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## Quacks in Plays: A Window to Vernacular Medicine

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Theatrical plays in early modern China, from short dramas and slapstick comedies to complex dramas, usually feature quack doctors, called *yongyi* 庸医.<sup>1</sup> They are often archetypal characters who render absurd diagnoses, produce unreasonable medications, mischievously give wrong pills, and chase after profit. In this essay, I focus on quack doctors in Yuan drama *zaju* 杂剧 which flourished in the 13–14th centuries.<sup>2</sup> Drama studies contend that a majority of the doctors are untrustworthy quacks in the preserved documents of Yuan dramas, usually played by the rogue figure *jing* 净 or clown *chou* 丑, who openly show off ignorance and wickedness in self-introductory verses and present comic clashes.<sup>3</sup> These plays with their vernacular or even vulgar

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<sup>1</sup> Wei-min Shi, *Yuan dai she hui sheng huo shi* (Beijing: China Social Science Press), 1966, 371-375. Qing Wang, “Gudai xiqu zhong yongyi xingxiang yu shehui jiedu”, 2020, 124-126.

<sup>2</sup> In different places, *zaju* 杂剧 is sometimes referred as northern dramas or more literally translated as mixed performance, varied plays, etc. For studies about the connection between Mongol rulers, the suspension of civic examination, the denial of office ascension, and the literati’s resort to dramas as a form of social critique and literary revolt, see Wei-Chen Wang, “Wenxue yu yixue de jiaohui – Guan hanqing zaju de yibing shuxie yanjiu”, 2011. Also see Wai-Yee Li, “Introduction” in *The Columbia Anthology of Yuan Drama* (New York: Columbia University Press), 2014, 6-7. Li sees that the flourishing of dramas as a symbiosis between literate men and urban culture.

<sup>3</sup> Li, 4; William Dolby, *Eight Chinese Plays from the Thirteenth Century to the Present* (New York: Columbia University Press), 1978, 8. For more comprehensive and statistical review of quacks’ proportion and performance in dramas involving medicine, see Wang 2020, Yao 2009.

verses reflected common people's life and various occupations in society, including that of doctors and medical visits. Therefore, the frequent satire of quacks in plays is a window to a cultural understanding of medicine as well as a changing standing of medical profession and market, since the profession of doctors today has varied greatly over history. In addition to discussing how comic dramas criticize moral destitution and incompetent skills of unqualified doctors, this paper explores a broader picture of medical practitioners and lay people's reception of them. This paper sits at the intersection of theatrical representations and social studies of medicine. Based on both textual review and historical studies of doctors, this paper suggests that the quack in plays is a recreation of real medical practitioners at the time who marketed themselves dramatically on the street, and whose performative development of medicine could have inspired the formation and transmission of vernacular knowledge as an alternative to literary traditions.

Roy Porter has pointed out that there should be no essentialist definition of quackery in the early modern period but to refer broadly to practitioners who have no solid authority.<sup>4</sup> In my writing, I take his point to refuse attributing some kinds of practice or knowledge as essentially unorthodox, but my use of "quack" is more generally conceived. In Chinese, the word for quack is *yongyi* 庸医, which consists of the letter *yong* 庸 that means a lack of efficacy rather than repudiating certain methods or approaches. In real use and especially in the books of doctors who prided themselves as scholars of medicine, this term connotes practitioners usually lacking a well-rounded classic education. In these comedies, *yongyi* are boastful and fraudulent men lacking expertise and never perform a cure.<sup>5</sup> However, this paper intends to go beyond comedic plays to explore the changing social standing of non-literati medical practitioners, so I still use quacks.

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<sup>4</sup> Roy Porter, *Quacks: Fakers and Charlatans in English Medicine* (Stroud: Tempus), 2001, 11.

<sup>5</sup> Men: women were often seen as treacherous healers, but they were not shown in these dramas. For women medical practitioners, midwives, and spiritual healers, etc., see Charlotte Furth, *A Flourishing Yin: Gender in*

It will be helpful to first explore whether quacks in plays seriously talk about medicine, and how. The 13<sup>th</sup> century play *Zhang tian shi duan feng hua xue yue* 张天师断风花雪月 preserves a quarrelling interlude of the doctor's servant blindly giving pills, but there is no description of the diagnosis, nor are the contents of the ready-made pills specified.<sup>6</sup> The quickfire quarrel between the pressing patient and the frivolous quack ends when the quack swallows his own pill and trembles foolishly. The pathology is actually emotional frustration, so medication is not really meaningful, nor does the text convey any medicine-related knowledge.<sup>7</sup> Because the quack ends up poisoning himself and it does not seem a deadly poison but an unqualified pill, the plot seems to just provide a respite amid a worrisome, breathtaking play. Another notorious quack is the figure Doctor Lu's Rival (*Sailuyi* 赛卢医) staged in many plays in dramas of the Yuan dynasty. In the famous play *Dou e yuan* 窦娥冤, this wicked person is a medical shop owner, who denies debts, tries to kill his loaner, and sells poison when threatened.<sup>8</sup> He talks little about medicine but instead brags about his incompetence as a doctor which would amuse the audience to anticipate a comedic malpractice.<sup>9</sup> Yet in the context of the entire play, he is more like a clumsy clown than a wretched villain, though other plays depicting the same role have coined the incompetent doctor as directly vicious.<sup>10</sup> Perhaps the quack in *Bi tao hua* 碧桃花 employs the most

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*China's Medical History, 960-1665* (Berkeley: University of California Press), 1998, Chapter 8, "Ming Women as Healing Experts". Also see Angela Leung, *Miandui jibing: Chuantong zhongguo shehui de yiliao guannian yu zuzhi* (Beijing: China Renmin University Press), 2012, Chapter 9.

<sup>6</sup> All primary texts mentioned are read from online source in Chinese. See Mao-xun Zang, *Yuan qu xuan* (臧懋循, 元曲选), first published in 1616. reprinted by Beijing Wenxue Guji Kanxing Press, 1955.

<https://www.zhonghuadiancang.com/shicixiqu/yuanquxuan>. Accessed May 20, 2022.

<sup>7</sup> This episode is made into a paradigmatic interlude, see Wei-ting Guo, *Yuan za jv de cha ke da hun yi shu* (Beijing: China Social Science Press), 2002, 304-306.

<sup>8</sup> I will discuss pharmacy later. To distinguish from official and certificated pharmacy, I call the personal ones "medical shop". It is hard to tell how much knowledge the owners of medical shops possess.

<sup>9</sup> Original text: 死的医不活, 活的医死了.

<sup>10</sup> Other plays include 救孝子贤母不认尸, 张孔目智勘魔合罗. None is really about medicine.

medical terms, as he mentions titles of medical classics like *Nanjing* 难经 and *Maijing* 脉经, some pharmacology for a recipe replacing aconite with cinnamon, and performs a prognosis of the channel *mai* 脉, a traditional Chinese medical category denoting the flow of a kind of spirit in one's body. Yet all are irrelevant medical services when the patient argues that he suffers from lovesickness, and that he needs no doctor. Another play, *Cai Shun jiu mu* 蔡顺救母 records a quickfire roguery between a pair of battling quacks, which is also a paradigmatic repertoire about the prevalence of unqualified medical practitioners.<sup>11</sup> The quarreling characters have a list of symptoms they promise to cure, but they contain little in-depth medical discussion about the symptoms.

Thus, despite the fact that the quacks mention several medical classics such as *Bencao* and act out some diagnoses or services, the actual cause of the illness is often grief or lovesickness, and the substance of the plays is of little medical relevance.<sup>12</sup> Nonetheless, as the study of popular entertainment needs to be situated in its historical and sociological background, so too does the study of quacks. Considering dramas reflect real social life, and the quackery trope is often regarded as social critique of genuine malpractice, I move to explore quacks historically.

The Yuan government inherited a matrix of medical institutions from the preceding Song Dynasty that regulated medical practices and services such as the imperial hospital 太医院, the official pharmacy 惠民药局, and a seemingly comprehensive system of education and examination.<sup>13</sup> In fact, medical officials in Yuan enjoyed the highest status in the bureaucracy

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<sup>11</sup> The battling quacks we read in class is a regularly performed commedia repertoire, see Dolby, 8. Today the residue might be an episode of opera 老黄请医, see Qing Wang, 2020, 124.

<sup>12</sup> For emotion as a pathology, see Judith Zeitlin, *The Phantom Heroine: Ghosts and Gender in Seventeenth-century Chinese Literature* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press), 2007, 13-14.

<sup>13</sup> Leung, 4-5. Zhen-guo Wang, *Zhong guo gu dai yi xue jiao yu yu kao shi zhi du yan jiu* (Jinan, China: Qilu Press) 2006, 311-364.

compared to other dynasties, and the government emphasized the social infrastructure of medicine.<sup>14</sup> On the surface, there were extensive measures to regulate the medical field, yet substantial research verifies that *yongyi* was a ubiquitous social problem, which further discredited the government's effort to regulate the medical field.<sup>15</sup> A modern demarcation of doctors and quacks is typically an academic certificate for the profession, but this is not applicable for early modern times. Research by Angela Leung indicates that among the 405 documented doctors (*mingyi*, "acknowledge" or "named" doctors) in Yuan China, only one was educated by the government.<sup>16</sup> In Roy Porter's analysis of 18th century England's plague of quackery, he proclaims that "quack" is not a definite label but a defaming libel to argue against "the other" medical practitioner, whereas no practice fully justified itself.<sup>17</sup> Authority was not totalitarian in Yuan China, and there existed numerous medical practices where all doctors achieved credibility by performing and advertising effectivity in quotidian treatments.

The separation of physicians and pharmacists pertains to how doctors earn their livelihood and how that retrospectively influences the medical services they provide. In Yuan and the prior Song, there was both an official and a private pharmacy.<sup>18</sup> Commercial manufacture of ready-made pills according to recipe books could generate considerable profit.<sup>19</sup> In the drama *Bi tao hua* 碧桃花, the patient's family refuse to pay for the quack doctor because no pill is prescribed to the

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<sup>14</sup> Leung, 159.

<sup>15</sup> Gao-hua Chen, "Yuandai de yiliao xi su" in *Zhejiang xuekan* 4 (2001), 137.

<sup>16</sup> Leung, 150-154. The ratio was 3/159 for Song and 2/1284 for Ming Dynasty.

<sup>17</sup> Porter, 11, 23, 26.

<sup>18</sup> Leung, government-monitored pharmacy, 4-5, local official and private pharmacy, 148-149. Self-medication by buying medicine from shops according to recipes, see Chen, 137.

<sup>19</sup> When analyzing the tomb mural of a Song merchant, Jeehee Hong points out that the workshop producing ready-to-ingest medicines such as cinnabar pills was a steady source of the wealth that financed construction of a well-furnished tomb. See Jeehee Hong and T.J. Hinrichs, "Unwritten Life (and Death) of a 'Pharmacist' in Song China: Decoding Hancheng 韓城 Tomb Murals" in *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 24 (2015): 231-280.

patient.<sup>20</sup> No clear source can ascertain the standard practice of paying for doctors, but from here we can hypothesize that a number of doctors earned their livelihood from prescribing pills or giving recipes of concoction, unless the disease was rare and the prognosis difficult.

Counterfeit medicine and poisonous drugs in private pharmacies troubled the government. One Yuan edict criticized the widespread problem of fraudulent pharmaceutical items, including disguised illegal drugs in packages of rice and powder as well as ineffective pills faking as medicine.<sup>21</sup> Active government measures against this included prohibiting unlicensed medical shops to sell items that might be poisonous, keeping an account of orders, and execution when intruding on laws.<sup>22</sup> Nonetheless, these were feeble restraints and hardly applied in practice, especially considering many poisonous items such as aconite or croton were used as medicine or as necessary ingredients to brew wines.<sup>23</sup> Overall, the official pharmacy was not enough to accommodate the general public's needs, and the government was also ineffective in regulating private transaction of fake or toxic items. The patient, therefore, had to mind the risk when conducting self-medication or following a doctor's prescription.

At the same time, the cleavage between scholarly doctors and others who claimed to practice medicine deepened. Beginning in the Song period, a number of literati studied medicine and recorded their knowledge and practices in documents, thus fashioning an ideal doctor as the scholarly one, *ruyi* 儒医.<sup>24</sup> Their studies primarily focused on classical medical literature and they

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<sup>20</sup> Original text: 相公不曾吃你一片药, 有什么药钱送你。

<sup>21</sup> Bing-xin Ren, "You *Dou e yuan deng zaju guankui yuandai yiyao guanli*" in *Shilin* 3 (2013), 43. The edict is from *Yuan dianzhang* 元典章 "Statutes of the Yuan dynasty". The original text is 如今街上多有卖假药, 及用米面诸色包裹, 诈装药物出卖的也有, 恐误伤性命。

<sup>22</sup> Ren, 2013, 44.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>24</sup> Leung, 31.

created a network of scholar doctors.<sup>25</sup> At the same time, unorthodox or non-literati doctors developed various trends and traditions as well, and they were by no means marginal in history despite the lack of preserved documents.<sup>26</sup> These doctors included eye doctors, acupuncture practitioners, spiritual healers, and various specialists whose skills did not rely on printed books but on oral sources.<sup>27</sup> Understandably, the division of professional and vernacular or folk medicine happened in tandem.<sup>28</sup> When the scholarly tradition fixed itself as professional, the alternative started to be recognizable at the same time and, despite the scholar's efforts, attracted many lay people with their treats and tricks.<sup>29</sup>

In addition to the separation of pharmacy and the progression of learned doctors, there was also a wealth of medical peddlers, usually illiterate men, selling ready-made pills. A Yuan tale praised a Hui doctor who rung bells to attract customers when he travelled in southern China, winning popularity by high medical expertise.<sup>30</sup> The bell as a sign for itinerant doctors shows up in later fictions, too, and sometimes the signifier in paintings of itinerant doctors is a poster of eyes, for many itinerant doctors specialized in eye disease.<sup>31</sup> Pills attracted customers as many saw this form of medicine as a crystalized healing power. Undoubtedly, the peddlers included knowledgeable men with techniques as well as unlearned vendors extracting profits from pills. Angela Leung points out that, curiously, though the government tried their best to pressure doctors

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<sup>25</sup> Leung, 22.

<sup>26</sup> Leung, 12-13.

<sup>27</sup> Leung, 13-14.

<sup>28</sup> Leung, 35.

<sup>29</sup> Leung, 15.

<sup>30</sup> Generally "Hui doctor" 回回医生 means Islamic doctor. Yuan is known for publicizing Islamic or Arabic medicine. The tale is *Lao Hu Sells the Drugs* 老胡卖药歌. Original tale is 西域胡贾年八十，一生技能人不及。神农百草旧知名，久客江南是乡邑。朝来街北暮街东，闻掷铜铃竞来集。师心已解工名术，疗病何须说《难经》. See Ren, 2013, 45.

<sup>31</sup> For bell doctors, see Daria Berg, "Bell Doctors in the Late Imperial Chinese Novel *Xingshi Yinyuan Zhuan*" in *Monumenta Serica* 49, no.1 (2001): 57-70. For eye poster or garment decorated with eyes as identification for itinerant doctor, see Xiao-feng Huang, "Kan hua zhi bing – chuan song ren *guanhuatu yan jiu*", 2020.

to pass education and examination before launching a career, it was lenient to peddlers who retailed pills for living.<sup>32</sup> At the same time, street vendors and itinerant peddlers' mobility made them difficult to regulate. Perhaps, loose supervision of peddlers resulted in rampancy of quacks imperiling people's lives. In dramas, the quack doctor is typically a peddler who, at best, performs a simplistic diagnosis before offering pills, which is a characteristic role of the Doctor Lu's Rival.<sup>33</sup> This quack figure, thus, is more specifically defined as advertising his mystified and credulous product without really understanding medicine.

The loose and broad definition of doctors without certification, the extensive private medical shops, and the widespread peddlers carrying pills attracting common folk together contextualize the quacks' social existence and livelihood. Although medical knowledge improved in Yuan, government edicts and medical books demonstrate that quacks were plentiful during the short-lived years of Yuan. Luo Tian-yi 罗天益 was a renowned doctor in Yuan. In his autobiographical medical book, he asserted that people often listened to *fuyi* 福医 ("lucky doctors") rather than consulting with doctors trained by the classics.<sup>34</sup> According to Luo, these *fuyi* never learned medical books, knew nothing about *mai* channels but solely depended on luck.<sup>35</sup> To the learned doctor's eyes, it was frustrating to see the extent to people listened to nonprofessionals. However, what made quacks and folk medicine so attractive?

This paper suggests that the stage is where folk medicine joins with public performance to capture patients in a competitive medical market lacking a dominating authority. The stage and the

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<sup>32</sup> Leung 188.

<sup>33</sup> In fact, only in *Cai Shun Shares the Mulberries* can we see the battling quacks now, the rest are all peddlers bragging about their ready-made pills, though some owns a medical shop, too.

<sup>34</sup> Tian-yi Luo, "Fu yi zhi bing" in *Weisheng Baojian*, 1343. Original text: 或曰: 明医不如福医 ... 颇有可信, 试命治之。

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.* Original text: 不精于医, 不通于脉, 不观诸经本草, 赖以命通运达而号为福医。

dramatic selling strategy made them more attractive to patients. When studying 17–18th century England quackery, Roy Porter points out that quacks must continuously promote themselves to “gain the ear and eye, and so captivate the mind of the public.”<sup>36</sup> Considering the fact that a number of quacks in the early modern period never received proper education, they relied not on scholarly lingo but on rhetoric, rhyming and lyrical verses, and visual presentations. They have to be seen and heard, not read. As Porter claims, “for the quack it was really publicize or perish.”<sup>37</sup> On street, early modern quacks were depicted to be standing on stages to call on the public, where they advertise themselves with dramatic pitches and acts, or even just comedies and spectacles unrelated to medicine so as to amuse a crowd instantly.<sup>38</sup> M.A. Katritzky points out that there was an intimate link between health care and staged performance in the public marketplace throughout Europe, which is why mountebanks, charlatans, and quacksalvers become almost interchangeable words.<sup>39</sup>

Can the reasons behind this phenomenon in Europe account for what happened in China? I cannot definitively say so, but the underlying logic of why dramatic advertisement would be salient and appealing to the lay population before one monolithic authority finds its unflinching reputation should shed light on our exploration. Back to China, quacks are also frequently related with performances in real life. Another edict from *Yuan Statutes* discussed mischievous sellers performing tricks, bantering vulgar words, selling medicine and practicing acupuncture while

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<sup>36</sup> Porter, 87.

<sup>37</sup> Porter, 88.

<sup>38</sup> Porter, 89-91.

<sup>39</sup> Mountebanks are itinerant performers who may or may not sell medicine; charlatans perform and sell medicine; quacksalver sell medicine but may or may not be itinerant or perform in public. See M.A. Katritzky, *Women, Medicine and Theatre, 1500-1750: Literary Mountebanks and Performing Quacks* (Aldershot, England), 2007, 2-5.

remaining ignorant about the classics and the properties of medicine.<sup>40</sup> One official proposal reported that in markets in the capital city, there were groups of people selling fake medicine, playing snakes or puppets, beating drums and cunningly seducing people.<sup>41</sup> Unsurprisingly, the quack was again both a medical practitioner and a performer. Therefore, when the satirical rogue shows up on the theatrical stage, maybe a peddler is broadcasting his pills to the attracted crowd simultaneously. It is possible that both the real quack and the actor mirroring quackery were doing their performance in the same space. The doggerel was not only a literary composition, but a simulation of real doggerels that these practitioners employ as marketing tricks. Considering this, the real comedy was not just absurd words or acts, but also the reversal when the real-life quack promises life, the theatre quacks brag about death.

Eye-catching comedies themed on medicine possibly indicate how non-literati doctors avail themselves with stages and performances. In his miscellaneous collection *Respite from Farming* (*Chuogeng lu* 辍耕录), Tao Zongyi 陶宗仪 from the Song period recorded several slapstick titles like *Doctor as Matchmaker*, *Amorous Medical Shop*, and several others including *The Battling Duo* that centered on medicine.<sup>42</sup> Other documents record performances acting out peddling quacks or disputes over drugs in entertaining districts.<sup>43</sup> Such medical buffoonery reveals a performative aspect of medicine as a business.

Many scholars have pointed out that the early modern medical market was highly contested

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<sup>40</sup> Ren, 2013, 48. The original edict is from *Yuan dianzhang* 元典章. The text is 如今有一等不畏官法的人每，当街聚众，施呈小技，诱说俚俗、货卖药钟及有不通经书、不知药性，乱行医药针灸，贪图钱物，其间多有伤害人命。

<sup>41</sup> Chen, 138. Original text from 1296: 切见大都午门外中书省、枢密院前，及八匝儿等人烟辏集处，有一等不畏公法假医卖药之徒，调弄蛇禽傀儡，藏撇钹到花钱击鱼鼓之类，引聚人众，诡说妙药。

<sup>42</sup> See Huang, 2020. Medical plays include “医作媒”、“双斗医”、“医五方”、“风流药院”、“双药盘街” etc., probably all buffoonery themed on medicine and doctors.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.* 西湖老人繁胜录 records a slapstick show called “乔卖药” during Southern Song; 武林旧事 records a kind of lyrical performance “说药” in Hangzhou.

with a plethora of different practitioners wielding various techniques and debating over healing knowledge because none could assert a dominating authority.<sup>44</sup> There was no laboratory nor biomedical science. Instead, the patient was actively judging a plurality of medical choices where all of them appear effective and credulous altogether. In this market, doctors fashioned themselves differently and appealed to different audience. One most documented way was writing and printing books which the literatus doctor or scholarly doctor *ruyi* employed. Judith Zeitlin demonstrates that case studies by the Ming doctor Sun Yikui was a self-fashioning book to “enhance his medical aura and prestige.”<sup>45</sup> Sun’s book not only boasted recovered patients, but also argued against rival doctors whom he deemed as unqualified, such as a female doctor.<sup>46</sup> The famous Yuan doctor Luo Tian-yi quoted from Sun Si-miao 孙思邈 to criticize that those who never read an extensive series of medical classics like *Suwen* or *Bencao* and the broader ancient classics including *Zhouyi* could not claim to be doctors.<sup>47</sup>

Nonetheless, the book to the literati doctors was the stage to non-literati practitioners. Doctors have their lingo, but lay people have their appropriation of professional knowledge along the way. Besides a literati lineage of *ruyi*, there were numerous ways to spread, transmit, and acquire medical knowledge. They were the vernacular, playful, or performative doctors that were more accessible to the common people. We might speculate that the quack’s marketing strategies

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<sup>44</sup> Susan Burns, “Nanayama Jundō at Work: A Village Doctor and Medical Knowledge in Nineteenth Century Japan” in *EASTM* 29 (2008), 77; Porter, 30; Yi-li Wu, “The Bamboo Grove Monastery and Popular Gynecology in Qing China”. *Late Imperial China* 21, no. 1 (2000), 65, where Wu terms the condition as “legitimate complexity”; Judith Zeitlin, “The Literary Fashioning of Medical Authority: A Study of Sun Yikui’s Case Histories”. In *Thinking with Cases: Specialist Knowledge in Chinese Cultural History*, ed. Charlotte Furth and Judith Zeitlin (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2007), 180-181.

<sup>45</sup> Zeitlin, “The Literary Fashioning”, 176.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, 181-182.

<sup>47</sup> Luo quoting Sun Si-miao 孙思邈: 凡为太医, 必须谙甲乙、素问、黄帝针经、明堂流注、十二经、三部九候、五脏六腑、表里孔穴、本草、药对、仲景、叔和诸部经方, 又须妙解五行阴阳, 精熟周易, 如此方可为太医

might have inspired or influenced alternative vehicles to promote the vernacular study of medicine, as some lyrical and battling sections are not only entertaining, but also contributive to the spread of medical knowledge. Sun Shu-shun 孙叔顺 composed a song suite of *materia medica* using arias and modes typical to songs in dramas.<sup>48</sup> Leung claims that acupuncture, specialist subjects, and religious healings found popular traditions.<sup>49</sup> Abandoning books, the non-scholar practice continued only through oral sources.<sup>50</sup> Mnemonic songs proliferated in the later Ming and Qing, which discussed properties of medicine and frequently-used recipes to teach people common medical knowledge as well as facilitate their self-medication.<sup>51</sup> Schonebaum details many word games of matching *material medica* and arias that can be seen as “pharmaceutical didactic operas” that promoted self-treatments.<sup>52</sup> This diverse mixture of how medicine was presented shows the transmission of vernacular knowledge alongside the classics and scholarly handbooks in Chinese medical history. Hence, another reversal with which Doctor Lu’s Rival poked fun at was when he was babbling classics like *Suwen*, as the quack would probably never avail himself with real bookish knowledge.

Quackery or folk medicine in the early modern period did not occupy a place as today's "alternative medicine" because there was no established "orthodox medicine" to define its "others" then.<sup>53</sup> Nonetheless, quacks and their presence in dramas suggest that there were alternative

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<sup>48</sup> Wang, Wei-Chen. “Wenxue yu yixue de jiaohui – Guan hanqing zaju de yibing shuxie yanjiu”. In Jiada zhongwen xuebao 6 (2011), 16. The text is by 孙叔顺, using the mode 【中吕】粉蝶儿. The first few lines are 海马闲骑，则为瘦人参请他医治，背药包的刘寄奴跟随。一脚的陌门东，来到这干阁内，飞帘籁地。能医其乡妇沉疾，因此上，共宾郎结成欢会。

<sup>49</sup> Leung, 12.

<sup>50</sup> Leung, 26.

<sup>51</sup> Leung, 38-41.

<sup>52</sup> Andrew Schonebaum, *Novel Medicine: Healing, Literature, and Popular Knowledge in Early Modern China* (University of Washington Press, 2015), 77-79, 82.

<sup>53</sup> For this idea, see Porter, 115-116.

lineages of medical practices to the literary one. Medicine was plural, and it may always be, with plural forms of records and promotions or presentations. This paper starts from amusement over clumsy quacks in Yuan plays to review the history of medical education, regulation, and the social presence of people who earned their life by medicine. By showing that the comic quack is not just a theatrical fancy but possibly a caricature of real dramas that medical practitioners performed in life, I suggest that these comical plots and jocular verses might have inspired various forms of vernacular knowledge and facilitated its transmission. From the staged quacks, we see that medicine not only concerns the physiological, but also becomes performative, marketable, emotionally engaging, and above all else playful.

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