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UMI
Handel's Borrowing Practice in His Biblical Oratorios

By

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Submitted: July, 2000

A Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of
Master of Arts in Musicology

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0-612-70604-4
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 complète 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 fournit 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 œuvres chorales sacrées aux opéras séculaires. Les emprunts propres dominent dans ses premiers oratorios, diminuent considérablement durant le milieu de sa carrière, et augmentent de nouveau durant la fin de sa carrière.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I thank with deep gratitude my advisor Prof. Julie Cumming, a remarkably wonderful teacher, for her continuous encouragement and valuable direction. I am particularly thankful for her enthusiasm for Handel’s music, her patience in editing, and her keen insights concerning the shape and focus of my thesis. Thanks are also extended to my previous teachers who brought me into music, in particular Prof. Howard Karp and Prof. Jeanne Swack from The University of Wisconsin - Madison, and my piano teachers Dr. Siu-Wan Chair and Mrs. Emily Leung.

I am grateful to Michael Free who was kind enough to read and edit part of my thesis. His comments, suggestions, and corrections are greatly appreciated. Many thanks are owed to Matthew McFarlane who generously gave me help in typing a number of musical examples, and to Joana Ali for her translation of my abstract. I also want to acknowledge the assistance provided by Cynthia Leive, Music Librarian at Marvin Duchow Music Library (McGill University), and all the library staff who helped in many ways beyond the production of the thesis.

Lastly and perhaps more importantly, I wish to express my appreciation to my parents, Damian and Winnie, for their love and patience. Without their understanding the thesis would have undoubtedly remained incomplete. Special thanks go to Pierre for his continuous assurance and support, and to all my friends at McGill who have made my life in Montreal a fruitful and memorable experience.
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Abbreviations:

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

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(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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Handel’s Oratorio</th>
<th>Pre-existing Materials</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Title</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Number / Movement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type (i.e. aria, duet, or chorus)</td>
<td>Type (i.e. aria, duet, or chorus)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date of Composition</td>
<td>Composer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Genre</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Date of Composition</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Reference (i.e. Chrysander, Taylor, Dean, or Roberts)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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, 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.

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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,

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

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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. 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). 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.

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

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the procedure of Bach, Beethoven, Brahms, and many others." 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.” 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.” 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

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10 Robinson, Handel and His Orbit, v.
11 Newman Flower, George Frederic Handel: His Personality and His Times (New York: Charles Schribner’s Sons, 1948), 304.
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.

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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.” 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.”

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 scared drama, La Rappresentazione di Anima et di Corpo, which was performed in Rome in 1600.

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17 Dean, Handel’s Dramatic Oratorios and Masques, 6.
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

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. 

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. 

Closer to the style of Italian oratorios are three works by Heinrich Schütz: *Historia der Auferstehung Jesu Christi* (1623), *Die Sieben Worte Jesu Christi am Kreuz* (c. 1645), 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.

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

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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.”  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 (c.1716), 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.  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.”  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

27 Quoted in Smither, History of the Oratorio, 105.
certain story or virtuous adventure in a dramatic way." 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."  

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.  

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*.  

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. Odes for celebrating St. Cecilia's Day were also

28 Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, 446.
29 Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, 447.
composed annually over a period of thirty years beginning 1683 (except in 1686, 1688, and 1689).\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{34}

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* (c.1653), 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

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.  

**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. 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.*

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. Since the beginning of the eighteenth century, performance and discussion of religious music in England were gradually expanding

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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.


such a performance the talents of second-rate singers and persons used to choir service were adequate.\textsuperscript{47} Although Handel’s English oratorios were unstaged, \textit{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{49}

Whether scared 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

Semele and Hercules as operas although neither had been performed with stage action. Alexander’s Feast and L’Allegro were labelled as odes. 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.

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. 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

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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. 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.¹

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. In “Mattheson’s Concept of Moduli,” Buelow further developed the idea of the three types, aiming for more clarity. 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.”

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² Dean, Handel’s Dramatic Oratorios and Masques, 53.
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). 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

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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 Fusse,  
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)

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

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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). In reworking this serenata, Handel expanded the instrumentation, added three trombones, two oboes, a

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8 Taylor, *The Indebtedness of Handel*, 53-68.
Example 2.1a - "Schau, ich fall' in strenger Busse" from Handel's Brockes 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 Brockes 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]
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

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9 Taylor, The Indebtedness of Handel, 76-81.
Example 2.4 - "He spake the word" from Handel's *Israel in Egypt*, mm. 1-7 [HIG xvi, 27-28]
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.\(^\text{10}\) 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 *Amleto* (or *Hamlet*) (1705) as shown in examples 2.6a and 2.6b.\(^\text{11}\)

(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 *Amleto* and “Love, glory, ambition” from *Alexander Balus* (1747).\(^\text{12}\) 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.

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\(^{10}\) 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 - “Nel furor de suor deliri” from Gasparini’s Amleto, mm. 1-16 [HS iv, 11]

Example 2.6b - “Take the heart you fondly gave” from Handel’s Jepthah, mm. 15-23 [HG xlv. 46]
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. While the texts of the two arias are different, they both express the passion of love.

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

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'è in me;
ma no'l comprendi.

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)

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)

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.”

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, 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. 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 ouevre 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.

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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.

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.\(^2\)

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

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 *Silette 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 *Nebucadnezzar* 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

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\(^3\) Dean, *Handel’s Dramatic Oratorios and Masques*, 191-224.
\(^4\) Roberts, Introduction in *Handel Sources*, vol. 3, xxiv; vol. 1, xviii.
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.”

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

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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 *Brockes Passion*, for example, reused in all three early oratorios, was not performed in London before the production of the early oratorios. 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 *Brockes 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 *Brockes 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). The first stand-alone borrowing from opera came when Handel incorporated four arias from Scarlatti’s *Dafni*.

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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, 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. 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. 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.” 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.
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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Genres</th>
<th>Self-borrowings</th>
<th>Borrowings from other composers</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Latin church music</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>18 (46.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English anthem &amp; ode</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 (2.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental music</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6 (15.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serenata</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7 (17.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opera &amp; Aria</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7 (17.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>9 (23.1%)</td>
<td>30 (76.9%)</td>
<td>39 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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."\textsuperscript{13}

Handel used pre-existing materials in \textit{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. \textit{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 \textit{Te Deum} (c1660). He also borrowed seven opera arias from seven different operas: four from his own (\textit{Agrippina}, \textit{Atalanta}, \textit{Faramondo}, \textit{Imeneo}), one from Alessandro Scarlatti's \textit{Pompeo} (1683), one from Reinhard Keiser's \textit{Adonis} (1697), and one from Giuseppe Maria Orlandini's \textit{Paride} (1720).

Only four days after he had completed \textit{Saul}, Handel set to work on \textit{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 \textit{Israel in Egypt} was generated by the pre-existence of the Funeral Anthem, which was entirely choral.\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{13} Letter from Jennens to Guernsey, 19 September 1738; Deutsch, \textit{Handel: A Documentary Biography}, 465-466.
\textsuperscript{14} Smither, \textit{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). 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. 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. 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.\(^\text{18}\)

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,

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\(^{18}\) 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 persuade 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.*

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

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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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Genres</th>
<th>Self-borrowings</th>
<th>Borrowings from other composers</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Passion</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oratorio</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin church music</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English anthem &amp; ode</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mass</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental music</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cantata</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serenata</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocal duet</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opera</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>74 (43.5%)</td>
<td>96 (56.5%)</td>
<td>170 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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 “Volare amore” from Handel's Ariodante (1734). 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.”

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,” 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. 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

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22 Dean, Handel’s Dramatic Oratorios and Masques, Appendix E.
24 Dean, Handel’s Dramatic Oratorios and Masques, 501.
Example 3.2 – "Cara cara e dolce" by Antonio Cesti [CH 1, 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.

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

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.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{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 \textit{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.

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

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

\textsuperscript{26} Dean, \textit{Handel’s Dramatic Oratorios and Masques}, Appendix E, 646.
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
Example 3.6 – "L'alma mia fra le tempeste" from Handel's Agrippina, mm. 1-12 [HG lvii, 20]
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). 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

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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 noticeable. 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

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² Crotch, *Substance of Several Courses of Lectures on Music*, 93.
explain Handel’s borrowing from Erba’s Magnificat in Israel in Egypt 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 Buelow and Winemiller 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

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

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


C - Friedrich Chrysander (ed.), *George Friedrich Händels Werke: Supplements* (Leipzig and Bergherdorf bei Hamburg, 1858-1902).

1 Based on the composition dates, "Affanni del pensier" in *Ottone* (1722) was probably borrowed from "Ye sons of Israel, mourn" in *Esther* (1720).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Composer</th>
<th>Genre</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Number / Movement</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Date*</th>
<th>Reference**</th>
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<td>Handel</td>
<td>Concerto</td>
<td>Oboe Concerto no. 2 in B-flat</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>c1720</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ Overture</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Handel</td>
<td>Trio sonata</td>
<td>Trio Sonata in B-flat (op. 2, no. 4)</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>c1717</td>
<td>D</td>
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<tr>
<td>Watchful angels</td>
<td>Aria</td>
<td>Handel</td>
<td>Oratorio</td>
<td>La resurrezione Ferma l'ali, e su miei lumi</td>
<td></td>
<td>Aria</td>
<td>1708</td>
<td>D</td>
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<td>Alleluja</td>
<td>Aria</td>
<td>Handel</td>
<td>Motet</td>
<td>Silete venti Alleluja</td>
<td></td>
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<td>My heart is inditing</td>
<td>Chorus</td>
<td>Handel</td>
<td>English anthem</td>
<td>Coronation Anthem no. 3 My heart is inditing</td>
<td></td>
<td>Chorus</td>
<td>1727</td>
<td>D</td>
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<tr>
<td>+ Tune your harps</td>
<td>Aria</td>
<td>Keiser</td>
<td>Opera</td>
<td>Nebucadnezar Thranen die vom Himmel</td>
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<td>Aria</td>
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<td>Tyrants may awhile presume</td>
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<td>Oratorio</td>
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<td>Chorus</td>
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<td>+ Dread not, righteous Queen</td>
<td>Aria</td>
<td>Handel</td>
<td>German church music</td>
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<td>Aria</td>
<td>1716</td>
<td>D</td>
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<td>+ Tears, assist me</td>
<td>Aria</td>
<td>Handel</td>
<td>German church music</td>
<td>Brockes Passion Meine Last</td>
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<td>Blessings descend</td>
<td>Duet</td>
<td>Handel</td>
<td>English ode</td>
<td>Queen Anne Birthday Ode Kind health descends on downy wings</td>
<td>Duet</td>
<td>1713</td>
<td>D</td>
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<td>+ Who calls my parting soul</td>
<td>Duet</td>
<td>Handel</td>
<td>German church music</td>
<td>Brockes Passion Soll mein Kind</td>
<td>Duet</td>
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<td>+ O beauteous Queen</td>
<td>Aria</td>
<td>Keiser</td>
<td>Opera</td>
<td>Adonis Lass mich diesen Trost erwerben</td>
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<td>R</td>
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<tr>
<td>+ O beauteous Queen</td>
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<td>Handel</td>
<td>German church music</td>
<td>Brockes Passion Was Wunder</td>
<td>Aria</td>
<td>1716</td>
<td>D, R</td>
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<tr>
<td>Blessed are all they (God is our hope)</td>
<td>Chorus</td>
<td>Handel</td>
<td>English anthem</td>
<td>Coronation Anthem no. 1 Zadok the Priest</td>
<td>Chorus</td>
<td>1727</td>
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<tr>
<td>Through the nation he shall be</td>
<td>Aria</td>
<td>Handel</td>
<td>English ode</td>
<td>Queen Anne Birthday Ode Let rolling streams their gladness show</td>
<td>Duet</td>
<td>1713</td>
<td>D</td>
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<tr>
<td>All applauding crowds around</td>
<td>Chorus</td>
<td>Handel</td>
<td>English ode</td>
<td>Queen Anne Birthday Ode The day that gave great Anna birth</td>
<td>Chorus</td>
<td>1713</td>
<td>D</td>
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+ From the 1920 version
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<tr>
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<th>Type</th>
<th>Composer</th>
<th>Genre</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Number / Movement</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Date*</th>
<th>Reference **</th>
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<tr>
<td>Overture (3rd Movement)</td>
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<td>Handel</td>
<td>English anthem</td>
<td>Chandos Anthem no. 10</td>
<td>O praise the Lord</td>
<td>Chorus</td>
<td>c1718</td>
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<td>Immortal Lord (opening)</td>
<td>Chorus</td>
<td>Handel</td>
<td>English anthem</td>
<td>Chandos Anthem no. 9</td>
<td>(1st chorus)</td>
<td>Chorus</td>
<td>c1718</td>
<td>D</td>
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<tr>
<td>Immortal Lord (And grant a leader)</td>
<td>Chorus</td>
<td>Handel</td>
<td>English ode</td>
<td>Queen Anne Birthday Ode</td>
<td>The day that gave great Anna birth</td>
<td>Aria</td>
<td>1713</td>
<td>D</td>
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<tr>
<td>Immortal Lord (And grant a leader)</td>
<td>Chorus</td>
<td>Handel</td>
<td>German church music</td>
<td>Brockes Passion</td>
<td>Ein jeden sei</td>
<td>Chorus</td>
<td>c1716</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immortal Lord (And grant a leader)</td>
<td>Chorus</td>
<td>Handel</td>
<td>English anthem</td>
<td>Chandos Anthem no. 7</td>
<td>Introductory symphony</td>
<td>---</td>
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<tr>
<td>Innumortal Lord (And grant a leader)</td>
<td>Chorus</td>
<td>Handel</td>
<td>Concerto grosso</td>
<td>Concerto Grosso in G (op. 3, no. 3)</td>
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<td>c1720</td>
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<td>Forbear thy doubts</td>
<td>Chorus</td>
<td>Handel</td>
<td>German church music</td>
<td>Brockes Passion</td>
<td>Greift zu</td>
<td>Chorus</td>
<td>c1716</td>
<td>D</td>
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<tr>
<td>Forbear thy doubts</td>
<td>Chorus</td>
<td>Handel</td>
<td>English anthem</td>
<td>Chandos Anthem no. 2</td>
<td>Behold the wicked</td>
<td>Chorus</td>
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<td>For ever to the voice</td>
<td>Chorus</td>
<td>Handel</td>
<td>Cantata</td>
<td>Cantata no. 2</td>
<td>Io so ben</td>
<td>Aria</td>
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<td>O blast with thy tremendous brow</td>
<td>Chorus</td>
<td>Handel</td>
<td>German church music</td>
<td>Brockes Passion</td>
<td>O Weh! Sie binden</td>
<td>Chorus</td>
<td>c1716</td>
<td>D</td>
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<tr>
<td>Choirs of angels</td>
<td>Aria</td>
<td>Handel</td>
<td>German church music</td>
<td>Brockes Passion</td>
<td>Heil der Welt</td>
<td>Aria</td>
<td>c1716</td>
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<tr>
<td>To joy he brightens</td>
<td>Aria</td>
<td>Handel</td>
<td>German church music</td>
<td>Brockes Passion</td>
<td>Was Bärentatzen</td>
<td>Aria</td>
<td>c1716</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Awake the ardour</td>
<td>Aria</td>
<td>Handel</td>
<td>English ode</td>
<td>Queen Anne Birthday Ode</td>
<td>Let envy then conceal</td>
<td>Aria</td>
<td>1713</td>
<td>D</td>
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<tr>
<td>Awake the ardour</td>
<td>Aria</td>
<td>Handel</td>
<td>English anthem</td>
<td>Chandos Anthem no. 9</td>
<td>That God is great</td>
<td>Aria</td>
<td>c1718</td>
<td>D</td>
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<td>All danger disdaining</td>
<td>Aria</td>
<td>Handel</td>
<td>German church music</td>
<td>Brockes Passion</td>
<td>Gift und Gluth</td>
<td>Aria</td>
<td>c1716</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Let thy deeds</td>
<td>Chorus</td>
<td>Handel</td>
<td>English anthem</td>
<td>Coronation Anthem no. 4</td>
<td>Let thy hand</td>
<td>Chorus</td>
<td>1727</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Despair all around</td>
<td>Chorus</td>
<td>Handel</td>
<td>English anthem</td>
<td>Coronation Anthem no. 4</td>
<td>Let justice</td>
<td>Chorus</td>
<td>1727</td>
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<td>Alleluia</td>
<td>Chorus</td>
<td>Handel</td>
<td>English anthem</td>
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<td>See the proud chief</td>
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<td>Handel</td>
<td>Latin church music</td>
<td>Dixit Dominus</td>
<td>(1st chorus)</td>
<td>Chorus</td>
<td>1707</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Jehovah's awful sight</td>
<td>Aria</td>
<td>Handel</td>
<td>German church music</td>
<td>Brockes Passion</td>
<td>Die ihr Gottes Gnad</td>
<td>Aria</td>
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<tr>
<td>Whilst you boast</td>
<td>Aria</td>
<td>Handel</td>
<td>German church music</td>
<td>Brockes Passion</td>
<td>Sprichst du denn</td>
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<td>Impious mortal</td>
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<td>Schau, ich fall' in strenger Busse</td>
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<tr>
<td>O Baal, monarch of The skies</td>
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<td>Handel</td>
<td>Oratorio</td>
<td>Il trionfo del Tempo</td>
<td>Venga il Tempo</td>
<td>Aria</td>
<td>1708</td>
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<td>Plead thy just cause</td>
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<td>Latin church music</td>
<td>Dixit Dominus</td>
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<td>1707</td>
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<td>All your boast</td>
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<td>Voglio Tempo</td>
<td>Quartet</td>
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<td>Swift inundation</td>
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<td>Handel</td>
<td>Serenata</td>
<td>Aci, Galatea e Polifemo</td>
<td>Precipitoso</td>
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<td>No more disconsolate</td>
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<td>Handel</td>
<td>English anthem</td>
<td>Chandos Anthem no. 9</td>
<td>Praise him all ye</td>
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<td>O the pleasure</td>
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<td>Tu giurasti</td>
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<td>Handel</td>
<td>English anthem</td>
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<td>The King shall rejoice</td>
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<td>Handel</td>
<td>English anthem</td>
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<td>God's tender mercy</td>
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<td>Opera</td>
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<td>Es wird doch endlich geniessen</td>
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<td>fathers shed</td>
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<td>For ever fled</td>
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<td>Opera</td>
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<td>Ew' ge Quelle (opening aria)</td>
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<td>Let our glad songs</td>
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<td>English anthem</td>
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<td>Thou hast prevented</td>
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<td>(O celebrate)</td>
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<td>English anthem</td>
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<td>Overture</td>
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<td>Trio sonata</td>
<td>Trio Sonata in G (op. 5, no. 4)</td>
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<td>c17372</td>
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<td>Overture</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Handel</td>
<td>Trio sonata</td>
<td>Trio Sonata in F (op. 2, no. 3)</td>
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<td>c1722</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tyrants would in impious throngs</td>
<td>Aria &amp; Chorus</td>
<td>Scarlatti</td>
<td>Opera</td>
<td>Dafni</td>
<td>Son ben tenera</td>
<td>Aria</td>
<td>1700</td>
<td>R</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oh Lord, whom we adore</td>
<td>Aria &amp; Chorus</td>
<td>Scarlatti</td>
<td>Opera</td>
<td>Dafni</td>
<td>Arderò si nel mio foco</td>
<td>Aria</td>
<td>1700</td>
<td>R</td>
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<td>The traitor if you There descry</td>
<td>Chorus</td>
<td>Handel</td>
<td>German church music</td>
<td>Brockes Passion</td>
<td>Er soll uns nicht entlaufen</td>
<td>Chorus</td>
<td>c1716</td>
<td>D</td>
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<td>Faithful cares</td>
<td>Aria</td>
<td>Scarlatti</td>
<td>Opera</td>
<td>Dafni</td>
<td>Incomincio à rimirarvi</td>
<td>Aria</td>
<td>1700</td>
<td>R</td>
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<td>Gloomy tyrants</td>
<td>Aria</td>
<td>Handel</td>
<td>German church music</td>
<td>Brockes Passion</td>
<td>Es scheint</td>
<td>Aria</td>
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<td>D</td>
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<td>Hallelujah</td>
<td>Chorus</td>
<td>Handel</td>
<td>English anthem</td>
<td>Chandos Anthem no. 6</td>
<td>Why so full of grief</td>
<td>Chorus</td>
<td>c1718</td>
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<tr>
<td>Through the land</td>
<td>Aria</td>
<td>Scarlatti</td>
<td>Opera</td>
<td>Dafni</td>
<td>Tortorella smarrita</td>
<td>Aria</td>
<td>1700</td>
<td>R</td>
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<tr>
<td>My spirits fail</td>
<td>Duet</td>
<td>Keiser</td>
<td>Opera</td>
<td>Claudius</td>
<td>Ich sterb vergnügt</td>
<td>Aria</td>
<td>1703</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jerusalem, thou shalt no more</td>
<td>Aria</td>
<td>Handel</td>
<td>Trio sonata</td>
<td>Trio sonata in G minor (op. 5, no. 5)</td>
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<td>Around let acclamations ring</td>
<td>Chorus</td>
<td>Handel</td>
<td>German church music</td>
<td>Brockes Passion</td>
<td>Nein, diesen nicht</td>
<td>Chorus</td>
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</table>

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).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number / Movement</th>
<th>Type</th>
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<th>Genre</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Number / Movement</th>
<th>Type</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Overture (1st three movements)</td>
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<td>Handel</td>
<td>Trio sonata</td>
<td>Trio Sonata in C (unpublished)</td>
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<tr>
<td>How excellent thy name (Above all heavens)</td>
<td>Chorus</td>
<td>Kuhnau</td>
<td>Sonata</td>
<td>Keyboard Sonatas</td>
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<tr>
<td>The youth inspir'd by thee</td>
<td>Chorus</td>
<td>Urio</td>
<td>Latin church music</td>
<td>Te Deum</td>
<td>Laudamus te</td>
<td>Chorus</td>
<td>c1660</td>
<td>D, C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Our fainting courage</td>
<td>Chorus</td>
<td>Urio</td>
<td>Latin church music</td>
<td>Te Deum</td>
<td>Sanctum quoque paraclitum</td>
<td>Chorus</td>
<td>c1660</td>
<td>D, C</td>
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<tr>
<td>My soul rejects the thought</td>
<td>Aria</td>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>Aria</td>
<td>Se tu meco in campo scendi</td>
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<td>Aria</td>
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<tr>
<td>Carillon Symphony</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Urio</td>
<td>Latin church music</td>
<td>Te Deum</td>
<td>Col raggio placido</td>
<td>Aria</td>
<td>1709</td>
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<tr>
<td>With rage I shall burst</td>
<td>Aria</td>
<td>Handel</td>
<td>Opera</td>
<td>Atalanta</td>
<td>Di ad Irene</td>
<td>Aria</td>
<td>1736</td>
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<td>With rage I shall burst</td>
<td>Aria</td>
<td>Handel</td>
<td>Opera</td>
<td>Faramondo</td>
<td>Si l'intendesti (2nd half)</td>
<td>Aria</td>
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<td>But sooner Jordan's stream</td>
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<td>Opera</td>
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<td>Col suo roco mormorio</td>
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<td>Oh fairest of ten thousand fair</td>
<td>Duet &amp; Chorus</td>
<td>Orlandini</td>
<td>Opera</td>
<td>Paride</td>
<td>Mi fieri care</td>
<td>Aria</td>
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<td>Wedding Symphony</td>
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<td>Handel</td>
<td>Trio sonata</td>
<td>Trio Sonata in C (unpublished)</td>
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<td>Oh fatal consequence of rage</td>
<td>Chorus</td>
<td>Urio</td>
<td>Latin church music</td>
<td>Te Deum</td>
<td>Quos pretioso sanguine</td>
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<td>Battle Symphony</td>
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<td>Urio</td>
<td>Latin church music</td>
<td>Te Deum</td>
<td>Tu ad liberandum (ritornello)</td>
<td>c1660</td>
<td>D, C</td>
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<td>In sweetest harmony</td>
<td>Aria</td>
<td>Handel</td>
<td>Opera</td>
<td>Imeneo</td>
<td>Pieno il core (ritornello)</td>
<td>Aria</td>
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<td>Ye men of Judah</td>
<td>Aria</td>
<td>Keiser</td>
<td>Opera</td>
<td>Adonis</td>
<td>Komm Adonis meine Ruh</td>
<td>Aria</td>
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<td>Gird on thy sword (Retrieve the Hebrew name)</td>
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<td>Urio</td>
<td>Latin church music</td>
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<td>In te, Domine speravi</td>
<td>Chorus</td>
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<td>D, C</td>
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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.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<td>Handel</td>
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<td>in A minor</td>
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<td>He spake the word</td>
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<td>Stradella</td>
<td>Sinfonia</td>
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<td>He gave them hailstones</td>
<td>Quel prodigio</td>
<td>Stradella</td>
<td>Seguir non voglio più</td>
<td>Aria</td>
<td>1681</td>
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<td>He gave them hailstones</td>
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<td>Stradella</td>
<td>Jo pur seguirò</td>
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<td>But as for His people</td>
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<td>Jo pur seguirò</td>
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<td>Egypt was glad when they departed</td>
<td>Modulatio Organica</td>
<td>Kerll</td>
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<td>1686</td>
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<td>He rebuked the red sea</td>
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<td>Erba</td>
<td>Quia resicit humilitaem</td>
<td>Chorus</td>
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<td>He led them through the deep</td>
<td>Dixit Dominus</td>
<td>Handel</td>
<td>Tu es sacerdos</td>
<td>Chorus</td>
<td>1707</td>
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<td>But the waters overwhelmed their enemies</td>
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<td>Handel</td>
<td>It is the Lord that ruleth the sea</td>
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<td>And believed the Lord</td>
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<td>Stradella</td>
<td>Ite dunque a cercar</td>
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<td>The Lord is my strength</td>
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<td>Erba</td>
<td>Et exultavit</td>
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<td>Thou shalt break them</td>
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<td>Torni, o sole</td>
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<td>I know that my Redeemer liveth</td>
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<td>Opera</td>
<td>La forza della virtù</td>
<td>Mit einem schönen Ende</td>
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<td>Se tu non lasci</td>
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<td>Se tu non lasci</td>
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* 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.
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<td>Suite in B-flat (conclusion)</td>
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<td>Mio bel tesoro</td>
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<td>O first created beam (To thy dark servant)</td>
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<td>Legrenzi</td>
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<td>Ut ardeat cor meum</td>
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<td>Then long eternity</td>
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<td>Mi palpita il cor (1st aria)</td>
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<td>Return, oh God of hosts</td>
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<td>Tamai quant'il mio cor</td>
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<td>Nascer mi sento già (ritornello)</td>
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<td>Go, baffled coward</td>
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<td>Plorate filiae Israel</td>
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<td>Dettingen Anthem</td>
<td>We will rejoice, Hallelujah</td>
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<td>Deh, se l'huomo à tua vaghezza</td>
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<td>The leafy honours</td>
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<td>Handel</td>
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<td>See, from his post</td>
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<td>Al dispetto di sorte</td>
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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 *Fronda leggiera e mobile* was composed around 1745 in London, which is a year after Handel composed *Belshazzar* in 1744.
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<td>Passion</td>
<td>Konunt her und schaut</td>
<td>Lasset uns aufsehen</td>
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<td>Oratorio</td>
<td>Il trionfo del Tempo</td>
<td>Son larve di dolor</td>
<td>Chorus</td>
<td>1708</td>
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<td>Notte cara</td>
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<td>Graun</td>
<td>Passion</td>
<td>Konunt her und schaut</td>
<td>Lasset uns aufsehen</td>
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<td>Handel</td>
<td>Oratorio</td>
<td>Occasional Oratorio</td>
<td>O liberty, thou choicest treasure</td>
<td>Aria</td>
<td>1746</td>
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<td>Sion now her head</td>
<td>Duet &amp; Chorus</td>
<td>Bononcini</td>
<td>Cantata</td>
<td>Peno, peno e l'alma fedele</td>
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<td>Aria</td>
<td>Handel</td>
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<td>Aria</td>
<td>Handel</td>
<td>Opera</td>
<td>Agrippina</td>
<td>Se vuoi pace</td>
<td>Aria</td>
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<td>Chorus</td>
<td>Handel</td>
<td>Oratorio</td>
<td>Joshua</td>
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<td>Suite no. 6 in G (air)</td>
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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.
<table>
<thead>
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<th>Number</th>
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<td>Laudate pueri (2nd setting)</td>
<td>A solis ortu</td>
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<td>Componimenti musicali</td>
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<td>Latin church music</td>
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<td>Gloria Patri</td>
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<td>Handel</td>
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<td>Chandos Anthem no. 10</td>
<td>For who is God</td>
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<td>Opera</td>
<td>Claudioius</td>
<td>Bell occhi vi bacieto</td>
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<td>Heroes when with glory burning</td>
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<td>Cantata</td>
<td>Cara, cara e dolce</td>
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<td>Chorus</td>
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<td>Molto voglio</td>
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<td>Muzio Scievole</td>
<td>Si sara più dolce amore</td>
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<td>Air for harpsichord in A major</td>
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<td>L'Allegro, il Penseroso ed il Moderato</td>
<td>These delights if thou canst give</td>
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<td>Handel</td>
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<td>Laudate pueri (both settings)</td>
<td>Qui habitare facit</td>
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<td>Opera</td>
<td>Ambleto</td>
<td>Overture (1st movement)</td>
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<td>Handel</td>
<td>Concerto grosso</td>
<td>Concerto Grosso in B-flat (op. 3, no. 2)</td>
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<td>Handel</td>
<td>Sonata</td>
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<td>La resurrezione</td>
<td>D'amor fù consiglio</td>
<td>Aria</td>
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<td>Deh, lascia addolcire</td>
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<td>Ye happy nations round</td>
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<td>Opera</td>
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<td>Opera</td>
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<td>Già la tromba</td>
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<td>O, what pleasures</td>
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<td>Opera</td>
<td>Ambleto</td>
<td>Se un di stringer potrò</td>
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<td>Oratorio</td>
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<td>Opera</td>
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<td>Ti consiglio</td>
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<td>Aria</td>
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<td>Opera</td>
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<td>Opera</td>
<td>Ambleto</td>
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<td>Handel</td>
<td>Opera (masque)</td>
<td>Alceste</td>
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<td>Recitative</td>
<td>17509</td>
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<td>Handel</td>
<td>Opera (masque)</td>
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<td>Triumph, Hymen</td>
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<td>Vedo il ciel</td>
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<td>Then shall they know</td>
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<td>Opera</td>
<td>Nabuccadnevar</td>
<td>Entzünden und zugleich</td>
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<td>Disserratevi, oh porte</td>
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9 Based on the composition dates, "Ye happy people" and "Triumph, Hymen" in *Alceste* (1750) were probably borrowed from *Alexander Balus* (1747).
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<td>Handel</td>
<td>Cantata</td>
<td>Da sete ardente afflitto</td>
<td>Quando non son</td>
<td>Aria</td>
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<td>Virtue shall never long</td>
<td>Chorus</td>
<td>Kuhnau</td>
<td>Sonata</td>
<td>Frishe Klavier Früchte</td>
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<td>Erba</td>
<td>Latin church music</td>
<td>Magnificat</td>
<td>Sicut locutus est</td>
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<td>Aria</td>
<td>Handel</td>
<td>Opera</td>
<td>Teseo</td>
<td>Amasti si vorrei</td>
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<td>Si crudel</td>
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<td>Si che lieta</td>
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<td>Cantata</td>
<td>Arresta il passo (Cantata no. 3)</td>
<td>Fiamma bella</td>
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<td>Handel</td>
<td>Opera</td>
<td>Rodelinda</td>
<td>De' miei scherni (2nd half)</td>
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<td>Handel</td>
<td>Sonata</td>
<td>Violin sonata in D (op. 1 no. 13)</td>
<td>(2nd movement)</td>
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<td>Thy sentence, great King</td>
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<td>Handel</td>
<td>Latin church music</td>
<td>Laudate pueri (2nd setting)</td>
<td>Qui habitat facit</td>
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<td>Pious king</td>
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<td>Keiser</td>
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<td>Selbst der Sonne guldner (Allegro)</td>
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<td>Beneath the vine</td>
<td>Aria</td>
<td>Handel</td>
<td>Serenata</td>
<td>Il parnasso in Festa</td>
<td>Non tardate</td>
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<tr>
<td>Beneath the vine</td>
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<td>Handel</td>
<td>Opera</td>
<td>Tespsicore</td>
<td>Accorrete, O voi pastori</td>
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<td>Symphony (Act III)</td>
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<td>Porta</td>
<td>Opera</td>
<td>Numitore</td>
<td>Sol m'affanna (Allegro)</td>
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<td>Symphony (Act III)</td>
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<td>Handel</td>
<td>Instrumental trio</td>
<td>Trio for 2 clarinets and corno di caccia</td>
<td>Overture (Andante allegro)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Symphony (Act III)</td>
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<td>Telemann</td>
<td>Concerto</td>
<td>Musique de table (Part II)</td>
<td>Concerto in F major (Allegro)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Music, spread thy voice</td>
<td>Aria &amp; Chorus</td>
<td>Steffani</td>
<td>Motet</td>
<td>Qui diligit Mariam</td>
<td>Non pavescat</td>
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<tr>
<td>Shake the dome</td>
<td>Chorus</td>
<td>Handel</td>
<td>Oratorio</td>
<td>Belshazzar</td>
<td>Behold by Persia's hero</td>
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10 Burrows suggested that the Violin sonata in D was composed around 1750, which is two years after Handel composed Solomon in 1748.
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<td>Vocal duet</td>
<td>Vocal Duet no. 4 Ma tremolo e fugace</td>
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<td>Harpsichord piece</td>
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<td>Vocal duet</td>
<td>Vocal Duet no. 5 Quando tramonta il sole</td>
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<td>Clari</td>
<td>Vocal duet</td>
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<td>Angels, ever bright and fair</td>
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<td>Opera</td>
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<td>Kind Heaven</td>
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<td>Go, gen'rous pious youth</td>
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<td>Oh that I on wings could rise</td>
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<td>Steffani</td>
<td>Opera</td>
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<td>To thee, thou glorious son</td>
<td>Duet</td>
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<td>He saw the lovely youth</td>
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<td>Cease, ye slaves</td>
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<td>Steffani</td>
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<td>How strange their end</td>
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<td>Vocal duet</td>
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<td>Ye ministers of justice</td>
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<td>Stradella</td>
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<td>Ye ministers of justice</td>
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<td>O love divine</td>
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<td>Overture (1st movement)</td>
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<td>Steffani</td>
<td>Opera</td>
<td>La lotta d'Hercole</td>
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<td>Overture (1st movement)</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Handel</td>
<td>Opera</td>
<td>Agrippina</td>
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<td>Overture (1st three movements)</td>
<td>---</td>
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<td>Opera (masque)</td>
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<td>Pour forth no more</td>
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<td>Habermann</td>
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<td>No more to Ammon's god and king</td>
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<td>Habermann</td>
<td>Mass</td>
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<td>No more to Ammon's god and king (Chemosh no more)</td>
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<td>O God, behold our sore distress</td>
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<td>Habermann</td>
<td>Mass</td>
<td>Mass no. 5</td>
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<td>O God, behold our sore distress</td>
<td>Chorus</td>
<td>Habermann</td>
<td>Mass</td>
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<td>When his loud voice (opening)</td>
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<td>Mass</td>
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<td>Cherub and Seraphim (ritornello)</td>
<td>Chorus</td>
<td>Habermann</td>
<td>Mass</td>
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<td>Tune the soft melodious lute</td>
<td>Aria</td>
<td>Gasparini</td>
<td>Opera</td>
<td>Ambleto</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tune the soft melodious lute</td>
<td>Aria</td>
<td>Handel</td>
<td>Oratorio</td>
<td>Alexander Balus</td>
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<td>Freedom now once more</td>
<td>Aria</td>
<td>Handel</td>
<td>Opera</td>
<td>Agrippina</td>
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<td>His mighty arm (ritornello)</td>
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<td>Handel</td>
<td>Opera</td>
<td>Ariodante</td>
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<td>Open thy marble jaws</td>
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<td>Handel</td>
<td>Opera</td>
<td>Lotario</td>
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<td>O spare your daughter (coda)</td>
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<td>Handel</td>
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<td>Acis and Galatea</td>
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<td>How dark O Lord (No certain bliss)</td>
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<td>How dark O Lord (Whatever is, is right)</td>
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<td>Handel</td>
<td>Oratorio</td>
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<td>How dark, O Lord</td>
<td>Chorus</td>
<td>Lotti</td>
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<td>Gloria</td>
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<td>Hide thou thy hated beams (ritornello)</td>
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<td>Habermann</td>
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### Pre-existing materials

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<th>Type</th>
<th>Date*</th>
<th>Reference**</th>
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<tr>
<td>Symphony (for entry of Angel)</td>
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<td>Handel</td>
<td>Cantata</td>
<td>Cantata no. 12</td>
<td>Lascia omai</td>
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<td>Symphony (for entry of Angel)</td>
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<td>Handel</td>
<td>Sonata</td>
<td>Violin Sonata in D (op. 1, no. 13)</td>
<td>Finale</td>
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<td>c1750</td>
<td>D</td>
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<td>Theme sublime of endless praise</td>
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<td>Habermann</td>
<td>Mass</td>
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<td>Osanna</td>
<td>Chorus</td>
<td>1747</td>
<td>D, T</td>
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<td>Laud her, all ye virgin train</td>
<td>Aria</td>
<td>Handel</td>
<td>Cantata</td>
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<td>Sei del ciel</td>
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<td>Quintet</td>
<td>Handel</td>
<td>Opera</td>
<td>Riccardo Primo</td>
<td>T'amo, si</td>
<td>Duet</td>
<td>1727</td>
<td>D</td>
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<td>Ye house of Gilead</td>
<td>Chorus</td>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>Mass</td>
<td>Kyrie</td>
<td>Christe eleison</td>
<td>Chorus</td>
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APPENDIX B - LIST OF COMPOSERS WHOSE WORKS WERE BORROWED BY HANDEL IN HIS BIBLICAL ORATORIOS

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