

THE BOOK OF MARMALADE

FOR
M.C.W. & E.C.W.



THE BOOK OF MARMALADE

ITS ANTECEDENTS,
ITS HISTORY
AND ITS ROLE
IN THE WORLD TODAY

TOGETHER WITH
A COLLECTION OF
RECIPES FOR MARMALADES

AND
MARMALADE COOKERY

REVISED EDITION

C. ANNE WILSON



PROSPECT BOOKS

2010

Second revised edition published in the United Kingdom by Prospect Books, 26 Parke Road, London, SW13 9NG in 2010.

Reprinted 2018.

Revised edition first published by Prospect Books in 1999.

The Book of Marmalade was originally published by Constable & Co. Ltd., London, in 1985.

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British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data:
A catalogue entry for this book is available from the British Library.

ISBN 978-1-903018-77-4

Designed and typeset in Hoefler Text by Oliver Pawley and Tom Jaine.

Printed in the United Kingdom.


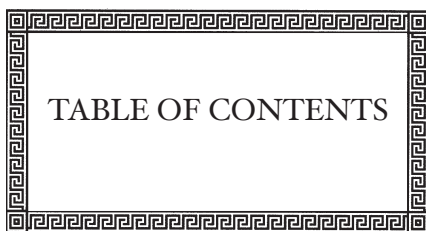



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Quince tree. J. Gerard, *The Herball*, 1597.




PREFACE
TO THE FIRST
EDITION

Every few years in the correspondence columns of *The Times* the argument about marmalade is resumed. Its champions write in to say it was invented by Janet Keiller, by Mary, Queen of Scots, by the Portuguese, and they cite erudite works telling about the uses to which it was put. It seems almost unsporting to produce a book which will settle the argument once for all. But the long, complicated story of marmalade and its antecedents has fascinated me for some time, and now I have succumbed to the temptation to write it out and share it.



When the publishers asked to have the story brought up to date with information on marmalade's place in the world today, I had the chance to delve into its very recent history, and realised that this is an ongoing affair, and that new fashions in marmalade are continuing to emerge, not only in Britain, but in English-speaking countries overseas. In some ways the wheel has come full circle. Marmalade was a very special gift in the reign of King Henry VIII. In the 1980s the 'premium sector', supplying expensive marmalades intended for the food-gift market, is the most buoyant part of the marmalade trade. But whereas we once imported our marmalade from Portugal, Spain and Italy, now we send it as an export all over the world.

Many friends and colleagues have been kind enough to contribute facts or recipes, or both, to this study. I should like to express special thanks to Dr Wendy Childs, Alan and Jane Davidson, Professor Constance Hieatt, Janet Hine, Helen Peacocke, Jennifer Stead, Rosemary Suttill, and Beth Tupper. My thanks are due also to the following firms and their



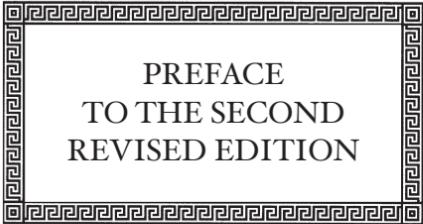
representatives, who sent me useful material on several aspects of marmalade manufacture: Baxters (Mr W.M. Biggart), Chivers (Miss E. Greenwood), Frank Cooper (Mrs C. Hooper), Crosse & Blackwell (Mr R.H. Starling), Elsenham (Mr A.J.G. Blunt and Ms G. Sinclair), Fortnum & Mason (Mr K. Hansen), Keiller (Mr C. H. Blakeman), Robertson (Ms J. Meek), and Wilkin of Tiptree (Mr I.K. Thurgood).

Most of the older recipe books consulted are among those in the Blanche Leigh and John F. Preston collections of early cookery-books in the Brotherton Library at the University of Leeds. Nearly all cookery-books from Elizabethan times onwards contain marmalade recipes, but the ones listed in the bibliography are the books and the editions which were used in compiling the present text. Individual page numbers have not been cited, as most of the books have indexes, so the keen marmalade-sleuth can find the recipes without difficulty in contemporary copies of the books, or in modern facsimile reprints.

Twenty-one of the most significant early recipes are printed in full in a separate section on historic recipes (pp. 140–149). The modern recipes which follow are divided into two sections, one for marmalades, and the other for a wide range of meat dishes, sauces, puddings, cakes, pastries, etc. in which marmalade is an ingredient.

Preparing this book has been a pleasant and interesting task, and I hope it will give pleasure to its readers.

C.A.W.
Leeds
May 1984



PREFACE
TO THE SECOND
REVISED EDITION

Marmalade, with its long history and special traditions, is now under threat in the British Isles. The large-scale commercial manufacturers report dwindling sales year on year, and reckon that the vast majority of their customers are middle-aged or well beyond, and the younger generations have never acquired a taste for this conserve – or for the breakfast habits of their grandparents. The number of long-established independent producers with family traditions has also dwindled. Premier Foods has absorbed Cooper, Keiller, Robertson and others. But the large conglomerates also readily sell off well-known brands if retaining them does not suit their current aims or financial position. So although I have updated parts of chapters seven and eight, the commercial picture may be quite different in a few years' time.

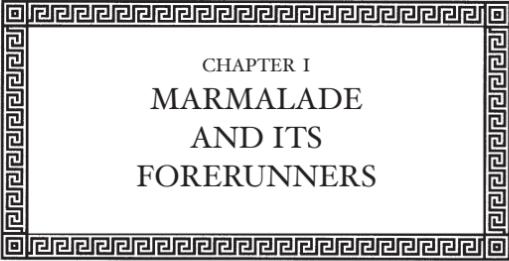
But the rearguard is fighting back. Duerr's has instituted National Marmalade Day, celebrated on 10 March (the date in 1495 of the earliest record available, at the time of the first edition of this book, for the arrival at an English port of Portuguese quince marmalade). An annual National Marmalade Festival is now held in late winter at Dalemain House in Cumbria, attended by enthusiastic home-makers of marmalade from all over the country. They enter their products into competitions, with a large choice of different categories, and some 600 entries were claimed for 2010.

Marmalade is also making some progress elsewhere in the world. The Japanese have now acquired a taste for it, and enjoy it not only on toast, but also mixed with yoghurt or dissolved

in hot black tea or water. This conserve can without difficulty be made locally. Japan is home to many different types of citrus tree, and Michito Nozawa, my informant, kindly sent me two jars of her home-made marmalade. One was based on *Dai-dai* (a close relation of the Chinese progenitor of our Seville orange, which may itself have originated as a cross between the pomelo and the tangerine); and the other made from *Yû-zu*, a sweeter, very fragrant type of orange.

Marmalade in Britain has developed and changed a great deal over the centuries and perhaps in future most of it will be prepared from sweeter citrus fruits. Meanwhile, in today's world of fusion foods, new ideas for combining tangy Seville orange marmalade with other foodstuffs must surely emerge. Long live marmalade!

C.A.W.
Leeds
June 2010



CHAPTER I
MARMALADE
AND ITS
FORERUNNERS

MARMALADE AND ITS NAME

Marmalade spread generously upon slices of freshly-made buttered toast: this, we like to believe, is the traditional English ending to the traditional English breakfast. Some would go further, and insist that the original home of the marmalade tradition was Scotland, and that it reached the English from their Scottish neighbours. Yet there is something strange about the name of this confection. Why should it derive from the Portuguese *marmelo*, meaning quince, when traditional British marmalade is made from Seville oranges (with such alternatives as lime, grapefruit, lemon or ginger marmalade generally regarded as more recent variations on the primary theme of bitter orange)?

And is marmalade unique to Britain? Its name is certainly not confined to the English language. When we travel abroad we find that in nearly every country of Europe people have the term ‘marmalade’ in their vocabulary – spelled sometimes rather strangely to our eyes, but clearly the same word. Moreover, it is often applied to a much wider range of conserves there than it is in Britain. One reason is that non-English-speaking nations lack an exact equivalent for our ‘jam’.

This leads to some interesting comparisons. Holiday-makers in Greece will receive on their hotel breakfast tables, along with the bread and rusks (and often pieces of cake, a nostalgic reminder of bygone times, for in the eighteenth century we too, in Britain, ate cake for breakfast), pats of butter and little pots of conserve covered with foil. Upon the foil will be the name

in Greek characters, MARMELADA PHRAOULA, and beneath that the English translation, STRAWBERRY JAM. On other days the contents of the pots will differ, and the translations will read, QUINCE JAM, APRICOT JAM, GRAPEFRUIT JAM, ORANGE JAM, and so on. In every case, the Greek term will be MARMELADA, plus the name of the fruit.

In Italy, likewise, MARMELLATA is made of peaches, or apricots, or figs (fig *marmellata* is an Italian speciality) or greengages, or apples, or pears; while orange marmalade has to be defined as MARMELLATA DI ARANCE AMARE (bitter oranges), or DI AGRUMI (citrus fruits). French MARMALADE is defined in Littré's dictionary as fruit cooked with sugar for so long that skin and flesh are completely melded together to form a single substance of uniform consistency. The idea is extended to other foods which are cooked until they turn into a sticky, homogeneous mass, when they are described as being '*en marmelade*'. In Germany and the Scandinavian countries, marmalades may be of any fruits, and if they are made of oranges or lemons, then the names of those fruits must be added to the word MARMELADE or its equivalent.

The British themselves have not always had their soft-fruit jams. The word 'jam' began to creep into manuscript cookery-books in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, and into the printed ones early in the eighteenth. It had entered the English language only about a hundred years before; and perhaps it had a middle-eastern origin, for there is an Arab word '*jam*' which means 'close-packed' or 'all together'. From its more general usage in English for things that were jammed against one another, the word passed into the realm of confectionery, to denote those preserves where soft fruits cooked with sugar were crushed together, rather than sieved, and could thus truly be described as 'jammed', or 'in a jam'.

Still earlier, the soft fruits were sometimes boiled down with sugar to a very thick and solid consistency which had the name 'marmalade' joined to that of the fruit, for instance,

‘drie marmalade of peaches’ in A.W.’s *A Book of Cookrye*, 1587, and ‘marmalade of damsons or prunes’ in John Partridge’s *The Treasurie of Commodious Conceites*, 1584. But at that time, and indeed until well into the eighteenth century, the word ‘marmalade’ used by itself meant only one thing: marmalade of quinces. And here we can begin to see the possibility of a link with Portuguese quinces.

In Tudor times, well-to-do English families enjoyed a number of luxury foods imported from southern Europe, including sugar and sugar-candy, oranges, lemons, dried fruits and sweet wines. So when the Portuguese traders set off with their figs, raisins and citrus fruits, oil, wax and honey, in the holds of their galleys, they could well have found it profitable sometimes to add a small stock of a local conserve confected from quinces and sugar, and called in Portuguese *marmelada* because it was made from the *marmelo*, or quince.

In fact, marmalade did first arrive thus in England from Portugal, and before long also from Spain and Italy, where the Portuguese term for the confection was likewise adopted. The earliest English references to marmalade are therefore to be found in port records, where the names of the shipper and his ship and the value of its cargo were set down, so that appropriate duties could be charged. But before long English travellers to Mediterranean lands began to bring back recipes for this delectable sweetmeat; and then marmalade could be made in England too, from home-grown quinces and imported sugar, which was rather less costly than the versions which arrived by sea from southern Europe.

MELOMELI AND CIDONITUM: THE ANCIENT WORLD

The origins of quince marmalade are to be traced back far beyond the sixteenth century, and its very recognisable forebears can be identified in the home-made preserves of Roman times, and in the recipes of the Greek physicians. The

physicians valued the prepared quinces and quince jellies as aids to digestion, and recommended them for various complaints affecting the stomach, liver and kidneys. But the methods whereby the quinces were conserved must have been invented originally because people wanted to enjoy some part of their fruit crops through the winter and spring months.

The earliest system of fruit preservation was probably based upon drying; there is evidence that apples were cut up and dried in slices in Neolithic Britain.¹ But in time other alternatives were discovered. When Cato wrote about work on the farm in Italy in the second century BC, he advised the wife of the bailiff to keep 'a large store of dried pears, sorbs (fruit of the service tree, related to the rowan), figs, raisins...(and) preserved pears and grapes and quinces. She should also have grapes preserved in grape-pulp, and Scantian quinces kept in jars.' Apuleius, three centuries later, gave further advice, which has been transmitted in Book I of Apicius' cookery-book. Grapes were to be put in a little boiled water within sealed jars made airtight with pitch, or were to be stored dry in barley; mulberries were to be kept in mulberry-juice mixed with *sapa* (wine-must boiled down and reduced to a syrup). As for quinces, 'Choose faultless quinces with their twigs and leaves, and put them in a receptacle, and pour over honey and *defrutum* [wine-must reduced to an even thicker consistency than *sapa*]; you will keep them for a long time.'²

So quinces could be preserved successfully in a state of completeness. But already another mode of preservation had been devised for them. According to the recipe of Dioscorides, the first-century AD physician, quinces, peeled and with their pips removed, were wedged together as tightly as possible in honey in a vessel. After a year they became as soft as 'wine-honey', a preparation for which wine and honey were boiled together and reduced to a thick consistency. [See R 1.] This method was a Greek invention, and its Greek name, *mēlomeli* (apple-in-honey), passed into Latin as the *melomeli* of Columella, and the *melimela* (honey-apples, with an implied inversion of

the two parts of the word) of Martial. From this word the Portuguese eventually derived their word for quince, *marmelo*, and hence their *marmelada*.

Dioscorides' apples-in-honey were uncooked, relying on long storage and the weight of the close-packed fruit to make them soft and sweet, and no doubt they were eaten still sticky from the honey. Columella's version did not even require the cores and pips to be removed from the quinces, nor were they packed tightly in the honey which alone served to check corruption, and prevent its spread. But Pliny stressed that the air should be excluded in order to keep quinces; and said they should either be cooked in honey or submerged in it, which suggests that a cooked form of *melomeli* was also known. Columella warned that unripe quinces stored in honey became too hard to be any use, which shows the reason why some quinces were cooked in the honey prior to storage. Preserved quinces were sweet, but apparently tasted somewhat insipid, for Martial wrote of children being given *melimela* and also large, sweet, but inferior, figs, and he contrasted his own adult preference for Chian figs with a good strong flavour.³

The Greek name for quinces was Cydonian apples (*mēla Kudōnia*), because it was said that the finest ones came from Cydonia, a city in north-west Crete. It was not the original home of the quince; that lay further north and east, probably in those parts of western Asia where the trees still grow wild today. The term *mēlomeli* incorporated the 'apple' section of the Greek name together with *meli*, meaning honey. But the Latin word for quinces, *cotonea*, came directly from the other section, *Kudōnia*; and by various mutations it produced medieval French *coin*, and our 'quince' (originally a plural form of an obsolete word *quine*, which must represent the English attempt to spell *coin* as pronounced in Anglo-Norman French).

It also produced the name of a second form of quince preserve, *kudōnitēs* in Greek, *cydonitum* or *cidonitum* in Latin. This word, too, was destined to re-emerge much later as the

‘quidony of quinces’ of Tudor and Stuart times. In Dioscorides’ Greek recipe, *kudōnitēs* can be made in two ways, either by cutting up the quinces like turnips, steeping them in sweet wine-must for 30 days, then straining off the liquid (which must have become thick and jellyish from the pectin in the quinces); or by pressing out the juice as soon as the quinces had been cut up, and mixing it with honey in the ratio of twelve parts of juice to one of honey. It was good for the stomach, and for those with dysentery and liver and kidney complaints.

But the recipes for *cidonitum* given by Palladius in the fourth century AD, which have the quinces peeled, cut up and boiled in honey, or alternatively their juice extracted, mixed with vinegar and honey, and cooked to the consistency of honey, also have a further notable addition. Pepper was shaken into both types of *cidonitum*, and into the second one, ginger as well.⁴ [See R 2.] It is clear that others beside Martial had found *melimela* and unseasoned *cidonitum* insipid.

The addition of pepper is not surprising. Nearly all the sweet dishes in Apicius’ cookery-book, based on various combinations of nuts and honey, eggs and milk, are sprinkled with pepper before they are served. The Romans took special pleasure in the pungency of pepper in any bland dish, whether sweet or otherwise. It was their favourite spice, with ginger the second most-liked.

It was the spiced *cidonitum* that was to survive into medieval times in western Europe. It may have been handed down partly as a sweetmeat, but it was also recognised as a medicine, and was well suited to that role, because the spices which went into it could be varied according to the patient’s needs. Paul of Aegina, a Greek physician of the earlier seventh century AD, offered recipes for two forms of quince preparation. One of them, said to be the recipe of Galen, used only the juice of quinces, seasoned with ginger and white pepper and boiled with honey and some ginger until it jelled. It was recommended as a cure for poor appetite, and also for indigestion. For the other

one, the fruit was sliced and boiled in wine with honey and several spices, including pepper, parsley-seed, ginger, spikenard, and cloves, until the liquid jelled; the quince slices were left in the liquor as it cooled and set.⁵

These are the earliest recipes to mention the jelling (*sustasis*) of the quince preparations. Quinces have a high pectin content, and it was their pectin, reacting with the sugar in the honey and the acid in the wine or vinegar of these early recipes, which caused the juice to jell and set. This must raise the question: why only quinces? There were other pectin-rich fruits available in the ancient world: sharp apples, damsons, and certain types of plum. Were these never cooked and preserved in the same manner? The answer is that they apparently were not.

The most likely reason is that fruits selected by the Romans for preservation in honey would have been the finest and sweetest available; and they were submerged in the honey in their fresh, uncooked state. Quinces were exceptional because, if not totally ripe, they remained hard even in the honey, as Columella warned. It was to avoid this risk that the quinces were sometimes first cooked in wine and honey, and thus it came about that their pectin was activated, jelling their juice and turning them into a conserve, the basis for *cidonitum*. The high pectin content of some other sharp fruits may never have been discovered because there was no incentive to precook them in honey (wild plums and onyx-coloured plums were pickled in a mixture of wine-must and vinegar with salt, according to Columella).⁶ So quinces remained unchallenged in the field of the pectin-jellied conserve.

CHARDEQUYNCE INTO MARMELADA: THE MEDIEVAL WORLD

Both *cidonitum* and *melomeli* made their mark in the medieval West, but in rather different ways. The spiced quince preserves of north-west Europe are known from their recipes, which do

not differ in essential ingredients from Palladius' *cidonitum*. The *condoignac* in the *Ménagier de Paris*, a French household book of c.1394, is obviously a descendant. The versions in the English cookery-books are called *chardequynce*, which translates *cidonitum* very literally as 'flesh of quince'.

But *melomeli*, which Isidore of Seville (c.AD 570–636) called *malomellus*, had already acquired a second meaning in his day. He wrote, in his *Etymologies*, 'Malomellus is named from its sweetness, [either] because its fruit has the flavour of honey, or because it is preserved in honey.'⁷ From this we can deduce that in seventh-century Spain the quince itself was already known as *malomellus*, though Isidore's words seem to imply that both the fruit and the conserve made from it may then have been called by this same name, just as both are called *membrillo* in Spain today. Thereafter the name in Spain passed through a series of changes, from *malomellus* to the Mozarabic *malmâlo*, to the Castilian *merimello*, and thence to *membrillo*. In the late Middle Ages, when *chardequynce* was appearing in English cookery and medical recipe books, the Spanish form was sometimes called *carne de membrillo* (flesh of membrillo).⁸

Meanwhile, in that region of the Iberian peninsula which eventually became Portugal, the local dialect went through a slightly different development as Mozarabic *malmâlo* became *marmelo*, the modern Portuguese word for a quince; and the form of quince conserve made there during the late Middle Ages acquired the name *marmelada*. The conserve had changed from those previously discussed in one important aspect: it was now sweetened not with honey, but with sugar.

Sugar was one magic ingredient destined to distinguish quince *marmelada*, and the *marmellata* and 'marmelet' which soon copied it elsewhere in Europe, from their honey-based predecessors. Sugar was a very suitable partner for quinces in a spiced, jellied conserve of a partly medicinal character, because sugar had itself begun its European career as a medicine. To us today it seems remarkable that the gourmets of imperial Rome

did not discover culinary or preservative uses for the sugar that was imported along with oriental spices from India, for they took great delight in luxury foods from other distant places – oysters from Britain; sturgeon from the Black Sea.

Sugar had been known to the Mediterranean world from the time of Alexander's expedition to India (325 BC). His admiral Nearchos, returning with news of strange and marvellous things to be seen in that land, reported the presence there of 'reeds [which] produce honey, although there are no bees.' In the days of the Roman empire, sugar arrived in Rome together with pepper, ginger and other spices from India and lands still further east. But although Pliny knew it, and described it as a kind of honey collected from reeds and solidified into lumps the size of a hazelnut or smaller, and brittle to the teeth, he said that it was only used in medicine. Its medicinal properties were explained by Dioscorides: it was good for the stomach, the bowels, the kidneys and the bladder; and it was to be dissolved in water and taken in the form of a drink.⁹

The Persians may have been the earliest people to adopt sugar as a foodstuff. They certainly introduced sugar-canes into their territories, initially as medicinal plants. But the crop became more widespread, and well before the time of the Arab conquest, sugar was being cultivated in the Tigris and Euphrates delta, and in parts of Baluchistan. Honey had culinary uses as well as medicinal ones, and thus supplied a precedent for sugar, too, to become both a foodstuff and a preserving agent. It is very possible that when the Arabs occupied Persia, they encountered sugar already in use as a food, perhaps with dietary overtones, for sugar was moderately warming, according to the Galenic system of the four humours, and thus it was a useful addition to the diet of those with cold constitutions.

We have no contemporary Persian recipes to supply confirmation. But a few Arabic ones survive, belonging to the tenth century and to the court circle of the Baghdad caliphs of the Abbasid dynasty, which looked back to older Persian

traditions in many cultural spheres. These recipes show that sugar was used to make 'lozenge', a confection of ground almonds, breadcrumbs, sesame-oil, rosewater, and sugar; and to sweeten delicious dishes of rice, either white and shining by itself, or cooked in chicken-fat and made golden with saffron.¹⁰ The later cookery and medical books of the Arabs indicate continuing use of sugar to prepare sweet dishes, and to make fruit syrups and conserves. It is easy to see how much they valued sugar, and why they spread its cultivation westwards in the wake of their conquests, to Egypt, North Africa, and the larger Mediterranean islands.

Medieval Arab recipes for quinces preserved with honey or sugar still exist, but remain untranslated. There is a tantalising reference to such a recipe in Professor M. Rodinson's French summary of the thirteenth-century *Wusla ilā l'habīb*, where 'quince cooked with sugar' is a heading in the section on fruit syrups and electuaries (semi-solid syrups, originally honey-based), which were items similarly confected with sugar.¹¹ There is as yet no western language translation of this book, and the much-abridged Baghdad cookery-book of 1226 in the English version of A. J. Arberry contains no recipe for sugar-preserved quinces. But in the sixteenth century it was said that the Moors of North Africa had taught the Portuguese to gobble up *marmelada*.¹² So it does look as though Arab food customs and recipes were the original source of this confection in Portugal; and hence in the other western European countries which adopted it.

In the meantime, the Christian West had not been without quince preserves. In France, *cidonitum* became *condoignac*. Its recipe, in the Parisian household book written for a young bride about 1394, has the quinces peeled and cored, cooked first in red wine and then in honey, and eventually well spiced, cooled, cut up into pieces and stored. [See R 3.] In a fifteenth-century Venetian recipe, *codigniato* is made with quinces, honey and fine spices; the spices may be replaced by six ounces of sugar for every three pounds of *codigniato*.¹³

Most of the surviving English recipes for chardequynce belong to the fifteenth century. They follow the French *condoignac* in their general form, with a preliminary cooking of the quinces in ale-wort rather than wine, followed by the sieving of the pulp, the recooking in honey, and the spicing with pepper, ginger, and cinnamon or galingale. A new feature is the addition of ten warden pears to thirty quinces, to form the fruit component; for it had been found that the quinces could carry the extra pears, although they were poorer in pectin, and still yield a solid jelly that could be cut up, boxed and stored. For chardequynce was always stored in boxes. Recipes are to be found both in cookery-books and in collections of medical remedies, and they no doubt appeared in the West first of all in medical books, copied there from the texts of the Greek physicians. The recipe in one cookery-book (MS Harleian 4016) of c.1450 concludes its instructions for making chardequynce with the words, 'And it is comfortable for a man's body, and namely for the stomach.'¹⁴

Chardequynce was eaten at the end of a medieval feast or substantial dinner, when it was offered along with pears, nuts, sugar-coated aniseed or caraway comfits, white and green ginger, and 'composts' (fruits and nuts preserved in a honey and vinegar pickle). The purpose of all the foods in this group was 'your stomach for to ease';¹⁵ and it is clear that the spiced quince preserve had kept this role from the days of Dioscorides and Galen.

By the fifteenth century, the usages of chardequynce were being extended. It became an ingredient in cookery. A special version of the pottage called 'mawmeny', made from shredded capons' or pheasants' flesh, cooked in wine, thickened with rice-flour, and enriched with sugar, currants, sliced ginger, and spices, had the further addition of half a pound of 'paste royal' (a kind of marzipan) and half a pound of chardequynce. This pottage was almost a forerunner of our Christmas pudding, for when it had been spooned out into bowls, it was topped with aqua vitae, set alight with a candle, 'and serve it forth burning'.¹⁶

In the same period, the spiced chardequynce began to be made with sugar in place of honey. That led to its being treated sometimes in the manner of other pastes of worked sugar which were exploited for decorative purposes. The quince paste could be set into shapes in oiled moulds and, according to one recipe, the shapes were then gilded or silvered with foil applied by means of white of egg, or dyed red with brazil-wood, or blue with indigo or woad. The same recipe explains a method for storing quince-pulp by boiling it up with sugar (three pounds of pulp to one of sugar) 'till they wax somewhat stiff on a knife-point, and then put it in a fair pot, and so ye may keep it as long as ye will from year to year.' When required, it could be worked up into chardequynce by reboiling the stiffened pulp with an equal quantity of sugar.¹⁷

The changeover from honey to sugar as an active ingredient of chardequynce is recorded in a group of three recipes from a leechbook of about 1444. The first is the traditional chardequynce of quinces and warden pears, honey, and spices, and it carries the comment: 'This manner of making is good, and if it is thus made, it will be black.' The second is said to be better, because the fruit is precooked in water only, not in ale-wort, and a mixture of two parts of honey to three of sugar is substituted for honey alone. But the third is 'the best of all', for it is made simply from equal weights of purified sugar and quinces, without pears, or honey, 'and this shall be whiter than that other, inasmuch as the sugar is white, [so] shall the chardequynce be.' [See R 4.]

At that point, chardequynce had begun to approach very close to the quince and sugar *marmelada* of the Portuguese. Possibly the English actually learned to make chardequynce with sugar through the influence of the Portuguese version of the sweetmeat. Portuguese *marmelada* may occasionally have been brought to England as early as the first half of the fifteenth century without leaving any written record of its presence; or travellers and traders who encountered it in

his recipe with the claim, 'Better marmalade of quinces, sweeter and heartier than this, a man cannot make.'¹⁹

The marmalade imported into England at that time came from Spain and Italy as well as from Portugal; so it may safely be deduced that it was the novel flavourings which distinguished that marmalade from its jellied-quince predecessor, chardequynce, and made it a new, fashionable conserve for the well-to-do. Interestingly, the recipe of Alexis of Piedmont offers the alternative possibility of adding cinnamon, cloves, nutmeg and ginger as the flavourings, 'if you will'. It thus stands as a bridge between the new food-scents, such as musk or rosewater, and the traditional spices of medieval chardequynce or French *condoignac*.

But the English soon lost interest in the old spiced form of the preserve (which hereafter appeared only in a few rather specialised recipes in the printed cookery-books). Henceforth their choice was for marmalade based on the southern European version, flavoured at first with rosewater or musk or both, but soon to be simplified to the two basic ingredients of quinces and sugar, without further seasoning.

Founse, and four further consignments, adding up to 45 lb. plus 3 'coffers', brought in by four different traders on the ship of Martin Yanus. The customs accounts of Exeter show that, on 17 January 1499, Peter Farnando landed from the ship *Rosary* of Oporto 60 lb. of marmalade valued at 20s. (£1).²

The quantities of marmalade which arrived in some of the early shipments are not always so clear. A 'little chest' (*parva cista*) of marmalade was delivered at Southampton during the year 1500–1. Between 10 October 1502 and 26 May 1503, 1 barrel, 1 pot, 3 little pots and 1 rove (a somewhat variable weight, often about 25 lb.) of marmalade entered the Port of London at various times. The ships and shippers were all Portuguese, except for Martin Colongas, on whose ship the above-mentioned barrel was conveyed, and he may have been a Basque.

The barrel was valued at 20s., but the other containers carried no valuation, being part of larger consignments of mixed goods, all taxed together. The figure of 20s. for the 60 lb. of marmalade brought into Exeter in 1499 shows that its wholesale price was 4d. (under 2p) a pound. The same costing is suggested by the entry in a book of rates issued in London in 1507. The *marmelado* here is in fact given the unlikely value of £4 a lb., but this must surely be due to miscopying in the eighteenth-century transcript of the book which has turned pence into £s (for comparison, succade, a confection of citrus fruit-peels in sugar syrup, also imported from southern Europe, was no more than 4d. a lb. on the same list).³ The retail price is less certain, and there may have been a considerable write-up initially because of the novelty of the marmalade. When chardequynce was purchased for the household of George, Duke of Clarence, in 1469, ten one-pound boxes cost 5s. (25p) each; and the Portuguese marmalade may at first have sold for comparable sums.⁴

The price of marmalade fell in the following decades. By 1537 Lady Lisle's man was able to buy fine *marmelado* for her at 9d. (under 4p) a lb., after he had spurned the coarser quality, which