo" ([7], 00:14:52).

⁴⁵ On a sidenote: It can be assumed with much certainty that the effect was deliberately cheap-looking. Just compare it to the very realistic effect during Tiberius' Grotto, in which the tyrant Tiberius stabs a guard in the stomach. ([1a], 00:22:04). There, having a very gruesome, realistic effect made sense in order to portray Tiberius as evil.

we see her brother playing with a toy-chariot which is attached to a living rat. Next to him is Caesonia holding their crying baby-daughter in her arms, and it is very likely that he tries to cheer his child up by using the toy. ([2a], 00:05:20). But in the released film, this is changed, and we only see the close-up of him playing with the rat-chariot, which gives us the impression that he is only playing for himself. The scene has been placed before the birth of their daughter, and thus the sound of the baby has been removed, too. We only hear distress-screams from the rat (that were added in Post-Production, as the sound had to be redone to remove the baby-screams), which makes this scene very uncomfortable to watch: We get the impression that Caligula tortures an animal for fun! ([1a], 01:42:51)

Another instant in which the tone of the film is made darker by Guccione would be during the orgy towards the end, in which the senator's wives are forced to prostitute themselves on a fake-ship. The scene as we currently see it, edited by Bob Guccione, features many hardcore-sexual scenes re-shot by him. But, less obviously, it also features another shot we can identify as his: As Caligula walks on the ship, we see a cut-away showing women who seem worried and shocked. ([1a], 02:08:32) This is obviously meant to show that these Senator's wives are in a state of shock, and forcing them to prostitute is for them as bad as being raped. This would be a logical reaction, but it contradicts Tinto Brass' ideas for this scene – as far as we can recognize them from the remaining footage he shot: Besides for this single shot, it seems that the women are actually enjoying themselves, which implies that they are actually very decadent, enjoying “free love”. This also explains Guccione's editing of the scene: Of Tinto Brass' footage showing (simulated) sexual actions on the ship, he mostly utilizes blurry shots depicting masses of people, and wide shots. Many clear close-ups of women and sexual activities on the ship were re-shot by Guccione – and intercut with shots depicting Caligula and other actors to hide the fact. To further prove that Guccione wanted the film to be more serious, in the “North American Bonus Footage”, we can even see a shot – filmed by him – which shows a woman trying to resist a man ([2a], 00:21:20). This proves that the producer tried to make it seem like the wives are practically being raped by the men paying money. This seems more logical and realistic, but at the same time, removes Brass' over-the-top portrayal of a depraved and decadent Roman world, which would have been much more stylised and would have fit the over-the-top Set-design much better. Fact is, the orgy-scene on the ship is not only edited in a different way than Brass intended, it also feels overlong and does not really have a narrative structure. Watching “Salon Kitty” on the other hand proves that Brass edited “orgy”-scenes extremely quick and did never stretch them out to an extend Guccione did. ([4], 01:42:19)

Watching the rushes and [2a], it seems that Brass intended the scene to start entirely different than in [1a]: As Caligula enters the hall with the ship, nobody moves and the scene is very static. Even the “customers” wait without moving, some even in the middle of the stairs⁴⁶. Caligula ascends on the ship, looks around, and suddenly shouts “Action!” Upon his signal, suddenly every-

⁴⁶ [2a], single shot at 00:20:14. This shot is obviously filmed by Brass and not by Guccione as some other shots in [2a].

thing gets going, which gives the scene a very comical and surreal start⁴⁷.



82./83.: Intended by Brass: Happy women (**left**) and, for example, Charea comically banging his head (**right**) would have given the brothel ship scene some comic relief, turning its mood to a ridiculous satire.

Some other humorous brief shots were not included in the released version, like e.g. one of Charea at the Imperial Brothel – ship⁴⁸: Here, he walks into the ship and beats his head against the moving rudders. This would have been an effective way to deliberately break-up the pathetic mood that could arise by seeing the many rudders being moved in sync, together with Caligula’s arm-movements. Without access to all available footage, we can only suspect that there were probably many more of these brief humorous shots that would have given the film a different, less serious tone.

One other factor we can assume with a great degree of certainty is that Bob Guccione darkened at least some scenes during post-production. If we compare the workprint-scene of Caligula’s counsel with Longinus ([2a], 00:11:27) to the rest of the scene which remains in the film ([1a], 01:37:00), it seems to be much darker in the final cut. Of course, this could also be a sign that the workprint is faded, but there are other indicators as well: If we look at the Blu-Ray-HD-Image of “Caligula”⁴⁹, we notice a large amount of grain in many scenes, which is much larger than the amount of grain on the Blu-Ray-Transfer of “Salon Kitty”, which was shot by Brass and cinematographer Silvano Ippoliti, too. Neither Blu-Ray-Disc shows obvious signs of noise-reduction, and the transfer for “Caligula” is said to derive from the original negative. Thus, the added grain seems to be a sign for making the film darker in post-production, which leads to a more grainy image. Therefore, by making scenes darker, Guccione might have tried to give them an even more “serious” tone. The comparison of the two film-images is justified as both films shared the same cinematographer, who surely filmed and lit them in similar ways.

⁴⁷ [1], Disc 2: “Bordello Ship”, 00:01:11. The rushes survive without audio, and [1f] doesn’t include the line “Action”, because the scene was probably changed in the shooting script. Nonetheless, in [1c], 00:34:46, we can hear the line “Action” in Malcolm McDowell’s voice, and it fits Caligula’s mouth-movement in the mentioned shot perfectly.

⁴⁸ [1], Disc 2: “Arriving on the Bordello Ship”, 00:00:32.

⁴⁹ Source used: UK Blu-Ray-Disc by Arrow Video.



84. Left: Caligula's counsel with Longinus. This shot of the released version is timed darker than in [2a].

85. Middle: A shot of the same sequence, taken from a workprint. It is much brighter than the one before.

86. Right: A shot filmed by Guccione to transform a satire into a drama: Senator's wives looking scared.

Another factor which changed the content of the film has to do with both filming and editing: Apparently, Tinto Brass was forced by Bob Guccione to film certain things. For example, when Caligula and Drusilla discover that they are spied upon due to some noise behind the wall, they discover two spies. Before Caligula chases them off, we see those two engaged in a graphic homosexual act which they performed while they should have been spying on the Emperor. ([1a], 00:50:08) Indeed, this does not fit the scene at all, and, according to Ernest Volkman, Tinto Brass felt very uncomfortable filming this. But Mr. Volkman is sure that Brass would have considered this material to end up "on the cutting-room floor", i.e. not being used in the movie in his edit⁵⁰. Indeed, if we remove any pornographic shot, the scene works as well and seems much more logic: Caligula hears noise, goes behind the wall – and we quickly see him chase away two barely visible spies, without any implication of what they were doing. This means that even if such shots were probably filmed by Brass in order to satisfy his producer, nonetheless he probably wouldn't have used them in his film. One different scene where a similar situation could have happened: After Caligula's murder of Proculus, two characters played by Penthouse-models start ridiculing the corpse- with one of them urinating on it in graphic detail. ([1a], 01:41:28) This content – which again would not be typical of Brass in that time-period – could again be due to Guccione's wishes. This speculation is fuelled by the fact that Guccione features the two models prominently earlier in the film in some pornographic footage shot separately of Tinto Brass' shoot without the latter's knowledge⁵¹. Maybe this was one means for Guccione to feature his models in yet more "shocking"/disturbing scenes. In fact, the whole sequence depicting the killing of Proculus is not really needed story-wise: After Caligula's cruelty at the wedding and against Gemellus, having him suffer a breakdown during the illness seems very logical. Another extremely violent scene is unnecessary to his character-progression and even seems to work against the storyline: After Caligula's illness, we get to see a more tender side of Caligula by having him take care of his child and having a "family life". Probably, there the viewer was supposed to identify with Caligula to a certain extend, which is hard enough even after "only" the rape-scene at the wedding. Having his gruesome torture and killing of Proculus in the film as well underlines the evil side of his personality even more, essentially making it hard if not impossible to find any likeable traits. Therefore, the author suspects the torture of Proculus scene was filmed due to Guccione's insistence as well. The film would have worked without it, as Ca-

⁵⁰ [1b], Ernest Volkman's audio commentary, 00:06:40.

⁵¹ [1a], 01:20:00, intercut with Brass' footage of Caligula, Caesonia and Drusilla.

ligula's cruelty is displayed enough with his behaviour at the wedding⁵².

So, in conclusion, although editing-wise the released version bears little to no resemblance to Tinto Brass' ideas, the few clues we get from looking at the workprint and the finished film allow us to see that it utilized many of Brass' typical stylistic devices. Unfortunately, without having access to all source-material, we can not guess what is missing visually in the film, and therefore have to concentrate our analysis on the storyline and the general visuals (like set-design etc), and not on the film's camera- and editing-style. A style which, as we see in Tinto Brass' other films, would have contributed much to the emotional impact and the story itself. (For one of numerous examples in his oeuvre, see "Salon Kitty". In this film we get the scenes in the SS-Office often filmed from a wide-angle, total shot. This fits the set-design with the slightly tilted walls perfectly, and creates a claustrophobic feeling in the big and sparsely outfitted room.)

But there is one thing we have to keep in mind: Even Tinto Brass himself would surely not have used all visual ideas from the rushes he filmed while editing the final film. We can get a few examples of this in the international trailer for "Salon Kitty" found on ([4], the US Blu-Ray), which consists mostly of alternate and unused takes. For example, there we see a shot that starts with a zoom-out from a statue. After this, we see the women in Kitty's brothel standing up like for a military inspection, which is another visual joke. ([4], International Trailer, 00:02:44). In the final film, Brass started with a later part of the shot ([4], 00:44:40), in which Kitty already is walking in front of the standing girls. He edited his movies to be fast-moving and therefore was willing to cut out or trim shots if needed for the overall structure.

⁵² As an interesting side-note, the sequence in which Proculus gets tortured can be found in the 1975 first draft of the screenplay (albeit a bit different, [1e] p. 142 ff.), but was removed in the July 1976 version of the script [1f], as Proculus would have survived there. Re-adding was probably done on Guccione's insistence, in order to have the mentioned content in the film and make it even more "shocking". The author suspects that for this reason, Tinto Brass might even have removed – or changed – this entire sequence if he had edited the film.

a.4. Style: The music of the film

The music of the film also plays an important part in creating a mood, and this is another facet which we can not reconstruct. Tinto Brass originally teamed-up with Fiorenzo Carpi to write the score for “Caligula”. This composer had already written the scores for Tinto Brass’ earlier “L’Urlo”, “La Vacanza” (1971) and “Salon Kitty”. By watching them, it becomes clear that Fiorenzo Carpi was not restricted to one particular style, but instead is a very versatile composer able to compose music of very different genres. For “L’Urlo”, for example, he wrote a main theme, which is varied through circus-music-like ([7], 00:05:00), punk-rock ([7], 00:07:34) and classical fugue ([7], 00:13:42) variations, to name a few. For “La Vacanza”, set in the Italian countryside, he employed very different techniques, writing music in the style of Italian folk-songs⁵³. Afterwards, in “Salon Kitty”, he again proved that he was able to write music in a totally different style, using some German and Austrian waltz-themes ([4], 00:25:09), and also writing original cabaret-songs in style of the 30s (e.g. [4], 00:35:41) and variations on a love-theme in a classical style (e.g. [4], 01:08:31).

Overall, his earlier collaborations with Tinto Brass display a great variety and – at the same time – unity of the music in each project by cleverly employing variations of similar themes throughout each particular film. Especially “Salon Kitty” proves that Carpi was especially concerned to keep up the period atmosphere of the 30s by his original music, written in that specific style.

When we look at “Caligula”, it is impossible to reconstruct the music. The only thing we can say for sure is that the music we hear in the released film bears little-to-no resemblance to Tinto Brass’ and Fiorenzo Carpi’s ideas, as Guccione apparently discarded Carpi’s score. [3]
On what information may we rely?

We know that Tinto Brass commissioned Fiorenzo Carpi to write a score for “Caligula”, too. [3] During the 61 minutes making-of-feature, we can hear a few brief moments of it while watching the “Temple of Isis”-scene being filmed. It sounds quite different from the music we hear in the film during that scene, as it seems more “archaic”, using sounds that do not sound like modern western instruments ([1c], 00:55:57). This leads to the presumption that the original music was again in tone with the period being portrayed in the film, leading to a totally different atmosphere than in the released version: There, Bob Guccione uses classical music (e.g. “Montagnues & Capulets” by Prokofiev during the opening credits), together with a newly commissioned score by “Paul Clemente”⁵⁴. So, except for the Making-Of, no traces of the original score can be found. And even there, it is not sure if the music we hear was actually played on the set: While getting a Behind-the-Scene’s look at Caesonia’s dance for Caligula which takes place later in the film⁵⁵ that sounds very similar to (presumably) Fiorenzo Carpi’s original music played in the “Temple of Isis”. Either this piece of music would have been used in both scenes (which would make sense,

⁵³ The author wishes to thank Tinto Brass for letting him watch Brass’ personal copy of “La Vacanza”

⁵⁴ This name, according to ([3]), is a pseudonym for Bruno Nicolai who, ironically, conducted Fiorenzo Carpi’s score for “L’Urlo”.

⁵⁵ ([1a], 01:29:20), we get to hear a piece of music in the Making-Of ([1c], 00:52:21).

as Caesonia is a priestess of Isis, dancing to the same music in both the temple and at the banquet). Or, the production simply pasted the piece over both scenes in the Making-Of. But nonetheless, as we don't get to hear this piece of music in the released film, we can assume that it is part of the originally intended score which was discarded. If it was unrelated, it wouldn't make sense to have the producers use it to overlay the footage in the Making-Of.

Assuming that the music was played during the filming of the "Temple of Isis"- and Caesonia's dance scene, this leads to the conclusion that this scene was surely well-choreographed and meant to be edited to that particular piece of music. This is very consistent with Tinto Brass' approach during "Salon Kitty", where we can assume with certainty that some musical numbers were also written and recorded before the film was finished, in order to play them on the set:

For sure, Kitty Kellermann's 1930s-chansons were recorded beforehand, so she and the orchestra could perform them to the play-back, to have the picture sync perfectly with the audio. Also, a scene where Kitty's dancers perform a provocative dancing number to Offenbach's "Can Can" was surely choreographed with the music playing in the background, making it similar to the "Temple of Isis"-scene of "Caligula" in that regard⁵⁶.

Indeed, one other instance in "Caligula" leads to the suspicion that at least parts of the soundtrack were recorded before filming started and played on set during the shoot: In Tiberius' grotto, when Caligula starts his dance, there are musicians standing in the background performing the music. In the released version, we only get to see them very briefly, and they aren't playing in sync to the music used in the scene⁵⁷.

Therefore, looking at the released version, it seems that the musicians just stand in the background to be shown very briefly, and little to no attention was paid to sync them up during the filming.

But this changes when we watch the rushes for the scene⁵⁸: Here we see that Tinto Brass had actually filmed quite a few close-ups of the musicians, who are playing very strange-looking instruments. Presumably, they synched their performance to some music in the background, but we cannot say for sure, as the rushes are silent without an accompanying audio track. But we can assume with certainty that Tinto Brass at least considered to show the musicians with their unusual instruments in more detail, and thus was concerned to have them play in sync with the soundtrack. Looking at "Salon Kitty", we can clearly see that he was very concerned about this aspect. The opening shot of that film already proves his attention for having instruments playing in sync with the soundtrack: A musician plays a kind of guitar and moves his hands according to the soundtrack! ([4], 00:00:05).

⁵⁶ ([4], 01:47:40), reference to the Italian Soundtrack. The English soundtrack has some parts of the music cut and repeats some sections, which makes the dancing performance appear out-of-sync.

⁵⁷ ([1a], 00:11:38), pay attention to the musician with the drum.

⁵⁸ [1], DVD 2, Deleted Scenes, "Satyrs, Nymphs and Little Fishies", 00:00:00.

Of course, there are two instances in “Salon Kitty” when the music doesn’t sync perfectly with the image as well, but they aren’t very obvious⁵⁹ – and not as obvious as the not-synchronised performance in “Caligula”.



87. – 89.: Rushes of the film, which prove that Brass filmed close-ups of the musicians. They would have given the scene an interesting visual touch, as well as fit his style of showing lots of camera-angles.

All in all, this leads to the conclusion that Tinto Brass had filmed “Caligula” with at least some of the soundtrack already in mind. Therefore the released version, featuring a completely different soundtrack, probably has no resemblance to his ideas from a musical point of view.

Thus, we can only guess how he would have used music, and therefore have to focus the analysis of the film solely on the visuals and the storyline.

⁵⁹ One would be the SS-Officer playing the piano, where the music starts a few moments before he has both hands on the keys ([4], 00:05:00). The other one is Kitty’s second chanson, where we see an accordion-player in the band, although we hear no accordion in the soundtrack ([4], 00:36:08).

Themes and subjects in the film: Analysis, and how do they fit Brass' oeuvre?

b. Social Revolution: Caligula's character develops

Tinto Brass was very political during the 1970s, having a very left-wing political point-of-view, as becomes apparent for example during "L'Urlo" (1970)⁶⁰.

Had the film been edited according to Tinto Brass' plans, the Emperor Caligula would have appeared much more political and focused in his activities during the second half of the movie, and the whole film would have been much more political and linked to corruption of power or, as Tinto Brass puts it in the interview on the "Imperial Edition DVD", to the "Orgy of Power"⁶¹. Caligula's character development in the planned version would have been very complex and is mostly lost in the released version, which removes crucial scenes.

In order to describe Caligula's development, it makes sense to recall and analyse the intended film's story chronologically, as it would have shown these aspects very clearly.

b.1. Relationship Tiberius <-> Caligula

Tiberius plays an important part in Caligula's character development. We see him as a man who might have started with noble ambitions, but got perverted by power. In the beginning, as he walks down his palace drunk among his slaves performing sexual actions for him to watch, he explains Caligula his motifs and reasons for his behaviour. ([1a], 00:17:36 ff.) Nerva, Tiberius' old friend, had told Caligula beforehand that Tiberius likes to sentence senators to death for treason. During Tiberius' rambling, we get to hear: "Traitors. They often approve any law I make before I made it. I said: "What if I go mad?" (...) They were born to be slaves!" ([1a], 00:23:27). In fact, with this he really summarizes Caligula's future politics. While Tiberius' character development is not described in detail, from the information we get we can assume that he became frustrated at the Senate's ways to grant the Emperor unlimited power, not speaking-up against him⁶². As an old man, Tiberius leads a life full of torture, sexual deprivations and a strict regime on his villa in Capri, and doesn't seem to care about the people he governs any more. He hates most people except for his friend Nerva, his grandson Gemellus: "Serve the state, Caligula, although the people in it are wicked beasts." ([1a], 00:19:38), "Fate chose me to govern swine. In my old age, I have become a swineherd!". ([1a], 00:21:49) It seems that he uses his power mostly to cause fear among his subjects, as we can observe on the guard he has brutally tortured and killed for being drunk on duty. ([1a], 00:21:55). And after Caligula tells him subordinately that the people love him, Tiberius explains: "No, they fear me. And that is much better!"

⁶⁰ See, for example, ([7], 00:51:07), when he shows people's revolution against a fascist occupying force in "L'Urlo".

⁶¹ [1d], 00:02:20 and 00:25:32.

⁶² See, additionally: ([1a], 00:21:25): "The Romans I rule are not what they were... They lust for power (...)".

In fact, he apparently didn't want to become Emperor but "had to", as he would have been "killed" otherwise, just like Caligula "will be". ([1a], 00:20:18). He seems to have classical education as he recites Homer after having his guard killed for being drunk. ("Now he is happy", [1a], 00:22:17) It is interesting that he has high expectations for others, while he himself doesn't adhere to the same standards: He drinks wine constantly, but on the other hand orders the killing of a drunk guard. (In the first draft screenplay [1e], the guard tells him that he drunk to celebrate the birth of his child, which makes Tiberius seem even more cold-hearted). As a matter of fact, he doesn't seem to be able to relate to anyone compassionately and to feel empathy with anybody (except maybe for his old friend Nerva). As Tiberius leads Caligula through his palace, a slave girl whom he kissed in his grotto accompanies him. ([1a], 00:13:38). But although he declared "My little fishes love me" (referring to his harem of nude young people) ([1a], 00:13:26), he doesn't stop her from drinking the poisoned wine he had prepared for Caligula. ([1a], 00:25:00). When she falls down dead, he doesn't even look at her. And Gemellus he also doesn't trust entirely: "(...) and too young to betray me. Well, maybe not too young..." This demonstrates the way he's thinking very well: He sees everyone as a potential threat and doesn't trust anybody. His only "human" relationship is with Nerva, who can even playfully insult Tiberius without facing any danger ([1a], 00:14:06). After Nerva commits suicide, Tiberius gets more and more depressed. He has lost the last person with whom he could have talked "from man-to-man". (Gemellus can not replace Nerva, as we never see the shy boy responding when Tiberius talks to him.)

Interestingly, Tiberius' dialogue we hear is probably shortened a bit compared to the unavailable shooting script. Strikingly, in ([1a], 00:21:21), we see Tiberius walking behind a juggler during his monologue. He has briefly paused his speech, yet we can see him moving his mouth silently as if he is speaking! This means that either some parts of his speech were cut, or the footage was edited without paying attention to the synching.

Despite his mistrust of people, Tiberius seems to be quite intelligent and aware of his surroundings, which leads one to believe that he commands a totalitarian state full of spies similar to a 20th-century-one: He knows about Caligula's incestuous relationship with Drusilla, and even about Macro's plans to have his wife marry Caligula. ([1a], 00:24:09). "I know everything that it said, and done. And thought!" Indeed, as we will see later, Caligula's reign pretty much is the opposite of Tiberius', although he utilizes some of the same means: Arresting and executing senators for treason.

Before Tiberius' death, Caligula appears mainly as a scared young man, yet he is very ambivalent from the start. We get to know that his father and brothers were killed by Tiberius, causing Caligula to live in constant fear of being murdered as well. This is illustrated very well when he awakes from a nightmare apparently depicting this in the opening shot. Thus, when he is summoned to go to Capri, we can understand his fear and sympathize with him.

But on the other hand, we learn from the beginning about his incestuous relationship with his sister. Caligula is well-aware that this is against established morale, and does not admit this in public. We can see this very clearly when Tiberius implies that he knows about the affair: Caligula quickly brushes the sheer thought of having any sexual relationship aside: "My sister... Is

my sister lord!" ([1a], 00:24:05). And when Macro enters his bedroom in the beginning of the movie, he quickly has Drusilla hide behind a curtain to avoid being seen with her in bed.

Although we get a very subordinate behaviour of scared Caligula towards Tiberius in the beginning, we can nonetheless sense his lust for power. After he awakes and is scared in the opening shot of the movie⁶³, he quickly switches to his very dedicated, "official" voice: "I am not going to die!" ([1a], 00:27:02). This is a first sign about his strong will, and that he wants to take his destiny in his own hands. As he arrives in Capri and talks with Nerva, we can witness for the first time how he treats someone who is not clearly "above" him in the power-chain: In a witty and ironic way. When Nerva remarks that the senators who have been sentenced to treason by Tiberius were "all good men", Caligula casually replies: "If they were all good men, how could their beloved Emperor find them guilty of treason?" ([1a], 00:09:30). This demonstrates that behind his subordinate and scared façade, Caligula is very sharp-minded.

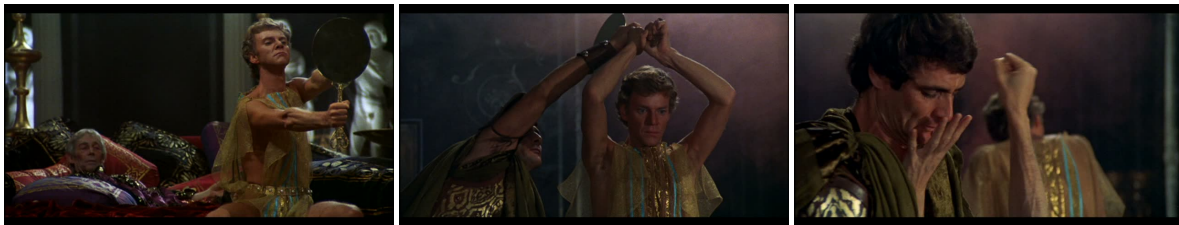
Indeed, during his stay at Tiberius' palace, we get a hint that he could be fascinated by violence. When walking down the corridor towards the Emperor's grotto, he slides past a curtain behind which people are tortured, supposedly to get a closer look. ([1a], 00:09:12), We don't get to see his facial expression during this. Perhaps it was shown in footage Brass filmed, but wasn't used by the producer in the released version. But Caligula doesn't seem to be startled by the sight, as he simply continues his conversation with Nerva without any interruption or change in tone.

As Nerva dies, we can see a certain fascination with dead: He asks Nerva how it feels to die. ([1a], 00:32:00). As Nerva remarks that he sees no gods waiting for him, Caligula gets angry and shoves the dying man under the water-surface. This illustrates well that he has a very nervous temper. If we look at this sequence and at his early reign following Tiberius' death, we can see some parts hinting at a psychotic defect common with mass-murderers or serial killers: He has a calm façade and is aware of legal boundaries (like not admitting in public that he has an affair with his sister). He is thinking in a very logic way and has a fascination for death, without being able to feel compassion – as illustrated when he loses tempter with Nerva, or with his treatment of Proculus in his early reign. The origins – as far as the film suggests – may lay in his childhood: We get to know that Caligula's family was murdered by Tiberius, and that he can hardly feel trust to anyone except for his sister, who, on the other hand, is too close to him (incestuous relationship). But his character is much more complex than that, as we see during his later reign. We will see that it is having unlimited power that spoils him, until he changes his ways.

But on Capri, this doesn't become clear yet. In the sequence explained during chapter VI a of this analysis, we were supposed to see Caligula stare at the slaves performing their morning-routines while featuring flashbacks to Tiberius' menacing look. Here we see that Caligula probably fears death and violence towards himself – again, not making clear whether he himself would have the desire to inflict violence on others.

⁶³ The scene that was planned by Brass to be the opening of the film appears much later in [1a], edited differently than Brass' version.

Back to Tiberius, we can clearly see how Caligula's view of himself changes shortly before the death of his grandfather: Lying on the deathbed, Tiberius awakes one more time after Caligula has taken the Emperor's ring to watch himself in a mirror. (Watching himself with the ring illustrates his fascination and lust for power. Tiberius' death will not only free Caligula from any danger of being killed by the old Emperor, but will also bring him much power. It's obvious that the latter thought is appealing to Caligula, too). As Tiberius awakes and demands Caligula to hand him over the ring, his first reaction is a shocked look. ([1a], 00:39:41) That's surely due to his fear of being punished, but perhaps also because he realizes that he doesn't have as much power as he wishes yet. But this shock quickly fades, as he decides to decline Tiberius' order. His facial expression suddenly changes from a scared young man to a cold-hearted power-person deciding to kill his grandfather. Only because Macro interferes, Caligula doesn't smash Tiberius' skull with his handheld brass mirror!



90. Left: Caligula watches himself posing in the mirror, while Tiberius awakes behind him.

91. Middle: Macro takes Caligula's mirror. Judging by his looks, the latter is unsure if Macro would be loyal to Tiberius after all and arrest him. Macro seems loyal in all scenes involving him, but even here it shows that Caligula is not too sure about this.

92. Right: Macro strangles Tiberius not to leave any marks.

b.2. Caligula's reign until his illness

During his proclamation as an Emperor – which also serves as Tiberius' funeral, we immediately see Caligula's ways to make the people like him. As he is starting his inauguration speech, he first tries to play his "role" as the mourning grandson. For this, he even fakes tears by sniffing an onion, but as he starts his speech, people in the audience express their hate of Tiberius. ("In the Tiber with Tiberius!", [1a], 00:45:45). It seems that in that moment, he realizes that the time to play a submissive role is over: Instead of continuing his prepared speech, he quickly grants a general amnesty, which gets euphoric reactions from both the Senate and the common people in the audience. We can assume that the Senate likes him very much at that point, as they suffered tremendously under Tiberius' reign. Therefore, although we sense a bit of irritation at his order to include his sister Drusilla in official vows, they agree without speaking-up against it.

Back in his palace when talking to his sister, Caligula enjoys his power over the Senate: "Did you see their faces when I told them they had to swear not only to me, but to you?" ([1a], 00:48:26).

Even so early in his reign – probably on the day of his inauguration – he likes provoking the Senate as a display of his now probably limitless power as an Emperor. The first part of the film reveals no motif to hate the Senate. In fact, it just seems that he uses his power to explore its limits, as there seem to be no boundaries to it.

Like Tinto Brass says in his interview: “He was not crazy, he was a child” ([1d], 00:02:55). – and he sees power as a “toy”, and his actions are aimed at “taking the toy apart” like a child would do. ([1d], 00:03:07). While doing so, he does immoral things – which, as Brass puts it during the “Making Of” (shot before the film was taken out of his hands), are inherent to power in his opinion: “I am deeply convinced that power is something that’s absolutely immoral!” ([1c], 00:36:32).

Indeed, power seems to fascinate Caligula, as his exclamation to his sister suggests: “I can do anything I like... To anyone!” ([1a], 00:48:46). Drusilla however guides and advises him to use his power to get rid of Macro, “before he controls you like he did Tiberius!” ([1a], 00:50:28).

Macro’s arrest indeed proves Caligula’s deep distrust towards the people around him. Instead of rewarding Macro for his loyalty, he has him arrested by asking Gemellus who killed the Emperor. The scared boy tells the truth and points at Macro – which leads to the latter’s arrest and execution. Indeed, until his illness, Caligula doesn’t seem to have anyone whom he trusts completely and opens up entirely except for his sister. Even shortly before his illness, as he talks openly to his horse in his beginning fever, he addresses it as “Drusilla”. We’ll analyze this later, when we talk about his illness, but it is of interest for the first half of the film as it shows his affection for his sister very much.

Although seemingly cold-hearted, his arrest of Macro and banishing of Ennia seem to be quite logical: Drusilla fears for Macro’s power, and instead, they appoint stoic Charea who seems like less of a threat⁶⁴.

When Ennia pleads to Caligula: “He made you!”, the Emperor remains unmoved: “Nobody made me!” ([1a], 00:58:03). His power has gotten to his head, and he does not want to remember who helped him to get it. Now he is more powerful than Macro whose protection he once needed, and therefore can get rid of him. This shows very clearly as Caligula pays the Praetorian guard off to arrest their commander, putting him clearly above Macro in the power chain. ([1a], 00:53:08). One action depicting Caligula’s behaviour and irrational use of power is not included in the released version of the film, but is recalled by Malcolm McDowell in his audio commentary. It takes place when Caligula talks to Ennia before having her exiled: At first, he casually urinates against a curtain. After he finishes doing so, apparently some servants immediately clean the floor after him. This again demonstrates his power and him being able to do anything he likes without boundaries⁶⁵. In the released film, there is no trace of the servants, and this particular shot was never released on home-video. Thus, this might be another “humorous” moment that got cut.

⁶⁴ A detailed description of the latter’s character can be found in this paper: Chapter VI, f.2.

⁶⁵ [1a], 00:56:50. The part of the audio-commentary describing this is on [1b] at 00:23:45.

Thus at first, as Caligula listens to Drusilla, his reign seems to develop quite reasonable: It's understandable that she could see Macro as a threat (at least, he killed an Emperor whom he swore allegiance to). Ennia was not treated too brutally or killed, but was "only" banished to Gaul. Drusilla even talks Caligula out of the idea of marrying her, instead insisting that he should find a wife in the Temple of Isis. ([1a], 00:01:14).

But from here, she starts losing grip on Caligula's actions. His behaviour becomes more and more irrational, as he enjoys his seemingly unlimited power: Instead of choosing a nice, harmless lady, he picks Caesonia as a future wife – a woman who's "extravagant, always in debt" according to Drusilla. But he doesn't listen to his sister, and as she pleads him not to fancy Caesonia, he replies: "Such is the will of the Senate and the people of Rome!" – A phrase he uses often in the rest of the film in a twisted joking way. His first sexual encounter with Caesonia doesn't seem too passionate, but rather like a display of power that he can have whatever he wants. ([1a], 01:04:36).

Indeed, with Caesonia it becomes obvious again that before his illness he is not able to relate to anyone on a deeper level. During Macro's execution and Proculus' wedding banquet, Caligula has her chained like a dog on a collar, and guarded by "homosexuals who have been castrated" ([1a], 01:07:48) in order to ensure that he will be the father of her child. To Drusilla's dismay, he even promised Caesonia to marry her once she's born him a son.

During the execution, he enjoys his power in an irrational way: We hear him murmur: "If only all of Rome had one neck!" while breaking an egg with his hand. ([1a], 01:08:32) This clearly shows his violent, undirected temper. In the first part of his reign, he has no real "goal" or direction, and therefore this sentence just signifies his violent lust for power over people. His aggression quickly releases itself on Proculus, a young officer: As he sees Proculus standing in the audience, he tells Longinus to have him thrown in the pit to fight for his life. ([2a], 00:17:13). The only reason we can assume: Proculus wants to marry Livia, a beautiful virgin whose looks Caligula liked in the Temple of Isis. Thus, this action might have just been motivated by jealousy at Proculus' upcoming marriage⁶⁶. Therefore, in this scene, Caligula uses his power to issue orders solely on an irrational basis, to satisfy his spontaneous desires. This is basically his attitude throughout his reign until his illness, as he likes to use his power without any goal, like a spoilt child who got a new toy and tries to play with it in unintended ways to break it.

⁶⁶ As another reason, in his audio commentary Malcolm McDowell explains that Caligula was jealous at Proculus' thick hair. But in the available footage, only one hint leads to this conclusion: "I like your nice, bushy hair" before molesting Proculus at his wedding later in the movie. Looking at the 1975 first draft screenplay, the motivation arises from Caligula's envy upon Proculus, the athletic, very manly soldier winning a duel. But that reason surely didn't appear in the final film, as the storyline had been changed compared to the 1975 first draft.



93./94. Left & Middle: Proculus, thrown in the pit, fights for his life. (Found in [2a].)

95. Right: Proculus wearing the “crown of victory” in a shot that only survives in Tinto Brass’ workprint.

As Proculus survives – to Drusilla’s pleasure, but Caligula’s frustration – he receives the “crown of victory” from the Emperor. ([2a], 00:18:40). But Caligula is frustrated and therefore visits the officer’s wedding, where he takes Proculus and his now-wife Livia to a kitchen to rape them. Nobody dares interfering, and we can sense how Drusilla loses grip of her brother: She is not able to talk him out of his idea of raping Livia, although we can sense her anger at her brother for this. Indeed, as a last resort she tries talking him out of it like you would talk out a child of doing something stupid: With a rhetorical question in a tone of voice that’s quite menacing. “I thought you didn’t like virgins?” ([1a], 01:11:56) But Caligula doesn’t listen, and instead proceeds to rape Livia while he forces Proculus to watch; enjoying the fact that nobody dares to interfere. Again, he uses his phrase “I, Caligula Caesar, command in the name of the Senate and the People of Rome!” both while raping Livia and before molesting Proculus. This symbolizes how he loves his ability to order anybody to do anything without having to fear any consequences. In an earlier screenplay (July 1976 draft), this would indeed have had consequences: Proculus would have been among the assassins to plot Caligula’s death in the end of the movie. But in the filmed version, Proculus dies before Caligula’s illness, and therefore this wedding only signifies the Emperor’s unlimited power – and that nobody tries to stop him. The rape is never mentioned by anyone near Caligula again, and in the next sequence, the officials pretend to be friendly as always. As Charea points it out during Caligula’s illness: “Better tyranny than anarchy!”⁶⁷

Now we can sense that Drusilla has entirely lost her soothing influence on Caligula, and the Proculus-Episode can be seen as the beginning of Caligula’s “Orgy of Power” (An expression Tinto Brass uses it in his interview, as mentioned before. ([1d], 00:02:20 and 00:25:32))

After the rape, we see Caligula entering Longinus’ office, proclaiming: “Drusilla tells me that I’ve been neglecting my work, so I report for duty!” ([1a], 01:37:02). But obviously, Drusilla didn’t manage to convince Caligula enough of the importance of his duties: After sealing a few documents, looking at the large bulk of paper still waiting to be signed, he loses any motivation to continue his work seriously. Instead, he starts walking around the room, issuing edicts that are more and more absurd while bouncing a ball around. ([2a], 00:11:32). Longinus, as explained in chapter f.1, only replies “Yes Caesar” to anything Caligula says, which finally makes Caligula angry: “Can’t you say anything except “Yes, Caesar”? No wonder life’s so dull!” This shows him being bored he is by power already: He has no boundaries, can may get whatever he wants, and

⁶⁷ Details on this conversation, which does not survive in [1a], can be found in this paper, Chapter VI, f.2.

therefore is not motivated to do anything to achieve something. He does not seem to think about his ruling duties in general, instead only cares about himself and his own spontaneous feelings and desires. This really makes him look like the picture mentioned earlier: A spoilt child only thinking about himself, using power as a “toy”. In fact, his lack of compassion for other people – infused by his childhood in constant danger of being assassinated by anyone – shows that he doesn’t really care about the duties of an Emperor who’s needed for running the administrative – not-so-exciting – part of the Empire. Nonetheless, probably due to his reforms in the beginning of the reign, the people still favor him very much, as we will see later. In fact, one brief scene after his decision to kill Macro shows another part of his personality: Two senators enter his room with a dispute over land. Caligula decides in favour of the senator who brings much less documents to prove his case – without even looking at the documents. ([1a], 00:54:03) This might show that he rules in favour of the one who can’t afford so many lawyers preparing his case. Maybe there were other scenes / dialogues, but they were cut. As Caligula performs his cruelties among Proculus, Livia and other higher-ranking members of the ruling class like Macro, it could very well be that the common people still like him as they don’t get affected too much by Caligula’s outrageous behaviour. Instead, they benefit from his general amnesty and other probable edicts. The scene in Longinus’ office on the other hand shows how discontent Caligula is with everyday, “boring” office-work. He doesn’t want to be remembered as “Caligula, the Dull” ([2a], 00:11:30). After his illness, indeed, he will find a new purpose for using his power.



96. Left: Caligula realizes how many documents he has to seal that day – a boring task for him.

97. Right: Instead, he starts wandering around and issues one absurd edict after the other.

His “Orgy of Power” continues as he witnesses a shadow outside his bedroom and guesses that it is Gemellus trying to kill him. ([1a], 01:17:09). At a banquet, he has Gemellus arrested for taking an antidote – which signifies treason, as this implies that he thought Caligula would poison him. This accusation of Gemellus taking an antidote might even be true: As explained during the chapter about the film’s editing, it might be the case that a spy – or even Gemellus himself – had watched Caligula’s fear of Gemellus from the hole in the wall – A sequence that can not be reconstructed without having access to all footage⁶⁸.

⁶⁸ See: This paper, chapter VI, a.2.

Nonetheless, Caligula wants to get rid of Gemellus, regardless of the latter taking an antidote or not. Drusilla is very angry about Caligula's decision to kill his son (by adoption) and calls him an "amateur" – for which he slaps his sister. As she runs off, he quickly gains back his temper and cheers the crowd up, before forcing pregnant Caesonia to perform an erotic dance for them.

By slapping Drusilla, he demonstrates clearly that she and her advice are not important for him anymore, and he's really ruling without any rationality. His killing of Gemellus is only based on a bad dream and a shadow on the balcony, which he combines to a suspicion of the prince plotting to kill him⁶⁹.

After the banquet, a scene follows which is problematic, as explained in the chapter about the editing: Caligula tortures and kills Proculus. ([1a], 01:38:32) Regardless of the production history – whether the producer insisted on the scene being filmed against the director's wishes or not – to reconstruct its placement in the movie is difficult. In the released version, it takes place after Caligula's illness, and in the July 1976 screenplay draft there is no trace of it as Proculus survives. According to [3], the scene was placed right after the banquet where Gemellus is arrested, and the author agrees with this statement. It is very logical to place the scene there, as it is the final "crescendo" of Caligula's orgy of power: After raping the couple earlier, now he goes even further by killing an honest man just for fun calling him a "traitor".

Caligula's motivation might be his frustration after slapping Drusilla, and during this scene he might very well be drunk after the banquet. Probably, the torture of Proculus takes place on the same evening as the banquet: Caligula is accompanied there by the two women who were lying next to him during the banquet, which supports this assumption⁷⁰. Caligula wears different clothes than during the banquet, but he could have switched them afterwards.

The torture and killing of Proculus is the final act in his aimless, power-hungry early reign. Again, we see Caligula's fascination with death, as he asks Proculus how it's like to die. And his senseless cruelty doesn't end when the officer is dead: He orders the body to be castrated and the genitals to be sent back to Livia, Proculus' wife. Longinus – for the first time – doesn't follow an order, having dogs eat the genitals when Caligula is gone, thus not exposing Livia to this additional cruelty⁷¹.

This sequence presents Caligula's cruelty in the harshest possible manner. The author suggests that Tinto Brass might have removed it entirely, or at least had edited it in a way making it more bearable to the viewer⁷².

⁶⁹ This suspicion might even have been reasonable. But we can not decide this without looking at more filmed footage. Judging from the available footage, it seems that Brass wanted to keep this enigmatic.

⁷⁰ The two women are supposed to be Caligula's other two sisters, according to the interview with Lori Wagner on [1], Disc 3, who portrayed one of them. But in no version of the screenplay or the film they are introduced as such, making them seem like extras to the viewer.

⁷¹ ([1a], 01:42:42). In [1a], Longinus tells his subordinates to "send the rest [i.e. the body] to Livia. But this line was dubbed-in after the editing, not intended by Brass, as can be revealed by careful watching.

⁷² As explained in this paper during Chapter VI, **a.2.** and **a.3.**, Brass didn't really like filming torture in a long stretched-out and detailed manner.

Nonetheless, after this sequence, we see that the unlimited power harmed Caligula: He suffers a breakdown while walking around Incitatus' stable. He justifies himself by telling his horse his reasons for killing Gemellus⁷³. In fact, Caligula addresses his horse as "Drusilla". The whole sequence looks like he just realizes what he's done, and his body gets very sick in the process. In the end of the sequence, he throws up, leading to the next sequence where he lies in bed, seemingly dying. The throwing-up – which, according to Malcolm McDowell's audio commentary took much effort and therefore was important to Tinto Brass – might symbolize how disgusted he is at his previous actions. Only now he realized what he did when he slapped Drusilla – and perhaps when e.g. raping Livia and murdering Proculus. By slapping his sister he had gone too far even for himself. While he realizes what he did against her advice, he starts feeling guilty. The "Orgy of Power" wrecked his mind and body!



98. / 99. Caligula in Incitatus' stable. This sequence had much more dialogue in the screenplay, and [2a] confirms that it originally could have been much longer than in the released version of "Caligula".

Lying in deathbed, Caligula reconciles with Drusilla –proclaiming her empress after his death in his last will. But he doesn't die, and gets better while lying in her arms (described in detail in **f.4.**).

An interesting side note: While Caligula lies ill in bed, we see a shot of a crowd standing below the palace. ([1a], 01:31:57) In [1f], we hear them say good things about Caligula:

"May Jupiter spare him... They say he's been poisoned... He's only young, he'll pull through... The aristocrats didn't like him... He was too independent for them... He spoke his own mind... Whatever you say, he was good to the people. With Caligula you got justice..." ([1f], p. 87)

In the released version, the people below the palace are silent. During filming, on the other hand, it's likely that they spoke these lines, in order to show how the people love him regardless of his cruelties against the upper class of society. Guccione's editors probably deleted that audio (and possibly some close-ups of the people standing around talking) in order to simplify the story.

⁷³ ([1a], 01:30:40). This scene was probably shortened (in the released version. See this paper, chapter VI, **g.2.** for details.

b.2b. Caligula's "Rebirth"

Following his illness, the mood changes: Suddenly we see Caligula and Drusilla running around a forest looking very innocently like a young couple which is newly in love⁷⁴. This makes sense story-wise: After the "orgy of power" – in which Caligula ruled without limit and goal – he "awakens". In fact, during the last third of the movie – which is about to start – he uses his power with a certain goal that will be explained soon. Indeed, after the illness, he seems to find a more "compassionate" side towards several people – Caesonia, their child and his Barbarian body-guard. The placement of this scene between his illness and the birth of his daughter makes sense, and it might have even been intended as a kind of dream: He and Drusilla reconcile and enjoy one last time together. (We might never find out if it was indeed meant as a dream or as reality. Maybe, if Brass would have edited the film, this enigma would have been solved.) Afterwards, in the next sequence, Drusilla breaks down from the same illness which Caligula had (which she probably caught from him). Thus, the transition of him in deathbed and her breaking down would be a bit jarring without any scene in between. That's where the forest-scene really makes sense.



The correct ordering of the scenes, which is completely out-of-sequence in the released version.

100. Left: Caligula lying ill in bed.

101. Middle: The pastoral idyll in the forest afterwards would have been the transition to

102. Right: Drusilla overwhelmed by the fever she probably caught from Caligula.

The innocent-looking scene in the forest soon draws to an end, and is followed by the birth of his daughter. There, he seems more kind and relaxed than in the beginning of the film: He marries Caesonia before he knows the gender of his child. When – moments later – he learns that it is a girl, he takes it with humour and proclaims it is a boy – instead of perhaps being angry at her like it would have probably been during his early reign. ([1a], 01:45:20). But a few seconds later his sister – looking quite ill throughout the sequence – breaks down.

We cut to a moment which was described earlier in Chapter VI, a.: Caligula plays with a toy chariot for his daughter. This brief shot is very important for his character development: For the first time, he does something just to cheer up someone else, proving that he can relate to his daughter! ([2a], 00:05:20). After his illness and the birth of his daughter we get to see a new,

⁷⁴ This sequence, strangely placed at the beginning of the film in the released version ([1a], 00:01:02) appears in a much extended cut in the "Pre-Release" / "Alternate" version of the film, placed at a totally inappropriate moment in the first act of the movie. ([1b], 00:56:10). According to the shooting-record [10], the scene was originally placed directly after Caligula's illness. It includes little dialogue at the beginning: Drusilla: "You missed" – Caligula: "I did not miss. I was aiming for that leaf." – "Well, aim at me...".

more tender side of him, which he displays in private towards Caesonia.

But it's Drusilla's death in the following sequence that really changes him and ends the second part of the movie. As she is lying sick in bed, he is offering the goddess Isis his life if she spares Drusilla – to no luck, as his sister dies moments later! ([1a], 01:47:16) Furiously, he smashes the goddess' statue and carries his sister's body around the palace, screaming. This scene concludes the second part of the movie. With the death of Drusilla, he has lost one of the most important elements of his life; the person, who advised him and gave his behaviour some reason. Never before he had been this alone: Even at Tiberius' villa – where Drusilla wasn't with him – he had Macro to aid him. Now, he has got no one left, as we still haven't seen him talk tenderly or openly to his wife Caesonia. This desperate crisis leads to tremendous changes in his life and behaviour – with great consequences for the whole Roman society.

b.3. Caligula's romp through the institutions

Alone after Drusilla's death, Caligula roams along the streets incognito in a dirty Toga. He witnesses some soldiers putting up a plate that announces a "one-month mourning-period" for Drusilla, in which nobody is allowed to laugh, dine with his parents or do other activities.

([1a], 01:54:02). This shows that after Drusilla's death Caligula again issued a ridiculous edict, and his transformation actually starts now, roaming through the streets of Rome. He witnesses that nobody cares about his edict and watches poor people leading a miserable life on the street. Prostitution and misery of the lower-class is a common sight, which he probably gets to see for the first time. A world which he never got in contact with before! (Although Tiberius mentions in the beginning that Caligula was "raised in army camps only", we still can assume that – being of noble heritage – he was kept with officers and higher-ranking noble people there as well.)

Witnessing people's misery proves to be the central event in Caligula's character development: For the first time, he realizes how the Senate and the state fail to provide for the lower-class people. Perhaps the contrast between the rich senators/religious leaders who amass their wealth and poor people without many possessions strikes him as well there. The religious leaders haven't been featured much in the story until now, but as we will see later, robbing the temple's treasuries plays an important part in his plans as well⁷⁵.

One central, symbolic event occurs when Caligula witnesses some actors portraying Rome's society. They form a human pyramid symbolizing the government's structure, with the slaves at the bottom and the Emperor at the top. ([1a], 01:55:39) As the actor sitting on top makes fun of Caligula, the latter starts tearing down the human pyramid while the uppermost actor still sits on his place on a scaffolding. ([1a], 01:57:31) This is again an interesting symbol: Although society may topple, the Emperor is still sitting on top. He doesn't need the people below him.



103. Left: Caligula roaming the streets of Rome incognito.

104. Middle: He topples a human pyramid representing the structure of the Roman state.

105. Right: In the Senate afterwards, proclaiming himself a god.

Being incognito, Caligula is beaten up after causing this trouble and picked up by some soldiers later, who put him in a prison. There, he meets the Barbarian, who is pimping a woman to other

⁷⁵ See: This paper, chapter VI, d. and f.3.

prisoners. ([1a], 02:00:01). After a brief struggle, the Barbarian takes Caligula's ring, but quickly recognizes him as the Emperor and bows down in front of him, as do all the other prisoners. This is another key moment for his character development: We would expect Caligula to be angry at the Barbarian who tried stealing his ring, as he even killed Proculus for no reason at all. Instead, he appoints the Barbarian his bodyguard and takes him to the Senate in the next sequence.

Actually, his decision to have the Senate declare himself a god is enigmatic. (And is never really explained in the released version.) Caesonia delivers a very interesting statement about him while he has disappeared, roaming the streets incognito: "(...) He's testing us!" ([1a], 01:59:58). Indeed, he proclaims to be a god in the Senate, but he wants to wait for the "Senate's unanimous decision". (02:02:50) When Claudius tells the senators to shout "Aye" if they agree, they first hesitate. But after their Emperor shouts "Aye", they all join him. It seems that Caligula needed this as a "proof" that the Senate really does everything he says, and that nobody dares interfere if he does a stupid decision. In a way, this really re-affirmed Tiberius' notion of Senators that we heard in the beginning: "Traitors. They often approve any law I make before I made it. I said: "What if I go mad?" (...)" ([1a], 00:23:27). Now, Caligula reached at the same point as Tiberius. He has realized that the senators are not courageous enough to speak-up against him. They only want to live without too much trouble, and if the Emperor has stupid ideas, they just agree instead of questioning him – which might be more in the interest of the people of Rome. In a way, the senators – who should act in the interest of the people – only act in their own interest to keep their privileges and power. A bad situation: The Emperor alone can't rule an Empire in every detail, so he needs people below him who have their own will, judgement and the courage to speak-up for it, which the senators obviously don't have.

But instead of resigning like Tiberius – who led a secluded life on Capri surrounded by sex-slaves – Caligula decides to provoke the Senate with his following actions.

Before leaving the Senate hall, he tests them one more time, making noises like a sheep – which they quickly repeat after him ([1a], 02:04:10). Now, he is convinced of their attitude and is ready to start his plans. His scream "The Period of mourning is now over!", followed by lowering a giant black curtain from the Senate hall's ceiling to cover the senators symbolizes this: He no longer mourns for his sister who led him and basically thought for him. Instead, now he has his own plans and aims what to do with his power, instead of just doing mindlessly what his immediate sadistic desires command. As he leaves the Senate house, we see a very humiliating gesture towards the senators: They are covered by the black curtain and make sheep noises, while the Barbarian whips them to make them gather directly below the curtain. Like a herd of sheep! Most humiliating in this, Caligula allows a low-class ex-prisoner to treat the Senators – who are very high-up in Rome's social ladder – in such a way. This would be his first direct provocation towards them.

Following this sequence, we clearly learn how Caligula really thinks about his actions: Caesonia massages him and asks why he had the Senate declare him a god. ([2a], 00:13:31). He replies casually: "That was the Senate's decision, not mine!" He tells Caesonia that he is a "god in human form", and asks her: "You do believe it, don't you?" Sarcastically she replies: "Oh yes, of course.", to which Caligula only has one remark: "Then you're as stupid as the rest of them!"

This dialogue – which is removed in the released version – is extremely important, as it symbolizes Caligula’s changing relationship with Caesonia and also shows his real plans. He doesn’t believe he is a god. Instead, he wanted to see if the Senators really allowed him to do anything by basically granting him unlimited power. As Caesonia is worried that they might kill him, Caligula comforts her that they surely won’t: “I’m surrounded by hypocrites and sheep! Forever talking about Service and Loyalty!” Basically, that’s Tiberius attitude. But instead of getting depressed over it, Caligula tries to challenge them, as we will recognize in a brief bit of dialogue during the “Battle of Britain Victory celebration” when Caesonia tells him that Senators and Consuls are important men: “So important that they approve all I do? They must be mad. I don’t know what else to do to provoke them!” ([1a], 02:21:28).

Another very important event takes place during this dialogue: For the first time, there is tenderness and wit in Caligula’s conversation with Caesonia. For the first time, he talks to her seriously, and starts to trust her. When he tells her: “I only trust my little Giant” (referring to the Barbarian), Caesonia replies: “And not me?” Openly, Caligula admits: “I trust your heart. But not your head!” Angrily, Caesonia sets leave: “I know. I’m not Drusilla!”

But before she exits the palace, Caligula asks: “Aren’t you going to finish the massage?” She concludes by fondling him in a sexual way, to which he laughs.

The importance of this scene lies in the fact that Caligula seems to realize that he hurts Caesonia by telling her that he doesn’t trust her entirely so bluntly. As she leaves angrily, he whistles to get back her attention, but pronounces his question “Aren’t you going to finish the massage?” in a commanding way, but not in his angry “ordering” voice. He waits for her reaction, and looks at her demanding, but not angrily. As she returns to him, we can probably assume that he really left her the choice of returning or not – for the first time. In the end of the scene, as he laughs genuinely, we can see him behaving much more tender towards her compared to the time before his illness. In fact, in the remainder of the movie, we can see him talking to her “on the same level” and not as if she was subordinate to him. It’s a very different relationship than the one he had with Drusilla: Now, he has his own plans, and needs people to support him, instead of having Drusilla giving him advice what to do next.

Along this, the Barbarian is an interesting character: He is a deaf-mute⁷⁶. But although being an ex-prisoner and unable to speak, Caligula trusts him. The explanation might be easy: Everyone around Caligula has certain agendas, friends and networks, which means that everyone else can have reasons to betray him. The Barbarian, on the other hand, originates from a foreign place, can neither speak nor hear and only has Caligula to support him. It might even be that the Barbarian is a simple man and processes unspoilt gratefulness to Caligula as his “Liberator from prison”. It is indeed a very uncommon thing for an aristocrat like Caligula to have a common man like the Barbarian as his trusted friend – and might have meant to show that actually this simple man is trustworthier than any “noble” people in Rome. Nowhere else in the film we see “noble” people interacting in a friendly way with people not of their rank!

⁷⁶ According to [2a], 00:07:52. The scene survives without recorded dialogue, but the dialogue can be reconstructed entirely using [1f], the July 1976 screenplay draft, and [10], the shooting record.



106. Left: Longinus is licking / kissing one of the statue's heads resembling Caligula in a submissive act.

107. Middle: Caligula joking around with the deaf-mute Barbarian.

108. Right: Caesonia is excited and laughs as Caligula replaces the statues' heads.

In the Temple of Jupiter, as Caligula replaces the Statue's heads, we can clearly see how he treats the Barbarian as a close friend – and Caesonia as a wife with whom he talks wittily and openly. He jokes around and makes fun of Longinus, who pretends to be happy about the Emperor's actions⁷⁷. Caligula even talks to the Barbarian, who whispers something in his ear in return ([2a], 00:07:47) – which is a strange joke, as Caligula's bodyguard is a deaf-mute. As Caligula enthusiastically proclaims: "We'll conquer Britain!", Longinus wants to speak up against it ("But we can't possibly afford it!"), but is quickly scared by the Barbarian to keep quiet. This is interesting: Here, at last one subordinate of Caligula wants to speak-up against a stupid idea by the Emperor, but is quickly silenced. At first, one wonders why: Doesn't Caligula want to provoke the Senate to finally stand up against stupid decisions by leadership? But this can be explained: By silencing Longinus so easily, he demonstrates how cowardly the senators and ruling class is. They might find the courage briefly to express their opinion, but aren't really brave enough to stand for it against any sort of obstacle. After that, Caligula quickly brushes away Longinus' idea of restoring the wine tax to fund the campaign against Britain. Instead, he has other plans...

The scene survives without dialogue, but it can be found in [1f] (p.108ff). Lip-reading reveals that the dialogue wasn't changed much from the screenplay, but the end of the scene was modified when Caligula demonstrates Longinus his new march⁷⁸. Also, the end of the scene is probably cut short in [2a] – or missing some audio in the end – as in the screenplay, he announces that he will accept gifts from the people to celebrate the New Year. That leads to the next sequence:

In the evening, people throw gold in a big box, which is standing in the temple. Caligula and the Barbarian take the gold and put it in the temple's treasury, where Caligula is so thrilled about their "harvest" that he literally "bathes" in the gold coins.

Although we don't find a proper introduction to this sequence in [2a], we can assume that had been somehow explained who these people are in the filmed sequence. The author supposes that Caligula asked/ordered wealthy people to donate their money to the temple of Jupiter,

⁷⁷ More on Longinus: This paper, chapter VI, f.1.

⁷⁸ More on the military: This paper, chapter VI, e.

which would give this scenes a very “socialist” approach: Caligula refuses to take money from the common people by restoring the wine tax. This tax would surely financially “hurt” poor people more than the rich, so he wouldn’t accept Longinus’ idea. Instead, he raises money from the wealthier people who donate it to the temple – probably at his order. This assumption is further deepened as Caligula mocks Longinus in the following sequence, while he is removing the treasury of the temple: “And you wanted to raise taxes...” This again would demonstrate that there is enough money for any endeavour, and that you don’t have to press it off the poor people.

That’s a very socialist tendency, as Caligula targets only the rich people in the third part of the film. Taking Jupiter’s treasury offends both the Senators who probably donated their money to it, as well as the religion, which is presented by the High Priest⁷⁹. Especially since Caligula ritually “sacrifices” a priest instead of a bull, he shows that he feels to be above any religious idea, and that he can do whatever he wants. In fact, in the temple of Jupiter sequences, he humiliates the religion to be almost nothing, as he can order it around any way he like: Replace the god’s statues’ heads with his own, killing priests, taking the treasury... With these actions he maybe wants to prove that there are no “real” gods, as well as provoke the priests, who don’t dare to oppose him.

If they are so dedicated to their belief, why do they accept his mocking of the religion and basically declare their normal gods void? Why don’t they rather stand up for their true belief?

This can again be seen as a very socialist idea: The religious leaders in the temple of Jupiter are probably not really believing in their gods. Instead, they use religion as a means to get power and money. An attitude which reminds one of Wallenberg’s speech at the end of “Salon Kitty”, in which he admits that all he wants is power – and that he doesn’t believe in any “ideals”. ([4], 01:58:51 ff.) In that speech, he refers to National Socialist Ideology, which of course can not be compared directly to the religion in “Caligula”. But the abstract idea of religion as portrayed in “Caligula” and the ideology in “Salon Kitty” are similar: Build-up “ideals” / ideas to get people under your control, but don’t really believe in them yourself. That way, the attitude of the religious leaders – especially the High Priest in “Caligula” – can be seen to be in the same spirit as Wallenberg’s in Tinto Brass’ earlier film. Indeed, as we will see in chapter **f.3.**, the High Priest might have played a much larger role in the film, which was mostly cut in the released version – with no trace of the footage to be found on the discs.

In the Temple, Caligula is well aware that many powerful people believe that he is “mad”, and he frankly admits this to Longinus in a piece of dialogue that only survives in the Making-Of: “You think I’m a lunatic, don’t you? You don’t understand me!”⁸⁰

⁷⁹ See this paper, chapter VI, **d.** / **f.3.**

⁸⁰ ([1c], 00:23:36). In [2a], that part of that scene survives without audio.



109. Left: The High Priest is angry and shocked at Caligula's actions.

110. Middle: People donate money to the temple by putting it in a big casket.

111. Right: Caligula diving in the coins inside the temple's treasury.

Following robbing the treasury and thus harming the religious leaders as well as their donors – probably mainly senators – financially, Caligula plans to humiliate the senators morally as well. During the sequence in which the senator's wives are forced to prostitute themselves, we can see angry looks by their husbands who are watching next to the brothel ship – but nobody dares to speak-up. In fact, the women seem to enjoy what they're doing tremendously, which again demonstrates the depravation of the ruling class. When Caligula rhetorically asks Longinus "who are the most lascivious sluts in Rome?", he might very well have been right to name the Senators' wives that way: They obviously enjoy being prostituted!

As explained earlier⁸¹, Guccione re-shot hardcore sexual scenes for this orgy, as well as scenes depicting the senators' wives looking very sad and embarrassed. In the "North American Bonus Footage" ([2a]), we can even find some scenes from his re-shoot – mixed with Brass' footage, but easily discernable due to different extras used – in which some old ladies try to resist the "customers". ([2a], 00:21:22).

Thus, if we watch the sequence in the released version, Brass' idea of having the women being decadent is watered down by showing Guccione's re-shot scenes. This sequence in its planned and filmed form was probably one of the most important ones for Caligula: He plans to humiliate the Senate and to provoke them to take action against him. Instead, the senators stay cowards, and even their wives don't resist, but enjoy the action.

Indeed, we can see the third part of the movie as one failure after the other for Caligula, which conclude in his break-down after naming his horse a consul: He can try whatever he wants to provoke the Senate and the army, and they still won't stand up against him to really rule Rome the way they're supposed to. Tiberius assessments prove to be accurate!

Caligula's ridiculous "attack on Britain"⁸² also doesn't succeed in provoking anyone to directly stand up against the Emperor, and during the celebration banquet, nobody dares questioning the Emperor's conquest of Britain: Caligula even asks Claudius (who was present at the "battle" taking place close to Rome): "I've heard rumors that the Senate doesn't believe that I ever went to Britain..." – "No, no lord". The senators and other political leaders don't dare to tell Caligula

⁸¹ This paper, chapter VI, a.

⁸² Described in detail in: This paper, chapter VI, e.

what they think, instead they keep a facade of loyalty to the Emperor. And as Caligula proclaims: „I have one hundred thousand papyrus cane to prove it!“, everybody in the audience cheers as if he was really victorious.

This shows directly what Caligula hates: They do not dare telling the Emperor the truth, they are cowards who want to lead an easy life. Or, as Caligula puts it earlier, they are “sheep”: They are harmless and can be led around by one person who tells them what to do. In a way, this is similar to Tiberius’ way of describing the Senators as “swine” and seeing himself as a “swineherd”.

As the victory banquet drifts off into becoming an orgy, Caligula gets disgusted by it and screams out, which stops it immediately. ([1a], 02:22:58). This is clear: Instead of the senators speaking up against his actions that practically damage the state, they start celebrating and enjoying themselves. As Tiberius put it earlier: “They lust for power... And pleasure!” ([1a], 00:21:25)

After Caligula’s scream, he decides to mock them by ordering them ridiculous things – like cath-ing a grape in their mouth, etc. Everyone who “fails” gets put on a list by Longinus, and gets arrested for “failing Rome” afterwards⁸³. Although we hear them gasp in terror, nobody dares to speak-up that they are not guilty. It seems that Caligula can not find a way to provoke them to stand up openly against him: He can order them around to do anything, and nobody dares to do something!

In this sequence, we get to know that he’s sure there’s a plot against him, but he doesn’t seem to take it seriously. Even when Caesonia at the dinner warns him about Charea, Caligula just laughs it off “I think he intends to kill me!”, and provokes Longinus and Charea even more about there being a plot against him⁸⁴. It seems that Caligula fears nobody, and is running out of ideas how to provoke the Senate to stand up for the state against the Emperor. It seems that the senators are not interested in running the government well, instead they cowardly try to live mostly untroubled. To them, the idea of Caligula testing them doesn’t seem plausible. Instead, they do what he tells them to, even though it might be mad. It’s during the victory banquet where Caligula admits towards Caesonia what he thinks about them being “important men”, as mentioned earlier: “So important that they approve all I do? They must be mad. I don’t know what else to do to provoke them!” This line is especially powerful, as it was preceded by a moment which probably was much shortened in the released version:

After Caligula has the senators arrested, he orders the remaining guests to finish their dinner: “Almighty Caesar says: Finish your Dinner... EAT!” ([1a], 02:24:10). As Caesonia reminds him: “They hate you now!”, Caligula just sarcastically replies with a quote inspired by Tiberius: “Let

⁸³ This scene was largely deleted by Guccione’s editors in [1a], but can be found in the screenplay-draft [1f]. The dialogue during the rest of the sequence is identical in [1a] and [1f], making it highly likely that the whole sequence was shot according to that screenplay. Looking at the screenplay [1f], this sequence was meant to be longer, having Caligula doing various actions that the guests repeat after him – almost like in the game “Simon Says” ([1f], pp.123/123). The order “Almighty Caesar says: Finish your dinner” is the only one remaining in the final film [1a], and the beginning “Almighty Caesar says” is a direct reference to “Simon says”. This remaining order already looks comical: Caligula orders the shocked senators to continue as normal, and suddenly they do.

⁸⁴ Described in detail in: This paper, chapter VI, f.

them hate me, as long as they fear me!" ([1a], 02:21:21).

At the end of the sequence, Caligula has seemingly one last plan how to provoke the senators: He asks Claudius when the next consular election will be held – and wants to have his horse Incitatus elected as a consul⁸⁵. According to [10], Caligula announces that he intends to select as Consul the “worthiest⁸⁶ Roman of you all” while looking at Incitatus. This shocks the senators.

But even this provocation doesn’t succeed: As Caligula rides in the Senate on Incitatus, nobody interferes. We learn no details about the election system in the available footage, but we can assume that it’s basically the senators’ duty to vote on various candidates, and they could have said “no”. But they don’t, so Caligula is finally convinced that they are not needed to rule the government. They will not think about the people’s interests, only about their own. In that way, Incitatus – the horse – would be a much more honest politician from his point of view: Not pretending to care for anyone, and never lying, the horse could replace a human politician, who would do as Caligula pleases anyways. Thus, as Caligula proclaims Incitatus a Consul, he removes the Senate from his usual phrase “In the name of the Senate and the People of Rome”: He starts: “I Caligula Caesar, In the name of the Sen...” but quickly re-thinks and shouts: “In the name of the people of Rome designate as Consul: Incitatus!” ([2a], 00:16:46).

Following this sequence, Caligula again has a breakdown: He is standing in the temple of Jupiter and smashes the heads of the gods’ statues, declaring “you don’t exist!” ([2a], 00:10:16). Ironically, the statue’s heads resemble his own, as he had them replaced a few sequences before. This again is a key moment in his development that was cut by the producers in the released version [1a]: As the scene starts, he asks the head of a statue: “What would you do if you were me? You never answer. You don’t exist!” ([2a], 00:09:33). This is enigmatic at first: Why is he talking to the heads of the gods which resemble his own?⁸⁷

But looking at the scene before – in the Senate – we can see the reason for the Emperor’s breakdown. He has realized that “the Senate counts for nothing”, as Longinus put it earlier. ([2a], 00:16:49). They always accept anything he says. His belief in religion is also scattered: Isis – the goddess in which he believed until Drusilla’s death – didn’t help when his sister was dying, even though he offered her his life in exchange for Drusilla’s. And the priests in the temple of Jupiter were like the senators: They wouldn’t stand up for the “truth” – which, for them, should be the existence of their gods. Instead, they let Caligula do as he pleases so they are able to keep their privileged life. They fear him more than any of their gods. And even the gods didn’t punish him, which proves that they don’t exist. Caligula realizes he is all alone. He has all the power and no

⁸⁵ See: Dialogue in the July 1976 screenplay [1f], and the shooting-record [10].

⁸⁶ In an alternate take, “worthiest” was replaced by “noblest” according to [10].

⁸⁷ On a side note, in this sequence we can see how Tinto Brass made the scene more “extreme” to clarify its point. In the July 1976 screenplay draft [1f], Caligula only talks to a statue: “You don’t exist!” Him smashing the heads with a hammer while the Barbarian joyfully brings more and more is a good example of Tinto Brass’ style: Very clear and extreme in its symbolic meaning, yet with a comic relief – which in this case is the Barbarian, who possesses the body-language and expressions of a silent-movie comedy actor in this scene. This fits Brass’ remark in his interview that he wanted to make the film more “visual” than Vidal. [1d].

one who would control him. His breakdown is provoked by his realization that the way society around him works is based on the powerful people wanting to keep their privileges, instead of trying to stand up for the people they govern. He has tried shaking the ruling class awake, but they rather succumb to a tyrant and suffer than stand up for sanity. Caligula tried everything he could, but still arrived at the same point as Tiberius: They accept any laws he makes, even though they might be mad. They have to be mad to accept everything he does, to put it polemically. The state and its institutions cannot be improved the way they are. Caligula is basically trapped on top of a government that doesn't rule in favour of the people, but instead his subordinate senators do anything to please the Emperor.



112. Left: Caligula declares Incitatus a consul – without anybody speaking up against it.

113. Right: Caligula smashes a statue's head: "You don't exist!"

Afterwards, Caligula walks through the empty Senate with his Bodyguard, and stands on the high platform to let out "a silent scream of rage and despair"⁸⁸.

As Caligula returns to his bedroom and talks to Caesonia, we see him terribly shaken: "I need some sleep..." ([1a], 02:27:36). Caesonia on the other hand insists that she needs him, and we can sense her sorrow that he could be killed. To really demonstrate Caligula's desperation, he mentions his sorrow of going bald ([1a], 02:27:12) – which is nonsense looking at his dense hair. He sees the black bird again – a symbol of death, as explained later in chapter **g**. – but seems content with his fate of perhaps being killed: He tried his best to shake awake the government, but has failed. Caesonia on the other hand panics.

Indeed, this breakdown could have led to another change in Caligula's reign, just like his earlier illness did. A line spoken by Caligula – but deleted by the editors of [1a] – suggests this as well: At the end of the sequence, Caligula exclaims that "Anarchy is better than tyranny[.]"⁸⁹ Probably, this change of attitude would have led to another phase of his reign, reigning as an "anarchist":

⁸⁸ According to the screenplay [1f]. In the final film [1a], only the beginning of this scene in the empty senate hall is shown, and him ascending the stairs to the top platform directly cuts to the following sequence. But that cut makes no sense, as the stairs in the senate hall only lead to the platform, and in the next sequence, Caligula scends stairs to the palace balcony. Thus, it is very likely that the sequence Brass filmed was similar to the screenplay – though we cannot reconstruct Caligula's gestures during this "silent scream", as no photos of this scene were published.

⁸⁹ This line is found in the 1976 screenplay [1f] as well as in the shooting record. This proves that it was actually filmed.

Indeed, the final sequence in the arena where Caligula and Caesonia perform a ritual play shows a very happy and idyllic imperial family. ([1a], 02:28:05) It seems that Caligula found new energy, and doesn't seem depressed like in the two preceding sequences. Perhaps he has realized that the government can not be modified and decides to continue ruling without the Senate, directly for the people. This can be seen as a kind of utopic "Socialist dictatorship" in which one man who really cares for the people rules them. But this can only be speculated, because before getting to do any serious governing, he is killed by a conspiracy. Among the conspirators, we see Longinus (representing the civil administration, i.e. the Senate), Charea (commander of the Praetorian guard, represents the military as we will describe in chapter f.2.) and the High Priest (represents religion, as described in chapter f.3.). Ironically, Tiberius was right when he predicted that Caligula "will be" killed. ([1a], 00:20:20).

During Caligula's stabbing, perhaps cutting back to a few frame-long shots of Tiberius' murder would have been an effective means – just like Tinto Brass cut back to a few extremely brief shots of pigs being slaughtered when Wallenberg was murdered in "Salon Kitty". ([4], 02:09:28) This would also have helped to hide the fact that Caligula's robe remains undamaged while he is stabbed. In the released version, Guccione chose shots which Brass surely wouldn't have used in that manner: They clearly reveal that the actors portraying the guards only pretend to stab Caligula. In this scene, this visible error doesn't fit at all. Unlike the "rape of Livia" sequence⁹⁰, here it is not adequate to change the mood by breaking up the illusion. In this case, the viewer is already so involved in the movie that revealing some cheap special effects in the end would destroy the impact of the scene.

Caligula fails in his endeavours. His actions don't achieve what he wanted. Instead of standing up for their own opinion and thus challenging the Emperor, the government is too cowardly. Thus, they plot to kill him and replace him with his retarded uncle Claudius – an Emperor they will surely be able to control and who won't challenge them. Indeed, they "chickened out" of this situation. Caligula, lying on the stairs with his murdered family, can still witness Claudius coronation and shout a scream in that direction, as Incitatus races along the arena. ([2a], 00:31:08)

In the end, Caligula – in the last third of the film – was a revolutionary with good intentions who got crushed by a state that could not be modified. A tragic character, who thought in extreme, yet logic ways. He was not the "mad" man as some people perceived him, and certainly very different from the figure that the producers decided to make him look like in the released version of the film

⁹⁰ Described in this paper, chapter VI, a.2.

c. Drusilla's role: Additional observations

Drusilla's role has been explored in connection to Caligula, but there is one interesting fact we discover watching the released film: Her marriage! In the beginning, Caligula asks her "What's it like with Marcellus?" ([1a], 00:05:52), and we are left with the impression that "Marcellus" might be Drusilla's lover.

However, watching the Making-Of, we discover that the dialogue was filmed slightly different: "What's it like with your husband?" ([1c], 00:04:14) This slight change leaves one wondering about the role of her husband in the intended film. Why did Bob Guccione change her line to "Marcellus" in the released film during dubbing? It might be that Drusilla's husband had played (at least) a small role in the film, which was cut by the producer. Other than that, it makes no sense why Guccione tried to de-emphasize Drusilla's status as a woman already married to someone else. Her husband doesn't seem to play much of a role, and when Caligula playfully asks her to get married in Egypt, she doesn't mention the fact that she is already married – and Caligula doesn't seem to be bothered by it as well.

Maybe she divorced her husband when Caligula became powerful? Perhaps there were one or two lines addressing this, which were cut in the released film. In the July 1976 screenplay, we don't find any answers for this question. If Drusilla stayed married till her death, where was her husband all the time? Why wasn't he near her deathbed? Did Caligula forbid him to come in? Or was he there, but his role has been cut out? Or maybe it was intended as a joke by Tinto Brass: Have Drusilla's husband mentioned in the beginning and nowhere else, to show that their marriage is actually not like we would imagine a marriage today. It could be intended as a comment on the 18th-century idea of marriage in royalty, where sometimes people – married for political reasons – would not visit each other often. But why is Caligula talking about Drusilla's sex life in the beginning? This might be a riddle to be solved when more filmed material and the final shooting script get released⁹¹.

An additional observation: Although Caligula and his sister have an incestuous relationship, we never see them actually having sex. They "only" kiss passionately and he fondles her breasts. Maybe it was some kind of twisted morale on Drusilla's part to allow her brother all actions except for sex, which she only allows her husband?

⁹¹ On a sidenote: Further changes of dialogue in the beginning might be the reason why we hardly see Caligula's and Drusilla's faces when they roll around in bed talking.

d. Religion: An important subject

Tinto Brass didn't like religion. This is evident from his earlier works "Nerosubianco" and "L'urlo". His tendency to mock religion was carried on in "Caligula" – where almost all scenes dealing with religion were removed in the released version. In addition to the observations done in **b.**, we can find a few facts relating to his earlier work.

As we will see in **f.3.**, the High Priest – probably one of the more important minor characters – was cut out almost entirely in the released version. He only gets a few brief close-ups without introducing his character, which essentially changes him to an extra. As his role was not written in either of the available screenplay-drafts, we can only analyze the available footage, which represents a fragment of Tinto Brass' original intention.

Most importantly, one surviving shot in a deleted sequence seems to be a criticism on the catholic church: As Caligula replaces the gods' statues' heads, the High Priest is watching in frustration. ([2a], 00:09:03). But at the same time, he is also fondling the hair of a young man standing next to him – perhaps implying that he fancies or has an affair with that boy. This can be seen as a hint on some cases in which Catholic priests molest boys. Indeed, Brass making fun of religion – in his case mostly the Catholic one – can be traced back to his earlier films: For example in "L'Urlo", a priest is kissing and fondling a woman, not caring for celibacy. ([7], 00:18:22). Or in the same film, we see Coso – one of the main characters - dressed as a priest pretending to give a man his blessings. For this, he demands money. But his only reason is to steal the man's boat while he's praying on the shore, looking away ([7], 01:02:22).

In "Nerosubianco", Brass' dislike for the Catholic church is expressed even more directly: As we see scenes of free love, suddenly one of the main characters appears dressed as a priest, proclaiming that scenes of love are dangerous, and therefore the film will rather show scenes of war – against which the church has no objections. To stress this, he is holding a sign reading "PROIBITO" ("forbidden") to show the church's strict censorship clearly. ([6], 00:31:18) They want to "think for you", which is expressed even earlier, when we hear a man – probably a priest – proclaiming to a "child" that sex is a sin and you go to hell for it. ([6], 00:27:20)



114. Left: In "Nerosubianco" (1968), the priest is forbidding the depiction of love-scenes.

115. Middle: In "L'Urlo" (1970), a priest is kissing a woman passionately. (Right side of the frame)

116. Right: In "Caligula", the High Priest is fondling a young man's head.

As mentioned earlier, the portrayal of church / religion in “Caligula” – as far as we can reconstruct it – is based on the notion that not even the religious leaders will stand up for their faith when they fear danger for themselves. They amass a great amount of money and gold in their treasury from faithful people, but when Caligula mocks the gods, they won’t stop him. Instead, they play along. This was probably shown even more clearly in Tinto Brass’ intended version than what we can reconstruct from the released footage.

e. Military: A reoccurring subject in Brass' work

One important motif which remains consistent throughout "L'Urlo" (1970), "Salon Kitty" (1975) and "Caligula" is making fun of the military, and especially its marches and choreographed movements.

In the released version of "Caligula", only very little of this ridicule remains in two scenes. As Caligula forces the Senator's wives to become prostitutes, a number of soldier marches by the "brothel ship". Their uniforms and march look very comical, and several people jump around the soldiers to mock them. Due to Guccione's editing, the people ridiculing them are not emphasized, but if we watch rushes of the scene, we can see them very well.

This comical march in itself doesn't make too much sense, and looks like some "nonsense"-fun-scene as we watch the released version. But again, this changes as soon as we take a look at Tinto Brass' intentions. Here, it becomes clear that he intended this march as a humiliation of the army by Caligula: First, let's look at the available workprint footage, which adds a line of dialogue not present in the screenplay [1f]: After Caligula replaces the statues' heads with his own, he jokingly does the same way the army will do later together with Caesonia and the "Little Giant". While marching, Caligula asks a rhetorical question to Longinus: "Do you like my new march? I think I'll teach it to my legions!"

This simple addition explains a lot: During Caligula's anarchist romp through the institutions, after humiliating religion, he humiliates the army by forcing them to adopt a ridiculous new march. This is followed by humiliating the ruling elite, namely the senators, by forcing their wives to become prostitutes.

The next following scene seems random in the released version: After the Orgy with the senator's wives, we see Caligula's fake "invasion of Britain". There, as mentioned, the army attacks "papyrus canes" – while being stark naked! This scene only makes sense in conjunction with the deleted scenes of Caligula humiliating the ruling classes: Now we can assume that Caligula ordered the soldiers to execute a silly command (attacking papyrus) in the nude in order to make even more fun of them. This also explains his hysterical laughter at the end of the scene, which seems out-of-place in the released version. There, the attack on the papyrus merely seems like a nonsense-order of the Emperor without any reason. As his previous actions were cut, the audience is left with the impression that Caligula is simply mad, ordering them to attack naked and laughing while they do it. Quite different is the situation with Tinto Brass' version, where this event is an important plot-point, further widening the gap between Caligula and the Government. In fact, Caligula seems to even insult the soldiers while they are running to add to their humiliation, which is deleted in the released version as well. But we can still hear some of his shouts in the Making-Of: "Go on, you bastards! Get in there!" ([1c], 00:36:17)

If we follow the development through the different scripts, we can recognize how this could have been a key-event for the conspirators to start thinking about actually killing Caligula. In the July 1976 draft of the screenplay [1f], Charea – head of the Praetorian guard – is actually not directly involved with the army. His position until the "Battle For Britain" – which is portrayed

entirely different in that draft of the script – is that it is better to have Caligula in power than to risk the stability of the Empire by killing him. In an unfilmed scene between orgy and battle, there is a dialogue in that screenplay which shows Charea’s position very clearly.
([1f], p. 118)

SENATOR:

He has mocked the gods, humiliated the Senate,
prostituted our wives...

CHAREA:

But the army is still loyal!

The scene itself would have taken place in front of the senate house and was probably removed from the final shooting script as no trace of it remains in the shooting record. [10] A very similar dialogue now takes place right in the orgy-scene:

In the finished film [1a], the dialogue – moved to the orgy-scene – was altered, taking place between Longinus and Charea. Now we get an entirely different line by Charea, after Longinus remarks that Caligula made prostitutes of their wives and daughters: “He humiliated the Senate and offended the army” ([1a], 02:12:09)

As we don’t see a close-up of Charea’s mouth while saying this, the author suspects that this line could have been changed by Bob Guccione during post-production. This is further proved when looking at the shooting record [10], in which no such line is present⁹². Indeed, it would have made much sense to keep the line from the July 1976 screenplay and have Charea remark that the army was still loyal before the Battle of Britain: That is a major factor to stop the conspirators from plotting any assassination, even if the Senate is humiliated by Caligula. In fact, it could well be that the whole dialogue was changed during post-production by the editors in order to simplify the film and compensate for many deleted scenes, which would explain the lack of close-ups. The line “offended the army” seems strange at this point of the film (the only “offense” yet is the ridiculous march which the soldiers have to adopt), and having Charea remark “But the army is still loyal” would have been logical in terms of story progression: The army is still loyal to Caligula, but as he starts the invasion of Britain – having them all attack papyrus in the nude – they are humiliated as well. Of course, Charea’s remark could reference the ridiculous march of the soldiers, but still, this is not as much of an insult as having them attack nude⁹³.

⁹² Charea’s lip-motion matches roughly, but it is hard to say as he’s not visible close-up when saying this line. As Malcolm McDowell recalls in his audio commentary, the actor who portrayed Charea hardly spoke any English and was therefore dubbed, which makes such a change very well possible.

⁹³ The shooting record [10] mentions no line about how the army “is still loyal”. Indeed, in the filmed version, the topic seems to be skipped in the dialogue. Interesting enough, we find a line was probably ad-libbed a bit later in the scene on set in [10]: Caesonia warn Caligula of his armies, and he replies: “Don’t worry, I know how to manage them.”

An interesting fact is that Charea seems to be in charge of “the army” in the filmed version. See e.g. how Caligula tells him in the “Battle of Britain” sequence: “Order my army to attack this papyrus cane!” ([1a], 02:18:26) This could have been a way for Tinto Brass to simplify Caligula’s romp through the institutions in the second half of the film. This is achieved with a change in one other line, too: Caligula insults Charea by asking him: “I heard you have a taste for little boys!”, to which Charea replies: “No, Ceasar. Big boys. My soldiers.” ([1a], 02:14:40).

In the July 1976 screenplay [1f], in contrast, Charea replies to the same question only: “No, Caesar.” In fact, in that screenplay Proculus – an officer – was probably meant to represent the army. As he is killed so quickly in “Caligula” – and his death and abuse never seems to be a topic for other characters – his role in the conspiracy of the July 1976 screenplay was probably assigned to Charea for the shooting script.

Thus, Caligula’s provocation of the army – alongside with the one of the Senate – takes place in two steps: First, he lets them perform the ridiculous march around the brothel ship, which Charea does not see as a real provocation to the army. (As his line was probably changed after the filming). In fact, in front of the brothel-ship, one part of dialogue suggests this, after Caligula made fun of Longinus. Charea remarks to the latter: “He’s provoking you!”, to which Longinus replies with a rhetorical question: “Only me?”

The real provocation is the following attack on “Britain”, which really humiliates the army. We can assume that their loyalty to Caligula decreases afterwards, but that is not depicted in any sequence. If Tinto Brass shot any scene or dialogue to deepen the topic, they are either lost or the footage is not available on the DVD editions.



117. Left: Charea and Longinus, watching the brothel ship.

118. Middle: Soldiers performing Caligula’s new, silly march next to the brothel ship.

119. Right: Nude soldiers attacking papyrus-cane.

Actually, making fun of the military and its behaviours / gestures is a subject which Tinto Brass enjoyed extensively in his previous films, and in its intended form, “Caligula” would have fit perfectly his style: Let’s take a look at how “Salon Kitty” (1975) ridicules military poses and ceremonies. In this film, which has a story featuring the German SS very often, Brass used many opportunities to mock their stiff Nazi-Military gestures: Let’s take a look at the beginning, when SS-Women are standing in a row, saluting their commanding officer (played by John Steiner). At first, they are wearing their uniforms, making the salute look very “realistic”. ([4], 00:14:25) But just a few moments later, they take off their clothes to be “tested”, and salute the officer again – this time, in the nude. ([4], 00:16:32) This is a very unexpected and satirical approach, which ridicules (in this case Nazi-) military behaviour by having people use it in inappropriate situa-

tions (like being nude). This also plays with the militaristic use of uniforms: Soldiers wear uniforms in order to look similar and to avoid to have anybody stand out. Now, they are all nude, and in that sense, they are “equal”, too. This scene can be linked to the “Battle of Britain”-Scene in “Caligula”, with nude soldiers “attacking” the Papyrus. Although not saluting, they perform a military action (the attack), which becomes ridiculous by having it performed in the nude. Here again, they are not wearing uniforms, but are looking “similar” by being naked. These sequences in both films have one thing in common: In both scenes, only the “simple” people (i.e. Soldiers / low-ranking SS-Women) are nude, while their commanding officers, who are watching them and giving them orders, are fully dressed. (In Caligula’s case, we see him, his silent bodyguard and a few officers wearing their armours. In “Salon Kitty”, there are high-ranking SS-Men wearing their uniforms, along with the SS-Doctor.) Maybe this could be seen as a statement on how the common soldier / low-ranking persons are looked-down on by their commanding officers.

Additionally, Tinto Brass liked to mock military uniforms and pomp by exaggerating them. In “Caligula”, the armour which is worn by the Legions during the “brothel-ship”-scene is clearly not intended to be realistic, as its exaggerated ornaments and glossiness do not look like a “typical” Roman legionary armour from the 30s /40s AD. ([1a], 02:16:25) This exaggeration in order to mock military pomp and symbols is not new to Brass’ oeuvre: In “Salon Kitty”, he already went that way when Wallenberg changes into various uniforms in his room while Margareta talks to him. ([4], 01:51:50). While in the rest of that film, SS- and Wehrmacht-uniforms are pretty much correct, this historical accuracy is thrown overboard in that scene: Wallenberg’s costumes remind us of a surreal mix between Comicbook Superhero-costumes and official high-ranking Nazi uniforms. This certainly wanted to illustrate how ridiculous military pomp can be, which clearly derives from the same thought as having the Praetorians and Legionaries wearing overly pompous uniforms in combination with their ridiculous march⁹⁴.



120. Left: The over-the-top parade armours of the legionnaires in “Caligula”.

121. Middle and 122. Right: Wallenberg’s over-the-top Nazi-Uniforms in “Salon Kitty”.

The ridiculous march which Caligula teaches his legions can also be traced back to “Salon Kitty” and even “L’Urlo”. Let’s first take a look at “Salon Kitty” again: There, the unnamed Commanding Officer (played by John Steiner) uses similar movements on two occasions: While he presents the listening-devices to Wallenberg, instead of saluting him in a normal military style, he jumps

⁹⁴ On a side note: In [5] Tinto Brass mentions that Wallenberg’s strange uniforms are based on Herrmann Göring’s eccentric uniforms, which even gives them some basis in reality.

into the air in a very “clowny” way. ([4], 00:53:19). And in the end, when Rauss, Wallenberg’s subordinate, brings him the record of Wallenberg’s betrayal, he is sliding along the marble floor, posing in military-like, yet over-the-top, poses. ([4], 02:05:33).

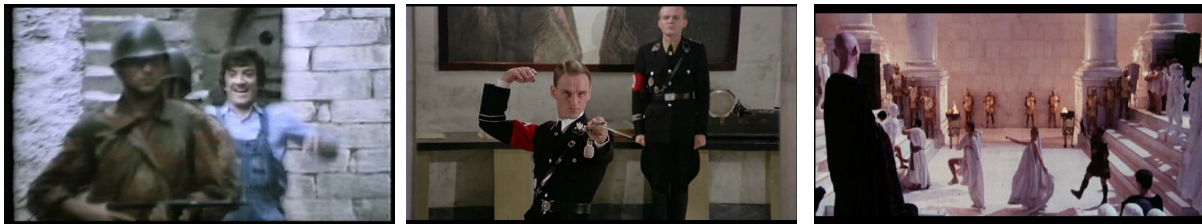
These strange movements were developed much further by Tinto Brass in “Caligula” by having the military march in a ridiculous way. And even in his earlier work, we find traces of this motif of exaggerated / funny military moves: In “L’Urlo” we find a very dark and gritty sequence of a city being occupied by the military ([7], 00:35:10). During this sequence, Coso – the main character – follows some soldiers in a very ridiculous way. ([7], 00:38:03).

We can clearly see how the idea of the ridiculous march develops in Tinto Brass’ Oeuvre:

In 1970 (“L’Urlo”), a single man marches in a funny, exaggerated way, following a group of soldiers.

In 1975 (“Salon Kitty”), a military officer himself starts making exaggerated, funny-looking movements.

In 1976 (“Caligula”), the Emperor forces the entire army to adopt a silly march that is a parody of a normal one.



123. Left: In “L’Urlo”, Coso briefly follows some marching soldiers, mocking their steps.

124. Middle: In “Salon Kitty”, the high-ranking officer poses in front of a mirror with over-the-top poses.

125. Right: In “Caligula”, the Emperor demonstrates his new ridiculous march to Longinus.

All in all, Tinto Brass’ position towards the military – which is already very apparent in “L’Urlo” and especially “Salon Kitty” – would have shown in his intended version of “Caligula” even more clearly and direct. It would have been apparent that Caligula likes to mock the military and their behaviour, and uses his power to make them look silly. This could also be a way to criticize that soldiers have to follow orders from their superiors, even though they might not make sense. This even fits Tiberius’ speech, in which he asks rhetorically about senators approving all his actions and laws: “(...) what if I become mad?”, a criticism on unconditional loyalty, which takes not into account if an order makes sense. As Caligula realizes his enormous power over the state, he basically uses it to its fullest extend by issuing strange and crazy orders, seeing how far they can take him.

The released version of “Caligula” – which removes crucial scenes – in contrast renders most scenes that address the military quite meaningless, and makes it just seem silly without a deeper reason.

f. Revolution: Yes-Men turn against their rulers

One subject of “Caligula” remains visible even in the released film (although many scenes were cut), and also plays a part in “Salon Kitty”: Subordinate men who are not content with their superiors and who are slowly finding courage to kill them.

In “Caligula”, we can mainly follow two important people who in the end decide to kill Caligula: Longinus (Caligula’s “Chancellor”⁹⁵) and Charea, the commanding officer of the Praetorian guard, along with the High Priest “Bergarius”⁹⁶ whose role remains more enigmatic. Caligula ridicules these men and makes fun of them on multiple occasions, with a special focus on Longinus.

f.1. Keeping a friendly façade: Longinus’ role

Longinus first appears during Tiberius’ funeral ([1a], 00:44:46), and at first seems to do what he can to get Caligula to like him. Therefore, he exposes a very stereotypical subordinate behaviour by laughing at Caligula’s “funny ideas” and generally agreeing with anything the Emperor says in his presence. The first occasion in which this is shown would be Caligula’s idea to throw Proculus in the pit during Macro’s execution: Caligula takes notice of the young officer and whispers his idea into Longinus ear, who starts laughing frenetically ([1a], 01:09:07) and passes it on to Charea, who orders some soldiers to execute the plan. In the released version, the scene was cut directly after Longinus’ laughter and fades over to Proculus’ wedding ([1a], 01:09:13), but the intended ending of the scene can still be found in Tinto Brass’ rough cut (although in an unpolished early edit), in “Io, Caligola” and the “North American Bonus Footage”. ([2a], 00:17:13)

The first time that we can sense Caligula’s despise for Longinus is in a scene which should have followed Proculus’ wedding and Caligula’s rape of Livia ([1a], 01:36:59): Here, Caligula is required to seal many edicts. Bored to do so, he starts walking around the room and talks about strange and nonsense ideas to Longinus, who only says “Yes, Lord” to every idea. (Like: “Stop the grain supplies (...)” – “Yes, Lord.”). At the end, Caligula mocks this behaviour by rhetorically asking: “Can you say anything else except “Yes, Lord”?”

This second half of the scene is missing in the released version, but can be found on the “North American Bonus Footage” ([2a], 00:11:27).

⁹⁵ Longinus is introduced as “chancellor” in the shooting record [10] during Macro’s arrest – in a line deleted from the final film [1a]. Looking at the released film, Longinus’ role is only once named informally: Caligula’s “financial wizard” ([1a], 02:05:38).

⁹⁶ Name only found in the shooting record [10], during the sequence in which Macro is arrested. That particular dialogue was shortened in [1a], but it proves that Tinto Brass had the High Priest introduced under his name “Bergarius”.



126. Left: Caligula bounces the ball at Longinus, who in return drops his scribe-panel in shock.

127. Right: Longinus, frustrated at the humiliation in front of his workers, shouts at them.

At the end of the scene, we see Longinus sitting at his desk, yelling at his subordinates – who apparently are watching his humiliation: “Haven’t you got work to do?!” ([2a], 00:13:26)

Starting here, we can sense his frustration with the Emperor’s reign, but he does not dare to discuss it in public. Longinus, Charea and the High Priest discuss the matter while Caligula is sick, but can’t find the courage to do anything against him, as the people love the Emperor.

When Caligula disappeared and roams the slums, Longinus and Caesonia exchange a brief conversation on his whereabouts. In the shooting record [10], we find a few lines that are removed from the final film at the conclusion of the scene: Longinus smiles, and then ironically mentions Caligula’s mourning-decree. Still, his irony is very subtle, and only a slight hint of his true opinion of the Emperor shines through.

The first time Longinus really expresses his contempt for Caligula is when the Emperor returns from the slums and declares himself a god in the Senate. After he runs out and has his bodyguard beat the senators with a whip under the a big cloth, Longinus openly shouts to Charea: “He’s mad!” ([1a], 02:04:36).

Afterwards, we can sense how his frustration with the Emperor raises: When Caligula replaces the heads of some god’s statues with his own, Longinus smiles as always to him. He briefly tries to speak up when Caligula proclaims his idea to start a war, but is quickly scared by a brief gesture of the Barbarian. After that, even when Caligula ignores Longinus’ idea to finance a war by raising the wine-tax, the latter remains calm on the outside. But when Caligula demonstrates his “new march” for the legions and looks away, Longinus kicks something hard in frustration (perhaps a statue-head; Due to the camera-angle, we do not see what it is) and hurts his leg while doing so. ([2a], 00:09:19). This is a crack in his laid-back, friendly façade.

Caligula’s provocations towards Longinus continue steadily: After the Emperor removes gold from the treasury of Jupiter’s temple in order to finance his campaign against Britain, he remarks to his chancellor: “And you wanted to raise taxes...” ([2a], 00:02:02). And when people donate coins for the campaign, he stands in front of Longinus with a bowl and demands him to donate coins as well. (Done in a comical way without words). ([2a], 00:04:00)

Finally, in the “Imperial Brothel” sequence, we get to know that Longinus realized what Caligula’s plans are, and that he has a system behind his actions. There is a brief dialogue between him and Charea which shows his thoughts:

CHAREA:
He’s provoking you!

LONGINUS:
(sarcastically)
Only me?

CHAREA:
He doesn’t know what he is doing!

LONGINUS:
He knows what he is doing perfectly well!

(Transcribed from [1a], 02:12:51.)

We can only guess what Longinus realized, but we can assume quite certainly that he means Caligula’s plans: Bypassing the Senate and religion to rule the people directly, creating a kind of socialist / anarchist dictatorship centered on the people’s needs without the large ruling class and religion. As mentioned earlier, one clue can be found in the “Making Of”: There we see a deleted piece of dialogue from the “Temple of Jupiter” sequence, which does only survive without audio in the North American Bonus Footage. In it, Caligula quite frankly addresses Longinus: “You think I’m a lunatic, don’t you? You don’t understand me! ([1c], 00:23:36)

In the “brothel ship”- sequence, Caligula is mocking Longinus even more by spitting some wine into his eye over a ridiculously large distance and asking him ironically: “Longinus, you’re not having any fun! Enjoy yourself! What is your preference?” To which Longinus again replies vaguely in a subordinate, smiling fashion. ([1a], 02:12:28).

We do get the idea that Longinus and Charea are a kind of allies already by their talk, and a shot which can be found on the “Deleted Scenes” of the DVDs supports this even more: Longinus and Charea stand next to the brothel-ship, look up in disgust, and exchange some very uncomfortable looks⁹⁷.

As the story progresses, Longinus is mocked even more often. At the victory-banquet for the Battle of Britain, Caligula asks him: “Is it true that there is a conspiracy against me, Longinus?” To which he gets the cautious reply: “Well Lord... That is... I mean... It seems that there is a

⁹⁷ See: [1], Disc 2: “Arriving on the Bordello Ship”, 00:00:41.

secret plot". ([1a], 02:25:00) Instead of asking more about it, Caligula makes fun of the word-combination "secret plot". Unfortunately, the scene is cut-off there, and we do not hear the rest of the dialogue, which would have led into the scene in which Caligula declares his horse a consul. Here we see that Longinus has grown even more discontent, as he remarks to Charea about Caligula: "He appeals to the people. The Senate counts for nothing!" ([2a], 00:17:04) But even in the end during Caligula's assassination, Longinus does not find the courage to participate directly:

Although – right before Caligula ascends the stairs to face the Praetorian guard – Longinus nods to Charea (possibly to confirm that it is the right time to strike), he waits to show up until Charea and his Praetorian guard are done murdering the Emperor.

Only after Caligula has been stabbed multiple times and is lying on the floor, Longinus sneaks around the corner and crowns Claudius for Emperor, taking the dead Emperor's ring slyly. ([1a], 02:33:06). Even there we see that, although he apparently plotted Caligula's death together with Charea, he does not have the courage to take action directly and likes to stay in the background. So Charea is much more active and reminds one strongly of the character "Rauss" from "Salon Kitty", as we will see in the following paragraph.

f.2. A stoic provoked: Charea's role

Charea – who is Macro's successor as commander of the Praetorian Guard – is never described in great detail. In a piece of dialogue which was cut out, Caligula calls Charea simply "boring", while in an earlier draft of the script, he calls him a "stoic"⁹⁸.

Charea being called a "stoic" fits his character very well, as he seems to take many of Caligula's excesses without any noticeable emotional sign to the outside world. In fact, in contrast to Longinus, he doesn't display too many emotions on his face. (Unlike e.g. sly smiles that Longinus

⁹⁸ July 1976 screenplay [1f], page 47. In the final shooting record [10], we see that the filmed characterisation of Charea was merely "He's so boring...".

For the final release version [1a], this dialogue was deleted, very likely because it took place before Caligula arrested Macro, while he and Drusilla discuss who the next commander of the Praetorian Guard should be. But in [1a], the editors moved this sequence in which the dialogue occurs after the arrest. Therefore, they most likely were forced to remove Charea's characterization to avoid continuity-issues with their new ordering of scenes.

Indeed, the end of the sequence survives silently in Tinto Brass' workprint, as explained during chapter VI, a.: After Charea and the two Senators having a land dispute exit, Caligula and Drusilla look at each other smiling, and afterwards, he jumps into bed. Drusilla joins him, and they make out while talking. ([1], Disc 2, Deleted Scene: "Drusilla comforts Caligula"). As an interesting sidenote, the beginning of the deleted scene depicting Caligula jumping into bed survives in the "Making Of", albeit being pasted over with wrong audio from the film's exposition scene. ([1c], 00:18:38) Watching the setting and costumes, it clearly shows that Caligula and his sister making out again was intended to occur after the land dispute between the Senators, and surely, here their dialogue took place. As we get almost no close-ups of their faces in the workprint, we can not say for sure what they are saying, but can strongly assume this.

often does). This fits the stoic ways. Only in the last third of the movie – in which Caligula provokes the Senate and army more and more – Charea starts talking to Longinus about being discontent, and they both exchange angry looks at the Emperor's actions.

But even here it shows: Charea is more stoic and logical in his approach. If we look at a scene during Caligula's illness ([1a], 01:33:50), Longinus, Charea and a few other people are talking while the Emperor is lying ill in bed. The dialogue of that scene was certainly changed in post-production, as we quite often see the backs of people's heads while they talk. This strongly leads to the suspicion that the editors wanted to mask different mouth-movement by people. If we read the dialogue in the shooting record [10], it shows Charea's stoic attitude which leaves personal feelings out of any decision: "The Empire is safe." (...) "Better tyranny than anarchy. (...) personal feelings must not affect us. A few families in Rome may suffer, but the Empire is stable. There could be far worse horrors – revolution, war, civil chaos – if Caligula were to die."⁹⁹

Charea's attitude only changes gradually in the last third of the movie, as Caligula starts taking apart the institutions by mocking and humiliating the Senate and the army. In a deleted dialogue after Incitatus is proclaimed emperor, for the first time Charea hints at killing Caligula towards Longinus: "He can be 'happy'!", meaning he can be dead¹⁰⁰.

But nonetheless, it seems that at least some of Charea's motivations to act against the Emperor were removed from the released version, and no footage is available. One instance of the film includes a brief mocking which suggests that Caligula personally insulted Charea about being a paedophile homosexual. As mentioned in the chapter about the role of the army, Caligula asks Charea in the "brothel ship" sequence: "I heard you have a taste for little boys!", to which Charea replies: "No, Ceasar. Big boys. My soldiers." ([1a], 02:14:40).

This is a strange remark, which seems very random in the released version. But if we look at the 1975 first draft screenplay [1e], we see some scenes which further deepen this personal level of the conflict between Charea and Caligula. On p. 140 of the screenplay, Charea pleads to release Proculus from prison. In response, Caligula implies in a very rude way that Charea is a homosexual who wants Proculus as a lover. Or, on p. 144 of that first draft screenplay, he suggests to send dead Proculus' cut-off genitals to Charea. Of course, these scenes were either removed or changed dramatically in the final film, but they illustrate the relationship between Caligula and Charea in a very distinctive way.

Based upon the released footage and available screenplay drafts and (incomplete) shooting records, it is impossible to recognize how this constant teasing of Charea was handled in the filmed version, but the existence of that one specific line during the "brothel ship" sequence strongly hints that there were more such instances. Even in the end the last dialogue between

⁹⁹ See also: [1f], p.88.

¹⁰⁰ See: Shooting-record [10]. In the "North American Bonus Footage" [2a], this dialogue is missing, and the scene is ending very abruptly. The meaning of "happy" becomes clear, as Charea even makes a "throat-slitting" gesture to explain it. Earlier in the film, Tiberius comments the dead of one of his guards laconically by quoting Homer: "Now he is happy". Thus, the viewer is aware at this point of the film that "to be happy" is used as another expression for "being dead" by some characters.

Caligula and Charea hints at this: When Caligula exits the theatre in where he rehearsed a play with Caesonia, Charea asks him for the password. Caligula's reply: "Scrotum", to which Charea replies: "So be it!" before striking the Emperor with his sword. ([1a], 02:30:50)

This teasing might have been Caligula's attempt to provoke a stoic like Charea to show emotions, in which he most likely succeeded. Based on the available footage, we can judge that Charea conspired with Longinus to kill Caligula in order to bring political stability back to the Empire. After all, because of Caligula's anarchist behaviour, the state and its institutions might be in acute danger. On the other hand, Charea's last words to the Emperor "So be it!" might stem from a personal conflict between those two that was mostly deleted from the released film and be a one-time outburst of emotions from Charea's part. It could have been that the password "Scrotum" was the last of many teases Caligula made towards Charea, and therefore he finally had enough of it. Of course, this was surely not Charea's only reason to kill Caligula, but it shows that before delivering the deadly strike to the Emperor, Charea saw this as a way to avenge the personal insults to him, too. An attitude which does not fit his stoic ways, meaning that in the end Caligula basically succeeded to break up Charea's mostly emotionless shell.

This stoic serving attitude can also be found in the character "Rauss" in "Salon Kitty". He is a member of the SS and a subordinate of Wallenberg, the main character. In multiple instances, Wallenberg suppresses Rauss' own ideas and talks harshly to him¹⁰¹. Rauss takes all this apparently unshaken, and shows his discontent only in the way he delivers some lines¹⁰².

As Charea, in the end, Rauss takes action against his superior – in his case Wallenberg. But the distinctive difference is that he gets the "permission" for this from the commanding officer who is of a higher rank than even Wallenberg. Nonetheless, when Rauss shoots Wallenberg, in the end we can see satisfaction in his face. ([4], 02:09:27)

Therefore, Charea can indeed be regarded as a continuation and "evolution" of Rauss' character: He too keeps his anger to himself most of the time, but other than Rauss, he sometimes expresses it as well. ("He doesn't know what he's doing!", [1a], 02:12:51). Rauss is in such a subordinate position that he needs a superior's approval to kill Wallenberg, while Charea – as commander of the Praetorian guard and some kind of "leader" in the army – did so without consultation. Indeed, one might say that he consulted with Longinus and perhaps others, but in the released movie, not enough of this remains to say for sure to what degree he consulted them. And while Rauss' expresses his satisfaction to kill Wallenberg only by a certain look in his face at the end of the film, Charea goes out of his stoic self one time: "So be it!"

¹⁰¹ For example: [4], 00:24:28 or 00:57:45.

¹⁰² Like in [4], 01:15:54: "Jawohl, Herr Untergruppenführer..." in a very angry/sarcastic tone of voice.



- 128. Top left:** Rauss looks angry at his commanding officer Wallenberg, who constantly puts him down.
129. Top Right: Charea looks discontent, as he has just talked to Caligula and has to execute silly orders.
130. Bottom Left: Rauss in the moment he gets to kill Wallenberg.
131. Bottom Right: Charea blowing the first strike at Caligula.

This, the motif of a frustrated subordinate killing his superior appears both in “Salon Kitty” and “Caligula”. The great difference is that in “Salon Kitty”, Wallenberg teases his subordinate officer Rauss from a position of power, and he never thought to get in a situation where he would lose his power. In “Caligula”, on the other hand, the killing seems like a logical conclusion of all provocations Caligula does towards the Senate and towards the army. It almost seems as if he wants to be killed, and his murder is the first time that the Senate and army react to his provocations. But instead of daring to speak out against the Emperor’s wishes, they resort to kill him.

Caligula’s murder again shows that the ruling class are “sheep”, as Caligula puts it polemically: They are too cowardly to risk their lives speaking up against the Emperor. They never try to question Caligula’s decisions, although they probably could have opposed him successfully¹⁰³: Had they dared to speak-up against Caligula’s claim of being a god, he might have been happier, and might even have become more reasonable. He wanted free-thinking senators using their own minds to judge the Emperor’s decisions. Instead, they decide to replace the Emperor if they don’t like him. Discussing with him seems out-of-the question for the senators. The next emperor – Claudius – is presented as mentally retarded throughout the movie. So now, after Caligula’s murder, they found an emperor who can be controlled easier. Ruling without emperor seems not to be an option for anyone in the film.

¹⁰³ For example, when Caesonia massages Caligula after his declaration as a god, he remarks: “It was the Senate’s decision, not mine.” in a very reasonable tone of voice. ([2a], 00:13:39). Probably, he would have been happy about senators speaking up against him, and held them in high regard – but this is purely speculation based on evidence in Caligula’s characterisation.

f.3. Religious leader: The High Priest

There are other subordinate characters in the movie, whose roles were either not fleshed-out much, or who were cut-out of the released film without many traces of their characters.

One of them might have been the “High Priest” (named “Bergarius” according to [10]), who appears in many scenes, but often in the background lacking close-up shots. In the released version, Caligula is never talking to him, nor do we see the High Priest talk. In fact, in [1a] we can only see one “provocation” against him when Caligula declares himself a god in the Senate. If we look closely, we see how Caligula’s barbarian friend gets into a brief “fight” with the High Priest on the stairs. ([1a], 02:03:01).

Even when looking at the “North American Bonus Footage” [2a] where the High Priest is more visible, we only get to see his angry looks after Caligula replaces the god’s statues’ heads with ones resembling his own, and on another occasion: After Caligula sacrifices a priest instead of a bull and takes the treasury from Jupiter’s temple, he mocks the High Priest by playfully buzzing electric flash-sounds at him.



132. Left: Few close-ups of the High Priest survive in the released version, and are only a few frames long.
133. Right: The High Priest in the temple – standing to the right – watching Caligula’s actions in shock.

As even [2a] doesn’t show him in much detail, it can be speculated that the producer wanted to keep this character in the background as much as possible. We do not know if he had a speaking role, but obviously Tinto Brass intended him as a reoccurring character and would surely have added close-ups at appropriate times. In fact, we first get to see the High Priest during Tiberius’ funeral. There he gets one of his few close-ups in [1a], 00:48:00), and he is present during many of the following scenes, albeit in the background, hardly noticeable if you don’t look for him. (E.g. during Macro’s arrest ([1a], 00:50:57), Macro’s execution, barely noticeable sitting left of Charea, throwing eggs at the prisoners, too ([1a], 01:07:22), Gemellus’ arrest ([1a], 01:27:26, again in a brief close-up), and even Caligula’s assassination ([1a], 02:32:54).) Being forced into the background through the film-editing essentially makes him an almost unnoticeable extra in the released version.

Although there is almost no dialogue involving him in the released material – and he has no lines in the July 1976 screenplay [1f] or the shooting-record [10] – he surely played a part during the plot to kill Caligula. This makes sense: A conspiracy of all three “powers” who form the Roman government: The Military (Charea), the bureaucrats / the Senate (Longinus) and religion (The High Priest). In fact, he is seen talking to Longinus and Charea during Caligula’s illness, but the actual dialogue can not be reconstructed as mentioned during **f.2**. In the end, after Caligula is murdered and Claudius is proclaimed Emperor, the High Priest even waves at Claudius. ([1a], 02:32:54) We get to hear the line: “Hail Claudius Caesar” while watching him wave in the distance. Perhaps, this is his only surviving line in the released movie. But even here we can’t be sure, as we only get to see him in the distance, so we can’t say whether he or someone else in the crowd shouts it.

Now, it makes sense that even in the “North American Bonus Footage”, the “sacrifice at the Temple of Jupiter sequence” ([2a], 00:00:00) starts in the middle of the scene, without a proper exposition: Maybe there had been a dialogue between Caligula and the High Priest, which would have shown us that he was unhappy with Caligula’s actions as well. As mentioned in chapter **a.**, by looking at the rushes we can clearly see that the High Priest talks to the Emperor before the latter takes the hammer. Probably he tells him how to sacrifice the bull, perhaps in a very cowardly tone of voice¹⁰⁴. As it stands, we only see his distressed looks after Caligula kills the priest in [2a], without any words. In fact, a dialogue before that scene would have made perfect sense even editing-wise. Let’s assume that Tinto Brass would have concluded the previous scene (Caligula replaces the heads of the statues with his own) the same way as the editors for the North American Bonus Footage did: A close-up of the angry-looking High Priest caressing the hair of a young man towards the end. This would have been a beautiful lead to a dialogue between the priest and Caligula, in which the High Priest would again have been very subordinate to the Emperor before handing him the hammer to kill the bull. This irony would have been typical of Tinto Brass’ humour and would have fit the film: On the one hand, the High Priest can hardly control his anger, on the other, he doesn’t dare to show it to his superior.

But this remains speculation, as the July 1976 screenplay [1f] contains no traces of the High Priest, and he might have been a last-minute addition to the shooting script. Even the shooting record [10] contains no traces of dialogue for the High Priest “Bergarius”, but as it is incomplete, this gives no definite answer.

All in all, we can see a certain tendency in all these subordinate characters: No matter how much Caligula provokes them, they refuse to react directly. They always keep loyal to the Emperor on the surface. Even in the end, Charea, Longinus and perhaps the High Priest do not dare talking to Caligula to express their discontent. Instead, they kill him and immediately pronounce his surprised uncle Claudius as a new Emperor whom they now can control better.

In fact, controlling the Emperor seems to be an important goal and they have no chance to reach it if he does not behave not according to social rules and traditions.

¹⁰⁴ [1], Disc 2, Deleted Scenes, “Temple of Jupiter”, 00:51:00.

f.4. Subordinate characters: Acesius & Proculus

One other character who is very subordinate towards his Emperor is Acesius¹⁰⁵. He is a senator who is seen talking to Longinus, Charea and the High Priest during Caligula's illness.

Acesius first appears in ([1a], 00:54:05), where he has a land-dispute with another senator, which Caligula decides in the other's favour. Nonetheless, Acesius tries gaining the Emperor's favour during the latter's – presumed – last moments: When Caligula is lying sick in bed and seems to be very close to death, Acesius stands next to him and proclaims theatrically: "I offer my life... if Jupiter will only spare our beloved Emperor!" Caligula replies laconically: "Jupiter accepts your offer!", and sends surprised and scared Acesius to be executed. ([1a], 01:36:23) Acesius' subordinate behaviour costs him his life – and, when we see the chain of events, might have saved Caligula's, as right after "Jupiter" accepted the offer, Caligula's fever breaks and he gets better. This is an ironic effect used by the director, as nowhere in the story

Proculus' role, on the other hand, is hard to describe. As mentioned earlier, his execution seems not to fit the movie very well, and the author assumes that it was put-in because the producer insisted it being filmed. Probably, Tinto Brass himself would have cut it out. Nonetheless, Proculus, although being terribly abused by Caligula does not dare to speak-up against him either. He never dares to express his distress, but rather tries begging Caligula, reminding him of his loyalty. ([1a], 01:39:03). He seems to be what Caligula despises: A man impossible to provoke, no matter how badly humiliated he is. In fact, he seems to be a good fighter, as he defeats a soldier during Macro's execution and is awarded a crown of victory for it. But despite of this, he doesn't dare even speak-up against Caligula. But his humiliation in both scenes (rape at wedding and his execution) are done in an – even for this movie – extremely cruel way (probably due to the editing too, as described earlier). Thus, how Tinto Brass would have treated this character remains enigmatic as well until more footage turns up.

¹⁰⁵ Name according to [1f].

g. Symbolism: Important elements

Like in his earlier films, Tinto Brass employed lots of symbolism in his intended version of “Caligula”, this time even putting one symbol – the black bird – central in the storyline. Other motifs were just added as “random” symbols, and in fact, we can even recognize a direct continuity from “L’Urlo” in one particular shot which was filmed but not included in the released version.

Looking at the rushes for Tiberius’ grotto, we can see a shot of a woman in bed with a swan¹⁰⁶: This is a play on the antique myth of “Leda and the Swan”, which we can already find in “L’Urlo” ([7], 00:15:54). This fits Tiberius’ classic education (he recites Homer to Caligula), as well as illustrates his debauchery by having a woman perform this antique myth.

In fact, Tinto Brass seemed to have taken his earlier work “L’Urlo” as a source for inspiration even for “Salon Kitty”: In that movie, we see Kitty Kellermann dressed-up as a man on one side of her body singing a song right in the beginning. (“Salon Kitty”, 00:00:00 ff.) This motif again stems directly from “L’Urlo”, deriving from the same sequence as the shot with the swan. ([7], 00:16:46). Thus, we can assume that Tinto Brass might have used other of these motifs as well, which were never edited in the movie or released on DVD, and to be found only in unpublished rushes¹⁰⁷.



134. Left: Leda and the swan were intended to show-up in “Caligula” as slaves perform various acts for Tiberius.

135. Right: Leda and the swan in “L’Urlo”. In a surrealist scene, the swan is interviewed there.

There are other short symbolic shots in the movie, like right before Caligula has Gemellus arrested at the banquet: He jokes around with Claudius and throws some dices. Claudius turns the dices around and we recognize that they have “six” on all sides, thus they always win. ([1a], 01:25:01). If we watch Tinto Brass’ earlier work, it is clear how much he put symbolism in his movies in a subtle way, which we unfortunately cannot reconstruct for “Caligula” without having access to all footage. As an example, we can even go back to “Nerosubianco”, which was filled with symbolic shots throughout¹⁰⁸.

¹⁰⁶ [1], Disc 2, Deleted Scenes: “Tiberius’ Grotto”, 00:01:35.

¹⁰⁷ On a sidenote: The shot with the swan was put in the “Pre-Release” / “Alternate” version [1b].

¹⁰⁸ For example, Barbara takes a bite of an apple before she starts her “surreal journey” in the beginning of that movie. This is a clear reference to the bible, which is put in a symbolic shot that is repeated in the end. ([6], 01:13:54).

g.1. Black Bird: An important symbol

One very important symbol in “Caligula” even remains in the released version, although misplaced the first and second time it occurs: A black bird, caught indoors in Caligula’s bed’s transparent curtain, appears three times in the story, always preceding important events.

The first time we see it right in the beginning, after Caligula wakes up from his nightmare and talks about it to Drusilla. ([1a], 00:27:58). He is scared, jumps out of the bed and hides behind it as the bird tries to free itself from the curtain. Drusilla laughs about his fear: “It’s only a bird!”. After servants free the bird¹⁰⁹, Caligula jumps back into bed and continues talking to Drusilla, until they are interrupted by Macro. ([1a], 00:05:42) Strangely, in the released version, the exposition was cut in two, and the beginning was put at [1a], 00:26:22¹¹⁰. Showing the servants setting the black bird free would be important, as it demonstrates that the animal is very real, and not some “mythological” motif or dream.

This first time, the bird preceded a dangerous situation: Caligula is summoned to go to Capri to visit Tiberius, who plans to kill him. Caligula being scared of the bird in this scene is a natural reaction due to the surprise of seeing unexpected movement in the room. But we have to remember that e.g. black ravens are often seen as a symbol of death. In “Caligula”, we don’t get to see what kind of bird it is exactly, but being a black bird its appearance surely suggests upcoming evil. In this instance, neither Caligula nor anyone he feels sympathy towards dies, but it could be a preceding sign towards the morbid and menacing atmosphere in Capri.



136. Left: The bird flies into the room.

137. Middle: Caligula is scared of the black bird.

138. Right: The bird is trapped in the curtain. A shot of servants setting it free was only shown in “Io, Caligola”.

The second time the bird appears, its meaning is much clearer: While Caligula plays with a miniature chariot for his daughter a few months after she is born, suddenly a bird flies in and again gets caught in the bed curtain. ([1a], 01:42:57). Caligula notices this and looks shaken and scared at the sight. And this time, the bird clearly precedes death: Following its appearance, we cut to Drusilla’s bedroom, where she is in the final stage of her illness and dies a few moments later in Caligula’s presence. Obviously, this time, the bird is a clear symbol of death. On the other hand, one might interpret it rather as a sign preceding big changes in Caligula’s life: After Drusilla dies, he walks down the dirty Roman streets, which ultimately leads to his decision to have

¹⁰⁹ This shot was used in Tinto Brass’ workprint and can be found in “Io, Caligola” ([11], 00:03:41).

¹¹⁰ The “Pre-Release” / “Alternate” restores the placement of the scene to be at the opening of the film, but does not restore shots of the servants freeing the bird, as it uses the scene as edited for [1a], just put at the opening of the film.

the Senate declare him to be a god. Therefore, Drusilla's death ultimately leads to the changes in his character (described earlier). On the same note, his visit to Capri changes him earlier: From being a scared young man to being Emperor. Thus, these two sightings of the bird could be seen as signals for grave changes in his life. Strangely, again, the released version [1a] mis-places this scene and shows it before his daughter's birth instead. But as we see in [2a] (and as described earlier), Caligula playing with a rat was meant to take place in the presence of Caesonia and their daughter. It is clear that this sequence preceded Drusilla's death.



139. Left: Caesonia is playing with their daughter while Caligula is sitting next to them.

140./ 141. Middle & Right: Caligula is shaken as he witnesses the bird in their bed's curtain.

When the black bird appears for the third and final time, it precedes Caligula's assassination. Entering his room after he smashed the statue's heads, he looks broken and exhausted. He remarks to Caesonia: "I need some sleep", to which she replies "And I need you!". ([1a], 02:27:37). Directly after that, again a bird flies in. This time, Caesonia panics, but Caligula on the other hand looks almost content with it being there. It seems that he accepts his fate of dying soon.

It is interesting that Caesonia panics this time while Caligula remains calm. As she tells her husband that she needs him, it's clear that she is aware her fate is linked to his. If he dies/gets killed, she will perish as well. Caligula, on the other hand, could see the black bird symbol as a kind of "triumph" over the institutions this time. It is clear that his goal was to provoke them, and finally he gets the bird signalling him that a big change / death will happen soon. After the Senate even approved naming his horse a consul, he has run out of ideas how to provoke them, which led to his breakdown when he smashed the statues. Now, the bird signalizes that the senators might take action soon, and Caligula faces his fate in an even "relieved" manner. For him, dying soon might not be scary, but rather like a relief: Finally he managed to provoke them enough!



142./ 143. Left & Middle: When the bird appears for the third time, Caesonia panics.

144. Right: Caligula on the contrary looks calm, as if he knows and accepts his fate.

The bird is therefore an important re-occurring motif, which only makes sense when it is presented in the order that Tinto Brass intended. The ordering of scenes in the released version is different, but nonetheless, even there its meaning can be seen.

g.2. Caligula's Horse: Attempting to reconstruct its role

Caligula's horse Incitatus appears as another important motif of the film. But we can not reconstruct its meaning entirely, as some important footage is missing.

Incitatus first appears during the banquet where Caligula has Gemellus arrested. There, the Emperor has people greet the horse ("Hail Incitatus", [1a], 01:24:06). It then re-appears during Caligula's fever. First, we see Caligula picking flies with a needle in Incitatus' stable, talking to him. ([1a], 01:30:40). There he calls his horse "Drusilla" and feels very bad for having killed Gemellus, telling his horse "You are beautiful, Drusilla!"¹¹¹. This is actually the second time he talks to his horse like a person, the first being at the banquet where Gemellus is arrested: In the beginning of that sequence, he whispers "Watch Gemellus" into Incitatus' ear¹¹².

Lying sick in bed, his horse is first lying next to him, probably because he mistrusts anyone except for Drusilla, but he fears that she is angry with him. ([1a], 01:32:04) After a while, he has people take the horse away and Drusilla joins him in bed, not angry anymore.

When Caligula starts his "Battle of Britain" campaign, his horse is again featured prominently. While he replaces the statue's heads with his own, Incitatus is present. Caligula even mocks Longinus with his horse: As Longinus wants to reply to one of Caligula's rhetorical questions, the Emperor remarks: "I was talking to Incitatus!" ([2a], 00:07:27. The dialogue-track of the scene is lost, but we can reconstruct it almost entirely with [1f] and [10], as it matches the lip-movements perfectly). Caligula again treats his horse like a person there, having it watch all of his actions.

During the "Battle of Britain" Victory banquet, Caligula rides in on Incitatus. Here, much footage is missing that would probably have featured Incitatus prominently¹¹³. Caligula decides to name Incitatus a Consul, calling his horse the "worthiest" / "noblest" Roman¹¹⁴. In the next sequence, the horse is brought in the Senate and proclaimed as such. Again, it is treated like a human: Everybody – including Incitatus – is wearing ceremonial beards.

¹¹¹ For the "dialogue" (or rather: monologue), there were several different versions filmed according to the shooting record [10]. All include the line "We are alone...", showing Caligula's isolation. In the "North American Bonus Footage" ([2a], 00:21:39), we find some different takes, but unfortunately, the workprint is without any production-audio. Looking at the July 1976 screenplay ([1f], p. 85), we find that the monologue was originally going to be much longer, but was probably changed during filming. Anyway, it is clear that Caligula talks to his horse like to a person after having slapped Drusilla and therefore enraging his only trusted person.

¹¹² This is an interesting fact: Even before his illness, Caligula talks to his horse like to a person. As he whispers into Incitatus' ear, it is clear that he doesn't talk to his horse just "for show" in front of the assembled people. If he had wanted to do that, he wouldn't had whispered something almost inaudibly quiet into Incitatus ear that still makes sense. Instead, him whispering very quietly shows that he actually talks to Incitatus like to a person he trusts.

¹¹³ Although we can reconstruct the dialogue for this scene using the shooting-record [10], it is impossible to say anything else about the directing unless more parts of Tinto Brass' rushes get released.

¹¹⁴ See shooting-record [10]. Tinto Brass apparently shot different variations of one line – either "worthiest" or "noblest" – and would have decided in post-production which one to use.

Until Caligula's illness, his talking to Incitatus seems like an obsessive behaviour, and was probably meant as a kind of ironical image, showing his loneliness. He trusts no human except Drusilla, and therefore, his horse remains his only "loyal" and trustworthy companion. This changes in the second half of the film, after Caligula proclaims himself a god: Here, talking to Incitatus is often done as a provocation towards people around him: He angers Longinus by talking to Incitatus instead of talking to him, and declaring his horse a Consul is also done to provoke the Senators, and probably not because of affection towards Incitatus¹¹⁵.



145. Left: Caligula lying in bed sick, his horse next to him.

146. Middle: In the Senate, his horse is wearing a ceremonial beard when being proclaimed a consul.

147. Right: Incitatus running freely after Caligula and his family have been stabbed.

In the end, after Caligula and his family are stabbed and lie on the stairs of the arena bleeding, the horse breaks free (we can not see where it was held during the play) and runs around. Again, probably parts were deleted, this time showing where the horse was "witnessing" the play. But in [2a], we find other shots that shed a new light on the scene: As the horse runs around, Caligula – not dead yet – finds final strength and convulses screaming, while people try to catch Incitatus.

This could symbolize the free spirit who is chased by the government: Caligula was rambling against the institutions, trying to change them, but instead was killed by them. The horse, running around freely, could symbolize this while the people around are trying to catch it. But this interpretation remains highly speculative. In fact, without having access to all shot footage, we can not interpret the horse's role completely. Especially during the scene in its stable before Caligula's illness and during the "Battle of Britain" victory banquet, Caligula's monologues / dialogues would surely have enlightened our understanding of the purpose of the horse in the story. However, having analyzed the story in detail, we can assume one fact with great certainty: Caligula regards his horse higher than the senators and many of his subordinates. He has Incitatus declared to be a consul, probably because – in addition of provoking the Senate – it does not have many bad character-traits which are typical "human", like cowardly behaviour, "Yes-Man" behaviour and other traits Caligula despises.

¹¹⁵ See this paper, chapter VI., **b**. Right before Caligula announces his idea to elect a new Consul, he talks quietly to Caesonia: "I don't know what else to do to provoke them!".

The horse running freely around in the final scene is a typical Tinto Brass symbolism of the 1970s. Even in "Salon Kitty", Wallenberg's death in the end is accompanied by a shot of his superior "stabbing" a black porcelain-panther on his desk. ([4], 02:07:33)

The heavy use of symbols – which in the released version still shines through in parts – would probably have given Caligula a second layer of meaning – had Tinto Brass edited the film. It would have been a continuation of his visual language established in the mid-60s.

VII. Conclusions: Reconstruction as a new chance for the film

Looking at the way “Caligula” was planned, it would have been a rather political film commenting on 1970s and universal political issues together with Roman history. Had Tinto Brass been allowed to edit the film, it would certainly have been extreme in its portrayal of violence and nudity in some parts, but on the other hand, would have had its storyline touching many political issues of the past and even today.

The film in its planned form would have been an appropriate continuation of Tinto Brass’ earlier 1960s/1970s work, incorporating motifs, style and ideas of almost all of his previous films into one big-budget project.

In the released version (and the so-called “Alternate” – or “Pre-Release” version found on the DVD), few traces of this remain. The original story is almost totally changed as so much material was cut or reordered, and due to the editing style, even in the remaining scenes many ideas were removed.

But there are possibilities for the future: A version of “Caligula” resembling Tinto Brass’ vision could be assembled in a future project using the remaining material in the Penthouse-Vaults¹¹⁶.

Supposing financial interest and support, an editor with profound knowledge of Tinto Brass’ editing-style could surely re-assemble the film that way, giving the public a whole new look at the film and at Tinto Brass’ oeuvre, which was very political and radical in the 70s.

Today, he is often regarded as an “Erotic-Film Director” based on the released version of “Caligula” (which is different from his intentions) and his subsequent output. A new edition – as well as hopefully this thesis – would surely help changing this view.

Even with only the released material¹¹⁷. It would be about 170 minutes long and – although still not featuring Brass’ editing-style due to a lack of material – would at least re-assemble the story to be more comprehensible and in-line with Brass’ intention.

Thus, supposing financial interest, in the future there might be endless possibilities for this film to become reconstructed and re-assessed. This would certainly change public perception of both the film and Brass’ oeuvre.

¹¹⁶ According to the booklet of the “Imperial Edition” US-release, there are still 50 of the ca. 100 hours of negative film there. Other missing scenes can be found in damaged workprints that could be cleaned-up. As many of the principal actors are still alive, re-dubbing a new cut could be entirely feasible.

¹¹⁷ Found on the UK “Imperial Edition” DVD-Boxset and on the Italian “Io, Caligola”-disc, a new cut of the film could theoretically be assembled.

Sources:

1. Caligula: The Imperial Edition. US-DVD-Set by "Image Entertainment".
This is NTSC, so all time-related measures are accurate to the original 24fps projection speed.
 - a. Caligula – 156 minutes released version on DVD 1
 - b. Caligula – 153 minutes "Pre-Release"-version on DVD 2
 - c. Making-Of: 61 minutes documentary on DVD 3
 - d. Interview with Tinto Brass on DVD 3
 - e. 1975 first draft screenplay: .pdf-file on DVD 3
 - f. July 1976 screenplay draft: .pdf-file on DVD 3
2. Caligula: The Imperial Edition. UK-DVD-Set by "Arrow Media"
 - a. "North American Bonus Footage" on DVD 2
3. <http://rjbuffalo.com/1977a-ca.html> (accessed on July 10, 2011)
(Online article with a focus on production and filming, as well as brief synopsis of Brass' original intentions.)
4. "Salon Kitty": US Blu-Ray Disc by Blue Underground.
(Since this is a 1080p24 release, it features the original 24 fps projection speed)
5. Interview of Tinto Brass on the UK Blu-Ray release of "Salon Kitty".
(Another important source for getting to know Tinto Brass' general view of power. It is only mentioned once in the paper as it features not much information about "Caligula", but it proves Tinto Brass' views of power were consistent throughout "Salon Kitty" and "Caligula".)
6. "Nerosubianco": DVD by Cult Epics, release DVD074
(80 min international version. The original Italian version was 89 minutes long, but never released on home-video. 24 fps transfer.)
7. "L'Urlo": DVD by Cult Epics, release DVD072
(This release is in NTSC, but transferred from a 25 fps source by frame-blending. Therefore, times given in the paper refer to the PAL-Speed and not the original projection speed of 24 fps.)

8. Deadly Sweet / Col Cuore in Gola: DVD by Cult Epics, release
(Like “L’Urlo”, transferred from a 25 fps source by frame-blending.)
9. “Action”: DVD by RHV (Italian release with English subtitles)
This PAL release plays at 25 fps.
10. Shooting record, recording the lines actually spoken during filming. It can be found at:
Houghton Library, Harvard College Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Gore Vidal Papers, 1875-2004. File Folder: (GORE VIDAL'S) CALIGULA - SCREEN-PLAY 1976. Call Number until it is catalogued: *2001M-52 Box 45. Further lines can be found in a thermal photostat strangely placed into the folder “CALIGULA MANUSCRIPT - TREATMENT OF R. ROSSELINNI 9,“. For this analysis, lines from both sources were used to get the most complete overview.
11. “Io, Caligola”: Italian DVD by Raro Entertainment, 2006.
This PAL release plays at 25fps.
12. Almost final workprint done by Bob Guccione’s editors:
<http://store.guccionecollection.com/products/caligula-full-length>, accessed on September 6, 2013. The workprint appears to be transferred from an old video-tape. It was probably transferred to the tape while the film was being edited.

Additionally, the author reviewed Tinto Brass’ 1970s-films “Dropout” and “La Vacanza” for this paper. “Dropout” was never released on home-video, and “La Vacanza” only on an Italian VHS. The author thanks Tinto Brass for allowing him to watch Brass’ personal copies of these films.

Picture Sources:

All pictures taken from [1a], except:

[1b]: 5, 9, 101, 134.

[2a]: 12, 15, 16, 18, 22, 74, 78, 85, 93, 94, 97, 106-113, 116, 125-127, 133, 139, 146.

[4]: 121, 122, 124, 128, 130.

[6]: 114.

[7]: 115, 123, 135.

[11]: 29, 30, 32-39, 41, 48, 49, 67, 68.

http://rjbuffalo.com/images/rtinbra.jpg :	1
[1], DVD 2, Deleted Scenes, "Drusilla comforts Caligula":	69-71.
[1], DVD 2, Deleted Scenes, "Satyrs, Nymphs and Little Fishies":	87-89.
[1], DVD 2, Deleted Scenes, "Proculus runs the gauntlet":	27, 28, 50, 95.
[1], DVD 1, Deleted Scenes, "Entering the Ship":	21, 82, 83.
[1], Disc 2, Deleted Scenes: "Killing Tiberius (...)":	23-26, 43-47, 51-66.

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