

Preliminary Remarks on the Games of *Liubo* and *Saixi* 博塞芻議

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In the Spring and Autumn period, *liubo* 六博, also called *boxi* 博戲, a forerunner of Chinese chess (*xiangqi* 象棋), was described in comparative detail in *Kongzi jiaoyu* (孔子家語 (Family sayings of Confucius) and other works. *Liubo* is often paired with another board game, *saixi* 塞戲 (also called *geyu* 格五), in Warring States texts, such as the "Pianmu" 駢拇 section of *Zhuangzi* 莊子 ("bo-sai-yi you 博塞以遊"), revealing that these ancient prototypes of *xiangqi* were current in the Spring and Autumn period. By the time of the Western Han dynasty both *liubo* and *saixi* were flourishing, and the excavation of a *liubo* set from Han dynasty tomb no. 3 at Mawangdui 馬王堆 serves as an indicator of the high level of development attained by the game.

1. The Origins and Development of *Liubo* and *Saixi*

In "Summoning the Soul" 招魂 in *The Songs of Chu* 楚辭 [1] there are references to jade decorated dice and ivory *liubo* pieces, according to the Liu Chen Annotated Edition of that work.[2] The complete *liubo* set unearthed at Mawangdui tomb no. 3 (Figs. 1, 2, 3) demonstrates that high quality



Fig. 1 Complete *liubo* set unearthed at Han dynasty tomb no. 3 at Mawangdui, Changsha, Hunan

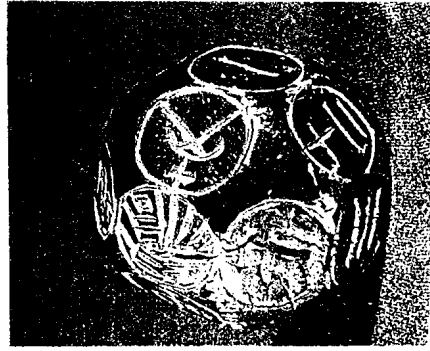


Fig. 2 Dice found with complete *liubo* set unearthed from Han dynasty Tomb no. 3 at Mawangdui, Changsha, Hunan

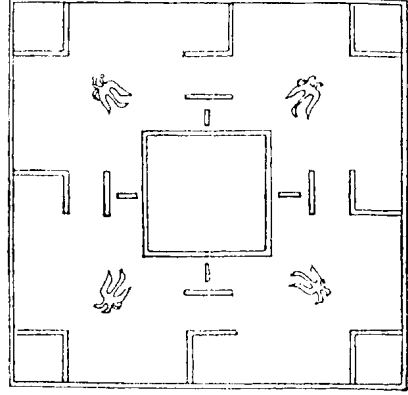


Fig. 3 Liubo board unearthed from Han dynasty Tomb no. 3 at Mawangdui

crafting went into the production of a *liubo* set. The levels of craftsmanship also suggest that the game had indeed undergone a long period of development. In the "Yang *liubo*" 陽貨 section of *The Analects* 論語 we find the following passage: "The Master said: 'If a man stuffs himself with food the entire day, and never uses his mind, things will be difficult for him. Do we not have gamblers and chess players? There can be virtue even in these pursuits.'" Confucius believed that even the playing of board games was a beneficial activity—at least it was better than remaining idle, and the passage also confirms that *liubo* was popular in the Spring and Autumn period.

*Mu Tianzi zhuan* 穆天子傳 records that King Mu of the Western Zhou played the *liubo* game for three days with Duke Jing 非公.[3] and although this is an apocryphal work sometimes attributed to Guo Pu 郭璞 of the Jin dynasty, its sources are pre-Qin, and so it would seem that *liubo* had made its appearance in the Western Zhou. "Yin benji" 殷本紀 (The Annals of Yin) in *Shi ji* 史記 (Records of the Historian) mentions that this game (*bo* 博) was played during the reign of Emperor Wu Yi 帝武乙, in the Shang dynasty.[4] However, no archaeological evidence of the game exists from before the Eastern Zhou dynasty. Warring States examples of boards made of wood have been unearthed from Chu tombs M197 and M314 (Fig. 4) at Yutaishan 尉太山, Jingzhou 荊州, Hubei province, and from a tomb at Fangmatan 放馬灘, Tianshui 天水, Gansu province; a stone Warring States board was unearthed from a tomb of the Zhongshan 中山 state in Pingshan 平山 county, Hebei province; and five bone boards were discovered in a late Warring States tomb in Anhui province. Only two examples of boards attributed to the Qin dynasty have been discovered—from tombs nos. 11 and 13 at Shuihudi 睡虎地 in Yunmeng 雲夢, Hubei (Fig. 5).

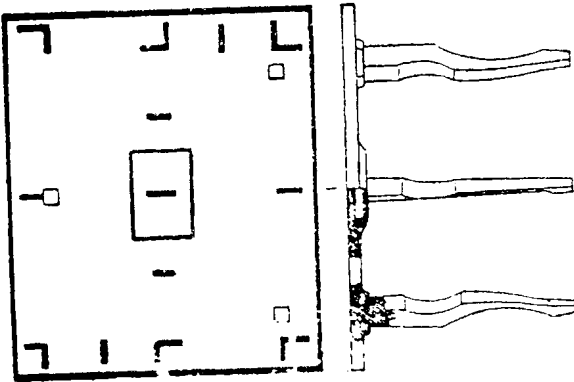


Fig. 4 Lacquered timber board unearthed from tomb M314 at Yutaishan, Jingzhou, Hubei province

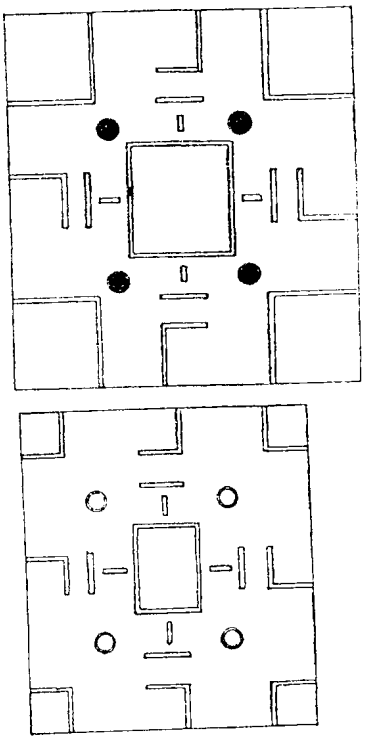


Fig. 5 Two drawings of *liubo* boards unearthed from tombs nos. 11 and 13 at Shuihudi, Yunmeng, Hubei province

The Spring and Autumn period was a time of great intellectual ferment and in the philosophical battles of the day chess was acknowledged by all thinkers as an integral component of mathematics, and the game underwent major developments in this period. Although the unification of China under the Qin hindered the development of these games and few remains of the game have been found in Qin tombs (and these may possibly date from an earlier period), it resumed development in the early Han dynasty. Many examples of pieces and games have been found in Western Han tombs [see Table 1] There are also many textual references to the game at this time. In his work *Yi zhi* 奕旨 (Prolegomenon of Chess), the Han dynasty scholar Ban Gu 班固 describes the state of chess in his times and laments: "Confucius spoke of *bo-yi* 博奕 chess games, but today *bo* 博 games [of chance] flourish while *yi* 奕 chess [a game of skill] is rarely played. *Bo* is extensive in its meaning, and the term *yi* cannot embrace its scope".[5] *Wei qi* was thus not the only form of chess game played in the Han dynasty and many other games were included in the category of *bo-yi* chess games, notably *liubo* and *saixi*.

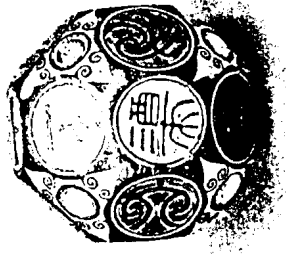


Fig. 6 Gold and silver inlaid bronze dice from Han tomb at Mancheng, Hubei province

*Saixi* developed on the basis of *liubo*, and so the two games were often collectively termed *bo-sai* 博塞. *Saixi*, also called *gewu* 格五, became as popular as *liubo* in the Han dynasty. The only difference between the two games is that a dice (*zhu* 著 or *qiong* 瓊) (Fig. 6) was not thrown when playing *saixi*. Cheng Xuanying 成玄英's annotations of the "Pianmu" section of *Zhuangzi* clarify this point: "Throwing the dice is called *bo* and not throwing the dice is called *saixi*" 投瓊曰博, 不投瓊曰塞.[6] The element of chance in *liubo*, which recommended the *liubo* gaming set (*boji* 博具) and the dice for gambling (as well as for divination), was removed from *saixi*. *Saixi* was a much more difficult game to play than *liubo*, and, like chess, winning the game required intellectual skill.

II. A Comparison of the *Liubo* Set Found in the Han Tomb at Mawangdui and Other *Liubo*

Sets

The *liubo* gaming board unearthed by archaeologists from Han tomb no. 3 at Mawangdui 馬王堆 [7] is the most complete set unearthed by archaeologists. Since 1949, Chinese archaeologists have discovered *liubo* items in several dozen tombs [see Table 1] and these cover a wide geographical spread—Hubei, Guangdong, Guangxi, Henan, Beijing, Shandong, Gansu, Sichuan, Anhui and Jiangsu. However, only the sets found in Western Han tomb M8 at Fenghuangshan 鳳凰山 in Jiangling 江陵, Hubei province, and Western Han tomb M1 at Jinqieshan 金雀山 in Linyi 臨沂, Shandong province, are reasonably complete. Apart from these sets, the *liubo* game in play is depicted on a number of illustrated stones of the Han dynasty and through the medium of clay figurines [see Table 2]. Other unearthed items are fragmentary, consisting either only of boards without pieces or pieces without boards. Yet the *liubo* set found in tomb no. 3 at Mawangdui in 1973 is complete [see Fig. 1]. The contemporary names of the board and pieces were provided in the inventory of funerary goods (*qianmu* 遣冊) also recovered from the tomb and so we know that the set comprised "a wooden board" (*boji* 博具), "12 ivory playing pieces" (*xiangqi* 象其, i.e. *xiangqi* 象棋), "one wooden dice" (*hou* 骰), 42 "bamboo talles" (*chou* 籌), the inventory states that there were only 30), "20 ivory

-*hishiqi*" 直食器, "one ivory *gedao*" 割刀, and "one ivory *xue[dao]*" 削[刀].[8] There was also a timber case to contain the board. The set was well preserved, looking as though it was only recently made, and the workmanship excellent. The carving and inlay of the timber and bone pieces are exquisite, and the use of colour and the technology of the lacquer work show that the ancient skills were more advanced than those of today, and so we can only acclaim the Mawangdui *liubo* set as the finest example discovered to date. On the basis of the Mawangdui discovery, Xiong Chuanxin 熊傳新 [9] and Fu Juyou 傅學有 [10] have already described the form of the game, the method of play and its social impact, and here I would like to develop some ideas on the basis of their work.

The board (termed *ju*, written 局 or 枱), which formed the battleground for this contest of attack and defence, was usually made of timber, although one example made of bronze has been discovered [see Table 1]. The board was almost square, and the base of the surface was coated with a single coloured layer of lacquer, into which the various right-angled "T", "L" and "V" shapes of the gaming board and decorative motifs, including round dots, flowers in windows (*chuanggehua* 窗格花), plum blossoms and birds in flight, were carved. Into these recessed designs a contrastive colour lacquer was inlaid. Ivory was also inlaid into the grooves and designs of the board. The board was often further decorated with an overlay of black lacquer background and red lacquer to highlight the patterns.[11] The result of this exquisite artistry is a board of the finest elegance, revealing that the production of *liubo* boards in the Han dynasty was a highly developed skill and, as a transmitter of Han dynasty civilisation and progress, it reflects the great advances made in science and technology in that age.

The twelve playing pieces used in the *liubo* game, called *qi* (variously written 棊, 棊 or 棊), were usually made of bone, but they could also be made of other materials. The six pieces found in Western Han tomb M1 at Dabaotai 大葆臺 in Beijing, for example, were made of ivory; a bronze playing piece was found in Han tomb M105 at Qianping 前坪 in Yichang 宜昌; 20 pottery playing pieces were unearthed from the Western Han tomb at Huoshan 霍山 in Anhui; and pieces made of stone, jade and crystal have also been unearthed [see Table 1]. The twelve playing pieces used in *liubo* consisted of six black and six red or six black and six white pieces which were either square or rectangular. The Mawangdui set included six black and six white rectangular pieces made of ivory. The Mawangdui set was unusual in that the case also contained twenty smaller *zhishiqi* 直食棋 pieces also made of ivory. Ivory was precious at that time and could only come from southern Yunnan. The fact that the Mawangdui contained a total of 32 ivory pieces reveals that the set was extremely valuable and that the owner of the tomb in which the set was found was a person of great wealth and nobility.

The tallies (*chou*, written 籌 or 筭) were thin strips of bamboo, although examples made of silver or wood have been found. These were divided into long and short tallies, of indefinite number, and they were used to record wins. The 42 tallies in the Mawangdui set comprise twelve long and 30 short cylindrical bamboo examples.

The moves of the two players were determined by the throw of a six-faced dice (*zhu* 箸, or *tou*, written 壳 or 殼) that could be made of bamboo, wood, silver or bronze. Although the Mawangdui dice was an eighteen-sided wooden spherical object 4.5 cm in diameter with 16 numerals and two other seal characters ("驕" and "驕") carved on each of its 18 faces (see fig. 7).[12] The surface of the dice was covered with brown lacquer, and white lacquer was used to highlight the numerals and words. The

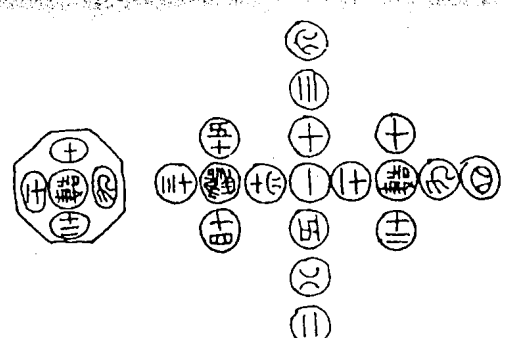


Fig. 7 Line drawing showing various faces of the dice unearthed at Mawangdui

significance of the character "jiao" 驕 (= 驕) that appears on one of the faces of the Mawangdui dice is explained by two lines from "Zhao hun" 招魂 (Summoning the Soul) in *Chu ci* 楚辭 (Songs of Chu): "成樂而牟, 呼五白些" ("The one who becomes the general [lit., owl, xiao] takes the lead; he calls a five and plays the white"). The higher the number obtained from the throw of the dice, the further one could move one's pieces.[13]

The *botai* 博臺, *xi* 席, *gedao* 割刀 and the *zhishiqi* 直食棋 included in a *liubo* set are "auxiliary equipment", but the Mawangdui set did not contain the first two items, which seem to have simply been stands on which the set could be placed.

III. The Differences and Similarities Between *Bo* and *Sai* As Seen from the Playing Board

The differences between the games of *liubo* and *saixi* go beyond the mere fact that *liubo* is played with a dice and *saixi* was not. The boards on which they are played vary in that the L shapes or right-angled grooves on a *liubo* board point counter-clockwise (to the player's left), e.g. that found at Mawangdui (Fig. 8), while those on the *saixi* board, such as that found in the Western Han tomb in Xilin 西林 county in Guangxi, point clockwise (to the player's right)(Fig. 9). Although this might simply reflect a mistake on the part of the artisan, it may also reflect an attempt to distinguish between the boards used in a game of chance and those used in a game of skill. Unfortunately, no texts discuss this aspect of the two games, and the subject requires further evidence and study.

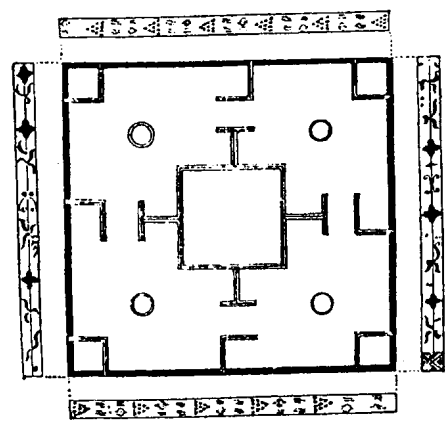


Fig. 8 Line drawing of *liubo* board found in Han tomb no. 1 at Datentou, Yunmeng, Hubei

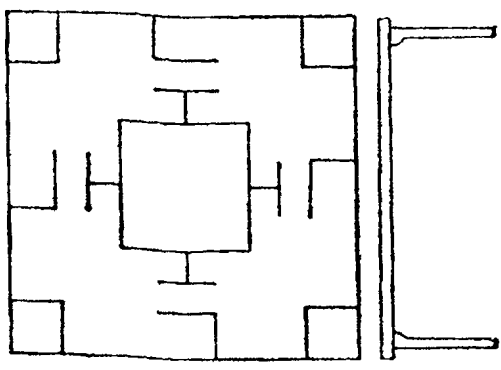


Fig. 9 Line drawing of *saixi* board found at Xilin, Guangxi

From illustrated stones and clay or timber figurines, depicting the two games being played, we have some insight into the differences between *liubo* and *saixi*. Porcelain figurines unearthed at Lingbao 靈寶 in Henan (see Fig. 10 on following page) depict two seated men facing each other and engaged in a game of *liubo*. Their hands are raised in animated poses and they gaze at each other. They seem to be engaged in an animated discussion, with neither party relenting, and they have none of the calm we associate with scholarly gentlemen.

In fact, almost all illustrated stones and relief bricks depicting the *liubo* game reveal it to be a heated game (see Figs. 11, 12). Another passage in *Summoning the Soul* makes this clear. There is a fierce struggle to win the game as one would expect of a game of chance or a gambling past-time.

By way of contrast, timber figurines depicted playing *saixi* unearthed from a Western Han tomb at Mozuizi 摩阻子在 Wuwei 武威 (see Fig. 13 on following page), are shown to be engaged in a tranquil and noble past-time and no dice can be seen on the board. The black and white contrastive colours of the figures lend them a certain refinement. They wear long gowns and have their hair wound into tight buns, suggesting modesty and an antiquarian scholarly spirit. The figure on the left has his hand extended before him as he deliberately goes to place a piece on the board; the figure on the right of the board has his right hand placed on his

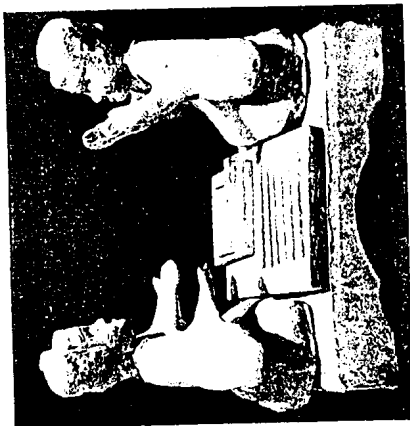


Fig. 10 Painted pottery figurines depicting playing *liubo* from Han tomb in Lingbao, Henan

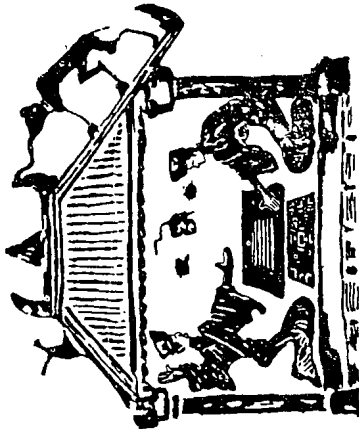


Fig. 11 Illustrated stone depicting *liubo* game from Han tomb in Peixian, Jiangsu

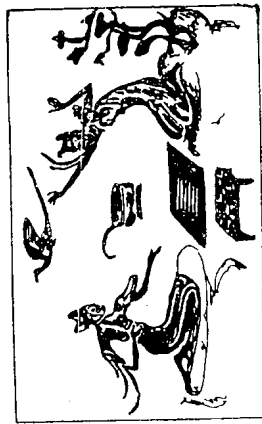


Fig. 12 Line drawing of illustrated stone depicting immortals playing the *liubo* game from Han tomb in Chengdu, Sichuan

knees while his left hand is extended to chest level, as though he has just made a move in what seems to be a very polite manner. Both men are absorbed in concentration on the game, as they contemplate their next moves.

Chang Renxia's 常任欣 *Study of Han Dynasty Painting* 漢畫藝術研究 [14] contains an example of an illustrated stone from Shandong, the precise provenance of which is not provided, which shows two figures absorbed in a game in which the L-shapes on the board point in a clockwise direction (see Fig. 14 on following page). Like the figurines just described, the men appear to be absorbed in a refined and restrained game of mental skill, and it seems to be another illustration of a game of *saixi*. The game has none of the raucous atmosphere which accompanied *liubo*, and *saixi* seems to have been regarded as a game that embodied virtue and courteousness, as indeed it is described in Bian Shao's 邊韶 Han dynasty prose-poem (*lu* 賦) titled *Saixi* 塞賦 [15]

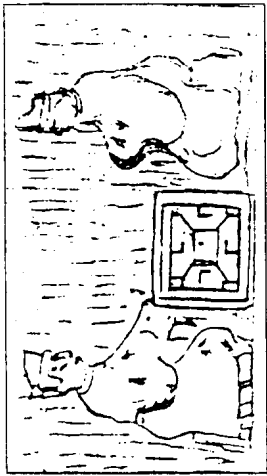


Fig. 14 (right) Line drawing of board game players from illustrated stone found in Shandong



Fig. 13 (left) Timber figurines unearthed from Western Han tomb at Mozuizi, Wuwei, Gansu

From the evidence provided by illustrated stones, I would argue that *saixi*, rather than *liubo*, better represented the synthesis of China's ancient material and spiritual civilisations. Among the writings of the Warring States philosophers attacks on *saixi* are rarely seen, and the frequent coupling of the two games as a single term *bo-sai* is best explained as based on the fact that the two games so closely resembled each other in form, and that this linguistic portmanteau worked to the detriment of *saixi*.

#### IV. Evaluation by the Ancients of *Liubo* and *Saixi*

In his "Prolegomenon of Chess" Ban Gu pointed out quite clearly the drawbacks of the game of *liubo*: "...the game depends upon the toss, and there is no special skill in its play; the better player can be unsuccessful, while the poor player can enjoy good luck; ...". The key to winning *liubo* was luck in throwing the dice, and the more skilled player was often unable to win. The game was thus neither fair nor cultivated. The stimulus and opportunity imparted by the game gave it appeal to risk-takers and the indolent, and this explains its immense popularity in ancient times. As a result, in the writings of many of the literati of the day it was often derided and its ban was sometimes mooted by officials because of its amenability to gambling. Opposition to *liubo* is expressed in a number of ancient texts.

In *Kongzi jiyu* 孔子家語, the following passage occurs:

"I hear you do not play *liubo*. Is this true?" Duke Ai asked Confucius.

"It is true", Confucius answered.

"Why is this?" Duke Ai asked.

"Because there are two winners", he replied.

"If there are two winners, then why not play?" asked the duke.

"Because both win in relying on the evil Way", he replied.

The duke was silent for a time, then asked, "If this is the case, then surely the gentleman is most suited to hold the evil Way in contempt".

"Unfortunately gentlemen do not hate sufficiently the evil Way, as they also love insufficiently the way of goodness, and as the common people are insufficiently close to those above them", Confucius replied. "There is a poem in *The Book of Songs*: 'Not seeing gentlemen, their hearts were filled with fears; and so they go and see no further, and so they look and see no further'. I am delighted to find that the love of the Way of goodness is of such magnitude in *The Songs*".

The duke replied, "Excellent! And so the gentleman must cultivate beauty in himself and not cultivate evil. Only now do I understand what you say, having not heard these words before" [16]

Confucius despised "that which was not regulated by the rites and greed that was uninformed by dislikes". This attack on *boxi* was an extreme position, maintaining that the game could destroy concepts of human kindness and love, give rise to evil and conceal the desire to harm others. He was firm advocate of refraining from gaming, in order to avoid conflicts with social etiquette. Duke Ai was also filled with praise for Confucius' insistence that "the gentleman must cultivate beauty and not cultivate evil".

In Chapter 19 of *Yanshi jiaxun* 顏氏家訓 [17] titled "Zayī" 雜藝, there is a similar passage: "The family injunctions state that a gentleman must not play *boxi*, in order that he does not assume the way of evil". In other words, the gentleman should not play *boxi* because it is intrinsically evil. Another passage in the same work reads:

"Do Confucians play *boxi*?" King Xuan of Qi asked Kuang Qian.

"No", Kuang answered.

"Why?"

"Because the man who plays such games venerates the piece called the owl (*xiao* 梟)", Kuang replied. "The winner must finish off his opponent's owl, and by so doing he also kills that which he venerates. For Confucians this is harmful in intent, and for this reason we do not play *boxi*".

In this context a "Confucian" is a general reference to a gentleman or educated man. Since such games set men up as opponents or enemies, they flout the rules of propriety, respect and acquiescence that should underscore relationships. The owl (*xiao*) was the name of one of the six *liubo* playing pieces, which comprised one *xiao* and five *san*, roughly equivalent to generals (*jiang* 將) and pawns (*zu* 卒) in today's Chinese chess (*xiangqi* 象棋). The *xiao* or owl was also said to be the ancestral totem of Emperor Shun 舜. Han Feizi 韓非子 (*juan* 12) [18], makes the same point about the player of *boxi* having to kill that which he most venerates. In the *liubo* game the *xiao* piece was able to kill off the *san* of the opponent; at the same time the pawns were mobilised to kill the owl. The *xiao* was clearly the crucial piece in *liubo*, and on it victory or defeat depended. In the *liubo* game, a player had to lead his opponent into an ambush, force his opponent into strategically dangerous situations, capture his opponent's *xiao* and thus reduce him to nothing.

In his critique of the Confucian Mencius 孟軻 titled *Ci Meng* 刺孟 (cited in "Biography of Wang Chong" 王充傳 in *Hou Han shu* 後漢書) [19] the Han dynasty thinker Wang Chong adopted a purely materialistic position:

When adults play games of chance, their behaviour is like that of children defacing a wall. But isn't the object of those who play games of chance to obtain food to eat? Those gamblers who bet on their play may win a great deal of money and so have plenty to eat. This shows that at times there can be purpose in such play.

Even though Wang Chong here is taking issue with the ideas of Mencius, in his seeming defence of gambling there is contempt for the past-time, because he likens those who play games of chance to children who deface walls.

Even the Daoists were opposed to games of chance as is clear in the passage from the "Pianmir" section of *Zhuangzi* cited earlier [20] in which is recounted the story of Zang and Gu who lose the sheep they are tending. When questioned regarding why they failed to pay attention and keep track of the whereabouts of the sheep, Zang replied that he was reading inscribed slips while Gu was throwing dice. Here an action of value is contrasted with an action of no value to show that any form of action can produce an undesirable result. However, the contrast also underscores the Daoist depreciation of games of chance.

The *liubo* game was often depicted in ancient texts as leading people astray. In the Eastern Han dynasty, *Hou Han shu* 後漢書 describes how the sons of two wealthy households, Liang Ji 梁冀 [21] and Xu Sheng 許升 [22], were so infatuated with gaming that they indulged completely in the past-time and let their enterprises go to wrack and ruin, becoming laughing stocks for all time.

The Legalists moved to prohibit gaming. In the "Sishi" 四時 section of *Guanzi* 管子, we read: "On the *gengxin* 庚辛 day of the third month, five regulations were issued by the government, the first of which banned *bo-sai*", here taken to mean gambling. Compiled in the Warring States period, this work records the thinking of Guan Zi on economics, politics, military affairs and philosophy. Guan Zi served as prime minister in the state of Qi 齊, where he instituted a series of measures on clean government, which included the ban on gambling. In the chapter of *Guanzi* titled "Sicheng" 四稱 is recorded a conversation between Guan Zi and Duke Huan of Qi 齊桓公, beginning with a remark by Guan Zi:

"He brought in his own actors, accumulated musical instruments, was infatuated with *bo-sai* ... so it can be said that in ancient times there were also unprincipled rulers".

"Well put", Duke Huan responded [23]

We can see that not only at that time did philosophers regard gambling as a pernicious practice, but rulers shared the same perception and issued bans on gaming.

#### V. Conclusion

Examining ancient texts, we find that most references to *liubo* discuss the form of the game, the mode of play and the attendant social phenomena, but contemporary writings praising the spirit and style of the *liubo* game are very hard to find, and in their attitude to gaming all the classical philosophers seem to have been in agreement.

The *liubo* game flourished throughout the Spring and Autumn, Warring States and Qin-Han periods, but it seems to have been especially popular in the Han dynasty when it was played by all moneyed social strata. The occupant of Han tomb M3 at Mawangdui, the Marquis of Dai 戴侯, was representative of the official-landlord class. From the precious objects buried in his tomb, we can see that he sought to recreate an aristocratic paradise in the afterlife, and the *liubo* game was one of the treasures he sought to take with him.

#### Notes:

- [1] *Liu Chen zhu Wenxuan* 六臣注文選, III. *Sibu congkan* edition 四部叢刊, *juan* 33, Commercial Press 商務印書館, 1962, p. 76.
- [2] *Idem*.
- [3] "Zhou benji" 周本紀, *Shi ji* 史記, *juan* 4, Zhonghua Shuju 中華書局, 1959, p. 135.
- [4] "Yin benji" 殷本紀, *Shi ji* 史記, *juan* 3, Zhonghua Shuju 中華書局, 1959, p. 104.
- [5] Ban Gu, "Ban Gu zhuàn" 班固傳, *Hou Han shu* 後漢書, *juan* 40, Zhonghua Shuju, 1965 edition, p. 1330.
- [6] Ban Gu, "Yi zhi", in *Gongyi bu* 工藝部 10, *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽, *juan* 753.
- [7] *Zhuji jicheng* 諸子集成, III, Zhonghua Shuju, 1954.
- [8] *Bo*, written 博 or 壆, was an alternate name for *xiangqi* 象棋. See: Li Songfu 李松福, *Xiangqi shihua* 象棋史話, People's Sports Publishing House 人民體育出版社, 1981, p. 9.
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Table 1  
 Table showing discoveries of *boju* gaming boards and pieces from the Warring States, Qin and Han dynasties  
 戰國秦漢出土博具一覽表

Key to elements of chess board cited in Table: (1) *boju* 博局, gaming board; (2) *xiangqi* 象棋, playing pieces or chessmen; (3) *bozhu* 博箸, playing sticks; (4) *lou* 骰, dice; (5) *bochou* 博籌, tallies; (6) *zhishiqi* 直食棋; (7) cutting knife, *gedao* 割刀; (8) paring knife, *xiaodao* 削刀; (9) *bojuhe* 博具盒, case for containing chess board; (10) *boxi* 博席, rest for board; (11) *botuo* 博囊, bag or satchel for set; (12) *bo'an* 博案, chess-table

Date of lomb	Warring States	Warring States	Warring States	Warring States	Warring States	Qin
Tomb site	Tomb M197, Yuai-shan, Jingzhou	Tomb M314, Yuai-shan, Jingzhou	Zhongshan state cemetery, Pingshan, Hebei province	Tianshu, Gansu 甘肅天水 Tomb in Fangmian, Gansu	Chu tomb, late Warring States, Anhui 安徽戰國晚期楚墓	Tomb M11, Yunmeng- Shuidi, Hubei 湖北雲夢睡虎地11號墓
(1)	1 wood	1 wood	2 stone	1 wood	5 bone	1 wood
(2)	24 stone	24 stone				12 bone
(3)						6 bamboo
(4)						
(5)						
(6)						
(7)						
(8)						
(9)						
(10)						
(11)						
(12)						
References	<i>Yunmeng-Shuidi</i> 雲夢睡虎地秦墓 Cultural Relics Publishing House (CRPH), 1981.	<i>ibid.</i> : (III-10, 1)	<i>W</i> , 1979:1, p. 26, III, 11	<i>W</i> , 1989:2, p. 9, III, 23,*	<i>KG</i> , 1994:2, p. 124; *	<i>Yunmeng-Shuidi</i> 雲夢睡虎地秦墓, CRPH see above, 1981: (III, 1, right)