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Title: A batalha de Toro

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Release date: April 29, 2008 [eBook #25238]

Most recently updated: January 3, 2021

Language: Portuguese

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A BATALHA DE TORO

A BATALHA DE TORO

POR

Antonio Francisco Barata

BARCELLOS

Typographia da *Aurora do Cavado*

Editor—R. V.

1896

Tiragem apenas de 100 exemplares

20 em papel de linho, 80 em papel d'algodão.

N.º ____

Por muitas vezes hei escripto, e mais uma ainda aqui o faço, embora com isso se possam morder uns tantos mal soffridos, a quem a cega Fortuna tem dispensado innumerados favores mais devidos a seus inexplicaveis caprichos, d'ella, do que ao merito proprio, d'elles, e invejosos, apesar dos beneficios com que injustificadamente colmados, do valor real de outros a quem a mesma Fortuna tem sido sempre adversa; mais uma vez sobre tantas outras direi que é Antonio Francisco Barata, da Bibliotheca de Evora, um dos mais talentosos, dos mais sabedores, dos mais conspicuos e benemerentes homens de letras do nosso paiz, e d'aquelles a quem devidos são mais respeitos e considerações; muito mais que tudo, e o muitissimo que é e vale, bem documentado em todos os ramos, bem o posso dizer, da litteratura, a si só e ao seu incansado e fadigoso labutar o deve, desajudado de todo o auxilio e protecção; e muito mais que a seu luminoso espirito, vasta erudição, e superior manusear da opulenta lingua patria, predicado hoje tão raro até entre os nossos escriptores de primeira plana, reúne uma acendrada probidade litteraria, um indiscutivel amor das cousas portuguezas, e de suas glorias, um caracter levantado e austero, e uma hombridade respeitavel e digna, não bandeados ás conveniencias ordinarias da vida.

Irresistivelmente me acodem estas palavras aos bicos da penna, ao lançar, em reduzida e modesta edição, ao nosso mundo litterario, o breve trabalho por Antonio Francisco Barata escripto ao correr da penna e de momento, a proposito do que nas *Reparaciones Historicas* escreveu sobre a «Batalha de Toro», o sabio academico hespanhol o sr. Don A. Sanchez Moguel. Esta é que é uma verdadeira «reparação historica», muito para agradecer e louvar a quem a traçou.[A]

Rodrigo Velloso

[A] Vão aqui estas palavras, irresistiveis como o digo, e tanto como a força da verdade, á revellia do sr. Antonio Francisco Barata, e bem receio que ellas molestem sua conhecida modestia. Se assim fôr, releve-m'as elle com sua usual benevolencia.

A BATALHA DE TORO

1.º de Março de 1476

Desde que, ha um anno, li o notavel livro do Academico Madrileno, o sr. A. Sanches Moguel: *Reparaciones historicas*, impresso em Madrid em 1894, me ficaram desejos de revistar os conhecimentos que eu tinha, havia muito, acerca da *Batalha de Toro*, ou de *Zamora*, pois que o livro a isso me convidava 'nesta affirmativa: "Toro es, en efecto, el desquite de Aljubarrota", que se lê a paginas 292.

Permeiando-se a meus desejos a feitura de um livro de historia patria: *Monja de Cistér*, terminado e em via de publicidade, só agora vou mostrar ao illustre amigo, sabio e cathedratico o resultado da revista e confirmação do que eu tinha apprendido, em leituras antigas.

Primeiramente: para que Toro seja *desquite* (desforra) de Aljubarrota, importa estudar as circumstancias, os pormenores dos dois combates. Em poucas palavras direi o que se colhe dos livros, tanto portuguezes como castelhanos.

Ambas as batalhas se feriram em campina plana, ou levemente ondulada.

Combateram em Aljubarrota 30:000 castelhanos contra 10:000 portuguezes, numeros redondos.

O rei de Portugal batalhou a pé, como qualquer cavalleiro; os castelhanos traziam cavallaria, que os portuguezes não tinham; traziam a rudimentar artilheria, os *trons*; logo: tinham por si o numero, tres vezes maior, artilheria e cavallaria.

Ninguem contesta a derrota total, formalissima dos castelhanos em menos de meia hora!

Em Toro, ou Zamora, empenharam-se forças que não se estudaram ainda bem; uns dão maior numero aos castelhanos (o que é natural) outros lhe concedem forças eguaes ou quasi eguaes.

O rei de Castella não combateu na batalha de Toro; collocou-se a uma legoa de distancia (certamente lembrando Aljubarrota) e desatou a fugir mal viu volver costas a seis alas do seu exercito, ante as forças esforçadas do filho de D. Affonso V; os portuguezes levavam artilheria; o combate prolongou-se por tres horas, com muita valentia de parte a parte; Affonso V não venceu; mas venceu o filho; logo:

A Batalha de Toro não foi a desforra da de Aljubarrota, porque para o ser, forçoso seria haver egualdade nos elementos constitutivos dos dois exercitos. Para uma cousa ser antithese de outra preciso é que o seja em todas as suas particularidades.

A Batalha de Toro foi ganha pelas forças de Castella contra as de Affonso V, por uma dessas eventualidades da guerra, que nem seus cabos explicam, muitas vezes, e a que as crenças religiosas chamam: a influencia do Deus das victorias. Não nego que o mesmo se possa dizer da de Aljubarrota; possivel seria que S. Jorge vencesse 'nella a Sant'Iago.

Mas a batalha de Toro foi ganha pelas forças do Principe D. João de Portugal e do Bispo d'Evora, D. Garcia de Menezes, contra as seis alas do exercito de Castella, que fugiram acossadas e desfeitas.

Em Aljubarrota não ficára um castelhano no campo, que não fosse ou morto, ou prisioneiro.

Em Zamora ficou senhor do campo em que se collocára depois da lucta com os seus vencedores, o Principe de Portugal, D. João.

Será, pois, isto um *desquite* de Aljubarrota?

Entendo que não.

Se escreverem que o fôra por ter posto fim á guerra desgraçada do ambicioso *Africano*, entendo que sim.

Mas, não basta esta synthese de leitura feita, que tem ares dogmaticos: preciso é o mostrar como tanto portuguezes, como castelhanos, como francezes, como allemães criticaram o combate de Toro. Começarei pelos de casa, como é natural:

—"E porem o Pryncipe depois do desbarato que fez, ally onde acabou de recolher sua jente, esteve no campo em hum corpo çarrado sem nunca mover atrás sua bandeira..."[1]

—"El Principe al tiempo del fracaso padecido de su Padre iba seguindo el alcance de las seys alas ya rotas, pero quando entendió lo que pasava (a derrota do pae) aun que non pudo revocar a todos de la corriente que llevavam apiñose con los que pudo y otros que de otra parte de su Padre vencida se le acercaron, en una elevacion..."

—"Fué vencida esta parte; (a de Affonso) confesamoslo; sin que lo doremos. Pero el huyr una del campo y quedar otra vitoriosa en el varrido de los contrarios, digan los doctos en los estudios militares que nombre há de tener, mientras yo que no los professo no sé como le hé de llamar, pues hallo quien no quiere que le llamemos vitoria..."[2]

—"..a nosso Senhor aprouve que nos deixassem o campo, adonde com gloriosa victoria permanecemos vencedores..."[3]

—Porem depois, tocado de ambição
E gloria de mandar, amara e bella,
Vae commetter Fernando de Aragão,
Sobre o potente reino de Castella.
Ajunta-se a inimiga multidão
Das soberbas e varias gentes della,
Desde Cadix ao alto Pyrineo,
Que tudo ao rei Fernando obedeceo.

Não quiz ficar nos reinos ocioso
O mancebo Joanne; e logo ordena
De ir ajudar ao pae ambicioso,
Que então lhe foi ajuda não pequena.
Sahio-se emfim do trance perigoso
Com fronte não turvada, mas serena,
Desbaratado o pae sanguinolento;
Mas ficou duvidoso o vencimento;

Porque o filho sublime e soberano,
Gentil, forte, animoso cavalleiro,
Nos contrarios fazendo immenso damno
Todo um dia ficou no campo inteiro.[4]

—"... em que cada um dos exercitos ficou meio vencedor, meio vencido..."

"O Príncipe D. João depois de seguir & de perseguir por largo espaço aos que vencera, & lhe fugião, voltando a soccorer seu pay, e achando-o vencido, se manteve no campo, senhor d'elle, como vencedor..."[5]

Derrotado D. Affonso fugiu de noite para Castro Nuño. D. Fernando fugiu tambem para Zamora. O Príncipe vencedor ficou no campo, onde esteve tres dias.[6]

—"Le fils á Alphonse V, ayant culbuté partout les ennemis, resta maitre du champ de bataille et put se croire vainqueur".[7]

—"O Príncipe ficou no campo cõ sua victoria e não curou seguir o alcance..."[8]

Não cito mais portugueses, por inutil, para mostrar o que escreveram os Castelhanos, que devem ser insuspeitos:

—"D. Enrique conde de Alla de Liste llegó em seguimento de los que huian hasta la puente de Toro: a la vuelta fué preso por cierta banda de sol enemigos que con Don Juan Principe de Portugal sin ser desbaratados se estuvieron en un altozano en ordenanza hasta muy tarde."[9]

—"Il fut long et sanglant; et quoique les Castillans fussent les plus forts, la victoire pencha plusieurs fois du côté des Portugais..."[10]

—"Ferdinand défit l'aile droite des ennemis, commandée par Alphonse; mais le Prince de Portugal eut la même avantage sur le Castillan..."[11]

—"Pudiera esta victoria costar muy caro, si el Principe de Portugal, que tuvo siempre su esquadron en ordenança, y estava muy cerca de las riberas del rio, acometiera a los nuestros, que andavan van desordenados, y esparzidos..."[12]

—"El Principe Don Juan se albergó con una parte del exercito baxo las murallas de Toro..."[13]

—"Les succès de cette bataille fut assez douteux..."[14]

—"L'aile gauche de l'armée Portugaise s'etant ébranlée en bel ordre, l'aile droite des Castillans se mit en état de la recevoir par le même mouvement; mais les arquebusades ayant joué avec beaucoup de furie, & le choc étant violent de la part des Portugais, les Castillans plièrent & prirent la fuite..."[15]

—"E luego aquellas seis capitanes castellanos, que abemos dicho que iban á la mano derecha de la batalla del Rey contra los quales vino á encontrar el Principe de Portugal y el Obispo de Eborá, volvieron las espaldas, é se pusieron en fuida..."[16]

—"El Principe de Portugal, visto que la gente del Rey su padre era vencida é desbaratada, pensando reparar algunas de los que iban fuyendo, sobióse sobre un cabezo, á donde tañendo las trompetas, é haciendo fuegos, é recogiendo su gente, estuvo quedo con su batalla, é no consentió salir della á ninguno..."[17]

—"El Principe erederero de Portugal conociendo-se vencido el Rey su padre, acogiose a un lugar alto com su esquadro donde recogio a los que podia..."[18]

—"La batalla de Toro, aunque no tan funesta para los portuguezes como habia sido la de Aljubarrota para los Castellanos..."[19]

—"Ferdinand défit l'aile droite des ennemis commandée par Alfonse, mais le Prince de Portugal eut le même avantage sur le Castillan..."[20]

—"A la fin, le prince resta seul sur le champ de bataille en vainqueur après la défaite du corps principal. Jusqu'au moment de cette défaite, João avait poursuivi les six divisions battues par lui..."[21]

Basta; mais citações de boas auctoridades poderia lembrar, se me não tornara fastidioso.

Vê-se de portuguezes, castelhanos, de francezes e de outros que a affirmativa do sr. Moguel foi patriótica em demasia.

Bem disse Fernão Alvares do Oriente:

"As cousas todas a apparencia têm
Conforme os olhos são com que se vêem".

O sr. Moguel viu a batalha de Toro com olhos de castelhano (não de hespanhol, como a todos nos considera os habitantes da Peninsula) eeu vejo-a com os de portuguez; porque força é dizel-o, as duas

nações existem autonomas, apesar da natureza ter formado para ambas dos Pyreneus ao extremo occidente da Europa este trato de terra fertilimo da Peninsula, que a politica e a historia retalharam, não direi para sempre; mas para enquanto Portugal fôr cubiçado, e se poder equilibrar na balança dos interesses europeus.

Para muito escrever é o assumpto, se aqui fôra lugar para isso.

Em vista do que ahi fica escripto e transcripto, para mim, nascido em Portugal, sem animadversão nenhuma, a *Batalha do Toro não foi a desforra da de Aljubarrota*. Não a tem mesmo na historia.

Foi um combate indeciso.

Rocio d'apar S. Braz d'Evora,

24 de Dezembro de 1895.

[1] Ruy de Pina: *Chronica de D. Affonso V* cap. 191.

[2] Faria e Souza: *Europa Port.* 2.º pag. 407.

[3] Carta de D. João II fazendo mercê a Lourenço de Faria, seu alferes. Torre do Tombo, L.º 2.º da Extremadura, pag. 274.

[4] Camões: *Lusiadas* C. IV est. 77-78 e 79.

[5] F. de S. Maria: *Anno Historico* tom. I.º pag.278.

[6] Damião de Gões: *Chron. do Principe D. João*, cap. 78-79.

[7] A. A. Teixeira de Vasconcelos: *Portugal et la maison de Bragance*, pag. 537.

[8] Acenheiro, *Ineditos da Hist. Port.* T. 5.º pag. 273.

[9] Mariana: *Hist.* L.º XXIV cap. X pag. 165.

[10] Romay: "Histoire" etc. cap. XVII.

[11] *Dictionnaire des Batailles*, Paris, 1771 t. 3º.

[12] Çurita: *Anales de Aragon*, t. 4.º L.º XIX Ediç. de 1610.

[13] D. A. S. *Compendio historico de los Reyes de el Aragon*, Madrid, 1797, t. 2.º pag 312.

[14] *Abregé chronologique de l'histoire de Espagne et de Portugal*. Paris, 1765, t. 1.º pag. 694.

[15] Colmenar: *Anales d'Espagne et de Portugal*, tom. 1.º pag. 299.

[16] Hernando de Pulgar: *Cron. de los reis catolicos*. Valencia, 1780, pag. 87.

[17] O mesmo Pulgar, pag. 89.

[18] Garibay: *Chron. d'España*, T. 2.º L.º VIII, pag. 1276 *in fine*.

[19] C. Ximenez de Sandoval: *Batalla do Aljubarrota*, pag. X.

[20] Desormeaux: *Abregé chronologique de l'histoire d'Espagne*, Paris. 1758, t. 3.º, pag. 25.

[21] Schaeffer: *Histoire de Portug.* pag. 555.

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