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Handel's Borrowing Practice in His Biblical Oratorios

By

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in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of
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ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the relationship between Handel's borrowing practice and his creation of a new genre -- the English Biblical oratorio. It focuses on the types of borrowing, the genres Handel borrowed from, and the use of self-borrowing vs. borrowing from other composers. A comprehensive list of borrowings discovered in Handel's Biblical oratorios (Appendix A) allows the patterns in Handel's borrowing practice and the evolution of the genre to be revealed and discussed.

Chapter One provides a review of the literature on Handel's borrowing in general and the historical roots of Handel's Biblical oratorios. Chapter Two looks at the scholarly treatment of Handel's borrowing, and goes on to discuss specific musical examples of three borrowing types: Type I (reuse), Type II (rework), and Type III (new work). The final chapter identifies borrowing patterns that emerge in Handel's early, middle, and late Biblical oratorios. The borrowing type shifts from Type I to Type III, whereas the genres borrowed from change from sacred choral works to secular operas. Self-borrowings dominate in his early oratorios, drastically decrease in the middle period, and increase again in the late period.

RÉSUMÉ

Cette thèse explore la relation entre la pratique d'emprunt de Handel et sa création d'un genre nouveau--l'oratorio biblique anglais. Elle se centre sur les différentes sortes d'emprunt, les genres desquels Handel a emprunté, et l'usage de l'emprunt propre, comparé à l'emprunt d'autres compositeurs. Une liste compréhensive des emprunts découverts dans les oratorios bibliques de Handel (Appendice A) permet de révéler et de discuter les modèles dans la pratique d'emprunt de Handel ainsi que l'évolution du genre.

Le premier chapitre pourvoit une revue de la littérature sur l'emprunt de Handel et les racines historiques des oratorios bibliques de Handel. Le second chapitre examine le traitement scolastique de la pratique d'emprunt de Handel, et procède dans la discussion d'exemples musicaux spécifiques de trois types d'emprunts: Type I (réutilisation), Type II (re-travail), et Type III (nouveau travail). Le dernier chapitre identifie des modèles d'emprunt qui émergent dans les oratorios bibliques datant du début, du milieu et de la fin de la carrière de Handel. Le type d'emprunt change du Type I au Type III, tandis que les genres desquels Handel a emprunté changent des oeuvres chorales sacrées aux opéras séculaires. Les emprunts propres dominant dans ses premiers oratorios, diminuent considérablement durant le milieu de sa carrière, et augmentent de nouveau durant la fin de sa carrière.

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Abbreviations:

- HG - G. F. Handel. *Georg Friedrich Händel’s Werke: Ausgabe der Deutschen Händelgesellschaft*, ed. Friedrich W. Chrysander and Max Seiffert, i-xlvi, l-xcvi, supplement. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Hartel, 1858-1894, 1902.
 HHA - G. F. Handel. *Hallische Händel-Ausgabe im Auftrage der Georg-Friedrich-Händel Gesellschaft*, series I-V and supplement. Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1955-.
 HS - John Roberts. (ed.). *Handel Sources: Materials for the Study of Handel’s Borrowing*. New York: Garland, 1986-88.
 CH - Friedrich Chrysander. *G. F. Händel*. Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1919.

INTRODUCTION

Handel adopted a method of composing that involved the craft of reusing and reworking musical ideas -- both his own and those of other composers. His borrowing was regarded as a normal practice, and was never a secret during his lifetime. Several eighteenth-century sources prove that Handel's practice was perceived and discussed by many of his peers and colleagues, and must have been familiar to many members of the musical audience.

Music scholars continued to do research on Handel's borrowing since his death in 1759, and a number of articles have proposed various perspectives on borrowing practice, most recently John Winemiller in "Recontextualizing Handel's Borrowings."¹ Notable earlier studies that list borrowings include Friedrich Chrysander's *Preface* published in the supplementary volumes of *G.F. Händel's Werke*,² Sedley Taylor's *The Indebtedness of Handel to Other Composers*,³ Winton Dean's *Handel's Dramatic Oratorios and Masques*,⁴ and John Roberts' *Handel Sources: Materials for the Study of Handel's Borrowing*.⁵

My study concentrates on Handel's English Biblical oratorios from *Esther* (1720/1732) to *Jephtha* (1751). Masques and other non-Biblical oratorios such as *Acis and Galatea* (1732), *Alexander's Feast* (1736), *Semele* (1744), *The Choice of Hercules*

¹ John Winemiller, "Recontextualizing Handel's Borrowings," *The Journal of Musicology* 15:4 (1997), 444-470.

² Friedrich Chrysander, *Preface* in *G.F. Händel's Werke: Ausgabe der Deutschen Händelgesellschaft: Supplement* (Leipzig and Bergedorf bei Hamburg, 1858-94, 1902).

³ Sedley Taylor, *The Indebtedness of Handel to Works by Other Composers* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1906).

⁴ Winton Dean, *Handel's Dramatic Oratorios and Masques* (London: Oxford University Press, 1959).

⁵ John Roberts, *Handel Sources: Materials for the Study of Handel's Borrowing* (New York: Garland, 1986).

(1751), and *The Triumph of Time and Truth* (1751) are excluded. Narrowing my studies to the subgenre of the English Biblical oratorio allows me to trace more consistent patterns in borrowing practice. The sixteen Biblical oratorios to be considered were composed in three different periods with time gaps in between. The early oratorios are *Esther* (1720/1732), *Deborah* (1733), and *Athalia* (1733). The middle-period oratorios are *Saul* (1738) and *Israel in Egypt* (1738). The late oratorios are *Messiah* (1741), *Samson* (1741), *Joseph and His Brethren* (1743), *Belshazzar* (1744), *Judas Maccabaeus* (1746), *Joshua* (1747), *Alexander Balus* (1747), *Susanna* (1748), *Solomon* (1748), *Theodora* (1749), and *Jephtha* (1751).

In spite of Handel scholars' exhaustive work on this topic, it is still very difficult to access a complete list of borrowings. I have therefore compiled a comprehensive list of Handel's borrowings in his Biblical oratorios (see Appendix A). Based on the borrowings listed by Chrysander, Taylor, Dean, and Roberts, I have developed a database which consists of the following categories for both Handel's works and the models from which he borrowed:

Handel's Oratorio	Pre-existing Materials
Title	Title
Number	Number / Movement
Type (i.e. aria, duet, or chorus)	Type (i.e. aria, duet, or chorus)
Date of Composition	Composer
	Genre
	Date of Composition
	Reference (i.e. Chrysander, Taylor, Dean, or Roberts)

The database facilitates the sorting and the interpretation of data, and reveals patterns in Handel's borrowing practice, especially changes in the genres and composers from which Handel borrowed.

Although there have been many studies focusing on how Handel manipulated borrowed materials,⁶ not many have looked at the whole picture and discussed how Handel chose those materials. Based on Handel's English Biblical oratorios from *Esther* (1732) to *Jephtha* (1751), my thesis will focus on large-scale patterns in Handel's borrowing in the new genre of the English oratorio, and on changes in his practice over time. By dividing Handel's oratorios into three periods, I will look at: 1) the different types of borrowings, 2) the different genres and composers borrowed from, and 3) the balance between self-borrowing and borrowing from other composers. Pulling together the existing information on borrowing in the Biblical oratorios allows me to trace the patterns in his borrowing and thus helps establish a clearer understanding of Handel's overall borrowing practice. By combining the big picture with more focused case studies of individual examples, I will provide new insights into Handel's compositional practice as he created the new genre of the English Biblical oratorio.

⁶ Important examples include George Buelow, "Handel's Borrowing Techniques: Some Fundamental Questions Derived from a Study of Agrippina," *Göttinger Händel-Beiträge* 2 (1986), 105-128; William Gudger, "Handel's Last Compositions and His Borrowings from Habermann (Parts 1 and 2)," *Current Musicology* 22 (1976), 61-72, *Current Musicology* 23 (1977), 28-45; Harold Powers, "Il Serse Trasformato II," *Musical Quarterly* 48 (1962), 73-92; see below, Chapter 2.

CHAPTER ONE

HANDEL'S BORROWING AND THE ORATORIO

I. Introduction to Handel's Borrowing

Handel's use of pre-existent musical ideas from his own works and from other composers was already well known during his lifetime. Several eighteenth-century sources prove that Handel's practice was perceived and discussed by many of his peers and colleagues, and must have been familiar to the musical audience in Europe. As early as 1733, Abbé Prévost made the following remark,

Considering the multitude of works that Mr. Handel has composed, it is extremely difficult for there not to be occasionally coincidences with other composers' works.¹

Handel today is more closely associated with borrowing than any other composers of his time, though we know that Handel's contemporaries also wrote music that incorporates pre-existing materials.² Of all Handelian topics, his borrowing has caused the most confusion and discomfort to critics and biographers. Since the nineteenth century, Handel's music has been severely criticised as fundamentally flawed and even plagiaristic. For instance, in the ninth edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1880), Francis Hueffer wrote,

¹ Published in Abbé Prévost's *Le pour et contre: Ouvrage Périodique d'un gout nouveau*, quoted in George Buelow, "The Case for Handel's Borrowings: the Judgment for Three Centuries," *Handel Tercentenary Collection*, ed. Stanley Sadie and Anthony Hicks (Ann Arbor: U.M.I. Research Press, 1987), 64.

² Ian Payne, "Telemann's Musical Style c.1709-c.1730 and J. S. Bach: The Evidence of Borrowing," *Bach – The Journal of the Riemenschneider Bach Institute* 30:1 (1999), 42-64.

The system of wholesale plagiarism carried on by him [Handel] is perhaps unprecedented in the history of music. He pilfered not only single melodies, but frequently entire movements from the works of other masters with few or no alterations and without a word of acknowledgement.³

As the discussion evolved in the early twentieth century, Edward Dent associates Handel's borrowing practice with the composer's physical illness and mental collapse,⁴ while other critics explain his practice as the result of specific conditions, such as lack of creativity or time pressures.⁵ Some even challenge Handel's honesty and his moral attitude. Sedley Taylor, in *The Indebtedness of Handel to Works by Other Composers* (1906), presents a negative moral judgment on Handel's borrowing:

The fact remains that he [Handel] accepted, indeed practically claimed, merit for what he must have known was not his own work. That this was wrong can, it appears to me, be denied by those only who are prepared to estimate the morality of an act according to the amount of genius shown in performing it.⁶

Music scholars continue to do research on Handel's borrowing in the second half of the century, and the phenomenon of Handel's borrowing has been discussed in various ways by numerous writers on music. These studies can be divided into two main types. As Winemiller mentioned, the first type seeks to explain and identify the meaning and motivation underlying Handel's borrowing, and sometimes to justify his practice. The second type lists and catalogues borrowings, providing the objective facts such as what

³ Quoted in Taylor, *The Indebtedness of Handel*, ix.

⁴ Edward Dent, *Handel* (London: The Camelot Press Ltd., 1934), 100-102.

⁵ Friedrich Chrysander's suggestion on Handel's lack of time is noted in Percy Robinson, *Handel and His Orbit* (London: Sherratt & Hughes, 1908), 106.

⁶ Taylor, *The Indebtedness of Handel*, 188.

and how did Handel borrow.⁷ Both types of studies are valuable and should be considered simultaneously. Focusing on the first type alone results in ungrounded and defective judgment, while focusing on the second type without further explanation makes our study meaningless.

Given the negative perspectives on borrowing practice, love of Handel's music has encouraged scholars to suggest "better" reasons to explain Handel's practice. They try endlessly to answer the question, "why did Handel borrow?" Among Winemiller's first type of studies, I was able to identify four different types of explanation. The first type provides evidence that the roots of his practice lie deep in the history of music. Treatises from the eighteenth century indicate that borrowing was regarded as a normal and legitimate practice, and was never a secret during Handel's lifetime. Winton Dean states that Handel's habit was well known to his contemporaries, and at least six of whom mentioned it during his life, including Johann Mattheson's *Critica Musica* (1722) and *Grundlage einer Ehren-Pforte* (1740), Abbé Prévost's *Le pour et contre* (1733), and Johann Adolph Scheibe's *Critischer Musicus* (1745).⁸ Similarly, Winemiller speculates that we are uncomfortable with Handel's borrowing because such compositional practice does not conform readily to the modern Western model of proprietary authorship and intellectual property.⁹

The second argument saves Handel from charges of plagiarism by comparing Handel's compositional practice to other composers. Percy Robinson states that "Handel's use of other composers was perfectly open, in which case it falls into line with

⁷ John Winemiller, *Handel's Borrowing and Swift's Bee: Handel's "Curious" Practice and the Theory of Transformative Imitation* (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1994), 38-39.

⁸ Winton Dean, *The New Grove Handel* (London: W. W. Norton, 1983), 81.

⁹ Winemiller, "Recontextualizing Handel's Borrowing," 444-470.

the procedure of Bach, Beethoven, Brahms, and many others."¹⁰ In other words, if Handel can be accused of plagiarism, so can the others. This argument was favoured by Newman Flower, who further commented that Handel was "more gifted in originality than most composers the world has known."¹¹ Although Robinson's and Flower's argument do not explain why Handel needed to borrow so much more frequently than other composers, they reveal the extraordinary variety of musical material that exists in Handel's large number of compositions.

In the third type, scholars examined the borrowings in detail and explain Handel's practice as stylistic influence among composers rather than plagiarism. For instance, George Buelow discusses Handel's borrowing using Mattheson's concept of "Moduli."¹² He suggests that Handel's frequent use of generic motivic figures actually represents his conscious adherence to a modular process of composition at the local level. Of course not every instance of Handel's borrowings can be explained in this fashion. Yet under this premise, most of the small-scale motivic borrowings can be justified as similar musical style among Baroque composers rather than the reuse of musical materials.

Finally, scholars rationalise Handel's borrowing as an improvement over its source. This explanation seeks to understand Handel's practice based on aesthetic considerations. As Mattheson stated in *Der vollkommene Capellmeister* (1739), "What is borrowed must be repaid with interest, that is, one must so arrange and elaborate the imitations that they produce a better and more beautiful effect than the pieces from which

¹⁰ Robinson, *Handel and His Orbit*, v.

¹¹ Newman Flower, *George Frederic Handel: His Personality and His Times* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1948), 304.

¹² George Buelow, "Mattheson's Concept of Moduli as a Clue to Handel's Compositional Process," *Göttinger Händel-Beiträge* 3 (1989), 272-277.

they are borrowed.”¹³ William Crotch, for example, declares that Handel greatly improved the ideas from Carissimi.¹⁴ Ellen Harris, who explores intertextual relationships among different works, provides aesthetic considerations to explain Handel’s borrowing from Erba’s *Magnificat in Israel in Egypt*.¹⁵ This type of study has brought us some deeper insights into the act of borrowing.

All the reasons given above reveal our deep concerns about Handel’s borrowing practice. We know Handel used borrowed materials throughout his life, in many different genres including both vocal and instrumental works. In my study of Handel’s Biblical oratorios, it should not be surprising that all sixteen oratorios contain some borrowed materials. Among the different types of explanation to understand why did Handel borrow, all four types deserve our attention, yet aesthetic consideration is the most cogent one that acknowledges Handel’s creativity and invention, thus recognising Handel’s originality in his musical style.

¹³ Johann Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister* (Hamburg, 1739), translated as *Johann Mattheson’s Der vollkommene Capellmeister: A Revised Translation with Critical Commentary*, by Ernest C. Harriss (Ann Arbor: U.M.I. Research Press, 1981), 298.

¹⁴ William Crotch, *Substance of Several Courses of Lectures on Music* (1831) (reprinted in Ireland: Boethius Press, 1986), 93.

¹⁵ Ellen Harris, “Integrity and Improvisation in the Music of Handel,” *The Journal of Musicology* 8:3 (1990), 313.

II. Historical Roots of Handel's Biblical Oratorios

The oratorio, according to Howard Smither, is an "extended musical setting of a sacred text made up of dramatic, narrative and contemplative elements."¹⁶ Based on such a definition, its antecedents date back to the Medieval liturgical drama, the Divine Office for saints' feasts, the Passion, and *laude spirituali*, all of which have music set to a sacred story. However, it was not until the late Renaissance and early Baroque period that the term "oratorio" began to emerge. As noted by Winton Dean, "the word itself derives from a Roman society [Congregazione dell' Oratorio] which met in the oratory of the monastery of San Girolamo, and later in the rebuilt church of Santa Maria della Vallicella under the inspiration of St Phillip Neri."¹⁷

These informal meetings, which started in the 1550s, comprised only a few men who gathered for "spiritual exercises" -- prayers and discussion of spiritual matters. According to Smither, spiritual laude were sung for entertainment during these meetings. As the number of people attending the meetings increased, an oratory (or prayerhall) was constructed in a space above the nave of the church, and the meetings were recognised by Pope Gregory XIII in 1575. Music functioned as edifying entertainment and was intended to attract people to the spiritual exercises. The first significant composition was Cavalieri's sacred drama, *La Rappresentazione di Anima et di Corpo*, which was performed in Rome in 1600.¹⁸

¹⁶ Howard Smither, "Oratorio," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie (London, 1980) vol. 13, 656.

¹⁷ Dean, *Handel's Dramatic Oratorios and Masques*, 6.

¹⁸ Smither, "Oratorio," 657.

The Beginning of Oratorio in Italy

In Italy during the first half of the seventeenth century, the term "oratorio" usually referred to the building (the oratory) and the spiritual exercise that took place within it. The term, however, gradually broadened to include the musical genre. By the mid-seventeenth century, the *oratorio latino* and the *oratorio volgare* began to emerge, using texts in Latin and Italian respectively. Both genres were sung to freely composed sacred or secular texts, and were presented in both sacred and secular buildings. The music includes secco recitatives and elaborate arias. They gained considerable popularity in Italy and became a prominent source of entertainment.¹⁹ One of the best-known Italian composers of the period was Giacomo Carissimi. The subject matter of his *oratorio latino* (sometimes designated as "historicus") is mostly Biblical stories taken from the Old Testament, with a paraphrase or even a free adaptation of the original texts. Narrative passages and dialogue texts between characters were commonly set as solos, ensembles, and choruses.²⁰ For example, Carissimi's oratorio *Historia de Jepthes* (c1650) has several narrative solos, dialogue texts between the two main characters Jepthe and his daughter, and choruses of the Israelites. The music expressively brings out the emotions of the characters in a tragic story.²¹

While Carissimi's oratorios were influential on the development of oratorio in Italy, Handel also wrote two Italian oratorios in the early eighteenth century before he moved and established his career in London. Both *Il trionfo del Tempo e del Disinganno*

¹⁹ Roger Ardry, *The Influence of the Extended Latin Sacred Works of Giacomo Carissimi on the Biblical Oratorios of George Frederic Handel* (Ph.D. dissertation, The Catholic University of America, 1964), 12.

²⁰ Günther Massenkeil, "Carissimi, Giacomo," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, vol. 3, 786-788.

²¹ The chorus "Hear, Jacob's God" in Handel's *Samson* (1741) is borrowed from the chorus "Plorate filiae Israel" in Carissimi's *Historia de Jepthes* (c1650).

and *La resurrezione* were composed in 1708, and the latter was first performed at the Ruspoli residence in Rome on Easter Sunday and Monday in the same year. At that time, oratorios were performed without staging, but the stage was often decorated with a painted background relevant to the subject of the oratorio.²²

The Beginning of Oratorio in Germany

While most Italian oratorios were based on stories in the Old Testament, there had been a tradition of musical settings of the New Testament in Germany since the late sixteenth century, mostly dealing with Christ's passion and resurrection. These settings were called "historiae," and were composed in chant-like style.²³ Closer to the style of Italian oratorios are three works by Heinrich Schütz: *Historia der Aufferstehung Jesu Christi* (1623), *Die Sieben Worte Jesu Christi am Kreuz* (c1645), and the *Historia der Geburt Jesu Christi* (1664). Although none of these works are entitled oratorios, they are musical compositions based on a religious subject and consisting of recitatives, arias, choruses, instrumental interludes and accompaniment. They have no action, scenery, or costumes.²⁴

It was not until the early eighteenth century that oratorio began to take shape as a more specific genre in Protestant Germany. In 1704, the term "oratorio" finally appeared in Germany on the title page of the libretto of Reinhard Keiser's musical setting: *Der blutige und sterbende Jesus, wie selbiger in einem Oratorio musikalisch gesetzt, und in*

²² Smither, "Oratorio," 662.

²³ Anthony Hicks, "Handel and the Idea of an Oratorio," *The Cambridge Companion to Handel*, ed. Donald Burrows (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 146.

²⁴ Ardry, *The Influence of the Extended Latin Sacred Works*, 13.

der stillen Woche, Montags und Mittwochs, zur Vesperzeit aufgeführt worden durch Reinhard Keiser. The librettist Christian Friedrich Hunold, who worked with Keiser, published his oratorio texts in a collection of his poems, where he described the work as being “in verses throughout, and without the Evangelist, just like the Italian so-called Oratorien.”²⁵ Although the Italian term “oratorio” was less common than the Latin term “oratorium,” most German oratorios in the early eighteenth century were similar in style to Italian oratorios.

Before Handel composed any English oratorios, he composed his only German passion oratorio the *Brockes Passion* (c1716), the music of which was reused later in his other oratorios, including *Esther* (1732), *Deborah* (1733), and *Athalia* (1733). Handel probably became acquainted with the Brockes text in his trip to Germany and composed it in England between in 1716 and 1717. As mentioned by Handel’s friend Mattheson in his *Ehren-Pforte* (1740), the score of the *Brockes Passion* was sent to him by mail from England to Germany where at least six performances were held in Hamburg.²⁶ The music consists of 106 numbers with recitatives, duets, arias, and a great number of choruses.

By the 1730s, German writers began to define oratorio in their treatises. Johann Adolph Scheibe, in *Compendium musices theoretico-practicum*, states that oratorios are “all long pieces of which the poetic organisation is dramatic, and in which Passion Music does not belong.”²⁷ Later on in 1739, Johann Mattheson states in his *Der vollkommene Capellmeister* that “an Oratorio is nothing other than a sung poem which presents a

²⁵ Quoted in Howard Smither, *History of the Oratorio* (Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press, 1977), 105.

²⁶ Johann Mattheson, *Grundlage einer Ehren-Pforte* (1740) (reprinted by Kassel: Bärenreiter-Verl, 1969), 96.

²⁷ Quoted in Smither, *History of the Oratorio*, 105.

certain story or virtuous adventure in a dramatic way.”²⁸ Mattheson also introduced the term secular oratorio, which “belong[s] more to the chamber style than to the dramatic style of writing, and utilize[s] in composition those rules which have been given above on the cantatas.”²⁹

Sacred Music in England

Unlike in Italy and Germany, the term “oratorio” was not used as a musical designation in England before Handel’s arrival. In the early seventeenth century, the closest musical genre to the oratorio was the brief dialogue, such as *The Dialogue of King Solomon and the Two Harlots* and *The Dialogue of Job, God, Satan, Job’s Wife and the Messenger* (c1616) by John Hilton. The music was accompanied only by continuo, and included some interaction among the characters and a concluding chorus.³⁰ Another English genre that would be very important for Handel in the creation of the oratorio was the verse anthem, which began in the late sixteenth century. Anthems are mostly choral works sung during church services or religious ceremonies. Some notable examples from c1600 include Thomas Weelkes’ (c1576-1623) *Give Ear, O Lord* and Thomas Morley’s (c1557-1602) *Out of the Deep*.³¹

During the reign of Charles II (1660-1685), the practice of honouring members of the royal family with music began: birthday odes were composed as an act of loyalty to a reigning monarch; welcome songs were composed to praise the Lord and to celebrate the king’s return after a visit elsewhere.³² Odes for celebrating St. Cecilia’s Day were also

²⁸ Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, 446.

²⁹ Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, 447.

³⁰ Smither, *History of the Oratorio*, 175.

³¹ Peter Le Huray and Ralph T. Daniel, “Anthem,” *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, vol. 1, 454-463.

³² Jack Westrup, “Purcell, Henry,” *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, vol. 15, 461.

composed annually over a period of thirty years beginning 1683 (except in 1686, 1688, and 1689).³³ Henry Purcell (c1659-1695) wrote nine welcome songs for Charles II and James II, six birthday odes for Queen Mary, and two odes for St. Cecilia's Day. The music consists of solo or ensemble settings of descriptive passages followed by long laudatory choruses. The texts were usually taken from the Old Testament, occasionally the Apocrypha and the New Testament. Such a musical structure played a significant role in the development of English oratorio later in the eighteenth century.

Once Handel became a permanent resident of London in 1712, he wrote a number of English Anthems which he later incorporated into his oratorios. They include the *Chandos Anthems*, the *Coronation Anthems*, and a number of Odes. The *Chandos Anthems* are twelve settings of psalm texts composed from 1717 to 1720 for the Duke of Chandos. The *Coronation Anthems* are four works composed in 1727 for the coronation service of George II. They anticipate some of Handel's oratorio choruses in their use of massive choral homophony, occasionally with double chorus.

Masques in England

Besides the English odes and anthems, the masque was another popular genre of entertainment that developed in England during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It was performed in costume, and based on allegorical or mythological themes involving poetry, dancing, and music. According to Roger Fiske, court masques were probably the first English entertainments given with scenery, and the first in which women took part.³⁴

³³ Rosamond McGuinness, "The English Ode," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, vol. 13, 500.

³⁴ Roger Fiske, *English Theatre Music in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), 4.

Some examples of the early court masques include Ben Jonson's *The Masque of Blackness* (1605), Milton's *Comus* (1634), and William Davenant's *Salmacida Spolia* (1640). They were performed privately for aristocrats. With music and spoken dialogue contrasting the debased and the morally uplifting characters, the court masque sometimes symbolised the monarchs' triumph over their enemies.³⁵

During the Commonwealth period from 1649 to 1660, the court masques evolved into a new kind of stage performance called a "moral representation," which incorporated music and dancing. Some examples from this period include James Shirley's *Cupid and Death* (c1653), and Davenant's *Siege of Rhodes* (1656). Since the interdiction of stage plays by the Puritans did not prohibit concerts or musical dramatic productions, masques continued to develop into plays, dramas, or semi-operas.³⁶ By the restoration in 1660, heroic plays with spoken and musical scenes became popular and successful in the theatre. It was the interpolation of the masque into the heroic plays that gave rise to English dramatic opera, especially the works of John Dryden and Henry Purcell.

In the early eighteenth century, the English masque continued to share classical or pastoral context with scenery and dancing. Masques were sometimes divided into two interludes to be performed between the acts of larger dramatic works. In 1701, a contest was held for the setting of music to Congreve's *The Judgment of Paris*.³⁷ The competitors were John Eccles, Daniel Purcell, John Weldon and Gottfried Finger.³⁸ Later in 1718, Handel composed *Acis and Galatea* which was called a masque in more than one edition. It was first performed in Cannons as a concert performance with no staging. Although

³⁵ Fiske, *English Theatre Music in the Eighteenth Century*, 4.

³⁶ Murray Lefkowitz, "Masque," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, vol. 11, 766.

³⁷ Kenneth McLeod, *Judgment and Choice: Politics and Ideology in Early Eighteenth-Century Masques*, (Ph.D. dissertation, McGill University, 1996).

³⁸ Lefkowitz, "Masque," 768.

Thomas Arne had the idea of having a staged performance with action in London in 1731, Handel kept it with no action.³⁹

The Beginning of Handel's English Oratorios

By the 1730s, Handel had composed in many different genres. Besides *La resurrezione*, *Brockes Passion*, *Acis and Galatea*, other Italian operas and English anthems, he had also composed instrumental music, cantatas, vocal duets, motets and some Latin church music such as *Laudate pueri* (1707) and *Dixit Dominus* (1707). Yet, Handel was probably the first composer to use the term "oratorio" for an English musical work. The first version of *Esther* (also known as *Haman and Mordecai*) was completed and performed in 1720. Most sources simply called it by its title; one source calls it an Oratorium; one source calls it a masque.⁴⁰ The second version was widely known as an oratorio. The oratorio label probably came from the newspaper announcement in Daily Journal on 19 April 1732,

Never Performed in Publick before, At the Great room in Villas-street York Buildings, will be performed Esther an Oratorio or, Sacred Drama.⁴¹

We do not know why Handel introduced *Esther* in London in 1720 and 1732, yet we know it was a time when religious and sacred dramatic music was gradually becoming popular among the English public.⁴² Since the beginning of the eighteenth century, performance and discussion of religious music in England were gradually expanding

³⁹ Fiske, *English Theatre Music in the Eighteenth Century*, 132-133.

⁴⁰ Smither, *History of the Oratorio*, 189.

⁴¹ Daily Journal (London), 19 April 1732; Otto Erich Deutsch, *Handel: A Documentary Biography* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1955), 288.

⁴² Alexander Shapiro, "Handel's Early English Oratorios and the Religious Sublime," *Music and Letters*, 74:2 (1993), 218

outside the church. Anthems and other sacred music were not defined exclusively by the church service proper, and began to be performed in public venues. For example, the choirs of the Chapel Royal and St. Paul's Cathedral began to give performances in the concert room in the Crown and Anchor Tavern.⁴³ There was a diffusion of church and non-liturgical devotional music through concert festivals and publications, which created a more diverse audience for sacred music in the 1730s.⁴⁴ Although Italian opera was popular, the general public in London probably attended performances of sacred music given by the Chapel Royal singers more frequently than opera performances.⁴⁵ These festival concerts extended the popularity of church music in London's cultural life in the early eighteenth century.

Because of the great amount of sacred music in charitable concerts and thanksgiving ceremonies at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the London newspapers made reference to the style of ceremonial music when Handel introduced *Esther* in 1732,

There will be no Action on the stage, but the House will be fitted up in a decent manner, for the Audience. The Musick to be disposed after the Manner of the Coronation Service.⁴⁶

In comparison to Italian operas, oratorios did not need the fancy costumes and the high-priced star singers, but a larger chorus and a more massive orchestra. As John Hawkins states in his *General History of the Science and Practice of Music* (1776), "No costly scenery was required, nor dresses for the performers other than a suit of black... To

⁴³ Shapiro, "Handel's Early English Oratorios," 218.

⁴⁴ Shapiro, "Handel's Early English Oratorios," 221.

⁴⁵ Christopher Dearnley, *English Church Music 1650-1750* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), 130.

⁴⁶ Daily Journal (London), 19 April 1732; Deutsch, *Handel: A Documentary Biography*, 288.

such a performance the talents of second-rate singers and persons used to choir service were adequate."⁴⁷ Although Handel's English oratorios were unstaged, *Esther* was originally intended to be staged in a theatre. Bishop Edmund Gibson, the dean of the Chapel Royal, denied staging permission because of the sacred subject, and as a result, oratorios could be performed on Wednesdays and Fridays during Lent while operas were forbidden on these days.⁴⁸

Although Handel agreed to give unstaged performances of the oratorio, some church authorities and theologians still found it unacceptable to consider oratorios as sacred music because of the venue where performances took place. Music for the church sanctuary and music for the theatre stage were thought of as separate genres. If oratorios were performed in theatres, should they be considered as music for entertainment, or music with religious purposes? In the 1730s, the mingling of these two elements were seen as undesirable. For instance, James Bramstons complained about the mismatch between music, subject-matter and location. Most preachers agreed that sacred music, solemn and majestic, should sound different from secular music.⁴⁹

Whether sacred or secular, the English oratorio began to evolve as a genre. Since Handel's creation in 1732, the usage of the term "oratorio" broadened gradually. Regardless of the musical style, Handel's oratorios were defined as having a sacred subject matter. According to one of Handel's librettists Charles Jennens, musical settings with stories came from the Bible or the Apocrypha are oratorios. He therefore described

⁴⁷ John Hawkins, *General History of the Science and Practice of Music* (1776) (reprinted in New York: Dover Publications, 1963), 889.

⁴⁸ Jens Peter Larsen, "Handel Studies - Oratorio versus Opera," *American Choral Review*, 14:1 (1972), 42-48.

⁴⁹ Ruth Smith, *Handel's Oratorios and Eighteenth-Century Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 44-46.

Semele and *Hercules* as operas although neither had been performed with stage action. *Alexander's Feast* and *L'Allegro* were labelled as odes.⁵⁰ Following Jennen's classification, Handel composed sixteen Biblical oratorios in English: *Esther*, *Deborah*, *Athalia*, *Saul*, *Israel in Egypt*, *Messiah*, *Samson*, *Joseph and His Brethren*, *Belshazzar*, *Judas Maccabaeus*, *Joshua*, *Alexander Balus*, *Susanna*, *Solomon*, *Theodora*, and *Jephtha*. By tracing Handel's borrowing in these oratorios, we can trace the roots of the new genre in older genres, and observe Handel's evolving conception of the English oratorio.

⁵⁰ Donald Burrows, *Handel* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1994), 303.

CHAPTER TWO

TYPES OF BORROWING IN HANDEL'S MUSIC

Handel borrowed materials from a huge selection of works by composers in Germany and Italy as well as from himself. Before describing Handel's sources and his techniques in detail, it is important to establish a consistent definition of borrowing. The term "borrowing" is often misleading, and it is not always easy to distinguish it from a number of similar terms such as parody, quotation, paraphrase, adaptation, and even plagiarism. Nevertheless, the term has become so embedded in the Handel literature that it would be nearly impossible to abandon it.

The problems of terminology and the debate over what qualifies as a borrowing give rise to Peter Burkholder's idea of recognizing musical borrowing as a field.¹ He suggests that comparing practices among many different repertoires and composers may allow us to create a typology of borrowing that can make us aware of historical trends. He also stresses the need to map out the details of what elements of the existing pieces are incorporated into the new work. Using this typology has both advantages and disadvantages. While a typology is convenient for grouping and comparison purposes, it can disguise the individuality of specific cases of borrowing.

Given the complexity of the subject matter, previous Handel scholars have adopted a relatively simple model to divide the different types of borrowing. While they all have different descriptions, they all divide Handel's borrowing into three main types. As summarised and presented by Winton Dean in *Handel's Dramatic Oratorios and*

¹ Peter Burkholder, "The Uses of Existing Music: Musical Borrowings as Field," *Notes* 50:3 (1994), 851-870.

Masques, the three types are: 1) the appropriation of whole movements with little or no change; 2) the use of a substantial portion of another composer's work, transforming it by means of insertion, excision, and detailed modification, into a new and specifically Handelian composition; 3) the use of single themes, accompaniment figures, or other short phrases, from which new movements are built.² This categorization, in which the degree of borrowing decreases from one level to the next, was later used by many others. Harold Powers, for example, used these types when discussing the borrowings in Handel's opera *Serse*.³

The themes in the last type are called "moduli" by Mattheson, and George Buelow later proposed that moduli should be considered elements of Baroque musical language rather than a type of borrowing. Moduli include "string agitation, vocal coloratura for rage arias, the fluttering wind instruments and string passages for imitating birds, running water, gentle breezes..." which made Handel's compositions distinctive when compared to works by other composers.⁴ In "Mattheson's Concept of Moduli," Buelow further developed the idea of the three types, aiming for more clarity.⁵ He labels the first type "reuse," meaning that Handel has added a new text to musical materials that he had previously used in either a vocal work or an instrumental composition. He further explained that "reuse" should be restricted to those literal or virtually literal reuses of musical material, in which any modification is minor and does not disturb the structure of the musical substance of the original. Buelow labels the second type "reworking,"

² Dean, *Handel's Dramatic Oratorios and Masques*, 53.

³ Powers, "Il Serse Trasformato II," 78.

⁴ Buelow, "Handel's Borrowing Techniques," 251.

⁵ Buelow, "Mattheson's Concept of Moduli," 272-277.

implying both the use of existing materials, as well as a significant amount of new material for which only Handel could claim the credit. The last type Buelow labels as "new work," recognising Handel's originality and creativity, and denying the borrowing of any previously existing musical material. Due to his considerable refinement of the three categories, I will apply Buelow's terminology in my discussion of Handel's borrowing.

Type I -- Reuse

When speaking of Handel's oratorios, most of his Type I borrowings can be found in his early works in the genre. In many cases, the instrumentation and number of measures were identical in both the new composition and the source work. The two prominent changes he made were the setting of new texts and key, i.e. transposing the music either in order to fit into a different tonal scheme than the original or to accommodate vocal range. An frequent result of these transpositions is that the melodic line exceeds the boundaries of the range, and consequently must be altered by an octave (either up or down). Additionally, if the new text had a different phrase structure Handel would modify that structure slightly so that the music suited the text more naturally.

Take the case of "Impious mortal cease to brave us," from *Deborah* (1733), for example, for which Handel reused "Schau, ich fall' in strenger Busse" from his own *Brockes Passion* (c1715).⁶ The music of the two arias is identical in several respects: both are twenty-nine measures long, marked *Largo, e staccato*, and have the same instrumentation: two violins, viola, and bassi as the accompaniment. The general mood of the texts is also very similar, for although "Schau" is Peter's prayer after the denial of

⁶ Dean, *Handel's Dramatic Oratorios and Masques*, 642.

Jesus and "Impious mortal" is Barak's expression that Jehovah will soon save them from their oppressors, both express a sense of sadness along with an earnest devotion to God. The texts of the two are structurally identical as well, having not only the same number of lines, but the same number of syllables in each line. It is entirely possible that these structural similarities are not accidental, for although we do not know whether Handel asked Samuel Humphrey to write portions of the text of *Deborah* to fit pre-existing music, we do know that Handel usually worked in close collaboration with his librettists.

Schau, ich fall' in strenger Busse,
Sündenbüsser, dir zu Füsse,
lass mir deine Gnad' erscheinen!
dass der Fürst der dunklen Nacht,
der, da ich gefehlt, gelacht,
mög' ob meinen Tränen weinen.
(*Brockes Passion*)

Impious mortal, cease to brave us!
Great Jehovah soon will save us,
and his time we wait with pleasure.
All his people hell defend,
and on their oppressors send
plagues and vengeance without measures.
(*Deborah*)

Lo, I kneel in stern repentence,
At thy feet, Lord, doing penance,
Let thy mercy shine upon me,
That the prince of darkest night
Who when I did stray, rejoiced
May now over my crying weep.
(*Brockes Passion, English Translation*)⁷

Handel transposed the music down a major third from E minor to C minor. Although the new text generally fits the music, there are places where a few notes are transposed down an octave either to better suit the words or to avoid high leaps in the middle of a sentence. For example, a high E-flat with the word "we" in measure 11 may

⁷ Translation by Roydon Britsch, *Musical and Poetical Rhetoric in Handel's Setting of Brockes' Passion Oratorio: a Rhetorical Analysis of the Poem with a Study of Handel's Use of the Figurenlehre* (Ph.D. dissertation, Florida State University, 1984), 165.

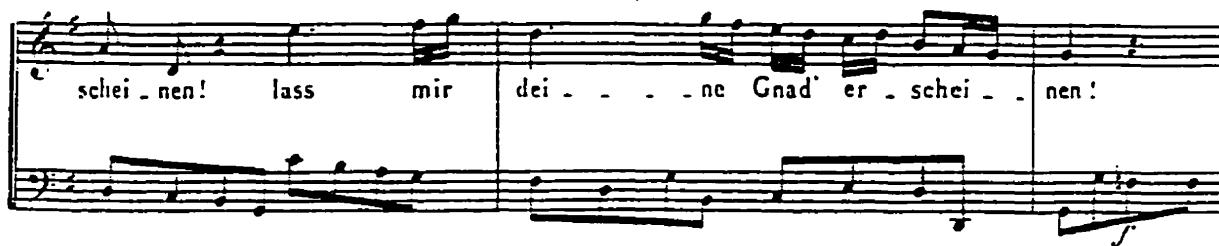
have sounded too confident and powerful in front of the Lord, therefore, Handel moved it down an octave (Examples 2.1a and 2.1b). Similarly, the phrase "plagues and vengeance" in measure 20 was written in the lower octave so that the texts could be sung more naturally as a sentence (Examples 2.2a and 2.2b). This octave-shifting can also be found in the accompaniment when the pitches exceeded the range of the instruments. In Handel's other oratorios, all melodic changes made to borrowings of Type I are similarly motivated by the necessity for transposition and musical adaptation to a new text.

Type II -- Rework

Whereas Type I borrowings are found in Handel's early oratorios, Type II are contained more in his middle and late oratorios, where changes made to the models are apparent and substantial. Although Handel followed the harmonic progression of his models closely, the instrumentation would often be different, usually employing a greater variety of instruments and a larger number of players. An instrumental piece could be modified into a vocal work; an aria could be modified into a chorus. The structure of the musical phrases might also be modified; insertion and excision would change the total number of measures from the original.

In "He spake the word" from *Israel in Egypt* (1738), Handel reworked Stradella's *Serenata* (1677), which has 27 measures, and was written for two separate groups of instruments alternating with each other: a string concertino scored for two violins and a bass, and a quartet of strings with doubled parts (Example 2.3).⁸ In reworking this serenata, Handel expanded the instrumentation, added three trombones, two oboes, a

⁸ Taylor, *The Indebtedness of Handel*, 53-68.



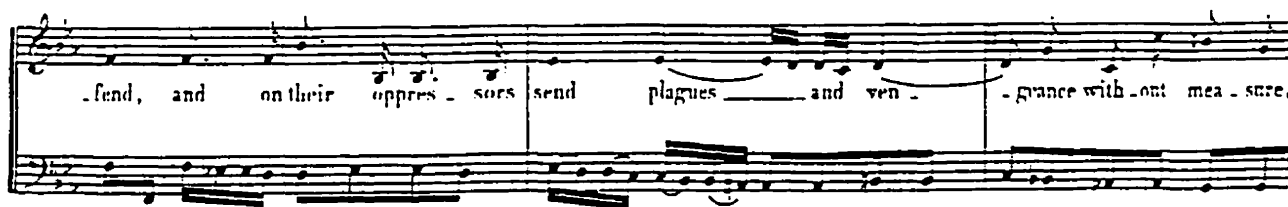
Example 2.1a – “Schau, ich fall’ in strenger Busse” from Handel’s *Brookes Passion*, mm. 10-12 [HG xv, 64]



Example 2.1b – “Impious mortal, cease to brave us” from Handel’s *Deborah*, mm. 10-12 [HG xxix, 117]



Example 2.2a – “Schau, ich fall’ in strenger Busse” from Handel’s *Brookes Passion*, mm. 19-21 [HG xv, 65]



Example 2.2b – “Impious mortal, cease to brave us” from Handel’s *Deborah*, mm. 19-21 [HG xxix, 118]

Concertino
della DAMA.

Concerto
de primo
e secondo
Crocchio.

1 A1 B 5 A2 C

23 D 27

Example 2.3 – Serenata by Alessandro Stradello, mm. 1-8, 23-27 [HG Suppl. iii, 33-35]

bassoon, and an organ. He also changed the instrumental piece into a chorus by including a double choir. With the larger performing force, the idea of alternating two instrumental groups could be expanded among the two choirs, the woodwinds, and the strings (Example 2.4). Furthermore, while retaining the basic harmonic progressions from the *Serenata*, Handel added rapid figurations in the two violins and viola, no doubt meant to depict the buzzing insects described in the texts.

He spake the word: and there came all manner of flies,
He spake the word: and there came lice in all their quarters;
He spake: and the locusts came without number and devour'd the fruits
of the ground.

The new music is very effective. The unison opening and the three basic melodic and harmonic progressions from the *serenata* fit the three lines of text nicely. Example 2.3 shows the beginning and the ending of the *serenata*, in which the musical ideas A to D were modified to match the texts of “He spake the word” as shown in Example 2.5. In reworking these ideas, Handel expanded the music from twenty-seven to forty measures in total. These changes were not just substantial in quantity, but also in quality. The new piece is more complex and expressive.

Among all Type II borrowings, the example having the least “reworking” is “Egypt was glad when they departed” from *Israel in Egypt*. Here Handel borrowed from Johann Caspar Kerll’s *Organ Canzona Modulatio Organica Super Magnificat* (1686)⁹. He again kept the same key and harmonies throughout the music, but reworked the organ

⁹ Taylor, *The Indebtedness of Handel*, 76-81.

A1 B A1 C'

Andante Larghetto.

Trombone I.
 Trombone II.
 Trombone III.
 Oboe I.
 Oboe II.
 Fagotti.
 Violino I.
 Violino II.
 Viola.
 SOPRANO I.
 ALTO I.
 TENORE I.
 BASSO I.
 SOPRANO II.
 ALTO II.
 TENORE II.
 BASSO II.
 Tutti Bassi.
 Organo.

And there came all manner of flies, all manner of
 Und es kam der Fliegen Gewühl, der Fliegen Gewühl.
 He spake the word.
 Er sprach das Wort.
 And there came all manner of flies, all manner of
 Und es kam der Fliegen Gewühl, der Fliegen Gewühl.
 He spake the word.
 Er sprach das Wort.
 Tutti Bassi.
 Organo.

And there came lice in all their quarters,
 und Mücken schwärmten in ihren Hütten.
 He spake the word.
 Er sprach das Wort.
 And there came lice in all their quarters,
 und Mücken schwärmten in ihren Hütten.
 He spake the word.
 Er sprach das Wort.
 Tutti Bassi.
 Organo.

Tutti solo.

Example 2.4 – "He spake the word" from Handel's *Israel in Egypt*, mm. 1-7 [HG xvi, 27-28]

A1
mm. 1, 5, 8

He spake the word

A2
mm. 12-13,
18,
24-25

He spake the word He spake the word

B
mm. 2, 9

and there came all man - ner of flies

C
mm. 6-7,
13-17,
18-22

and there came all man - ner of flies, and lice in all their quar - ters

D
mm. 31-35,
39-41

and the loc - usts came with - out num - ber and de - voured the fruits of the ground

Example 2.5 – Musical Ideas from “He spake the word” in Handel’s *Israel in Egypt*
as Derived from Stradella’s *Serenata*

piece in four part fugal style into a four-part chorus with three trombones, two oboes, two bassoons, strings and continuo. This can be considered as a minimal case of Type II borrowing, and it is striking how effectively Handel managed to modify the original work to suit the new dramatic context.

Type III -- New Work

As one might anticipate, most of Handel's Type III borrowings in which the key, instrumentation, form, harmony, and text can all be different from the model can be found in his late oratorios. According to Buelow, these new works were created based on pre-existing themes and motives.¹⁰ In many cases, Handel would borrow melodic themes and phrases that are easily recognizable, such as the theme in "Take the heart you fondly gave" from *Jephtha* (1751), which is borrowed from the aria "Nel furor de suoi deliri" in Francesco Gasparini's *Ambleto* (or *Hamlet*) (1705) as shown in examples 2.6a and 2.6b.¹¹ (The theme reappears eight times in the "new work.")

At times, Handel also composed motivic figures (Buelow's "moduli") that are similar to those in the model. Examples 2.7a and 2.7b show the sixteenth-note gestures which appear in both "Non è si fido" from *Ambleto* and "Love, glory, ambition" from *Alexander Balus* (1747).¹² Expanding Buelow's idea that the use of moduli is not borrowing, Type III borrowing can be divided into three groups: 1) the borrowing of both themes and motives; 2) the borrowing of melodic themes only; 3) the use of motive figures only, in which the stylistic similarity by itself should not be considered as borrowing.

¹⁰ Buelow, "Handel's Borrowing Techniques," 249.

¹¹ Roberts, Introduction in *Handel Sources*, vol. 4, xi.

¹² Roberts, Introduction in *Handel Sources*, vol. 4, xii.

Example 2.6a is a musical score in 3/4 time, key of B-flat major. It features a vocal line and a piano accompaniment. The vocal line includes the lyrics: "Pia", "Nel furor de Suoi de -", and "- li - ri trovo ancor la sua bel - ta". The piano part provides harmonic support with various chords and melodic lines. Trills (tr.) are indicated above several notes in both parts.

Example 2.6a – “Nel furor de suor deliri” from Gasparini’s *Ambeto*, mm. 1-16 [HS iv, 11]

Example 2.6b is a musical score in 3/4 time, key of D major. It features a vocal line and a piano accompaniment. The vocal line includes the lyrics: "take the heart you fondly gave, — lodg'd in your breast with mine, —" and "take the heart you". The piano part provides harmonic support with various chords and melodic lines.

Example 2.6b – “Take the heart you fondly gave” from Handel’s *Jephtha*, mm. 15-23 [HG xlv, 46]



Example 2.7a - Motivic Figure in "Non è si fido" from Gasparini's *Ambleto*, mm. 3-4 [HS iv, 38-39]



Example 2.7b - Motivic Figure in "Love, glory, ambition" from Handel's *Alexander Balus*, mm. 13-15 [HG xxxiii, 130-132]

In most cases, Handel borrowed both theme and motive from the model. To stay with the previous example, the melodic theme from "Non è si fido" is derived from "Love, glory, ambition." The two-measure theme begins similarly in both arias, first in the ritornello and then in the voice part; it ends differently as the music continues. Handel changed the mode from major to minor, and the theme returns in a number of different keys (Examples 2.8a and 2.8b). The motivic figure mentioned above is a gesture of repeated notes, sometimes in different octaves, followed by a set of step-wise sixteenth-notes. In "Non è si fido" it appears frequently (mm. 3-4, 8-9, 13-14, and 23-24). Handel wrote similar motives in the violin part of "Love, glory, ambition," at measures 5-6, 13-15, and 41-43.

Having its first performance at the Queen's Theatre in Haymarket in 1712, Gasparini's *Ambleto* was based on the earliest setting of the libretto by Apostolo Zeno and Pietro Pariati.¹³ While the texts of the two arias are different, they both express the passion of love.

¹³ Roberts, Introduction in *Handel Sources*, vol. 4, vii.

Non è si fido al nido de l'usignolo il volo com'

Example 2.8a – “Non è si fido” from Gasparini’s *Amleto*, mm. 1-7 [HS iv, 38]

Andante.

Violino I. II.
 ASPASIA.
 Bassi.

Love, glory ambition, what e'er can inspire a flame that is lasting or purest desire,

Example 2.8b – “Love, glory, ambition” from Handel’s *Alexander Balus*, mm. 1-12 [HG xxxiii, 130]

Non è si fido al nido
 Dell' usignuolo il volo
 Com io son fida a te;
 ma non m'intendi;
 Non e si chiara, e bella,
 D' Amore in Ciel la Stella,
 Come la Fe, ch'e in me;
 ma no'l comprendi.
 (*Hamlet*)

Love, glory, ambition, whate'er can inspire
 a flame that is lasting or purest desire,
 unite in the choice of a monarch so great,
 to make ev'ry joy, ev'ry blessing complete.
 Then give to the winds these disconsolate tears.
 When the promising morn of all comfort appears.
 (*Alexander Balus*)

The Nightingale to take her Rest,
 Is not more constant to her Nest,
 Than I to thee (my Soul) do prove:
 My Passion appears more bright
 Than the Planets in radiant Light;
 But you don't comprehend my Love.
 (*Hamlet, English Translation*)¹⁴

Musically speaking, the meter is changed from 12/8 to 6/8, and the form is quite different from the original. "Non è si fido" is a *Da Capo* aria, with 25 + 9 + 25 measures. The music starts in B-flat major in the A section, modulates to D minor in the B section, and returns to the original key in the repeated A section. "Love, glory, ambition," on the other hand, is in ABCB form (19 + 25 + 10 + 25). While it may seem at first blush that the aria could be considered an ABA form with a long introductory section, the tonal scheme does not support this. The aria begins with the theme in D minor. The music changes to the relative major before the beginning of the B section at measure 20, then gradually modulates back to D minor at the end of the B section. While the theme appears in A and B sections in both arias, "Love, glory, ambition" has a newly composed C section that is contrasting in style with no borrowing. The C section only has 10 measures, starting in F major and ending in A minor before the *Dal Segno*. What we can

¹⁴ Translation from libretto in Roberts, *Handel Sources*, vol. 4.

see here is that Handel's new work has more freedom and variety in the changing of keys. Examples 2.9a and 2.9b show the contrast in forms and key changes between "Non è si fido" and "Love, glory, ambition."

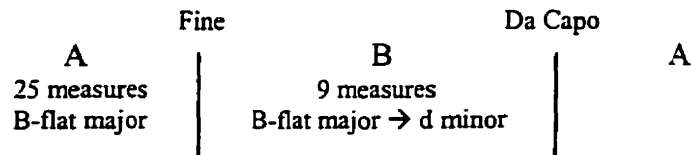


Figure 2.1a - Form and Key Changes in "Non è si fido" from Gasparini's *Amleto*

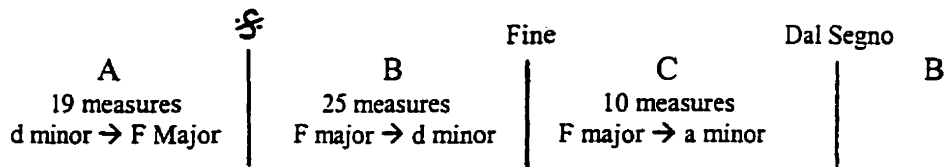


Figure 2.1b - Form and Key Changes in "Love, glory, ambition" from Handel's *Alexander Balus*

Since Handel borrowed only the themes and motives, the bass line and the harmony are therefore different in the new work. The accompaniment in Gasparini's aria was probably written for violin and continuo, and Handel added a second violin to create richer harmonies. While "Non è si fido" has a more polyphonic texture with eighth notes dominating in all the parts, "Love, glory, ambitions" has more variety in texture. In the second part of the aria from measures 30 to 50, there are a number of places where the different parts take turns playing sixteenth notes, maintaining the rhythmic drive and creating a sense of excitement. These types of changes made by Handel's are so substantial that his creation of a new composition can not be denied.

Finally, in addition to grouping Handel's borrowings into three types,¹⁵ one further distinction can be made between Handel's self-borrowings and his borrowings from other composers: the former usually involves much less revision than the latter. Although there are self-borrowings that involve significant alterations, most of his self-borrowing consists of text-change only ("reuse"). This would indicate that Handel's borrowing practice differed considerably depending on whether or not he was the composer of the original work. For, contrary to David Hurley, who suggests that Handel's borrowing was not affected by the provenance of the existing material, my own examination of Handel's oratorios shows that all of his Type I borrowings are self-borrowings.¹⁶ In short, Handel never "reused" other composers' music. Whenever he borrowed music from other composers, he would either "rework" the model or create a "new work." While the question of whether this practice extended into other genres of Handel's *oeuvre* is beyond the scope of the present discussion, it is clear that in the case of his Biblical oratorios, we can conclude that Handel treated his own compositions differently from those by other composers.

¹⁵ The three borrowing types are not listed in Appendix A because not all cases have been studied. Among the cases (240 out of 287) I have examined in detail, borderlines are sometimes hard to draw, but the extreme cases of reuse and new work are easy to recognize, and they do concentrate in the early and late periods respectively.

¹⁶ David Hurley, "Handel's Compositional Process," *The Cambridge Companion to Handel*, ed. Donald Burrows (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 145-163.

CHAPTER THREE

PATTERNS OF BORROWING IN HANDEL'S ORATORIOS

After the production of *Esther* in 1732, Handel's oratorio continued to undergo further development. In Handel's sixteen Biblical oratorios from 1732 to 1751, there is a remarkable synthesis of elements derived from a variety of sources: the Italian opera seria and *oratorio volgare*, the German oratorio, the English masque, and English choral music. This results in a new type of oratorio that differs from those in Italy and Germany, and from earlier English sacred choral works. Understanding Handel's sources can help us to understand his evolving conception of the genre. Sorting and interpretation of the data presented in my borrowing database reveals distinct patterns in Handel's borrowing practice.

In my database, I have gathered 277 cases in which Handel reuses pre-existing musical materials in his Biblical oratorios. Handel's borrowing can be divided into three periods with time gaps in between. The first period goes from 1732 to 1733, followed by a five-year gap before he composed his next two oratorios in the middle period in 1738. The last period starts in 1741. During this period Handel composed almost one oratorio a year continuously for the English public until the end of his life and career. Tracing how Handel's borrowing changed allows us to understand how the English oratorio evolved. Table 3.1 shows the three groups of Biblical oratorios to be discussed.

Early Period

The early period includes three oratorios: *Esther*, *Deborah*, and *Athalia*, composed between 1732 and 1733. In these works, Handel borrowed mostly from his own sacred genres: English Anthems, Odes, and the *Brockes Passion*. Self-borrowing

Period	Date	Oratorio
Early	1720 / 1732	Esther
	1733	Deborah
	1733	Athalia
Middle	1738	Saul
	1738	Israel in Egypt
Late	1741	Messiah
	1741	Samson
	1743	Joseph and His Brethren
	1744	Belshazzar
	1746	Judas Maccabaeus
	1747	Joshua
	1747	Alexander Balus
	1748	Susanna
	1748	Solomon
	1749	Theodora
	1751	Jephtha

Table 3.1 – Handel's Biblical Oratorios in Three Periods

from these works accounts for considerably more than half of the total number of borrowings in this period. Borrowings from secular works, such as operas, were mostly from other composers. Nine arias from four operas were borrowed.¹ Table 3.2 shows the different genres from which Handel borrowed in his early Biblical oratorios.²

Genre	Self-borrowings	Borrowings from other composers	Total
Latin church music	3	0	3 (4.4 %)
Oratorio	5	0	5 (7.4 %)
German church music (<i>Brockes Passion</i>)	21	0	21 (30.9 %)
English anthem & ode	23	0	23 (33.8 %)
Instrumental music	4	0	4 (5.9 %)
Cantata	1	1	2 (2.9 %)
Serenata	0	1	1 (1.5 %)
Opera	0	9	9 (13.2 %)
Total	57 (83.8 %)	11 (16.2 %)	68 (100 %)

Table 3.2 – Types of Genre Borrowed for Handel's Biblical Oratorios in the Early Period

¹ Winton Dean included a borrowing from Handel's opera *Ottone* in his list, but because of its later compositional date (1722), it has been excluded here.

² See Appendix A

The 1720 version of *Esther* has twenty-nine numbers in total, and has thirteen borrowings, nine of which come from the *Brockes Passion*. When Handel extensively revised *Esther* in 1732, only ten numbers were kept unaltered from the first version. Eight old borrowings were kept, and seven new borrowings were added. All the new borrowings reused his own sacred music, including three numbers from *Queen Anne's Birthday Ode* (1713), two choruses from the *Coronation Anthems* (1727), one aria from his Italian oratorio *La resurrezione* (1708), and one aria from his motet *Silete venti* (c1715). Handel also reused the chorus "Virtue, truth and innocence" from the 1720 version of *Esther* by changing the text to "Tyrants may awhile presume" for the 1732 version.³ Thus, sacred genres dominate as pre-existing materials for Handel's early oratorios. Although John Roberts noted two cases in *Esther* (in both versions) where Handel borrowed from Keiser's opera *Nebucadnezar* and *Adonis*, the extent of borrowing in both cases was so trivial that the integration of operatic elements was not substantial.⁴

Following the success of *Esther*, Handel composed *Deborah*, the oratorio that contains the greatest number of borrowings (twenty-eight out of thirty-nine numbers use pre-existent material). *Deborah* borrows from a variety of choral works including *Chandos Anthems*, *Coronation Anthems*, *Brockes Passion*, *Dixit Dominus*, and *Il trionfo del Tempo e del Disinganno*. Although Handel has been accused of being lazy and of a lack of creativity, a new feature emerges in *Deborah* which developed more extensively in his late oratorios -- the use of choruses to portray different peoples, here the Israelites and the Priests of Baal.⁵ The loyal Israelites are represented by rich harmonies and

³ Dean, *Handel's Dramatic Oratorios and Masques*, 191-224.

⁴ Roberts, Introduction in *Handel Sources*, vol. 3, xxiv; vol. 1, xviii.

⁵ Hicks, "Handel and the Idea of an Oratorio," 154-155.

homophonic chordal texture as demonstrated in "Lord of Eternity" and "Now the proud insulting foe." The infidels are generally based on dance forms (e.g. a gigue) with more emphasis on rhythms rather than harmonies as demonstrated in "O Baal, Monarch of the skies" and "Baal's pow'r ye soon shall know."⁶

Unfortunately, *Deborah* was poorly received, but this failure became a driving force for Handel to further explore the possibilities of the English oratorio. The next oratorio, *Athalia*, has relatively little reuse of earlier material, with only twelve borrowings in a total of forty numbers. Handel integrated new anthem-style choruses into the work, in particular the use of double chorus. For example, the opening double chorus in the second act "The Mighty Power" adapts the grand homophonic texture of the *Coronation Anthems*. Other newly composed double choruses in *Athalia* include "Give glory," "Unfold, great seer," and "With firm united hearts."

Looking into Handel's patterns of borrowing in his early period prompts three observations. First of all, although most borrowings in this period are Type I borrowings with relatively small changes, Handel should receive credit for his creation of the new genre. By assembling earlier choral music, Handel introduced narrative elements in *Deborah*; he then drew on that model when he composed new anthem-style music in *Athalia*.

Secondly, the number of self-borrowings in Handel's early oratorios is much larger than in the later ones. Out of the sixty-eight borrowing cases I have listed in this period, only 16.2% of them use other composers' pre-existing works, while 83.8% are

⁶ "O Baal, monarch of the skies" was borrowed from "Venga il Tempo" in Handel's *Il trionfo del Tempo*; "Lord of Eternity," "Now the proud insulting foe," and "Baal's pow'r ye soon shall know" were newly composed choruses.

self-borrowing. Why were self-borrowings so dominant in the early period? Some of the borrowed music was mostly unknown to the English public. The *Brookes Passion*, for example, reused in all three early oratorios, was not performed in London before the production of the early oratorios.⁷ These borrowings therefore did not occur randomly, but show that in creating the genre of the oratorio, Handel drew on his own earlier music from other genres.

Lastly, despite the large amount of borrowings from *Brookes Passion* and other English anthems, Handel's borrowing from opera for his oratorios began to emerge in this early period. The first opera he used, *Nebucadnezar* (1704) by Keiser, was actually an opera with a Biblical subject. Conventionally, it falls into the opera genre, but if we apply Jennen's definition for Handel that musical settings with stories that come from the Bible or the Apocrypha are oratorios (see discussion in chapter one), *Nebucadnezar* is an oratorio, not an opera. Operatic elements began to emerge gradually when Handel borrowed two arias from Keiser's *Adonis* (1697) and one from Porta's *Numitore* (1720). Interestingly enough, these three borrowings from opera arias shared musical materials with arias from other genres as well -- "O beauteous Queen" in *Esther* has materials borrowed from both *Adonis* and Handel's *Brookes Passion*; "Tears such as tender fathers shed" in *Deborah* has materials borrowed from both *Adonis* and Chandos Anthems no. 10; "The glorious sun" in *Deborah* has materials borrowed from both *Numitore* and Telemann's Cantata *Harmonischer Gottes-Dienst* (c1725).⁸ The first stand-alone borrowing from opera came when Handel incorporated four arias from Scarlatti's *Dafni*

⁷ Smither, *History of the Oratorio*, 131.

⁸ Roberts, Introduction in *Handel Sources*, vol. 1, xvii-xviii; vol. 4, xiii.

into *Athalia*, thus reflecting the gradual emergence of borrowing from opera in the early period, and foreshadowing the later importance of operatic models for the oratorio.

Middle Period

After the huge success of *Athalia* in 1733,⁹ the development of the English oratorio was on its way. Yet, Handel wrote no further Biblical oratorios in the next five years. From 1733 to 1738, he was fully occupied with his partnership with John Rich at the newly opened Convent Garden Theatre, and he continued to give prime attention to Italian opera.¹⁰ This five-year gap saw the production of some new operas, including *Ariodante* (1734), *Alcina* (1735), *Atalanta* (1736), *Giustino* (1736), *Arminio* (1736), *Berenice* (1737), *Faramondo* (1737), and *Serse* (1737). English oratorios from the early period were occasionally slipped into his theatre seasons to diversify the program. Apart from *Esther*, *Deborah*, and *Athalia*, there were performances of various anthems and other church music.¹¹ Oratorio remained peripheral to Handel's career until the summer of 1738 when the theatre manager John Heidegger cancelled the opera business "by Reason of the Subscription not being full, and that I [Heidegger] could not agree with the Singers."¹² Under such circumstances, Handel turned to the oratorio, and composed the two works of the middle period -- *Saul* and *Israel in Egypt*. Although it was not until the 1740s that Handel finally abandoned his operatic endeavour and focused on composing oratorios, *Saul* and *Israel in Egypt* marked a major advancement in the development of

⁹ Dean, *Handel's Dramatic Oratorios and Masques*, 258.

¹⁰ Julian Herbage, "The Oratorios," *Handel: A Symposium*, ed. Gerald Abraham (London: Oxford University Press, 1954), 87.

¹¹ See Appendix A in Burrows, *Handel*, 379-408.

¹² Deutsch, *Handel: A Documentary Biography*, 464-465.

the English oratorio. Handel's borrowing practice also continued to evolve. Table 3.3 shows the genres from which Handel borrowed in the middle period.

Genres	Self-borrowings	Borrowings from other composers	Total
Latin church music	1	17	18 (46.2 %)
English anthem & ode	1	0	1 (2.6 %)
Instrumental music	4	2	6 (15.4 %)
Serenata	0	7	7 (17.9 %)
Opera & Aria	3	4	7 (17.9 %)
Total	9 (23.1 %)	30 (76.9 %)	39 (100 %)

Table 3.3 – Types of Genre Borrowed for Handel's Biblical Oratorios in the Middle Period

Unlike the early period, the middle period marks a big increase in the proportion of borrowing from other composers instead of self-borrowing. In the early period, only 16.2% of the borrowing materials came from other composers, but in the middle period, it increases to 76.9%. The borrowed materials are mostly Latin church music by other composers, especially by Erba and Urio. Other prominent changes include shifting proportions of musical genres -- borrowings from the *Brockes Passion* and English anthems dropped from 30.9% and 33.8% to 0% and 2.6% respectively. On the other hand, borrowing of Latin church music increased from 4.4% to 46.2%. Among the secular genres, there is an increase amount of borrowings from instrumental music, serenata, and operas, which reveals Handel's attempt to incorporate more secular genres in his Biblical oratorios in the middle period.

Compared with its predecessors, *Saul* was the first oratorio with more than five numbers borrowed from operas. Composed in 1738, it was a time when a large number of local singers and instrumentalists were available due to the decline of opera productions. Handel employed a number of singers and a large orchestra for *Saul*. The orchestra

includes strings; pairs of flutes, oboes, bassoons, trumpets; three trombones; two organs, harpsichord, harp, and even a carillon. According to Jennen, the librettist, the carillon was used for creating dramatic moments, particularly “designs to make poor Saul stark mad.”¹³

Handel used pre-existing materials in *Saul* (fifteen out of seventy-three numbers contain borrowed materials). Nevertheless, he borrowed no English choral works. If it was true to say that Handel wanted to perform some of his less-known existing music for the English public in the early period, he had probably run out of English choral works by the middle period. *Saul* also shows Handel’s borrowings from a greater variety of musical works. Besides borrowing from two of his unpublished Trio sonatas for the “Overture” and the “Wedding Symphony,” Handel used six choruses from Francesco Antonio Urio’s *Te Deum* (c1660). He also borrowed seven opera arias from seven different operas: four from his own (*Agrippina*, *Atalanta*, *Faramondo*, *Imeneo*), one from Alessandro Scarlatti’s *Pompeo* (1683), one from Reinhard Keiser’s *Adonis* (1697), and one from Giuseppe Maria Orlandini’s *Paride* (1720).

Only four days after he had completed *Saul*, Handel set to work on *Israel in Egypt* on 1 October 1738. This time, his basic project was to compose a choral oratorio. It has been suggested that the scheme of *Israel in Egypt* was generated by the pre-existence of the Funeral Anthem, which was entirely choral.¹⁴ Although solo numbers were included, the main narrative and expressive content are carried by the chorus. Instead of following the conventions by relying on recitative and arias to carry the story-line, Handel and his

¹³ Letter from Jennens to Guernsey, 19 September 1738; Deutsch, *Handel: A Documentary Biography*, 465-466.

¹⁴ Smither, *History of the Oratorio*, 226-230.

librettist took narrative texts from the Bible and arranged them as a succession of choruses, with relatively little solo participation (twenty-eight out of thirty-nine numbers are choruses).¹⁵ Many numbers were borrowed from Dionigi Erba's *Magnificat* and Alessandro Stradella's *Serenata*, featuring a large orchestra and a double chorus with fugal and homophonic choral style. Only one number was borrowed from his English anthems, probably due to common subject matter -- water ("It is the Lord that ruleth the sea" in *Chandos Anthem no. 10* becomes "But the waters overwhelmed their enemies" in *Israel in Egypt*).

In Burrows' words, *Israel in Egypt* was a "largely successful experiment," but "ill-matched to its audience." The work was poorly received with only two performances in 1739 at the King's Theatre.¹⁶ If the choral emphasis accounts for its failure, it is possible that the English audience attended oratorio performances with operatic expectations. *Israel in Egypt* and *Joseph and his Brethren* appear to be the only two Biblical oratorios with no borrowings from any opera; the choice of words in *Israel* taken directly from the Bible with no change further supported the divine nature of the work. Having sacred scripture sung by previous opera singers in the theatre, *Israel in Egypt* offended some of the religious leaders in London.¹⁷ The conflict between opera and oratorio was once again prominent, and was never fully resolved. Although *Israel in Egypt* was performed in a theatre, its close adherence to the church music style is shown in one of the contemporary reviews in the *London Daily Post*,

¹⁵ Dean, *Handel's Dramatic Oratorios and Masques*, 311-312, noted that the librettist for *Israel in Egypt* is unknown and could be Handel himself.

¹⁶ Burrows, *Handel*, 247.

¹⁷ Dean, *Handel's Dramatic Oratorios and Masques*, 134-135.

The Whole of the first Part [of Israel in Egypt], is entirely Devotional; and tho' the second Part be but Historical, yet as it relates the great Acts of the Power of God, the Sense and the Musick have a reciprocal Influence on each other... The Theatre, on this occasion, ought to be enter'd with more Solemnity than a Church; inasmuch, as the Entertainment you go to is really in itself the noblest Adoration and Homage paid to the Deity that ever was in one. So sublime an Act of Devotion as this Representation carries in it, to a Heart and Ear duly tuned for it, would consecrate even Hell itself.¹⁸

Without the religious complications of the 1730s, *Israel in Egypt* can now be better appreciated for its remarkable variety of texture and grand imagery. Although more than half of the numbers include borrowed material from the works of other composers, Handel reworked the borrowed material creatively and extensively to express the text for which he used it. In "He spake the word," for example, Handel added the quick runs to Stradella's Serenata to depict the buzzing insects, and thus remarkably transformed the pre-existing materials (see discussion in Chapter Two).

Because of the experimental setting associated with the middle period, the musical styles presented in *Saul* and *Israel in Egypt* are quite different from each other. *Saul* was strong in character portrayal with arias dominating the oratorio; *Israel in Egypt*, on the other hand, was strong in narration, with choruses dominating throughout. Handel borrowed seven opera numbers for *Saul*, but no opera numbers for *Israel in Egypt*. What we can say is that Handel has stretched the meaning of the word oratorio by using more variety in the music.

Although the two oratorios in the middle period are stylistically different, they together reveal some gradual changes happening in Handel's borrowing practice. First,

¹⁸ *London Daily Post*, 13 April 1739, quoted in Ruth Smith, *Handel's Oratorios and Eighteenth-century Thought*, 125.

there was a shift from using English church music to using Latin church music in both works. Secondly, there was a dramatic decrease in the amount of self-borrowing. Thirdly, his borrowing practice shifted away from Type I ("reuse") to Type II ("rework"). In most cases, Handel "reworked" the pre-existing materials instead of "reusing" them as he did in *Esther*, *Deborah*, and *Athalia*. The failure of *Israel in Egypt* probably discouraged Handel from composing oratorios until 1741, but such experience helped Handel to further develop his oratorio in the late period.

Late Period

On February 1741, Handel gave the performance of *Deidamia*, which turned out to be his last Italian opera production in London. Handel had no real opportunity to set up another opera company during this period, so Jennen's invitation to write an oratorio came at the right time:

*Handel says he will do nothing next Winter, but I hope I shall perswade him to set another Scripture Collection I have made for him, & perform it for his own Benefit in Passion Week. I hope he will lay out his whole Genius & Skill upon it, that the Composition may excell all his former Compositions, as the Subject excells every other Subject. The Subject is Messiah.*¹⁹

Thus three years after the production of *Israel in Egypt*, Handel composed *Messiah* in the summer of 1741, and launched his late career as an oratorio composer. Unlike all the other oratorios except *Israel in Egypt*, *Messiah* has very little recitative, and has no "scenes" involving conversation between dramatic characters. Ten out of forty-seven numbers use pre-existing materials, with no borrowings from any English anthems or

¹⁹ Donald Burrows, *Handel: Messiah* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 11.

church music but from secular genres only, including some of his own Italian duets and four opera numbers from Keiser and Porta.

With the production of *Messiah* as a turning point, the musical style of the oratorio began to change. As Handel proceeded to compose his last group of oratorios, we can see a much greater freedom in the musical style, including the choice of borrowed materials, and the dramatic interplay between the characters. Handel composed ten more oratorios with Biblical subject matter from 1741 until 1751. While Handel reused many different genres and incorporated the materials into his oratorios, operas dominated his choice of borrowing materials. Table 3.4 shows the different types of genres borrowed for Handel's late Biblical oratorios.

Genres	Self-borrowings	Borrowings from other composers	Total
Passion	0	2	2 (1.2 %)
Oratorio	14	1	15 (8.8 %)
Latin church music	4	8	12 (7.1 %)
English anthem & ode	6	0	6 (3.5 %)
Mass	0	14	14 (8.2 %)
Instrumental music	6	14	20 (11.8 %)
Cantata	11	2	13 (7.6 %)
Serenata	2	2	4 (2.3 %)
Vocal duet	7	5	12 (7.1 %)
Opera	24	48	72 (42.4 %)
Total	74 (43.5 %)	96 (56.5 %)	170 (100 %)

Table 3.4 – Types of Genre Borrowed for Handel's Biblical Oratorios in the Late Period

Among the 170 borrowing cases from the late period, 42.4% were opera numbers from nineteen different operas. There are fewer recitatives and *Da Capo* arias in the oratorios, and the decline of *Da Capo* arias can possibly reflect the lesser emphasis on the virtuosity of the singers. The operatic forms of recitative, arias, duets, with the addition of choruses continue to form the basic structure of the oratorios.

Compared to the middle period, there are more self-borrowings in the late period. 43.5% of all the borrowings came from his own work, drawing on his previous oratorios, English anthems, cantatas, vocal duets, and operas. While most borrowings from other composers came from operas, Handel also borrowed from instrumental music, masses, and Latin church music by other composers.

To further change the style of the evolving oratorio in the late period, Handel borrowed from a greater variety of musical genres as mentioned above. This broadening of musical borrowing can also be explained by the fact that Handel, at a later age, had composed more music of his own and had more acquaintance with the music of other composers. Such greater variety of music then became a rich resource for further creative and mature compositions, especially in the immense variety of choral style. The choruses in Handel's late oratorios are so sophisticated that they can be further classified according to different musical types. These include those in simple homophonic styles emphasizing massive choral effect, those in fugal textures having a few subjects, and those in non-imitative polyphonic texture. Many of the most famous numbers and tunes in the oratorios are choruses. For example, "See, the conquering hero comes" in *Judas Maccabaeus* and "Heroes, when with glory burning" in *Joshua*.²⁰ The arias and ensembles in the late oratorios also display the wide variety of forms and affects created in the music, such as rhythmic vengeance arias; heroic fanfares with trumpets; pastoral love scenes; death lamentations; and dance-like numbers in minuet, gavotte, bourée, and gigue rhythms.²¹

²⁰ "See, the conquering hero comes" was originally composed for *Joshua*; Ludwig van Beethoven later "borrowed" the theme from this chorus for his *Zwölf Variationen über ein Thema aus Händels Oratorium Judas Maccabäus* for violoncello and piano.

²¹ Smither, *History of the Oratorios*, 354.

All three types of borrowings were used, but Type III (“new work”) where musical themes and motivic figures were borrowed was the most frequently employed. One specific case is the borrowing of a ground bass. The aria “Thus saith the Lord” from *Belshazzar* (1744) is one good example in which Handel borrowed the ground bass from Scarlatti’s opera aria “Deh, se l’uomo a tua vaghezza” from *Il Pompeo* (Example 3.1). The ground bass is heard in C major two times, moves to G major for two times, and finally returns to C major and ends with a two-measure “coda.” There was no orchestral accompaniment, with only the continuo to support the voice. It is heard five times in total throughout the aria, and does not always start at the beginning of a measure. Expanding the same harmonic structures, Handel repeats the ground bass seven times in “Thus saith the Lord,” and always starts on the first beat of the measure. The music begins in G major, repeats two times, then moves to D major for three times. Before returning to G major at measure 29, Handel added six measures of completely new music with no ground bass to make contrast between the narration and the Lord.

Narration: (with ground bass)	Thus saith the Lord to Cyrus his anointed, Whose right hand I have holden, to subdue nations before him: I will go before thee, to loose the strong knit loins of mighty kings, Make straight the crooked places, Break in pieces the gates of solid brass, And cut in sunder the bars of iron. For my servant’s sake, Israel my chosen, Though thou hast not known me, I have surnam’d thee: I have girded thee:
----------------------------------	---

The Lord: (new music with no ground bass)	That from the rising to the setting sun the nations may confess, I am the Lord, there is none else, there is no God besides me.
---	--

Narration: (with ground bass)	Thou shalt perform my pleasure, to Jerusalem saying, Thou shalt be built; and to the Temple, Thy raz’d foundation shall again be laid. (<i>Belshazzar</i>)
----------------------------------	---

Deh, se l'huomo a tua va - ghez - za Gio - ue e - ter - no Gio - ue e - ter - no ti for -
mas - ti per - che poi con tan - ta asprez - za la quie - te

Example 3.1a – “Deh, se l’uomo a tua vaghezza” from Scarlatti’s *Il Pompeo*, mm. 1-8 [HS vi, fol. 25v]

Largo, e pomposo.

Thus saith the Lord to Cyrus his a -
pointed, whose right hand I have holden, to sub due na - tions be fore him: I will

Example 3.1b – “Thus saith the Lord” from Handel’s *Belshazzar*, mm. 1-9 [HG xix, 59]

Apart from the example above (Example 3.1), other borrowings from themes and motives continued to flourish in Handel's late oratorios. Among the Type III borrowings in this period (see discussion in chapter two), there are cases where the themes were used a number of times in various compositions, making a series of borrowings inter-relate. For example, the theme in "Let the deep bowl" from *Belshazzar* (1744) can also be found in "Al dispetto di sorte" from Handel's secular cantata *Arresta il passo* (c1708), "Giusto in porto" from Handel's *Ottone* (1722), and "Volate amori" from Handel's *Ariodante* (1734).²² Winton Dean also noted a series of borrowings that originated from Keiser's "Kehre wieder" in *Octavia* (1705). A striking phrase based on the interval of a ninth can be found in "Fiamma bella" from *Aminta e Fillide* (1708), "Ogni vento" from *Agrippina* (1709), "De' miei scherni" from *Rodelinda* (1725), "Si poco è forte" from *Berenice* (1736), and eventually in his Biblical oratorio *Solomon* (1748) in the aria "With thee the unshelter'd moor I'd tread."²³

One of the most expanded series of borrowings can be traced from "Heroes when with glory burning" from *Joshua* (1747). In Winton Dean's description, this theme is "catchy and ubiquitous,"²⁴ and it first appears in Antonio Cesti's Italian cantata "Cara cara e dolce," dated 1660 and written for two voices and continuo in polyphonic texture as shown in Example 3.2.²⁵ This theme which appears in the top voice in the cantata also appears in "Amor macht mich zum Tyrannen" from Keiser's opera *La forza della virtù* (1700) and in Alessandro Scarlatti's arietta "Cara cara e dolce." The date of the latter is unknown, but Scarlatti probably composed the arietta based on Cesti's cantata, using the

²² Dean, *Handel's Dramatic Oratorios and Masques*, Appendix E.

²³ Dean, "Handel and Keiser: Further Borrowings," *Current Musicology* 9 (1969), 77-80.

²⁴ Dean, *Handel's Dramatic Oratorios and Masques*, 501.

²⁵ Chrysander, *G.F. Handel* (reprinted by Hildesheim, G. Olms, 1966), 195-199.

Ca-ra ca-ra e dol-ce ca-ra ca-ra o
 Ca-ra ca-ra o dol - - ce li-ber-tà ca-ra
 dol-ce ca-ra e dol-ce li-ber-tà
 ca-ra e dol-ce ca-ra e dol-ce li-ber-tà
 ca-ra e dol-ce li-ber-tà; l'al-ma mia con so-li
 ca-ra e dol-ce li-ber-tà
 tu più non vi-vo ser-vi-tù il mio cor solol-to sen-

va, ca-ra ca-ra e dol-ce
 va - - - - , ca-ra ca-ra e dol - ce li-ber-
 ca-ra ca-ra e dol-ce ca-ra e dol-ce li-ber-tà
 là ca-ra cara e dol-ce cara e dol-ce li-ber-tà
 cara e dolce li-ber-tà
 cara e dolce li-ber-tà
 ca-ra o dol-ce li-ber-tà
 ca-ra e dol-ce li-ber-tà

Example 3.2 – “Cara cara e dolce” by Antonio Cesti [CH i, 197-199]

same texts and putting Cesti's lower voice in the continuo. Examples 3.3 and 3.4 present excerpts from *La forza della virtù* and Scarlatti's "Cara cara e dolce" respectively.

Aria

Fernando *tr*

A - mor macht mich zum Tyrannen

Example 3.3 – "Amor macht mich zum Tyrannen" from Keiser's *La forza della virtù*, mm. 1-4 [HS ii, 72]

Ca-ra cara e dol-ce ca-ra cara e.
Vo-la fu-ggi pu-re vo-la fu-ggi

dol-ce cura e dol-ce li-ber-tà — — — —
pu-re vo-la fu-ggi pur da me — — — —

—, ca-ra dol-ce li-ber-tà
—, vo-la fu-ggi pur da me

Example 3.4 – "Cara cara e dolce" by Alessandro Scarlatti, mm. 1-6 [CH i, 199-200]

Handel probably knew the theme very well since he used it to compose eight new works in various types of genre as listed in Table 3.5.²⁶ They are in different forms, keys, textures, tempos, instrumentation, and rhythms, and the theme usually appeared as a recurring theme regardless of the form of the music. How Handel chose to present the theme was solely based on individual style and the context within each piece. For example, Handel used the theme to compose one of the choruses “Dia si lode in cielo” from his Italian oratorio *La resurrezione* which was composed in 1708 (Example 3.5). The key was changed to D major, and the music begins with two oboes and the soprano singing the theme, which Handel modified with passing and neighbour tones to create more variety. The four-part chorus then enters at measure 5 with the same theme together with two trombones, strings and continuo. While Cesti’s “Cara cara e dolce” is in ABA’ form, “Dia si lode in cielo” is in *Da Capo* form and the whole piece was expanded from sixteen to thirty-two measures in total. Yet the theme only appears at the beginning and the end of A section; the entire B section and the rest of A section are all new material.

Title	Number / Movement	Genre	Type	Date
Ah! Crudel nel pianto mio	Introductory symphony	Cantata	Instrumental	c1707
La resurrezione	Dia si lode	Oratorio	Chorus	1708
Agrippina	L’alma mia	Opera	Aria	1709
Rinaldo	Molto voglio	Opera	Chorus	1711
Muzio Scevola	Si sara più dolce amore	Opera	Chorus	1721
Air for harpsichord	--	Harpsichord Piece	Instrumental	c1727
L’Allegro, il Penseroso ed il Moderato	These delights if thou canst give	English Ode	Aria and Chorus	1740
Joshua	Heroes when with glory burning	Oratorio	Aria	1747

Table 3.5 – List of Handel’s Works with the Same Theme Borrowed

²⁶ Dean, *Handel’s Dramatic Oratorios and Masques*, Appendix E, 646.

Tromba I.
 Tromba II.
 Oboe I. II.
 Violino I. II.
 Violoncelli,
 e Viola.
 (SOPRANO)
 (ALTO)
 (TENORE)
 (BASSO).
 Basso.

Dia si lo.de in cie.lo.in ter.ra a chi re . gna in ter.ra.in ciel! Dia si
 Dia si
 Dia si
 Dia si
 lu.de in cie.lo.in ter.ra a chi re . gna in ter.ra.in ciel!
 lo.de in cie.lo.in ter.ra a chi re . gna in ter.ra.in ciel! Dia si lo.de in cie.lo.in ter.ra a chi re .
 lo.de in cie.lo.in ter.ra a chi re . gna in ter.ra.in ciel! Dia si lo.de in cie.lo.in ter.ra a chi re .
 lo.de in cie.lo.in ter.ra a chi re . gna in ter.ra.in ciel! Dia si lo.de in cie.lo.in ter.ra a chi re .

Example 3.5 – “Dia si lode in cielo” from Handel’s *La resurrezione*, mm. 1-11 [HG xxxix, 76]

Besides *La resurrezione*, Handel also used the theme earlier in an opera aria. In “L’alma mia fra le tempeste” from *Agrippina* (1709), the aria opens with the theme played by an oboe solo; this is followed by the ritornello where four string instruments and the continuo were added (Example 3.6). The theme was sung by Agrippina at measure 8, and thereafter, it only reappears in the ritornello. The remaining vocal sections were dominated by fast melodic sequences, trill-like figures, and other virtuosic vocal gestures that are common in many Handel’s opera arias. Compared to the ABA’ form in Cesti’s cantata, “L’alma mia fra le tempeste” is an elaborated *Da Capo* aria with forty-three measures in total. It has a twenty-measure A section followed by a contrasting B section; the ritornello with the theme appears at the beginning, between sections, and at the end.

In contrast to the vocal genres, Handel also used the theme to compose a piece for harpsichord solo (Example 3.7), showing Handel’s creativity to expand a simple theme for various genres. The theme was again modified with passing and neighbour tones, and with trills and ornaments. While the new work is in ABA’ form similar to Cesti’s “Cara cara e dolce,” the whole piece was expanded into twenty-six measures in total.

We do not know whether Handel borrowed this theme from Cesti, Keiser, or Scarlatti, yet we know Handel first used this theme around 1707, and continued to use it throughout his career. When Handel used the theme in “Heroes when with glory burning” from *Joshua* in 1747, the theme is first played by an oboe solo with trills added towards the end. It then recurred a few times in the first section in both vocal solo and instrumental tutti (Example 3.8). Two violins, two oboes, one viola, and continuo were used, but instead of having instruments providing accompaniment, the vocal and instrumental parts alternate throughout the piece. Because the aria is long with 131

Allegro. *Tutti.*

Oboe.

Violino I.

Violino II.

Viola.

AGRIPPINA

(Bassi.)

Tutti.

L'alma mia frà le tem -

-peste ri-tra-sar-se-ra il suo por-to, l'al-ma mia frà le tem-pe-ste ri-tro-var spe

Solo.

Example 3.6 – “L’alma mia frà le tempeste” from Handel’s *Agrippina*, mm. 1-12 [HG lvii, 20]

Air

Example 3.7 – *Air for Harpsichord* in A major by Handel, mm. 1-10 [HHA iv/6, 58]

A tempo di Gavotta, ma non troppo presto. Tutti, Oboe I Viol. I.

Violino I. II.
Oboe I. II.

Viola.

OTHNIEL.

Bassi.

He...roes, when with glo...ry burning, all their

toil with plea...sure bear; and be...lieve, to love re...turning, lau...rel wreaths beneath their

Example 3.8 – “Heroes when with glory burning” from Handel’s *Joshua*, mm. 1-28 [HG xvii, 127]

measures divided up into three different sections, much of the music is newly composed.

A second main theme was also composed to contrast with the first theme.

Although Handel used the same theme in eight of his compositions, he managed to compose eight different musical works in different genres. As shown in Table 3.5, Handel used the musical material found in his oratorio *Joshua* previously in a cantata, an Italian oratorio, operas, English odes, and even an instrumental work. Examining such extended series of Type III borrowings allow us to further appreciate the broadening of Handel's borrowing practice and the changing style in his late oratorios.

To summarise, most borrowings in Handel's early period were Type I self-borrowings "reusing" previous works, whereas borrowings from other composers increased noticeably in the middle period. Handel's last period presents us with an increased number of Type III borrowings in which melodic and motivic figures were incorporated into the "new work." Additionally, there is an increase of borrowings from secular genres, especially from operas. Over a period of almost twenty years from 1732 to 1751, the shifting of borrowing practice from Type I ("reuse") to Type III ("new work") thus corresponds to the evolution of Handel's Biblical oratorio as a new genre.

CONCLUSION

In the previous chapters, I have presented Handel's changing borrowing practice in his oratorios and how it corresponds to the development of the genre. I have focused on three issues: genres borrowed, borrowing techniques, and the balance between self-borrowing and borrowing from other composers.

The genres borrowed in Handel's oratorio evolved continuously from 1732 to 1751. Most of his early oratorios (1722-1733) contain borrowings from his own English anthems and German church music, while the oratorios in the middle period (1738) borrow from Latin church music written by other composers in the seventeenth century. Borrowings in the late oratorios expand to include a variety of genres, ranging from Italian motets, masses, instrumental works, secular cantatas, to other oratorios and masques, but they come mainly from operas. The proportion of choruses to arias is also higher in his earlier oratorios, especially in *Deborah* (1733) and *Israel in Egypt* (1738), but lower in his later oratorios such as *Saul* (1738), *Joseph and His Brethren* (1743), *Susanna* (1748), and *Jephtha* (1751).¹ This suggests Handel's changing conception of the nature of oratorio: from an extended choral work to an opera with a sacred subject.

I have also investigated the different borrowing types in Handel's oratorios. Most of Handel's Type I ("reuse") borrowings can be found in his early oratorios, where new texts were written for old music. Reusing the music of "Schau, ich fall' in strenger Busse" from the *Brockes Passion* in "Impious mortal" from *Deborah* serves as an evident example (Examples 2.1 and 2.2). During the middle period, Handel's borrowing practice

¹ For structural analysis of some of the oratorios, see Dean, *Dramatic Oratorios and Masques*, Appendix A, 627.

shifted from Type I to Type II as demonstrated by his “reworking” of Stradella’s *Serenata* for “He spake the word” in *Israel in Egypt*, in which he modified various musical ideas to match the texts effectively (Examples 2.3-2.5). From 1740 onwards, Handel employed all three types of borrowing, with borrowing of musical themes and motivic figures (Type III) being the most common. The theme in “Take the heart you fondly gave” from *Jephtha* (1751), for example, is borrowed from the aria “Nel furor de suoi deliri” in Francesco Gasparini’s *Ambleto* (Example 2.6), but the aria as a whole is a “new work.” This evolution from Type I to III suggests that Handel continued to try new approaches to composition. As we see the expansion in his borrowing practice, we can also see the advancement in creativity.

Thirdly, the shifts between self-borrowing and borrowing from other composers is noticable. Self-borrowings are a large portion of borrowings in the early period where Handel “reused” many of his previous works. Although other cases of self-borrowing can be found in all three periods, Handel borrowed more frequently from other composers in the middle period (*Saul* and *Israel in Egypt*). Most self-borrowings are Type I borrowings that consist of text-change only, but there are self-borrowings that involve significant alterations that go beyond reuse and reworking to become new works. Based on my study, Handel never “reused” other composer’s music in his oratorios. When he borrowed music from other composers, he would either “rework” the model or create a “new work.” This in turn removes our unnecessary discomfort that Handel borrowed pre-existent musical ideas from other composers. William Crotch’s comment that Handel greatly improved the ideas from Carissimi² and Ellen Harris’ aesthetic considerations to

² Crotch, *Substance of Several Courses of Lectures on Music*, 93.

explain Handel's borrowing from Erba's *Magnificat in Israel in Egypt*³ can both be justified since Handel significantly improved works in cases of Type II and III borrowing. When studying Handel's borrowing practice, we must be cautious not to be motivated by moral prejudices. As Buelow⁴ and Winemiller⁵ point out, we need to clear our minds of the mistaken attitudes of the past, and face the issue of borrowing as a positive one charged with unique possibilities of probing into a great composer's style and creative thought process.

Looking back at the evolution of the English Biblical oratorio, we have seen how Handel created this new genre in his early period -- a time when he was still heavily involved in writing operas, and may have wanted to contrast the oratorios with operas. He therefore brought together music the English sacred genres, the German passion, and the Italian oratorio. The result was a new hybrid genre that drew on various features from the earlier genres. In the middle period, Handel was experimenting with the oratorio. This was demonstrated by the contrasting approaches in *Saul* and *Israel in Egypt*, and by his attempts to incorporate other composers' ideas into his music. *Saul* looks toward the opera with a significant number of borrowings from secular sources, whereas *Israel in Egypt* looks toward extended choral music, with its borrowings from sacred Latin church music. Here Handel reworked the pre-existent materials extensively, bringing great complexity and expressive power to the music.

After 1741, Handel concentrated on composing and developing oratorios. The success of *Saul*, the failure of *Israel in Egypt*, and the fact that Handel wrote no more

³ Harris, "Integrity and Improvisation in the Music of Handel," 313.

⁴ Buelow, "The Case for Handel's Borrowing," 61-82.

⁵ Winemiller, "Recontextualizing Handel's Borrowings," 444-470.

operas must have contributed to Handel's decision to make his later oratorio closer to the operatic style of his time. In shaping his English Biblical oratorio into an opera with a sacred subject, he utilised the whole realm of his musical experience to find musical motives and themes that suited his texts, with an emphasis on operas and other secular genres. The eleven oratorios in the late period suggest that Handel finally settled on a unique conception and musical style that fit the genre well -- a genre with a sacred subject, but a dramatic musical approach.

To conclude my thesis, studying the evolution of Handel's borrowing practice and his Biblical oratorios allows us to further appreciate Handel as a noteworthy composer of his time. The beauty of his borrowing practice lies not only in his intelligence and skill in manipulating different musical materials, but also in his use of such compositional practice to enrich his own musical style, and thus create the English Biblical oratorio -- a new musical genre of his own that flourished in eighteenth-century England and continues to do so in today's churches and concert halls.

APPENDIX A – LIST OF HANDEL’S BORROWINGS IN HIS BIBLICAL ORATORIOS

Esther (1720 version)		Pre-existing materials						
Number	Type	Composer	Genre	Title	Number / Movement	Type	Date	Reference
Overture (2 nd and 3 rd movements)	---	Handel	Concerto	Oboe Concerto no. 2 in B-flat	---	---	c1720	D
Overture (2 nd and 3 rd movements)	---	Handel	Trio sonata	Trio Sonata in B-flat (op. 2, no. 4)	---	---	c1717	D
Tune your harps	Aria	Keiser	Opera	Nebucadnezar	Thränen die vom Himmel	Aria	1704	R
Pluck root and branch	Aria	Handel	German church music	Brockes Passion	Lasst diese That	Aria	c1716	D
Shall we of servitude complain	Chorus	Handel	German church music	Brockes Passion	Wir wollen alle	Chorus	c1716	D
Ye sons of Israel, mourn	Chorus	Handel	Opera	Ottone	Affanni del pensier (2 nd half)	Aria	1722 ¹	D
O Jordan, sacred tide	Aria	Handel	German church music	Brockes Passion	Erwachtet doch (ritornello)	Solo & Trio	c1716	D
Dread not, righteous Queen	Aria	Handel	German church music	Brockes Passion	Brich, mein Herz	Aria	c1716	D
Tears, assist me	Aria	Handel	German church music	Brockes Passion	Meine Laster	Aria	c1716	D
Who calls my parting soul	Duet	Handel	German church music	Brockes Passion	Soll mein Kind	Duet	c1716	D
O beauteous Queen	Aria	Keiser	Opera	Adonis	Lass mich diesen Trost	Aria	1697	R
O beauteous Queen	Aria	Handel	German church music	Brockes Passion	Was Wunder	Aria	c1716	D, R
Virtue, truth and innocence	Chorus	Handel	German church music	Brockes Passion	Mich vom Stricke	Chorus	c1716	D
Turn not, O Queen	Recitative	Handel	German church music	Brockes Passion	Mein Vater	Aria	c1716	D

* For dates of Handel's works, see Appendix A & B in Donald Burrows, *Handel* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1994), 379-441.
See also A. Craig Bell, *Handel: Chronological Thematic Catalogue* (Darley: Grian-Aig Press, 1972).

** D - Winton Dean, *Handel's Dramatic Oratorios and Masques* (London: Oxford University Press, 1959).
R - John Roberts (ed.), *Handel Sources: Materials for the Study of Handel's Borrowing* (New York: Garland, 1986.)
C - Friedrich Chrysander (ed.), *George Friedrich Händels Werke: Supplements* (Leipzig and Bergedorf bei Hamburg, 1858-1902).
T - Sedley Taylor, *The Indebtedness of Handel to Works by other Composers* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1906).

¹ Based on the composition dates, "Affanni del pensier" in *Ottone* (1722) was probably borrowed from "Ye sons of Israel, mourn" in *Esther* (1720).

Esther (1732 version)		Pre-existing materials						
Number	Type	Composer	Genre	Title	Number / Movement	Type	Date	Reference
+ Overture	---	Handel	Concerto	Oboe Concerto no. 2 in B-flat	---	---	c1720	D
+ Overture	---	Handel	Trio sonata	Trio Sonata in B-flat (op. 2, no. 4)	---	---	c1717	D
Watchful angels	Aria	Handel	Oratorio	La resurrezione	Ferma l'ali, e sù miei lumi	Aria	1708	D
Alleluja	Aria	Handel	Motet	Silete venti	Alleluja	Aria	c1715	D
My heart is inditing	Chorus	Handel	English anthem	Coronation Anthem no. 3	My heart is inditing	Chorus	1727	D
+ Tune your harps	Aria	Keiser	Opera	Nebucadnezar	Thränen die vom Himmel	Aria	1704	R
Tyrants may awhile presume	Chorus	Handel	Oratorio	Esther (1920 version)	Virtue, truth and innocence	Chorus	c1720	D
+ Dread not, righteous Queen	Aria	Handel	German church music	Brockes Passion	Brich, mein Herz	Aria	c1716	D
+ Tears, assist me	Aria	Handel	German church music	Brockes Passion	Meine Laster	Aria	c1716	D
Blessings descend	Duet	Handel	English ode	Queen Anne Birthday Ode	Kind health descends on downy wings	Duet	1713	D
+ Who calls my parting soul	Duet	Handel	German church music	Brockes Passion	Soll mein Kind	Duet	c1716	D
+ O beauteous Queen	Aria	Keiser	Opera	Adonis	Lass mich diesen Trost erwerben	Aria	1697	R
+ O beauteous Queen	Aria	Handel	German church music	Brockes Passion	Was Wunder	Aria	c1716	D, R
Blessed are all they (God is our hope)	Chorus	Handel	English anthem	Coronation Anthem no. 1	Zadok the Priest	Chorus	1727	D
Through the nation he shall be	Aria	Handel	English ode	Queen Anne Birthday Ode	Let rolling streams their gladness show	Duet	1713	D
All applauding crowds around	Chorus	Handel	English ode	Queen Anne Birthday Ode	The day that gave great Anna birth	Chorus	1713	D

+ From the 1920 version

Deborah (1733)		Pre-existing materials						
Number	Type	Composer	Genre	Title	Number / Movement	Type	Date	Reference
Overture (3 rd Movement)	---	Handel	English anthem	Chandos Anthem no. 10	O praise the Lord	Chorus	c1718	D
Immortal Lord (opening)	Chorus	Handel	English anthem	Chandos Anthem no. 9	(1st chorus)	Chorus	c1718	D
Immortal Lord (And grant a leader)	Chorus	Handel	English ode	Queen Anne Birthday Ode	The day that gave great Anna birth	Aria	1713	D
Immortal Lord (And grant a leader)	Chorus	Handel	German church music	Brockes Passion	Ein jeder sei	Chorus	c1716	D
Immortal Lord (And grant a leader)	Chorus	Handel	English anthem	Chandos Anthem no. 7	Introductory symphony	---	c1718	D
Immortal Lord (And grant a leader)	Chorus	Handel	Concerto grosso	Concerto Grosso in G (op. 3, no. 3)	(1st movement)	---	c1720	D
Forbear thy doubts	Chorus	Handel	German church music	Brockes Passion	Greift zu	Chorus	c1716	D
Forbear thy doubts	Chorus	Handel	English anthem	Chandos Anthem no. 2	Behold the wicked	Chorus	c1718	D
For ever to the voice	Chorus	Handel	Cantata	Cantata no. 2	Io so ben	Aria	c1708	D
O blast with thy tremendous brow	Chorus	Handel	German church music	Brockes Passion	O Weh! Sie binden	Chorus	c1716	D
Choirs of angels	Aria	Handel	German church music	Brockes Passion	Heil der Welt	Aria	c1716	D
To joy he brightens	Aria	Handel	German church music	Brockes Passion	Was Bärenatzen	Aria	c1716	D
Awake the ardour	Aria	Handel	English ode	Queen Anne Birthday Ode	Let envy then conceal	Aria	1713	D
Awake the ardour	Aria	Handel	English anthem	Chandos Anthem no. 9	That God is great	Aria	c1718	D
All danger disdaining	Aria	Handel	German church music	Brockes Passion	Gift und Gluth	Aria	c1716	D
Let thy deeds	Chorus	Handel	English anthem	Coronation Anthem no. 4	Let thy hand	Chorus	1727	D
Despair all around	Chorus	Handel	English anthem	Coronation Anthem no. 4	Let justice	Chorus	1727	D
Alleluia	Chorus	Handel	English anthem	Coronation Anthem no. 4	Alleluja	Chorus	1727	D
See the proud chief	Chorus	Handel	Latin church music	Dixit Dominus	(1st chorus)	Chorus	1707	D
In Jehovah's awful sight	Aria	Handel	German church music	Brockes Passion	Die ihr Gottes Gnad	Aria	c1716	D
Whilst you boast	Aria	Handel	German church music	Brockes Passion	Sprichst du denn	Duet	c1716	D
Impious mortal	Aria	Handel	German church music	Brockes Passion	Schau, ich fall' in strenger Busse	Aria	c1716	D
O Baal, monarch of The skies	Chorus	Handel	Oratorio	Il trionfo del Tempo	Venga il Tempo	Aria	1708	D
Plead thy just cause	Chorus	Handel	Latin church music	Dixit Dominus	(1st chorus)	Chorus	1707	D

Deborah (cont.)		Pre-existing materials						
Number	Type	Composer	Genre	Title	Number / Movement	Type	Date*	Reference**
All your boast	Chorus	Handel	Oratorio	Il trionfo del Tempo	Voglio Tempo	Quartet	1708	D
Swift inundation	Aria	Handel	Serenata	Aci, Galatea e Polifemo	Precipitoso	Aria	1708	D
No more disconsolate	Aria	Handel	English anthem	Chandos Anthem no. 9	Praise him all ye	Aria	c1718	D
O the pleasure	Aria	Handel	Oratorio	Il trionfo del Tempo	Tu giurasti	Aria	1708	D
The great King of Kings	Chorus	Handel	English anthem	Coronation Anthem no. 2	The King shall rejoice	Chorus	1727	D
Now sweetly smiling	Aria	Handel	English anthem	Chandos Anthem no. 9	God's tender mercy	Aria	c1718	D
Tears such as tender fathers shed	Aria	Keiser	Opera	Adonis	Es wird doch endlich geniessen	Aria	1697	R
Tears such as tender fathers shed	Aria	Handel	English anthem	Chandos Anthem no. 10	One thing have I desired	Aria	c1718	D, R
Our fears are now For ever fled	Aria	Handel	English anthem	Chandos Anthem no. 9	For this our truest interest	Aria	c1718	D
The glorious sun	Aria	Porta	Opera	Numitore	Dolce aspetto	Aria	1720	R
The glorious sun	Aria	Telemann	Cantata	Harmonischer Gottes-Dienst	Ew' ge Quelle (opening aria)	Aria	c1725	R
Let our glad songs (O celebrate)	Chorus	Handel	English anthem	Coronation Anthem no. 2	Thou hast prevented	Chorus	1727	D
Let our glad songs (Alleluia)	Chorus	Handel	English anthem	Coronation Anthem no. 2	Alleluja	Chorus	1727	D

Athalia (1733)		Pre-existing materials						
Number	Type	Composer	Genre	Title	Number / Movement	Type	Date	Reference
Overture	---	Handel	Trio sonata	Trio Sonata in G (op. 5, no.4)	Allegro	---	c1737 ²	D
Overture	---	Handel	Trio sonata	Trio Sonata in F (op. 2, no. 3)	Finale	---	c1722	D
Tyrants would in impious throngs	Aria & Chorus	Scarlatti	Opera	Dafni	Son ben tenera	Aria	1700	R
Oh Lord, whom we adore	Aria & Chorus	Scarlatti	Opera	Dafni	Arderò si nel mio foco	Aria	1700	R
The traitor if you There descry	Chorus	Handel	German church music	Brockes Passion	Er soll uns nicht entlaufen	Chorus	c1716	D
Faithful cares	Aria	Scarlatti	Opera	Dafni	Incomincio à rimirarvi	Aria	1700	R
Gloomy tyrants	Aria	Handel	German church music	Brockes Passion	Es scheint	Aria	c1716	D
Hallelujah	Chorus	Handel	English anthem	Chandos Anthem no. 6	Why so full of grief	Chorus	c1718	D
Through the land	Aria	Scarlatti	Opera	Dafni	Tortorella smarrita	Aria	1700	R
My spirits fail	Duet	Keiser	Opera	Claudius	Ich sterb vergnügt	Aria	1703	R
Jerusalem, thou shalt no more	Aria	Handel	Trio sonata	Trio sonata in G minor (op. 5, no. 5)	Larghetto	---	c1737 ²	D
Around let acclamations ring	Chorus	Handel	German church music	Brockes Passion	Nein, diesen nicht	Chorus	c1716	D

² Handel composed a set of seven trio sonatas around 1737 to 1738. The whole set was published as Op. 5 by Walsh on 28 February, 1739, with two borrowings from *Athalia* (1733).

Saul (1738)		Pre-existing materials						
Number	Type	Composer	Genre	Title	Number / Movement	Type	Date	Reference
Overture (1 st three movements)	---	Handel	Trio sonata	Trio Sonata in C (unpublished)	---	---	?	D
How excellent thy name (Above all heavens)	Chorus	Kuhnau	Sonata	Keyboard Sonatas	---	---	c1696	D
The youth inspir'd by thee	Chorus	Urio	Latin church music	Te Deum	Laudamus te	Chorus	c1660	D, C
Our fainting courage	Chorus	Urio	Latin church music	Te Deum	Sanctum quoque paraclitum	Chorus	c1660	D, C
My soul rejects the thought	Aria	Anonymous	Aria	Se tu meco in campo scendi	---	Aria	?	R
Carillon Symphony	---	Urio	Latin church music	Te Deum	(opening ritornello)	---	c1660	D, C
With rage I shall burst	Aria	Handel	Opera	Agrippina	Col raggio placido	Aria	1709	D
With rage I shall burst	Aria	Handel	Opera	Atalanta	Di ad Irene	Aria	1736	D
With rage I shall burst	Aria	Handel	Opera	Faramondo	Si l'intendesti (2nd half)	Aria	1737	D
But sooner Jordan's stream	Aria	Scarlatti	Opera	Pompeo	Col suo roco mormorio	Aria	1683	R
Oh fairest of ten thousand fair	Duet & Chorus	Orlandini	Opera	Paride	Mi fien care	Aria	1720	R
Wedding Symphony	---	Handel	Trio sonata	Trio Sonata in C (unpublished)	Finale	---	?	D
Oh fatal consequence of rage	Chorus	Urio	Latin church music	Te Deum	Quos pretioso sanguine	Chorus	c1660	D, C
Battle Symphony	---	Urio	Latin church music	Te Deum	Tu ad liberandum (ritornello)		c1660	D, C
In sweetest harmony	Aria	Handel	Opera	Imeneo	Pieno il core (ritornello)	Aria	1738 ³	D
Ye men of Judah	Aria	Keiser	Opera	Adonis	Komm Adonis meine Ruh	Aria	1697	R
Gird on thy sword (Retrieve the Hebrew name)	Chorus	Urio	Latin church music	Te Deum	In te, Domine speravi	Chorus	c1660	D, C

³ Both *Saul* and *Imeneo* were composed in 1738. *Imeneo* was composed during the period between 9 September and 20 September. Although Handel started composing *Saul* earlier in July, 1738, he revised the drafts and completed *Saul* on 27 September, 1738.

Israel in Egypt (1738)		Pre-existing materials						
Number	Type	Composer	Genre	Title	Number / Movement	Type	Date	Reference
They loathed to drink	Chorus	Handel	Organ fugue	Organ Fugue no. 5 in A minor	---	---	1720	T
He spake the word	Chorus	Stradella	Serenata	Serenata	Sinfonia	---	1681	C, T
He gave them hailstones	Chorus	Stradella	Serenata	Qual prodigio	Seguir non voglio più	Aria	1681	C
He gave them hailstones	Chorus	Stradella	Serenata	Serenata	Sinfonia	---	1681	C, T
He gave them hailstones	Chorus	Stradella	Serenata	Serenata	Jo pur seguirò	Aria	1681	C
He smote all the first-born	Chorus	Handel	Organ fugue	Organ Fugue no. 1 in G minor	---	---	1720	T
But as for His people (He led them forth)	Chorus	Stradella	Serenata	Serenata	Jo pur seguirò	Aria	1681	C, T
Egypt was glad when they departed	Chorus	Kerll	Organ canzona	Modulatio Organica Super Magnificat	---	---	1686	T
He rebuked the red sea	Chorus	Erba	Latin church music	Magnificat	Quia resicit humilitaem	Chorus	c1690	C
He led them through the deep	Chorus	Handel	Latin church music	Dixit Dominus	Tu es sacerdos	Chorus	1707	T
But the waters overwhelmed their enemies	Chorus	Handel	English anthem	Chandos Anthem no. 10	It is the Lord that ruleth the sea	Aria	c1718	T
And believed the Lord	Chorus	Stradella	Serenata	Serenata	Ite dunqu a cercar	Aria	1681	C, T
The Lord is my strength	Duet	Erba	Latin church music	Magnificat	Et exultavit	Duet	c1690	C, T
He is my God	Chorus	Erba	Latin church music	Magnificat	Magnificat anima mea Dominum	Chorus	c1690	C, T
The Lord is a man of war	Duet	Erba	Latin church music	Magnificat	Quia fecit mihi magna	Duet	c1690	C, T
The Lord is a man of war	Duet	Urlo	Latin church music	Te Deum	Te eternum (prelude)	Chorus	c1660	C, T
The depths have covered them	Chorus	Erba	Latin church music	Magnificat	Quia respicit humilitaem	Chorus	c1690	T
Thy right hand, O Lord	Chorus	Erba	Latin church music	Magnificat	Ecce enim ex hoc	Chorus	c1690	C, T
Thou sentest forth thy wrath	Chorus	Erba	Latin church music	Magnificat	Fecit potentiam in brachio suo	Chorus	c1690	C
And with the blast	Chorus	Erba	Latin church music	Magnificat	Deposuit potentes	Chorus	c1690	C, T
The earth swallowed them	Chorus	Erba	Latin church music	Magnificat	Sicut erat in principio	Chorus	c1690	C, T
Thou in thy mercy	Duet	Erba	Latin church music	Magnificat	Esurientes implevit bonis	Duet	c1690	T
The people shall hear	Chorus	Stradella	Serenata	Serenata	Amiche, Nemiche	Duet	1681	C, T

Messiah (1741)		Pre-existing materials						
Number	Type	Composer	Genre	Title	Number / Movement	Type	Date	Reference
But who may abide	Aria	Keiser	Opera	Claudius	Selbst der Sonne güldner Krantz	Aria	1703	R
An He shall purify	Chorus	Handel	Italian duet	Italian Duet no. 15	L'ocaso ha	Duet	1741 ⁴	T
For unto us a Child is born	Chorus	Handel	Italian duet	Italian Duet no. 16	Nò, di voi	Duet	1741 ⁴	T
His yoke is easy	Chorus	Handel	Italian duet	Italian Duet no. 15	Quel fior	Duet	1741 ⁴	T
All we like sheep	Chorus	Handel	Italian duet	Italian Duet no. 16	Sò per prova	Duet	1741 ⁴	T
How beautiful are the feet	Duet & Chorus	Porta	Opera	Numitore	Il ciel, le piante	Duet	1720	R
Thou shalt break them	Aria	Porta	Opera	Numitore	Torni, o sole	Aria	1720	R
I know that my Redeemer liveth	Aria	Keiser	Opera	La forza della virtù	Mit einem schönen Ende	Aria	1700	R
I know that my Redeemer liveth	Aria	Handel	Opera	Riccardo Primo	Se m'è contrario il cielo	Aria	1727	R
O death, where is thy sting	Duet	Handel	Italian duet	Italian Duet no. 14	Se tu non lasci	Duet	c1722	T
But thanks, thanks be to God	Chorus	Handel	Italian duet	Italian Duet no. 14	Se tu non lasci	Duet	c1722	T

⁴ Both *Messiah* and the Italian duets were written in 1741. The duets were completed around early July, and *Messiah* was composed during the period from 22 August to 14 September.

Samson (1741)		Pre-existing materials						
Number	Type	Composer	Genre	Title	Number / Movement	Type	Date	Reference
Overture (Allegro)	---	Telemann	Instrumental music	Musique de table	Quartet in G (Vivace)	---	1733	D
Overture (Allegro)	---	Telemann	Instrumental music	Musique de table	Suite in B-flat (conclusion)	---	1733	D
Overture (Allegro)	---	Muffat	Harpsichord piece	Componimenti musicali	Suite no. 6 in G (Fantaisie)	---	c1735	D, C, T
Overture (Minuet)	---	Keiser	Opera	Claudius	Minuet	---	1703	D
Overture (Minuet)	---	Keiser	Opera	Claudius	An den Marmor	Aria	1703	R
Then free from sorrow	Aria	Scarlatti	Opera	Dafni	Selvaggia bella	Aria	1700	R
Then free from sorrow	Aria	Handel	Opera	Alcina	Mio bel tesoro	Aria	1735	R
O first created beam (To thy dark servant)	Chorus	Legrenzi	Motet	Intret in conspectu tuo	(opening)	---	?	D
Then shall they know (Was ever the most high)	Chorus	Astorga	Latin church music	Stabat Mater	Ut ardeat cor meum	---	?	D
Then long eternity	Aria	Handel	Cantata	Mi palpita il cor	(1st aria)	Aria	c1711	D
Return, oh God of hosts	Aria & Chorus	Keiser	Opera	Claudius	Caro, son tua	Aria	1703	R
Return, oh God of hosts	Aria & Chorus	Handel	Opera	Amadigi	T'amai quant'il mio cor	Aria	1715	R
To fleeting pleasures	Aria	Porta	Opera	Numitore	Quando mai pietoso fato (ritornello)	Aria	1720	D, R
My strength is from the living God	Aria	Porta	Opera	Numitore	Nascer mi sento già (ritornello)	Aria	1720	D, R
Go, baffled coward	Duet	Porta	Opera	Numitore	Il ciel le piante	Duet	1720	D, R
Hear, Jacob's God	Chorus	Carissimi	Oratorio	Jephte	Plorate filiae Israel	Chorus	?	D
Then shall I make Jehovah's glory known	Recitative	Porta	Opera	Numitore	Overture (2 nd movement)	---	1720	D, R
The Holy One of Israel	Aria & Chorus	Porta	Opera	Numitore	Vado a pugnare	Aria	1720	D, R
Symphony (Act III)	---	Porta	Opera	Numitore	Torni, o sole	Aria	1720	R
Symphony (Act III)	---	Porta	Opera	Numitore	Quando mai pietoso fato	Aria	1720	R
Let the bright Seraphim	Aria	Porta	Opera	Numitore	Gran Nume de pastori	Aria	1720	D, R

Joseph and His Brethren (1743)		Pre-existing materials						
Number	Type	Composer	Genre	Title	Number / Movement	Type	Date	Reference
Joyful sounds	Chorus	Stradella	Serenata	Qual prodigio	Overture (2 nd movement)	---	1681	D
Wedding March	---	Handel	Oratorio	Samson	Dead March	---	1741	D
We will rejoice, Hallelujah	Chorus	Handel	English anthem	Dettingen Anthem	We will rejoice, Hallelujah	Chorus	1743 ⁵	D

Belshazzar (1744)		Pre-existing materials						
Number	Type	Composer	Genre	Title	Number / Movement	Type	Date	Reference
Thus saith the Lord	Aria	Scarlatti	Opera	Pompeo	Deh, se l'huomo à tua vaghezza	Aria	1683	R
The leafy honours	Aria	Handel	Opera	Ariodante	Musette	---	1734	D
See, from his post	Chorus	Handel	Italian duet	Italian Duet no. 19	Fronza leggiera e mobile	Duet	c1745 ⁶	D
Let the deep bowl	Aria	Handel	Cantata	Arresta il passo (Cantata no. 3)	Al dispetto di sorte	Aria	1708	D
Let the deep bowl	Aria	Handel	Opera	Ottone	Giusto in porto	Aria	1722	D
Let the deep bowl	Aria	Handel	Opera	Ariodante	Volate amori	Aria	1734	D
Postillions Symphony	---	Telemann	Instrumental music	Musique de table	Suite in B-flat (Postillions)	---	1733	D
Oh glorious prince	Chorus	Legrenzi	Motet	Intret in conspectu tuo	---	---	?	R
Alternate hope and fears	Aria	Porta	Opera	Numitore	Pensier che m'agitate	Aria	1720	R
Tell it out among the heathen	Chorus	Handel	English anthem	Chandos Anthem no. 8	Tell it out	Chorus	c1718	D
I will magnify thee	Chorus	Handel	English anthem	Chandos Anthem no. 5	(1 st and last movements)	Chorus	c1718	D

⁵ Both *Joseph and His Brethren* and *Dettingen Anthem* were written in 1743. The anthem was composed during the period from 17 July to 3 August; *Joseph and His Brethren* was composed from August to September of the same year.

⁶ Burrows suggested that *Fronza leggiera e mobile* was composed around 1745 in London, which is a year after Handel composed *Belshazzar* in 1744.

Judas Maccabaeus: (1746)		Pre-existing materials						
Number	Type	Composer	Genre	Title	Number / Movement	Type	Date	Reference
Overture (Allegro)	---	Telemann	Instrumental music	Musique de table	Concerto in F (Vivace)	---	1733	D
Overture (Allegro)	---	Handel	Vocal duet	Sono liete	(last movement)	Duet	c1711	D
Mourn, ye afflicted children	Chorus	Graun	Passion	Kommt her und schaut	Lasset uns aufsehen	Chorus	?	R
Mourn, ye afflicted children	Chorus	Handel	Oratorio	Il trionfo del Tempo	Son larve di dolor	Chorus	1708	R
Mourn, ye afflicted children	Chorus	Handel	Opera	Floridante	Notte cara	Arioso	1737	R
For Sion lamentation make	Chorus	Graun	Passion	Kommt her und schaut	Lasset uns aufsehen	Chorus	?	R
For Sion lamentation make	Chorus	Handel	Oratorio	Il trionfo del Tempo	Son larve di dolor	Chorus	1708	R
O liberty, thou choicest treasure	Aria	Handel	Oratorio	Occasional Oratorio	O liberty, thou choicest treasure	Aria	1746 ⁷	D
Sion now her head	Duet & Chorus	Bononcini	Cantata	Peno, peno e l'alma fedele	---	Aria	?	D
Wise men flattering	Aria	Handel	Cantata	Cantata no. 24	Amo Tirsi	Aria	1707	D
Wise men flattering	Aria	Handel	Opera	Agrippina	Se vuoi pace	Aria	1709	D
See, the conquering hero comes	Chorus	Handel	Oratorio	Joshua	See, the conquering hero comes	Chorus	1747 ⁸	D
March	---	Muffat	Harpsichord piece	Componimenti musicali	Suite no. 6 in G (air)	---	c1735	D, C

⁷ Both *Judas Maccabaeus* and *Occasional Oratorio* were written in 1746. Handel composed *Occasional Oratorio* earlier around January, and *Judas Maccabaeus* later from 8/9 July to 11 August.

⁸ This chorus was inserted from *Joshua* (1747) at the revival of *Judas Maccabaeus* in 1751.

Joshua (1747)								
Number	Type	Composer	Genre	Title	Number / Movement	Type	Date	Reference
Introduzione	---	Muffat	Harpsichord piece	Componimenti musicali	Suite no. 1 in C (Adagio)	---	c1735	D, C
May all the host of Heav'n	Chorus	Handel	Latin church music	Laudate pueri (2 nd setting)	A solis ortu	Chorus	1707	D
March	---	Muffat	Harpsichord piece	Componimenti musicali	Suite no. 1 in C (Rigaudon)	---	c1735	D, C, T
Glory to God (opening)	Chorus	Handel	Latin church music	Laudate pueri (2 nd setting)	Gloria Patri	Chorus	1707	D
Glory to God (The nations tremble)	Chorus	Handel	English anthem	Chandos Anthem no. 10	For who is God	Chorus	c1718	D
To vanity and earthly pride	Aria	Keiser	Opera	Claudius	Bell occhi vi bacierò	Aria	1703	R
Heroes when with glory burning	Aria	Cesti	Cantata	Cara, cara e dolce	---	Duet	c1660	D
Heroes when with glory burning	Aria	Scarlatti	Aria	Cara, cara e dolce	---	Aria	?	D
Heroes when with glory burning	Aria	Keiser	Opera	La forza della virtù	---	---	1700	D
Heroes when with glory burning	Aria	Handel	Cantata	Ah! Crudel nel pianto mio (Cantata no. 1)	Introductory symphony	---	c1707	D
Heroes when with glory burning	Aria	Handel	Oratorio	La resurrezione	Dia si lode	Chorus	1708	D
Heroes when with glory burning	Aria	Handel	Opera	Agrippina	L'alma mia	Aria	1709	D
Heroes when with glory burning	Aria	Handel	Opera	Rinaldo	Molto voglio	Chorus	1711	D
Heroes when with glory burning	Aria	Handel	Opera	Muzio Scevola	Si sara più dolce amore	Chorus	1721	D
Heroes when with glory burning	Aria	Handel	Harpsichord piece	Air for harpsichord in A major	---	---	c1727	D
Heroes when with glory burning	Aria	Handel	English ode	L'Allegro, il Penseroso ed il Moderato	These delights if thou canst give	Aria & Chorus	1740	D
O had I Jubal's lyre	Aria	Handel	Latin church music	Laudate pueri (both settings)	Qui habitare facit	Aria	1707	D

Alexander Balus (1747)		Pre-existing materials						
Number	Type	Composer	Genre	Title	Number / Movement	Type	Date	Reference
Overture	---	Gasparini	Opera	Ambleto	Overture (1 st movement)	---	1705	R
Thrice happy the monarch (ritornello)	Aria	Handel	Concerto grosso	Concerto Grosso in B-flat (op. 3, no. 2)	---	---	c1720	D
Thrice happy the monarch (ritornello)	Aria	Handel	Sonata	Recorder Sonata in C (op. 1, no. 7)	Finale	---	c1725	D
Flush'd with conquest (ritornello)	Chorus	Handel	March	March for 2 Horns & Bass (unpublished)	---	---	?	D
Fair virute shall charm me	Aria	Handel	Oratorio	La resurrezione	D'amor fù consiglio	Aria	1708	D
Fair virtue shall charm me	Aria	Handel	Cantata	Apollo e Dafne	Deh, lascia addolcire	Aria	c1709	D
Ye happy nations round	Chorus	Gasparini	Opera	Ambleto	Amor consolami	Aria	1705	R
Ye happy nations round	Chorus	Handel	Opera	Serse	Già la tromba	Chorus	1738	R
O what resistless charms	Aria	Keiser	Opera	Claudius	Redet mt Blitzen	Aria	1703	R
O what resistless charms	Aria	Handel	English ode	Alexander's Feast	The princes applaud	Aria	1736	R
Subtle love	Aria	Handel	Cantata	La Solitudine	L'aure grate	Aria	c1722	D
Hail wedded love	Duet	Gasparini	Opera	Ambleto	Godi, o cara	Duet	1705	R
How happy should we	Aria	Gasparini	Opera	Ambleto	Empia sorte	Aria	1705	R
How happy should we	Aria	Gasparini	Opera	Ambleto	A questi occhi	Aria	1705	R
O, what pleasures	Duet	Gasparini	Opera	Ambleto	Se un dì stringer potrò	Aria	1705	R
Mighty love now calls	Aria	Handel	Oratorio	La resurrezione	Disserretevi (ritornello)	Aria	1708	D
Kind hope	Aria	Gasparini	Opera	Ambleto	Sì, ti sente	Aria	1705	R
Great God from whom	Aria	Handel	Oratorio	Esther (1720 version)	Shall we of servitude	Chorus	c1720	D
Hateful man	Aria	Gasparini	Opera	Ambleto	Ti consiglio	Aria	1705	R
Tost from thought to thought	Aria	Gasparini	Opera	Ambleto	Tromba in campo	Aria	1705	R
Love, glory, ambition	Aria	Gasparini	Opera	Ambleto	Non è sì fido	Aria	1705	R
Ye happy people	Recitative	Handel	Opera (masque)	Alceste	Ye happy people	Recitative	1750 ⁹	D
Triumph, Hymen	Chorus	Handel	Opera (masque)	Alceste	Triumph, Hymen	Chorus	1750 ⁹	D
Fury with red sparkling eyes	Aria	Gasparini	Opera	Ambleto	Porto piagato in petto	Aria	1705	R
Fury with red sparkling eyes	Aria	Handel	Oratorio	La resurrezione	Vedo il ciel	Aria	1708	D, R
Sun, moon and stars	Chorus	Handel	Oratorio	Samson	Then shall they know	Chorus	1741	D
O sword, and thou	Aria	Keiser	Opera	Nabucadnezar	Entzündun und zugleich	Aria	1704	R
O sword, and thou	Aria	Handel	Oratorio	La resurrezione	Disserratevi, oh porte	Aria	1708	R

⁹ Based on the composition dates, "Ye happy people" and "Triumph, Hymen" in *Alceste* (1750) were probably borrowed from *Alexander Balus* (1747).

Susanna (1748)								
Pre-existing materials								
Number	Type	Composer	Genre	Title	Number / Movement	Type	Date	Reference
The parent bird	Aria	Handel	Cantata	Da sete ardente afflitto	Quando non son	Aria	1709	D
Virtue shall never long	Chorus	Kuhnau	Sonata	Frishe Klavier Früchte	1 st keyboard sonata	---	1696	D
Righteous Heaven (Yet his bolt)	Chorus	Erba	Latin church music	Magnificat	Sicut locutus est	Chorus	c1690	D
If guiltless blood	Aria	Handel	Opera	Teseo	Amasti si vorrei	Aria	1712	D
To my chaste Susanna's praise	Duet	Handel	Cantata	Cantata no. 22	Si crudel	Aria	c1707	D
To my chaste Susanna's praise	Duet	Handel	Opera	Rodrigo	Si che lieta	Aria	1707	D
To my chaste Susanna's praise	Duet	Handel	Opera	Teseo	Più non cerca	Aria	1712	D

Solomon (1748)		Pre-existing materials						
Number	Type	Composer	Genre	Title	Number / Movement	Type	Date	Reference
Overture (3 rd movement)	---	Muffat	Harpsichord piece	Componimenti musicali	Suite no. 4 in B-flat (Courante)	---	c1735	D, C
With thee the unsheltered moor	Aria	Handel	Cantata	Arresta il passo (Cantata no. 3)	Fiamma bella	Aria	1708	D
With thee the unsheltered moor	Aria	Handel	Opera	Rodelinda	De' miei scherni (2 nd half)	Aria	1725	D
From the censer (Live for ever)	Chorus	Handel	Sonata	Violin sonata in D (op. 1 no. 13)	(2 nd movement)	---	c1750 ¹⁰	D
Thy sentence, great King	Aria	Handel	Latin church music	Laudate pueri (2 nd setting)	Qui habitare facit	Aria	1707	D
Pious king	Aria	Keiser	Opera	Claudius	Selbst der Sonne güldner Krantz	Aria	1703	R
Beneath the vine	Aria	Handel	Serenata	Il parnasso in Festa	Non tardate	Aria & Chorus	1734	D
Beneath the vine	Aria	Handel	Opera	Tespsicore	Accorrete, O voi pastori	Aria & Chorus	1734	D
Symphony (Act III)	---	Porta	Opera	Numitore	Sol m'affanna (ritornello)	Aria	1720	D, R
Symphony (Act III)	---	Handel	Instrumental trio	Trio for 2 clarinets and corno di caccia	Overture (Andante allegro)	---	c1742	D, R
Symphony (Act III)	---	Telemann	Concerto	Musique de table (Part II)	Concerto in F major (Allegro)	---	1733	R
Music, spread thy voice	Aria & Chorus	Steffani	Motet	Qui diligit Mariam	Non pavescat	Duet	c1727	D
Shake the dome	Chorus	Handel	Oratorio	Belshazzar	Behold by Persia's hero	Chorus	1744	D

¹⁰ Burrows suggested that the Violin sonata in D was composed around 1750, which is two years after Handel composed *Solomon* in 1748.

Theodora (1749)								
Number	Type	Composer	Genre	Title	Number / Movement	Type	Date	Reference
Overture (Fugue)	---	Clari	Vocal duet	Vocal Duet no. 4	Ma tremolo e fugace	Duet	c1720	D, C
Overture (Trio)	---	Muffat	Harpsichord piece	Componimenti musicali	Suite no. 2 in G minor (Trio)	---	c1735	D, C, T
Overture (Courante)	---	Muffat	Harpsichord piece	Componimenti musicali	Suite no. 2 in G minor (Courante)	---	c1735	D, C
Descend, kind pity	Aria	Clari	Vocal duet	Vocal Duet no. 5	Quando tramonta il sole	Duet	c1720	D, C
Come, mighty Father	Chorus	Clari	Vocal duet	Vocal Duet no. 1	L'ode gelsindo	Duet	c1720	D, C, T
Angels, ever bright and fair	Aria	Steffani	Opera	La lotta d'Hercole	Cara dolce speranza	Aria	1689	R
Kind Heaven	Aria	Steffani	Opera	La lotta d'Hercole	Idol mio dove t'aggiri	Aria	1689	R
Go, gen'rous pious youth	Chorus	Steffani	Opera	La lotta d'Hercole	Troppo è dura lontananza	Aria	1689	R
Go, gen'rous pious youth	Chorus	Steffani	Opera	La lotta d'Hercole	Giusto cielo che sarà	Aria	1689	R
Queen of summer	Chorus	Steffani	Opera	La lotta d'Hercole	Biondo dio	Aria	1689	R
Oh that I on wings could rise	Aria	Steffani	Opera	La lotta d'Hercole	Idol mio dove t'aggiri	Aria	1689	R
To thee, thou glorious son	Duet	Clari	Vocal duet	Vocal Duet no. 2	Dov' è quell' usignolo	Duet	c1720	D, C
He saw the lovely youth	Chorus	Legrenzi	Motet	Intret in conspectu tuo	---	---	?	R
He saw the lovely youth	Chorus	Anonymous	Mass	Gloria	Gloria in excelsis Deo	Chorus	?	R
He saw the lovely youth	Chorus	Anonymous	Latin church music	Qui tollis peccata mundi	---	---	?	R
Blest be the hand	Chorus	Anonymous	Latin church music	Domine Deus, Agnus Dei	---	---	?	R
New Scenes of joy	Aria	Steffani	Opera	La lotta d'Hercole	Se'il mio seno	Aria	1689	R
Cease, ye slaves	Aria	Steffani	Opera	La lotta d'Hercole	La cerasta più terribile	Aria	1689	R
How strange their end	Chorus	Clari	Vocal duet	Vocal Duet no. 3	Lontan dalla sua Filli	Duet	c1720	D, C
Ye ministers of justice	Aria	Stradella	Serenata	Qual prodigio	Seguir non voglio più	Aria	1681	R
Ye ministers of justice	Aria	Steffani	Opera	La lotta d'Hercole	La cerasta più terribile	Aria	1689	R
Ye ministers of justice	Aria	Handel	Oratorio	Israel in Egypt	He gave them hailstones	Chorus	1738	R
O love divine	Chorus	Handel	Opera (masque)	Hercules	Cease, ruler of the day	Aria	1744	D

Jephtha (1751)		Pre-existing materials						
Number	Type	Composer	Genre	Title	Number / Movement	Type	Date	Reference
Overture (1 st movement)	---	Steffani	Opera	La lotta d'Hercole	Ouverture	---	1689	R
Overture (1 st movement)	---	Handel	Opera	Agrippina	Overture	---	1709	R
Overture (1 st three movements)	---	Handel	Opera (masque)	Alceste	---	---	1750	D
Pour forth no more	Aria	Habermann	Mass	Mass no. 1	Kyrie	Chorus	1747	D, T
No more to Ammon's god and king	Chorus	Habermann	Mass	Mass no. 1	Kyrie	Chorus	1747	D, T
No more to Ammon's god and king (Chemosh no more)	Chorus	Habermann	Mass	Mass no. 1	Cum sancto spiritu	Chorus	1747	D, T
Take the heart you fondly gave	Aria	Gasparini	Opera	Ambleto	Nel furor de suoi deliri	Aria	1705	R
O God, behold our sore distress	Chorus	Habermann	Mass	Mass no. 5	Qui tollis	Chorus	1747	D, T
O God, behold our sore distress	Chorus	Habermann	Mass	Mass	Kyrie	Chorus	1747	D
When his loud voice (opening)	Chorus	Habermann	Mass	Mass no. 3	Introductory symphony	---	1747	D
Cherub and Seraphim (ritornello)	Chorus	Habermann	Mass	Mass no. 2	Kyrie	Chorus	1747	D
Tune the soft melodious lute	Aria	Gasparini	Opera	Ambleto	A questi occhi	Aria	1705	R
Tune the soft melodious lute	Aria	Handel	Oratorio	Alexander Balus	How happy should we mortals prove	Aria	1747	R
Freedom now once more	Aria	Handel	Opera	Agrippina	La mia sorte fortunata	Aria	1709	D
His mighty arm (ritorello)	Aria	Habermann	Mass	Mass no. 1	Rex coelestis (introduction)	Chorus	1747	D, T
Symphony (for entry of Iphis)	---	Handel	Opera	Ariodante	Symphony (Act I)	---	1734	D
Open thy marble jaws	Aria	Handel	Opera	Lotario	Arma lo sguardo	Aria	1729	D
O spare your daughter (coda)	Quartet	Handel	Serenata	Acis and Galatea	The flocks shall leave (coda)	Trio	1718	D
How dark O Lord (No certain bliss)	Chorus	Habermann	Mass	Mass no. 2	Gloria	Chorus	1747	D
How dark O Lord (Whatever is, is right)	Chorus	Handel	Oratorio	Theodora	Fond, flattering world	Aria	1749	D
How dark, O Lord	Chorus	Lotti	Mass	Gloria	Et in terra pax	Chorus	c1717	R
Hide thou thy hated beams (ritornello)	Aria	Habermann	Mass	Mass no. 4	Domine Deus (introduction)	Chorus	1747	D, T
Doubtful fear	Chorus	Anonymous	Instrumental Music	Instrumental Fragment in F minor	---	---	?	R

Jephtha (cont.)		Pre-existing materials						
Number	Type	Composer	Genre	Title	Number / Movement	Type	Date	Reference
Symphony (for entry of Angel)	---	Handel	Cantata	Cantata no. 12	Lascia omai	Aria	c1707	D
Symphony (for entry of Angel)	---	Handel	Sonata	Violin Sonata in D (op. 1, no. 13)	Finale	---	c1750	D
Theme sublime of endless praise	Chorus	Habermann	Mass	Mass no. 1	Osanna	Chorus	1747	D, T
Laud her, all ye virgin train	Aria	Handel	Cantata	Cantata no. 7	Sei del ciel	Aria	c1707	D
All that is in Hamor mine	Quintet	Handel	Opera	Riccardo Primo	T'amo, si	Duet	1727	D
Ye house of Gilead	Chorus	Anonymous	Mass	Kyrie	Christe eleison	Chorus	?	R

**APPENDIX B - LIST OF COMPOSERS WHOSE WORKS WERE
BORROWED BY HANDEL IN HIS BIBLICAL ORATORIOS**

<u>Composers</u>	<u>Dates</u>
Astorga, Emanuele	1680-1757
Bononcini, Giovanni	1670-1647
Carissimi, Giacomo	c1605-1674
Cesti, Antonio	c1623-1669
Clari, Giovanni Carlo Maria	1677-1754
Erba, Dionigi	1692-1729
Gasparini, Francesco	1668-1727
Graun, Carl Heinrich	c1703-1759
Habermann, Franz	1706-1783
Keiser, Reinhard	c1674-1739
Kerll, Johann Kaspar	1627-1693
Kuhnau, Johann	1660-1722
Legrenzi, Giovanni	c1626-1690
Lotti, Antonio	c1667-1740
Muffat, Gottlieb	c1690-1770
Orlandini, Giuseppe Maria	1675-1760
Porta, Giovanni	c1690-1755
Scarlatti, Alessandro	1660-1725
Steffani, Agostino	1654-1728
Stradella, Alessandro	1644-1682
Telemann, Georg Philipp	1681-1767

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