

Esteban Salas y Castro (1725–1803) Cuba's consummate cathedral composer

I. SALAS'S EMERGENCE IN MUSICOLOGICAL LITERATURE

THE IMMENSE literary prestige of Alejo Carpentier, who rescued Esteban Salas y Castro from the shadows in his still influential *La música en Cuba* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1946), has assured respectful treatment in all subsequent Cuban publications. Even polemical Edgardo Martín in his *Panorama histórico de la música en Cuba* prefaced by Fidel Castro (Havana: CED Universidad de La Habana, 1971), at pages 24–26 gave Salas reluctant space. According to him *Salas es, cronológicamente, el primer compositor importante de América* (“the first important American composer”)—an assertion backed by his citation of the later birthdates of Francis Hopkinson, James Lyon, and William Billings, a claim completely at variance with the birthdates of seventeenth-century Mexico City *maestros de capilla* Francisco López Capillas, José de Agurto y Loaysa, and Antonio Salazar.

In 1961 Pablo Hernández Balaguer,¹ supreme

¹Born and deceased at Havana (July 13, 1928–January 31, 1966) Pablo Hernández Balaguer studied cello with Ernesto Xancó, thereafter transferring to Barcelona, Prague, Budapest, and Moscow for instruction in theory and musicology. See Helio Orovio, *Diccionario de la música cubana: Biográfico y técnico* (Havana: Editorial Letras Cubanas, 1981), 206–207, with portrait. A composer as well as a scholar, he became director of the Archivo Provincial de Música de Oriente in 1959 and taught at the Universidad de Oriente in Santiago de Cuba during his last decade. At page 6 of the *prólogo* to Pablo Hernández Balaguer, *El más antiguo documento de la música cubana y otros ensayos* (Havana: Editorial Letras Cubanas, 1986),

Cuban musicologist of his generation, listed Salas's works still extant that year in the Santiago de Cuba cathedral archive. Three years later he followed suit with a monumental 49-page article, “La capilla de música de la Catedral de Santiago de Cuba,” *Revista Musical Chilena*, xviii/90 (October–December, 1964), pages 14–62, replete with manuscript facsimiles, musical examples, and 101 footnotes.²

Radamés Giro listed the following compositions by Hernández Balaguer: *Pastoral* for piano (1951), *Madrigal* for mixed chorus (1951), *Divertimento* (1957) and *Elegía* (1958) for chamber orchestra—the latter work dedicated to the memory of Frank País.

During the Segundo Encuentro de Investigadores Musicales (September 23–25, 1976), held at Bailén, provincia de Pinar del Río, Virtudes Feliú read a paper entitled “Pablo Hernández Balaguer, Investigador cubano” and Hilario González presented a communication, “Esteban Salas, músico y poeta.” See *Música* (Casa de las Américas), *Boletín No. 61* (November–December 1976), p. 32.

²In addition to his 61-page *Catálogo de música de los archivos de la Catedral de Santiago de Cuba y del Museo Bacardí* (Havana: Biblioteca Nacional José Martí, 1961), Hernández Balaguer published a *Breve historia de la música cubana* (Santiago de Cuba: Editora del Consejo Nacional de Universidades, Universidad de Oriente, 1964), *El más antiguo documento de la música cubana y otros ensayos* (Havana: Editorial Letras Cubanas, 1986), and *Los villancicos, cantadas y pastorelas de Esteban Salas* (Havana: Editorial Letras Cubanas, 1986).

According to Hernández Balaguer, “Un histórico concierto en Santiago,” *La Quincena*, año vi, núm. 7 (April 15, 1960), republished in *El más antiguo documento*, p. 93, Laureano Fuentes Matóns (July 3, 1825–September 30, 1898) had as early as 1855 called attention to Salas's importance (in an article in the *Semanario Cubano* [Santiago de Cuba]) and it was this article that incited Carpentier to write the chapter [III] devoted to



Following in Chilean wake, *Heterofonía*, x/4 (July–August 1977), 4–7, became the first Mexican periodical to salute Salas with an article, “Esteban Salas y Castro, primer compositor nativo de Cuba,” that concluded with endnotes listing his compositions published in the early 1960s.

- Cuatro villancicos: Partitura (Havana: Departamento de Música de la Biblioteca Nacional, “José Martí,” 1961). Introduction by the transcriber, Hernández Balaguer. Respirad o mortales, cantada a solo y a 3 con violines y bajo, Kalenda de 1799
 Los bronces se enterezcán, villancico a duo con violines y bajo, 1786
 Toquen presto a fuego, villancico de Navidad a 4, con violines y bajo, 1786
 Tú, mi Dios, entre galas, cantada a solo con violines y bajo
 Claras luces. Villancico de Navidad a cuatro voces y bajo. Edición facsimilar (Santiago de Cuba: Universidad de Oriente, 1961). Preface by Hernández Balaguer discoursing on Salas’s musical orthography.
 Tres obras litúrgicas: Partitura (Santiago de Cuba: Universidad de Oriente, 1982). Documented historical introduction by Hernández Balaguer.
 O admirabile sacramentum, motete a duo con bajo continuo
 Jubilate Deo, verso alleluyático, a duo con violines y bajo
 Ave maris stella, himno a 4 con bajo continuo

II. FIRST ATTEMPTS AT ESTABLISHING A MUSICAL *CAPILLA* IN SANTIAGO DE CUBA CATHEDRAL

Preceding Salas as maestro Hernández Balaguer cited as the first documented Cuban musician an elusive Miguel Velázquez, son of a Spaniard and a native of the island, who as early as 1544, only 22 years after the founding of Santiago de Cuba Cathedral, played organ and had in his charge two choirboys. Properly speaking, however, the Santiago de Cuba *Capilla de Música* did not exist until its foundation February 10, 1682, when Bishop Juan Gar-

cia de Palacios (1618–1682)³ four months before his death June 1, decreed its establishment with local resident Domingo de Flores, “instructed in the musical science of polyphony,” as *maestro de capilla*.⁴ Of Flores’s 75-peso salary 50 pesos were to be paid by the cathedral Mayordomo, the other 25 by the bishop himself. Canon Juan de Cisneros Estrada y Luyando, Santiago cathedral *chantre* generously offered to supply the Africans needed to play *bajones*.⁵ An organist named Juan de Mesa Borges had officiated for 100 yearly pesos beginning in 1630, followed by Juan de Zabaleta hired in 1632 at the “accustomed” annual salary of 100 pesos. Because the salary was so exiguous, an organist named Fernando de Espinosa was inducted in 1647, at a yearly 1500 reales (perhaps 150 pesos), but with the added obligation of keeping the organ in repair and providing extra pipes when needed; by 1655 his pay was, however, reduced to 1200 reales.⁶

Because occasions for adding to their incomes were so minimal, none of the *músicos* who were

³ A native of Mexico City who was responsible for endowing the devotion to the Virgin of Guadalupe (December 12) in Santiago de Cuba Cathedral, Juan García de Palacios had been *provisor* and treasurer of Puebla Cathedral (to which he bequeathed his entire estate) before consecration as bishop of Cuba in 1679.

Juan García de Zéspedes, born presumably at Puebla and a star pupil of Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla, governed the unrivaled Puebla Cathedral musical forces from August 12, 1664, until death shortly before August 9, 1679. See Robert Stevenson, *Christmas Music from Baroque Mexico* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1974), pp. 45–46. Bishop García de Palacios therefore arrived in Cuba with memories of Puebla musical splendors.

⁴ Hernández Balaguer, *El más antiguo documento*, p. 27: “Domingo de Flores como persona, que tiene ciencia de la Música de Canto de Hórgano según, que han informado a su señoría y lustrísima, para que como Maestro gobierne la dicha Capilla y solicite Clerigos y Niños, u otras personas, que canten en ella, y los enseñe el canto de Hórgano . . .”

⁵ The Africans supplied by Cisneros, who died in 1699, and who had served as *cura párroco* of the cathedral, *provisor* and *vicario general* in the decade after 1664, cannot have played *bajones* and such other instruments as cornetts, harp, and shawms without prior instruction. See Hernández Balaguer, *Los villancicos, cantadas y pastorelas de Estabén Salas*, pp. 8–9, for the other possible instruments played by Cisneros’s African *ministriles*.

⁶ Hernández Balaguer extracted these data concerning Domingo de Flores, Juan de Mesa, Juan de Zabaleta, and Fernando de Espinosa from Bishop Pedro Agustín Morell de Santa Cruz’s *Historia de la Isla y Catedral de Cuba* (Havana: 1929), a chronicle written by Morell between 1754 and 1761.

Salas in his *La música en Cuba*. Lino Pérez, a local history enthusiast at Santiago de Cuba who owned Salas’s *Siete palabras* (“Seven last words”), put Carpentier on the right track. However, Carpentier never read the Santiago capitular acts nor did his musical literacy permit his deciphering any of the works by Salas itemized in his overwhelming influential book.



in 1682 led by Lucas Pérez Alaíz, a tenor from Burgos,⁷ nor any of the cathedral instrumentalists was obligated to assist at fiestas, funerals, or anniversaries, without prior determination of the pay rate by the *maestro de capilla*. Even so, the *capilla* erected at Bishop García de Palacios's instance in 1682 soon decayed.

The bishop whose initiative was at last crucial in reestablishment of the *capilla de música*—Pedro Agustín Morell de Santa Cruz (*b* Santiago de los Caballeros, Hispaniola, 1694; *d* Havana, December 30, 1768)—came of a distinguished family (his father was a *maestro de campo*). A graduate of the Universidad de Santo Domingo, he was ordained priest on April 24, 1718, by Fray Jerónimo de Valdés—who upon being named bishop of Cuba December 23, 1705, appointed Morell de Santa Cruz on December 2, 1719, vicar general and dean of Santiago de Cuba Cathedral. Residing in Santiago from February 1721, Morell found uninstructed singers performing so miserably that they provoked laughter rather than devotion.⁸ After Valdés's death March 29, 1729, Morell de Santa Cruz governed the diocese until installation of Juan Lazo de la Vega y Cansino, a Franciscan consecrated bishop of Cuba April 20, 1732.

In 1741 Morell visited the island in which he was born and in 1749 was elected bishop of Nicaragua, where he stayed until 1753—being then recalled to Havana to substitute for the deceased Lazo de la Vega. Consecrated bishop of Santiago de Cuba May 28, 1753, Morell won, as a concession from the crown, the right to reside not in Santiago but in Havana. Sometime between 1754 and 1761 he wrote a *Historia de la Isla y Catedral de Cuba* published in 1929 by the Academia de la Historia de Cuba (prefaced by Francisco de Paula Coronado). Named a *Doctor en Derecho Canónico* by the Universidad de La Habana March 7, 1757, he was exiled by British occupying forces to Florida from 1762 to May 3, 1763.

⁷ Laureano Fuentes Matóns, *Las artes en Santiago de Cuba* (Santiago de Cuba, 1893), p. 11, who identified married Pérez de Alaíz as a native of Burgos who played guitar and was a *cantor en la antigua capilla de Música en 1680*.

⁸ Hernández Balaguer, *Los villancicos*, p. 11: "por ser tanto el desconcierto de voces de su coro, que en vez de mover a devoción provocan risa." Throughout the 1730s Morell continued unavailing efforts to improve the wretched musical situation.

In a lengthy letter to Fernando VI (reigned 1756–1759) dated at Havana December 9, 1755, he summarized the lamentable history of the Santiago de Cuba *capilla de música* established by Bishop Juan García de Palacios February 10, 1682, but that had failed to survive. In contrast, he cited the existence at San Cristóbal, the *parroquial mayor* at Havana of 14 musicians and a maestro earning among them 400 yearly pesos, plus *obvenciones* (payment for fiestas, funerals, other special events). He proposed an annual 500 pesos plus *obvenciones* for a *capilla de música* in Santiago Cathedral (the seat of the diocese from its erection in 1522), that would equal or surpass the *capilla* in the Havana *parroquial mayor*, consisting in 1755 of 14 members.

III. ESSENTIALS OF SALAS Y CASTRO'S MUSICAL CAREER

Born December 25, 1725, at Havana, Esteban Salas was the son of Tomás de Salas y Castro and Petrona de Montes de Oca, both of whom were natives of the Canary Islands.⁹ After studying grammar and singing as a boy chorister in the *parroquial mayor* (San Cristóbal church) he matriculated in the Havana University, then housed in the Dominican *convento* and staffed by Dominicans. According to José Luciano Franco, he was forced to withdraw before completing canon law. Following the death of his father, he supported his mother and siblings from earnings as both organist and choir director in San Cristóbal.¹⁰ Although not erected a cathedral until 1788, the *parroquial mayor* already boasted on Salas's entry as a *tiple* in 1734 a "chapel, with a maestro, instruments, and singers, who performed music for vespers, *maitines*, and masses in serious

⁹ *Los villancicos*, p. 5: "José Luciano Franco encontró su partida de bautismo. . . . En ella consta lo siguiente: Libro III de bautizos de blancos, del Archivo Parroquial del Santo Cristo del Buen Viaje, correspondiente al año 1726, figura inscripto con el número 77, el de Esteban Salas, que nació el 25 de Diciembre de 1725, en la ciudad de la Habana. Hijo legítimo de don Tomás de Salas y Castro y Doña Petrona de Montes de Oca, ambos naturales de Islas Canarias. Folio 13 (vuelto)."

¹⁰ Fermín Peraza Sarausa, *Diccionario biográfico cubano*, v1 (Havana: Ediciones Anuario Bibliográfico Cubano, 1956), p. 9. Hernández Balaguer, *Los villancicos*, p. 5, agrees that ill health prompted his quitting the university while studying canon law.



accompanied harmony."¹¹ However, because musicians' salaries were extremely low, they were allowed to officiate in other Havana churches, and not solely at San Cristóbal.

Although not exceeding Havana—with its *maestro de capilla*, six singers (two each of *tiples*, *contraltos*, *tenors*), four other musicians, and three instrumentalists,¹² but rather merely following in Havana's train—Morell de Santa Cruz did succeed in gaining royal assent, dated September 5, 1760, for the establishment of a permanent *capilla de música* in the island's still sole cathedral. A year later the Santiago chapel was formally founded with fourteen paid active musicians including a *maestro*—which group was to share an annual 400 pesos, augmented to 1000 on the following October 11, 1761. Even, however, with 1000, the first *maestro* Bernardo de Guzmán left the post within two years—only the mulatto organist from 1757 to his death January 28, 1779, José Nicolás de Villavicencio, remaining on hand to greet Esteban Salas on his arrival at Santiago February 8, 1764. Formally invested at Havana with direction of the Santiago *capilla* the previous autumn (October 27, 1763) Salas owed his appointment entirely to his admirer Morell de Santa Cruz, bishop of Santiago but by royal permission resident uninterruptedly from 1753 in Havana. In his deed of appointment the bishop called 38-year-old Salas “an able, instructed, and zealous individual,” who would completely dedicate himself to obtaining the *capilla*'s “greatest perfection.”¹³ In him resided all the qual-

ities needed to assure excellence on a daily basis and splendor at festivals.¹⁴

At once on taking office, Salas apprehended the necessity for a bigger budget. His letter to the chapter dated November 2, 1764, itemized the salaries needed by the fifteen musicians (including himself): maestro 370 pesos, first tenor and first alto, 120 each, second tenor and second alto 84 each, first triple 48, second and third triples 36 each, harpist, organist, first and second violinists, *violonista*, *bajonista* and a supplemental player, 84 each, bringing the grand total expense of the *capilla* to 1450 pesos.

Instructed by the cathedral chapter to make an inventory of all the music and instruments owned by the *capilla*, Salas on March 15, 1769, completed a list attested by the cathedral secretary. Himself resident after the earthquake of 1766 in the diocesan seminary (San Basilio el Magno), Salas there guarded 10 Masses—four of these scored with violins, five for double choir without violins, and one an 8th tone Mass; six double choir Salves and two for one choir; four folders containing vespers music; a *Te Deum* with violins; a *Tota pulchra* for two choirs; four folders containing psalms for Christmas and Easter *maitines*; votive Lamentations with violins for Wednesday and Thursday of Holy Week; a single choir Miserere; various “Mottetes, sequencias y Villancicos” totaling 40 items; a plainsong Office of the Dead; and the printed *bajón* part of a Requiem Mass. The sole instruments listed in the inventory were two *bajones* and an oboe. No music item in the inventory is credited to a composer, but Hernández Balaguer assigns the Holy Week Lamentations to Salas himself.¹⁵ Nor does any item in the next inventory dated February 18, 1805, specify a composer.

¹¹ “La capilla de música de la catedral de Santiago de Cuba,” *Revista Musical Chilena*, xviii/90 (October–December 1964), 21: “hay Capilla de Música con Maestro, instrumentos y cantores correspondientes que oficien con seria y acompañada armonía las vísperas, maitines y misas en tales festividades.” Quotation source: Martín Félix de Arrate, *Llave del Nuevo Mundo, Antemural de las Indias Occidentales, La Habana descripta: Noticia de su fundación, aumentos y estado* (Havana: Rafael Cowley and Andrés Pego, editores, 1876), I, 389. From 1779 to 1796 the maestro of the Parroquial Mayor was Fray Manuel Lazo de la Vega, who reported that his forces included two each of *tiples*, *contraltos*, and *tenors*, two *bajones* and one *violón* (violoncello).

¹² *Revista Musical Chilena*, xviii/90, pp. 21 and 57, note 27. The first bishop of Havana (established a diocese September 10, 1787), was José de Trespalacios. Santiago was elevated to an archdiocese December 25, 1803, five months after Salas's death at Santiago the preceding July 15.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 23–24: “Por quanto la Capilla de Música establecida en nuestra dicha Santa Yglesia Cathedral de la ciudad de Santiago de Cuba, necesita para su Magisterio de un

suxeto hávil, instruido, y zeloso, que se dedique con esmero al logro de su mayor perfección, por tanto y atendiendo a que en la persona de voz Dn. Estevan de Salas concurren las partes de ydoneidad, aplicación, y demás que para dicho oficio se desean y que vien y fielmente hareis lo que por Nos os fuere mandado y encomendado, por el thenor de las precentes os elegimos, constituimos y nombramos por Maestro de la expresada Capilla . . .”

¹⁴ The Santiago chapter, after waiting in vain for confirming data from Mexico City Cathedral having to do with funding arrangements, formally installed him March 12, 1769. In the intervening five years he had fully demonstrated his *habilidad*, *sapiencia*, y *buenas partes*.

¹⁵ *Los villancicos, cantadas y pastorelas de Esteban Salas*, p. 18.



Nonetheless, the 58 *Villancicos de Noche buena* en que se cuentan *Cantadas, Arias, Pastorelas* y *Villancicos de Calenda* must all be Salas's additions to the Santiago cathedral repertory.¹⁶

Salas himself copied a Mass in F for three voices by Melchor de Montemayor (1588–1678), a native of Montemayor in Andalusia, who before entering in 1616 the Jeronymite monastery of Guadalupe in Extremadura had been *maestro de capilla* at the Las Palmas Cathedral 1613–1615, where he functioned with his family name as Melchor Cabello.¹⁷ Salas also copied Sebastián Durón's D minor motet *O vos omnes*, a 4—like the Montemayor Mass a work accompanied by the gaudy violins against which Feijóo protested.¹⁸ Still another work, which although not in Salas's handwriting was obtained by him, is a Mass a 3 in B flat by Francesco Corselli (1702–1778), Spanish royal chapelmaster 1738–1778.¹⁹ For lack of a catalogue listing any but Cuban composers, the extent of other European music in the Santiago de Cuba archive remains conjectural.

¹⁶ *Revista Musical Chilena*, xviii/90, p. 46.

¹⁷ Lola de la Torre unravelled Montemayor's biography in her article "El compositor Melchor Cabello (Fray Melchor de Montemayor) 1588–1678," *Revista de Musicología*, xi/1 (January–June 1988), 109–121. His three surviving masses in the peninsula are parodies: *Ecclesiarum Principes a 7* (Huesca Cathedral), *In cymbalis* and *In vasta illa*, each a 8 at El Escorial (*ibid.*, p. 121). In Hernández Balaguer's *Los villancicos, cantadas y pastorelas de Esteban Salas*, p. 52, he certifies Salas's having copied the Montemayor Mass in F and provides five measures of its instrumental beginning (violin I part).

¹⁸ *Los villancicos*, p. 52 (including the first four bars of the violin I part). In 1726 Benito Jerónimo Feijóo added Durón's excessive demands on string players to his list of other misdeeds. For an extended, heavily footnoted biography referring to his works in Latin American archives, see "Sebastián Durón (baptized April 19, 1660, at Brihuega; died August 3, 1716, at Bayonne or nearby Cambó)" in Stevenson's *Christmas Music from Baroque Mexico*, pp. 39–44.

According to Hernández Balaguer, *Cuatro villancicos* (1961), p. 2, Salas also copied works by Juan del Vado and Diego Durón (brother of Sebastian). The *Revista Musical Chilena* article contains opposite page 24 a facsimile of the cover page of a *Stabat Mater dolorosa/A solo y a 3./Compuesto p'/D.* Juan Fran^{co} de Barrios copied by Salas.

¹⁹ Violin I incipit in *Los villancicos*, p. 53. Corselli's 340 extant sacred works in the Royal Palace Library are itemized in José Peris Lacasa and others, *Catálogo del Archivo de Música del Palacio Real de Madrid* (Madrid: Editorial Patrimonio Nacional, 1993), pp. 141–218.

According to Carpentier's *La música en Cuba*, p. 67, Salas also knew Paisiello's works, himself "possessing [partituras]."

Psalm: *Fundamenta eius. &c. 8. t.*

Gloria et exalta sunt de te Ci vi tas De i.
Nam quid si me dicit homo et homo natus est in e a
et ipse fundavit e am Al tis simus Al tis si mus.
Sicut la carum omnium habi ta tio est in te.
Gloria Dei, et Fi li o, et Spi ri tu i San cto.

In Salas's copy of verses 3, 5, and 7 (followed by the tritone ascription) of Psalm 86 [= 87 A.V.], some quarter notes eaten away appear as half-notes. Tied quarters over the bar line become half-notes, the bar line bisecting the half-note. The abbreviation "8 t." refers to "Tone VIII." Text reads: Glorious things of thee are spoken, O City of God. And of Zion it shall be said, this and that man was born in her; and the highest himself shall stablish her. As well, all the singers shall be there.

IV. SALAS'S CATALOGUED REPERTORY

In addition to 70 items with Latin text, Salas's works catalogued by Hernández Balaguer²⁰ contain a total of 52 entries with Spanish text, 32 of which classify as *villancicos*, 18 as *cantadas*, and 2 as *pastorelas*. More than half the *villancicos* belong to the prototypical *estribillo-coplas* variety; others begin with *coplas* (*coplas-recitado-allegro*; *coplas-recitado-aria*; *coplas-estribillo-coplas*; *coplas-fuga*; *coplas-estribillo-coplas-final*; *coplas-recitado-final*). *Cantadas* begin with a *recitado* (*recitado-pastorela-presto*; *recitado-aria*).²¹ The maximum number of voices

²⁰ *Catálogo de Música de los archivos de la Catedral de Santiago de Cuba y del Museo Bacardí* (1961); pp. 48–59; *El más antiguo documento de la música cubana y otros ensayos* (1986), pp. 158–172. The second catalogue duplicates the first. Apart from an attempt at chronologically itemizing the 46 Spanish-text items, Hernández Balaguer places incomplete items at the close of the listing of 7 Masses, 5 hymns, 7 sequences, 12 antiphons, 5 psalms, 3 Magnificats, 2 *motetes*, and 29 *versos alleluáticos*. Within sections he does not attempt an alphabetical order.

In his *Los villancicos*, he itemizes six *villancicos* not listed in his *catálogo*—*Albricias que se acerca* (p. 131), *Bien es que la tierra* (134), *Cesse ya* (135), *El merito asegura* (123), *Llegad mortales* (133), and *Los bronces se enternezcan* (121).

²¹ *Los villancicos*, p. 42.



in any villancico is six;²² most demand only three or four. Those for four voices call for either two tipples, alto, and tenor; or tiple, two altos and tenor. In conformity with the usual contemporary praxis elsewhere throughout Latin America, Salas often provided vocal bass parts in his Latin works, but none in his Spanish-text compositions. One cantada—the Christmas 1793 *Unos pastores*, calls for a duo (alto and tenor), another cantada in the same 1793 set—the texts of which were published by Santiago de Cuba's first printer, Matías Alqueza²³—begins with a solo recitado followed by a solo aria.²⁴

²² *Ibid.* p. 45. The only example is *El que impera soberano* composed for Christmas 1798. But of the 2 tipples, 2 altos, 2 tenors, one each is a soloist.

²³ J. T. Medina, "Santiago de Cuba," in his *Notas bibliográficas referentes a las primeras producciones de la imprenta en algunas ciudades de América Española* (Santiago de Chile: Imprenta Elzeviriana, 1904), p. 89.

²⁴ *Los villancicos*, pp. 180–181.

The keys used in his dated villancicos were confined to F Major (1783, 1788, 1790, 1795, 1800), C Major (1786, 1789, 1793, 1798), C minor (1789, 1791), G major (1791, 1798, 1799), D minor (1791, 1801), G minor (1793), A minor (1793), and E minor (1799). Among undated villancicos, 6 are in G Major, 5 in F Major, 3 in B flat Major, 2 each in D Major, A Major, and E minor, 1 each in E flat Major, G minor, and D minor. In summary, only a third of the villancicos cultivate minor keys, the rest major. Only once in his entire repertory did he figure the accompaniment, the harp part in the autograph of his 1783 villancico *Ya en el apacible puerta*, second bar, containing the numeral 2 over F, to specify third inversion of the G dominant-7th chord.

How much of Salas's villancico poetry was written by himself remains for another study. However, his texts both before and after ordination to the priesthood March 20, 1790, were always for Christmas season celebrations, and always eschewed any

Baxo a Duo.

Bass part for the 1793 Christmas cantada, *Unos pastores*, in Salas's handwriting (Recitado followed by Pastorela).

mythological allusions; but, on the other hand, were replete with Biblical and other sacred allusions—as would befit the San Basilio seminary professor that he became no later than 1769.

V. PUPILS AND COLLABORATORS

Salas's chief collaborators began with his pupil Diego Hierrezuelo Girón, born at Santiago de Cuba November 11, 1752. At about eight years of age he entered the cathedral *capilla*, remaining until his voice broke, after which he entered the diocesan seminary. Already in minor orders when in 1779 named Villavicencio's successor as cathedral organist, he left in 1781 for ordination to the priesthood at Havana, returning home to continue as organist the next year. Relying on verse supplied by the youthful local poet Manuel María Pérez y Ramírez (*b* at Santiago de Cuba January 11, 1772) Hierrezuelo cooperated with Salas in presenting various *autos sacramentales* (sacred plays) offered between 1788 and 1794 to help raise funds for the reconstruction of the earthquake-damaged local Nuestra Señora del Carmen church.²⁵ Continuing organist until 1801, Hierrezuelo on September 18, 1801, wrote a letter to the cathedral chapter asking for repair of bellows and various ranks by a certain "Alcalá, teniente de milicias."²⁶ On Salas's death, the chapter deputed him, in company with Canon Aybar, to draw up an inventory of Salas's surviving compositions because "for more than thirty years, he had been the pupil, organist and companion of Salas in the *capilla de música*."²⁷

Around 1785 Francisco José Hierrezuelo, Francisco del Río, Francisco Xavier Fernández, and Francisco Portuondo had left the *capilla*, the first departing to Santo Domingo, the others to Havana or elsewhere. To attract them back, Salas proposed raising salaries, a suggestion adopted by the chapter May 13, 1785. The raises once approved, Francisco del Río, *capilla* first violinist, returned from

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 18–19. According to Carpentier, *La música en Cuba*, pp. 62–63, one of the *autos* titled *Don Juan* still survived, text and music, in a private owner's library.

²⁶ *Los villancicos*, p. 19.

²⁷ *Ibid.*: "ya que había sido, durante más de treinta años, discípulo, organista y compañero del maestro Salas en la capilla de música."

NOVENA

A JESUCRISTO CRUCIFICADO

BÁJO LA ADVOCACION DEL

SEÑOR DE LA MISERICORDIA,

TITULAR DE LA COFRADIA DE LA
MISMA APELACION ESTABLECIDA EN LA IGLESIA
DE SANTA LUCIA DE ESTA CIUDAD DE
SANTIAGO DE CUBA:

COMPUESTA

por el Presbítero don Estéban de Salas,
 maestro de capilla de esta Santa Metro-
 politana Iglesia. Ex Lector de Filosofía,
 i Teología, escolástica i moral. Ex Rector
 del Colegio Seminario de S. Basilio Mag-
 no, i de S. Francisco Javier de esta misma
 Ciudad.

—•••••—

CUBA.—1849.—Impresa en la oficina de don Matias
 Alqueza, i por ella en la de don Loreto Espinal,
 calle de san Pedro número 51.

Based in Santiago de Cuba's Santa Lucia Church the Confraternity of our Merciful Lord sponsored a Novena in 1849 in Crucified Jesus Christ's honor. The text, written by Esteban Salas, specifies him as cathedral chapelmaster, ex-Reader in Philosophy and Theology (scholastic and moral), and former Rector of St. Basil the Great Seminary and of St. Francis Xavier's College in Santiago de Cuba.

Havana, Francisco José Hierrezuelo from Santo Domingo, whither he had journeyed to receive the law degree *Doctor en Derecho*. Salas also in about 1791 obtained a post for a *trompa* (French horn), the appointment going to part-time printer, Matias Alqueza, who previously had held the post of *segundo contralto* at Havana.²⁸

²⁸ Two Salas villancicos dated 1791 call for an accompaniment of violines, bajo y trompa: *Escuchen el concerto a 4 and a 2*



Alqueza, thanks to a royal *cedula* dated June 20, 1793, became manager of the print shop installed in the local San Basilio seminary. Two years later he stretched his wings still further by establishing a *capilla* directed by himself in the local Santa Lucía church, manifestly in competition with Salas's cathedral *capilla*. To force Alqueza's cessation, Salas temporarily withdrew from his cathedral post, only to be immediately reinstated by the chapter.²⁹ However, the worst event that befell Salas in his final decade was the revocation in 1793 of the cathedral *capilla*'s increased salary intake permitted by the chapter in May 1785. Having himself instigated the May 1785 increases, Salas was confronted by the chapter in 1796 with the obligation of paying back to the cathedral treasury all the raises for everyone in the *capilla* permitted eleven years earlier. To save himself from a monstrous debt, Salas on July 14, 1797, wrote a letter to the crown, transmitted through Juan Nepomuceno de Pedrosa, governor of Santiago, petitioning for cancellation of the debt. At last arrived a royal *cedula* dated November 27, 1801, remitting not only the debt, but confirming a cathedral prebend requested for him by the Santiago chapter in a *Memorial elevado al Rey Carlos IV por el cabildo eclesiástico de la catedral de Santiago de Cuba, donde se ruega para Salas una prebenda que le sirviera de retiro en su vejez*, dated April 12, 1796.³⁰ Salas's merits at age 71 included—apart from six years teaching philosophy—service since 1784 as theological chair holder in the local San Basilio seminary, a chair which he still occupied in

voces, and *Una nave mercantil* a 3 and a 2 voces (*El más antiguo documento*, p. 167). Apart from being a singer, Alqueza played five instruments (flute, oboe, French horn, *bajon*, and violin). In 1793 he published Salas's *Letras de los villancicos que se han de cantar en la Santa Yglesia Cathedral de Cuba en los Maytines del nacimiento de Christo nuestro Señor* (*Los villancicos*, pp. 179–182), this being Santiago de Cuba's first imprint. See Hernández Balaguer, "Esteban Salas y el primer impreso hecho en Santiago de Cuba," *Revista de la Universidad de Oriente*, 1/2 (March 1962), 32–39.

²⁹ Alqueza, himself a native of Santiago de Cuba, was a contentious agitator (*d* at Santiago de Cuba, January 8, 1819). See *Los villancicos*, pp. 23–24.

³⁰ *Los villancicos*, p. 36, note 84.

1798.³¹ At his ordination to the priesthood by Bishop Antonio Feliú y Sanches in local Dolores church March 20, 1790, had been performed his *Stabat Mater* in 14 movements and his villancico dedicated to Our Lady of Sorrows, *Quién es ésta, cielos*, for two tiples, alto, and tenor, and solo tiple and alto voices accompanied by two violins and *bajo*.³² At his funeral after his death July 15, 1803, the entire chapter assisted in the Carmen church where he was buried. Carpentier printed the sonnet apostrophizing Salas's irreproachable life that was published at Santiago for circulation at his exequies.³³

VI. SUMMATION

Born seven years before F.J. Haydn, Salas died at 77, Haydn's same age at death. For the honor due Cuba's first native-born musical genius, Salas's *opera omnia* deserves a critical edition. Hernández Balaguer's untimely death at age only 37 prevented his completing such an edition. Venezuela's earliest composer whose works are still extant was native-born Juan Manuel Olivares (1760–1797); the "father of Brazilian music" was native-born José Maurício Nunes Garcia (1767–1830); but at Mexico City cathedral during Salas's lifetime the *maestros de capilla* succeeding Manuel de Zumaya (*d* at Oaxaca December 21, 1755) were all European imports.

Salas, although by no means the first native-born composer in the Americas, fully justified Carpentier's exaltation of a genius who knew how to create *multum in parvo*, given the necessarily restricted musical environment in which he labored. Let Cuban musicologists, treading in Hernández Balaguer's pathway, now give to the outer world Salas's beauties in truly adequate recordings and comprehensive volumes that will permit Salas's muse to fulfill the dreams that brought it into existence in the dawn of Cuba's musical greatness.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 36, note 85.

³² *El más antiguo documento*, p. 171; *Los villancicos*, pp. 128–129 (tiple I incipits for estribillo and coplas on p. 154).

³³ *La música en Cuba*, p. 65.



RESPIRAD, O MORTALES

CANTADA A SOLO Y A 3 CON VLS. Y BAJO

KALENDA DE 1799

ESTEBAN SALAS

RECITADO

Musical score for the first system, including vocal parts and strings.

TIPLE

ALTO
Res-pi-rad oh mortales a - fli - gi - dos cesen ya los sus - pi - ros, y ge - mi - dos pues ver - se de - ja - rá ya el sal - va - dor quien ha de re - me -

TENOR

VIOLIN I

VIOLIN II

VIOLONCELLO

Musical score for the second system, including vocal parts and strings.

ALTO
- diar a - tro do - lar

TENOR
su ve - ni - da tan breve ya se es - pe - re que po - co vi - vi - rá quien no lo vie - re.

Musical score for the third system, including vocal parts and strings.

ARIA (Pastorela)

Musical score for the first part of the aria, including vocal parts and strings.

ARIA (Pastorela)

Musical score for the second part of the aria, including vocal parts and strings.

First system of musical notation, consisting of three staves. The top two staves are empty. The bottom staff contains a melodic line with dynamics *p* and *f*. A circled number 20 is placed above the staff.



Second system of musical notation, consisting of three staves. The top two staves are empty. The bottom staff contains a melodic line with dynamics *p* and *f*.



Third system of musical notation, consisting of three staves. The top two staves are empty. The bottom staff contains a melodic line with lyrics: "SOLO" above and "Pues no — ya la au — ro — ra" below. A circled number 20 is placed above the staff.

Fourth system of musical notation, consisting of three staves. The top two staves are empty. The bottom staff contains a melodic line with dynamics *p* and *f*. A circled number 20 is placed above the staff.



40

del di - vi - no sol muy cer - cés - tá el dí - a de la re - den - ción muy

40

cer - cés - tá el dí - a de la re - den - ción.

f

50

Pues ra - ya la au - ra - ra del di - vi - no sol muy

Pues ra - ya la au - ra - ra del di - vi - no sol muy

Pues ra - ya la au - ra - ra del di - vi - no sol muy

50



cer - coes tá el dí - a de la re - den - ción muy cer - coes - tá el dí - a de la

cer - coes tá el dí - a de la re - den - ción muy cer - coes - tá el dí - a de la

cer - coes - tá el dí - a de la re - den - ción muy cer - coes - tá el dí - a de la



re - den - ción.

re - den - ción. Can - ten pues los hom - bres

re - den - ción.



en es - tao - ca - sión ca - sies po - se - sión pues

ca - sies po - se - sión

en que su es - pe - ran - za ca - sies po - se - sión pues



ra — ya la — ra — ra del di — vi — no sol muy cer — cces — tá el dí — a

pués ra — ya la — ra — ra del di — vi — no sol muy cer — cces — tá el dí — a

ra — ya la — ra — ra del di — vi — no sol muy cer — cces — tá el dí — a

de la re — den — ción muy cer — cces — tá el dí — a de la re — den — ción de la

de la re — den — ción muy cer — cces — tá el dí — a de la re — den — ción de la

de la re — den — ción muy cer — cces — tá el dí — a de la re — den — ción de la

re — den — ción.

re — den — ción.

re — den — ción.



100

Cuan -



PRESTO

100

toan tes nos ven-ga ven-ga nues tro Dios ven ga nues tro pa-dre ven-ga!

PRESTO

100



Re den tor



ven - ga ven - ga

cu - an - ta - tes nos ven - ga ven - ga nues - tro Dios ven - ga nues - tro

ven - ga ven - ga

110

ven - ga ven - ga ven - ga

pa - dre ven - ga! Re - den - tor ven - ga! Re - den - tor ven -

ven - ga ven - ga ven - ga

ven - ga nues - tro Pa - dre ven - ga! Re - den - tor ven - ga! Re - den - tor.

- ga nues - tro Pa - dre ven - ga! Re - den - tor ven - ga! Re - den - tor.

ven - ga nues - tro Pa - dre ven - ga! Re - den - tor ven - ga! Re - den - tor.

120



LOS BRONCES SE ENTERNEZCAN

VILLANCICO A DUO CON VLS. Y BAJO

ESTEBAN SALAS

ESTRIBILLO
DESPACIO

ALTO

TENOR

VIOLIN I

VIOLIN II

VIOLONCELLO

Los bron-ces se en-ter-nez-

Los bron-ces se en-ter-nez-

ca-
can

Li-qui-den-se las ro-cas

Li-qui-den-se las ro-cas

al o-ir las tris-tes que-jas que-jas

al o-ir las tris-tes que-jas que-jas



deu - no ma - dre que tier - na sien - te sien - te y llo - -
deu - na ma - dre que tier - na sien - te y llo - -

sus do - lo - res sus pe - nas y con - go - jas
sus do - lo - res sus pe - nas y con - go - jas

Ay de mí ay de mí que pa -
Ay de mí ay de mí

- dez - co so - la que pa - dez - co so - la so - la
que pa - dez - co so - la que pa - dez - co so - la



68 COPLAS

Yo soy la Vir-gen Madre en un tiem-po di-cha-da mas ahora me gtor-
 Yo soy la es - pa-ña-nte que ce - le - bré mis ba-das mas cuando illo-ra
 Yo soy la hi - ja que - ri-da con es - ta - je - cu - to - ria mas huérfa-na que

79

- men - ta mas ahora me gtor - men - ta de mis pa - sa - dos di - chas la me - mo - ria la me - mo - ria
 viu - da mas cuando illo - ra viu - da no qui - sie - ras cor - dan - me que fue - so - sa que fue - so - sa
 dan - do mas huérfa-na que dan - do mis pe - nas ya mar - gu - ras se re - do - blan se re - do - blan

COPLAS D.C. dos veces para las coplas 2ª y 3ª

TOQUEN PRESTO A FUEGO

VILLANCICO DE NAVIDAD A 4 CON VLS Y BAJO

1786

ESTRIBILLO ALLEGRO

ESTEBAN SALAS

TIPLE

ALTO I

ALTO II

TEMOR

VIOLIN I

VIOLIN II

VOLONCELLO



The first system of the musical score consists of five staves. The top three staves are empty. The fourth staff contains a melodic line with various note values and rests. The fifth staff contains a bass line with a steady rhythmic pattern.

The second system of the musical score consists of five staves. The top three staves are empty. The fourth staff contains a melodic line with various note values and rests. The fifth staff contains a bass line with a steady rhythmic pattern.

The third system of the musical score consists of five staves. The top three staves are empty. The fourth staff contains a melodic line with various note values and rests. The fifth staff contains a bass line with a steady rhythmic pattern. Below the staves, there are three lines of lyrics: "To-quen prestat fuego sue-ne la cam-pa-na qel por-tal que ve-mos".



20

segúen vi-vas lla-mas deim-pul - so vio-len-to ye-fi-ca-cia deim-pul - so vio-len-to ye-fi-ca-cia de

segúen vi-vas lla-mas deim-pul - so vio-len - to deár-dien - tee-fi-ca-cia deim-pul - so vio-len - to deár-dien - tee-fi-ca-cia de

segúen vi-vas lla-mas deim-pul - so vio-len-to deár-dien - tee-fi-ca-cia deim-pul - so vio-len-to deár-dien - tee-fi-ca-cia deim-

im-pul-so vio-len-to deár-dien - te e-fi-ca-cia to-queñ pues a fue-go sue-ne la cam-pa-na.

im-pul-so vio-len-to deár-dien - te e-fi-ca-cia to-queñ pues a fue-go sue-ne la cam-pa-na.

- pul - so vio-len-to deár-dien-te e - fi - ca - cia to-queñ pues a fue-go sue-ne la cam-pa-na.

SOLO
No suene ni toquen

20

ni cui-ri - do ha-va pora-ees e - se in-cen-dio de tan bie-n in-un ga-lumbay no que-mo so - se en - toy no



da-fa del cie-lo long tra-í-do un ni - ña per gra-cia que-riendo en la tierra seen-cien - da y es-par-za que -

Pre-ven-gan noobstan - te
- rien-do en la tie - rra seen-cien - da y espar - za es - par - za.
Pre-ven-gan noobstan - te
Pre-ven-gan noobstan - te

de-gua lo que bas - ta pa - ra ob - viar en tiem - po cual-que - ra des - gra - cia pa - ra ob - viar en
de-gua lo que bas - ta pa - ra ob - viar en tiem - po cual-que - ra des - gra - cia pa - ra ob - viar en
de-gua lo que bas - ta pa - ra ob - viar en tiem - po cual-que - ra des - gra - cia pa - ra ob - viar en



52

tiem-po cualque-ra des-gra-cia.

Ja-más han po-di-do por mu-chas las a-guas por mu-chas las a-guas lo oc-

tiem-po cualque-ra des-gra-cia.

tiem-po cualque-ra des-gra-cia.

- ti-vo im-pe-dir de tan no-ble cau-sa de tan no-ble cau-sa.

53

Pues si na-hay re-me-dio de-jé-mos-lo a-gr-da yo-ja-lá que pren-da hastagm

na-hay re-me-dio que ar-da que pren-da

Pues si na-hay re-me-dio de-jé-mos-lo a-gr da yo-ja-lá que pren-da hastagm

Pues si na-hay re-me-dio de-jé-mos-lo a-gr da yo-ja-lá que pren-da hastagm



nues-tras al-mas ya-ja-lá que pren-da has-tan nues-tras has-tan nues-tras

nuestras almas

en nuestras almas ya-ja-lá que pren-da has-tan nues-tras al-mas nues-tras

nues-tras al-mas ya-ja-lá que pren-da has-ta en nues-tras

al-mas que pren-da pren-das-ta en nues-tras al-mas.

ya-ja-lá que pren-da has-ta en nues-tras al-mas.

al-mas que pren-da que pren-da has-tan nues-tras al-mas al-mas.

al-mas que pren-da que pren-da has-tan nues-tras al-mas.

COPLAS

Síe! Ni-foas el ma-nan-tal de que pro-ce-de tal-lla ma pro-ce-de tal

De fue-go tan mis-te-rio-so y de su dul-ce e-fi-ca cia de su

Y cuan-do lle-go-ra el ca-so qen-tre su ar-dor ce-es-pi-ra roen-tre suar



lla — ma — tal — lla — ma —
 dor — ces — fi — ca — cia —
 za — ra

por — yag — bra — zar — me — con
 a — le — gra — ra — me — yo
 en — tan — ces — mo — rir — me

di — aun — quea — mie — lla — meq — bra — za — va — sa — la — man — ra — me — a — bra — za — ra —
 ser — — — — — ran — na — con — ten — to — con — ten — to — co — mou — na — pas — cua.

Por di — cha — tan — ta — vic — ti — mas — to — dos — fue — ran —
 Y quien du noes — da — ra — ser — de — tan — dig — na — ho — que — ra — ha —
 Hay que noes — na — da — el — gran — jean — me — jor — gue — ra — ha —
 Por di — cha — tan — ta — vic — ti — mas — to — dos — fue — ran —
 Y quien du noes — da — ra — ser — de — tan — dig — na — ho — que — ra — ha —
 Hay que noes — na — da — el — gran — jean — me — jor — gue — ra — ha —



fue — non — ga — na de — bue — na de — bue — ga — na
 que — vi — da — vi a — vien — te a — vien — te a — as — cua — de — vi —
 fue — non — ga — na de — bue — na de — bue — ga — na
 que — vi — da — vi a — vien — te a — vien — te a — as — cua — de — vi —
 fue — non — ga — na de — bue — na de — bue — ga — na
 que — vi — da — vi a — vien — te a — vien — te a — as — cua — de — vi —

bue — na ga — na na.
 vien — te en te as cua.
 lid en te la pa trio.
 bue — na ga — na na.
 vien — te en te la pa trio.
 lid en te la pa trio.
 bue — na ga — na na.
 vien — te en te la pa trio.
 lid en te la pa trio.

TK

D.C. las COPLAS,

dos veces, para

hacer la 2ª y 3ª

Musical notation for the second system, including vocal lines and piano accompaniment.



TU, MI DIOS, ENTRE GALAS

CANTADA A SOLO CON VLS. Y BAJO

ESTEBAN SALAS

RECITADO

TIPLE
 Tú mi Dios en-tre ga-las ¡Túm-tre bru-tos! ¡Tú po-bre! ¡Tú des-nu-do! ¡Túhe-la-di-to!

VIOLIN I

VIOLIN II

BAJO

Tan-toocul-tar Se-ñor tus a-tri-bu-tos re-du-cir a tan paco ¡infi-ni-to ¡Es e-llo majes-tad? ¿Ser Dios es e-so? ¡Ay mi bien a-es a-

VIOLIN I

VIOLIN II

BAJO

- marme con ex-ce-so y co-moen to-do su-mo es tu ca-H-ño mas ri-coy grande cuando po-breyy ni-ño.

VIOLIN I

VIOLIN II

BAJO

ARIA (Andante)



Musical score for the first system, measures 28-32. It consists of three staves: a vocal line and two piano accompaniment staves. The music features a complex rhythmic pattern with many triplets. Measure numbers 28, 29, 30, 31, and 32 are indicated above the vocal staff.

Musical score for the second system, measures 33-37. It includes a vocal line with lyrics and two piano accompaniment staves. The lyrics are: "La cu - na en que se - ny - mi - lla de tu dei - dad el sol es - fe - ra es en que". The piano part includes a dynamic marking of *p* (piano). Measure numbers 33, 34, 35, 36, and 37 are indicated above the vocal staff.Musical score for the third system, measures 38-43. It includes a vocal line with lyrics and two piano accompaniment staves. The lyrics are: "bri - lla el fue - go de tua - mor es - fe - ras en que bri - lla el fue - go de tua -". The piano part includes a dynamic marking of *p* (piano). Measure numbers 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, and 43 are indicated above the vocal staff.

Musical score for the fourth system, measures 44-49. It includes a vocal line with lyrics and two piano accompaniment staves. The lyrics are: "- mor es - fe - ra es en que bri - lla el fue - go de tu a - mor el fue - go de tu a -". Measure numbers 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, and 49 are indicated above the vocal staff.



— mor el fue — go de tu — mor.

La cu — na en que se tu — mi — lla de tu del — dad el

sol es — fe — ra es en que bri — lla el fue — go de tu a — mor el fue — go

de a — mor



es - fe - rage en que



bi - lla el fue - go de tua - mor el fue - go de tua - mor



el fue - go de tua - mor.



FINAL

Je - sús Je - sús que lla - ma aar -



- dien - te res - plan - dor en el seg - bra - sagi al - ma seen - cien - del co - ra - zón seen -

- cien - de el co - ra - zón en el seg - bra - sa el al - ma seen - cien - del co - ra - zón.