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由分裂到統一

— 北朝末期東、西戰爭 (531-577) 之研究

Battle between East And West In the End of North Dynasty (531 -577
A.D) - from Seperaton to Unification



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摘要

魏晉南北朝是長達近四百 (189-590) 年南北分裂，在西晉時曾有過短暫 (280-300) 的統一。北魏末期在六鎮亂後，歷經十餘年的動亂，於孝武帝永熙三年開啓了東魏、北齊與西魏、北周近達半世紀 (534—577) 的後三國時期。北朝歷經分裂到統一、混沌到有序，戰爭無疑扮演著催化角色，古有「國之大事，在祀與戎」，所謂「戎」，就是戰爭，一部人類文明發展史，幾乎等同一部戰爭史，而戰爭又是極其複雜的暴力行爲。兵法云：「兵者，國之大事，死生之地，存亡之道，不可不察也。」，實符西方兵聖克勞塞維茲所言「戰爭是政治的沿續 (工具)」。究其起因，乃其關係著國家興衰、民族存亡，故治軍者尤應知史、治史，此乃「以古爲鏡，可以知興替」之理。

眾所周知，北周武帝統一天下志向是由隋文帝所完成，平定突厥是由唐朝李氏所爲，然兩者皆淵源於東魏北齊、西魏北周，承襲自五胡十六國以來胡族所建立的國家。是時，是一個篡弑相尋、權臣當道的時代，各朝創立時，無不冀望長治久安，繼而平服北方，問鼎中原，然事與願違，往往失敗者多，觀其理：爲政者能體時務者存，悖時勢者亡。高歡與山東豪族聯盟，在廣阿、韓陵之戰反間分化對手，掌握北朝最爲精銳的尔朱兵團，奪取北魏政權。故同出尔朱餘黨，地分關河、權限東西的武人政權，爲爭奪北朝正朔，屢肇戰端，掀開捭闔縱橫的序幕。

初，東魏承繼尔朱榮大部勢力，實力遠勝對方，故多採攻勢；西魏雖弱，然在小關、沙苑等戰，藉機動兼程奇襲，大勝對手，關中得以立穩根基，從此高歡不敢西入；東魏記取失敗教訓，在河橋之戰，侯景牛刀小試，穩紮穩打，整暇以待，使西魏先勝後敗；河橋血戰中王思政脫穎而出，出鎮玉壁，由於高歡輕敵，準備未周，兵困城下，致東魏進行興和改革；在邙山之戰中，東西兩軍大規模決戰，西魏慘敗而歸，暴露宇文泰缺乏大軍指揮經驗，從此未圖東出。西魏被迫進行大規模軍、政改革，關中豪族進入政權。府兵制體系得以建立。爲打破東西僵局，東魏傾國之力，再犯玉壁，由於韋孝寬善守，使高歡心力困乏，鎩羽而歸，汾河南北防線逐漸形成。雖然西魏藉地形之用與攻守之勢，勝多敗少，卻始終無法擺脫東強西弱格局。然高歡、宇文泰同出身於北鎮戎伍，精練於統御、嫻熟於戰陣、擅揚於用兵，可謂並世稱雄。

侯景之亂打破後三國均勢，高澄能區分主從，先敗蕭淵明大軍、轉而驅逐侯景、進圍王思政，舉措可圈可點。長社攻守雖爲東魏第一大戰，卻爲侯景叛出所釀成危機畫上句點，王思政被俘頓成政治檯面樣板，顯現宇文泰排除異己與用人限制。高洋續其兄高澄之魏齊禪代後塵，宇文泰走出邙山兵敗陰影舉兵聲討，惟雙方故作姿態，各取所需，東西疆域始定。高洋全力南下，兵抵江北，進謀建康，惟其進取無方，陷入戰火泥淖。西魏則利用江南十年大亂，謀定而後動，握「跨

有荆、益」之利，取江陵，形成東西勢均力敵。

北周立，宇文護賡續宇文泰經略路線，結好突厥，聯手攻擊齊，當晉陽兵敗，使周認清突厥「好貨利」為不可恃，始懷獨力翦齊之志。隨東西勢力消長，齊對周並採守勢，內部展開河清政改，與陳友好。當周再度兵叩洛陽，齊精銳盡出，因宇文護節制不利，大敗而歸，多年儲備付之一炬。後因納華皎事，與陳長期互攻，齊又於南北興戎，致宇文護權威盡喪，疲以奔命，由於雙方內部爆發政爭，權臣悍將先後被誅。是時，西攻東守，緣晉陽武力餘威猶在，周多以敗作收。

北周武帝親政，對內面對宇文護執政重重弊端，亟思欲重整武力，須重起爐灶，於是開展系列政經興革，並毀佛、道，以增編戶，國勢為之大增。對外展開外交攻勢，聯陳擊齊，乘吳明徹北伐，規復淮南之際，大舉挺進洛陽，卻兵困金鏞、河陽，面對敵軍增援，武帝一時舊疾復發，主動退卻。周雖逐漸掌握戰場優勢，卻苦無對策進謀對手，時改弦易張由河東北進，已形成朝野共識。翌年周師再舉，北奪平陽，迫敵決戰。會戰中，利用齊後主紈袴心態，窮追猛打，使之欲振乏力，而晉陽一戰終成北齊勳貴勢力的迴光返照。北魏孝文帝、北周武帝在位有泰半時間，權力深受限制，俟其脫離束縛，宛若脫韁野馬，至死方休。

探討東魏、西魏；北齊、北周間勢力分合，玉壁、洛陽屢為武力交會，顯現黃河與河東、河陽等作戰要地的重要關係。是時，「表裏山河」的關隴、并州不祇是地略的重要，更是軍民面對外患，凝聚共識，轉化成一致對外的精神表徵。何以西魏北周得以勝出，在於其能藉廟堂之算、形勝之地、胡漢交融、嚴法治世、寓兵於民，凝聚出生生不息的戰力，終成統一大業。

Battle between East And West In the End of North Dynasty (531 -577 A.D) - from Separation to Unification

Summary

In the separation of Wei, Jin and the South & North Dynasties which lasted 400 years, however, it had a short unification during Western Jin Dynasty. With the unstable political status in the end of Northern Wei lasted for decades after the riot of Six Frontier Towns, the Later Three Period, established by Eastern Wei, Northern Qi, Western Wei and Northern Zhou, began in the third year of Yongxi year of Xiao Wu Di, and lasted for almost half century. Wars played an important role when the Northern Dynasties went through separation to unification, chaos to peace. The elderly said “Important matter of the country, is offering sacrifice and *rong*.” The word “*rong*” in Chinese means battle. The history of human civilizing progress is like a war history, and war is extremely complex and violent. The Art of War mentioned “It is a matter of life and death, a road either to safety or to ruin. Hence it is a subject of inquiry which can on no account be neglected.” It had the same idea “war may overlap with the political philosophy” that Karl von Clausewitz brought up. Politics has magnificent relationship with prosperity and decline of a nation and its people. “Take ancient as the mirror, may know the prosperity and decline,” that’s why we military directors should know history better.

As we know, the emperor of Northern Zhou’s ambition of ruling the world was accomplished by Emperor Wen of Sui; the Li’s of Tang dynasty stroke Turks. No matter what, both of these two dynasties stemming from Eastern Wei, Northern Qi, Western Wei and Northern Zhou; inheriting The Five Barbarians and the Sixteen Kingdoms built by Hu. That was a usurping, and powerful authorities’ time. Of course, every ruler eager to build a stable and peace country for good, then conquer the north to unify China when each dynasty was built up. However, many of them failed, because of they didn’t understand the political environment for sure. Gao Huan forged an alliance with notable families, using spies to disunite his enemies in the war of Guang'a and Han Ling. He held the best corps commanded by Erzhu to seize the policy of Northern Wei. Military which stemming from the rumps of Erzhu controlling the government started wars to contest for the political power of Northern Dynasty, and evolved the shape of lobbyism in military affairs.

Eastern Wei inherited the power of Erzhu, its strength was distinctive then opponents, and on the initiative position. Gao Huan didn’t dare to invade the western side due to Western Wei was weak in political status, but had firm basic at Guanzhong, waited for a chance to have a sudden attack at Xian Guan and Shawan to gain the triumph. Eastern Wei learned a lesson, in war of He Qiao, Hou Jing planned and proceeded strategy steadily,

made Western Wei gained the triumph first, but be defeated at last. In the war of He Qiao, Wang Sizheng defended Yubi, and performed himself well, at the same time; Gao Huan underestimated the enemy without doing full preparation caused his troops being trapped in the town. At the same period, Xinghe revolution was held in Western Wei. In the war of Mang Hill, Western Wei was defeated totally and never attacked eastern side, it also revealed that Yuwen Tai lacking the experience of commanding troops. After all of these, a full screen revolution in military and politic was held, notable families of Guanzhong stepped in political power, then formed Fubing system. For breaking the deadlock of east and west, Eastern Wei raided on Yubi again. Due to the firm defense of Wei Xiaokuan, he made Guo Huan's troop retreat, and formed Fen River as separation of south and north. Although Western Wei gained the most of triumphs by its well geographical superiority and strategies in offense and defense, it couldn't weep out the truth that the east was much more powerful than the west. Guo Huan and Yuwen Tai came of the army of Beizhen, are both good at commanding, arranging battle array, and using strategies, could be called heroic duo.

The riot of Hou Jing broke the even situation of the Later Three Period. Gao Cheng could stress on issues, he defeated the army of Xiao Yuanming, expelled Hou Jing, then envelopment to strike Wang Sizheng's troop, his achievement in military was obviously. Though the war at Changshe was very important battle, it was a period of crisis that the riot of Hou Jing led before. The capturing of Wang Sizheng was a sample that showed Yuwen Tai had got rid of the restriction in using talent, and eliminating counterforce. Guo Yang followed his brother - Guo Cheng's path, at the mean time, Yuwen Tai went out the shadow of failing at Mang Hill, sent out the troops to start a war. However, they just wanted to get what they want. Northern Qi put effort on attacking the southern side, when the troops arrived at north of the River, they planned to move to Jiankang. Sadly, Guo Yang had no ability to ruling a country; he made the country stocked in the war fire within south and north. In the unstable status of the south of the River in decades, with the geographical advantage to take Jiangling, Western Wei moved before full planning to form a balance situation of east and west.

After the Northern Zhou was built, Yuwen Hu followed the invading plan of Yuwen Tai, the situation of political situation was going better, and form a alliance with Turks to attack Chi. When the army failed at Jinyang, Zhou realized that Turks took advantage as a priority, so started to plan to destroy Qi independently. Political revolution of Heqing was promoted in Northern Qi, and it maintained a good relationship with Chen Dynasty, on the other hand, took offending position of diplomatic policy. While Zhou attacked Loyang, Northern Zhou defeated due to Yuwen Hu's missing in defending strategy.

Emperor Wu of Northern Zhou hold the reins of government, faced many abuses of nation, he reconsidered rallying the army force, and developing reformation in financial

and political. Furthermore, he announced to release slaves and rouseabout, banned Buddhism and Taoism to ask them return to civil to increase the number of household. On the other hand, in the strategy of diplomacy, he moved the troops to Luoyang to attack Qi with Chen, meanwhile Wu Mingche's expedition moved to the north, expected to take the north of the Yangtze River, and saw the region of Huan River as the next target; however, the troops stuck at Jinyang and Heyang area, Yuwen Yong was jumpy about the military situation, caused his chronic illness relapsed, then decided to draw off at the end. Although Zhou got the advantage of the war field, it didn't have proper strategy to beat the opponent, then made a new plan to attack Qi from the northeast of the river. Next year, Zhou sent troops to take Pingyang, forced Qi to fight back, however the war at Jinyang demonstrated the decreasing force of Northern Qi. At least half time during Emperor Wen and Wu of North Zhou, their power had been restricted due to many factors; when the time was right, the emperor used his ruling power, and totally out of control.

By discussing the relation between Northern and Western Wei, Northern Qi and Zhou, it shows that Yubi and Luoyang was a chosen war field most of time, which represented the geographical importance of Yellow River, Hedong and Heyang in military. In that stressful period, Guanlong and Bing was not only magnificent in geographical position, but also represented the united spirit of people when faced enemies. Based on previous calculation, using geographical advantage, associating of Hu and Han, ruling with critical law, and accepting military education by citizen, above all, that's why Western Wei and Northern Zhou got the final triumph.