

# Wild Plants for Sale in the Markets of Pécs Then and Now (Baranya, Hungary)

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**Abstract:** Based on ethnographic and botanical sources as well as observations between 2012 and 2015, we have data about the sale of 130 species of wild plants in the markets of Hungary's fifth largest city. Most species, 98 of them, were sold as bouquets or wreaths, as ornamental plants. Sources reported sales of 67 wildflowers in the past, while between 2012–2015 they offered a total of 57 species in ornamental bouquets at the market but only 23 of the species sold in the past were among them. The main reason for changes in the wildflower species is that several species have become protected and hence their sale prohibited. Based on the available data, only 30 species of herbs and edible plants gathered in the wild were sold – 10 species as wild vegetables, 6 species as flowers, and 18 species as fruits. Today, of the edible wild species, mostly wild fruits and wild onions are available on a regular basis. Because the sale of medicinal plants became regulated very early on, their sale in the markets is not common, available mostly through wholesalers and already processed. Even today it is mostly edible herbs that are available in the market. During the 4 years of observation, they also sold 38 mushroom species in the markets of Pécs as forest products.

**Keywords:** wild food plant, wild fruit, wild vegetable, collection of medicinal plants, sale of wild plants, foraging, ethnobotany, open market, traditional ecological knowledge

## INTRODUCTION

Wild plants collected in the wild are sold at the markets partly as cut flowers, bouquets of wildflowers, and partly as medicinal, herbal or edible plants. The use of nature's goods and the sale of wild plants in the market are not as common nowadays, but it seems to be reviving in Hungary. Considering a number of European countries (DOGAN et al. 2013; DOGAN – NEDELICHEVA 2015; ŁUCZAJ et al. 2012, 2013), it can be established that it is traditionally in Mediterranean countries that the market sale of wild plants has endured, and, according to recent research, the use of wild plants is still significant in several regions of Transylvania (DÉNES et al. 2014; PAPP – HORVÁTH 2013), and there is data about the market sale of numerous wild fruits (e.g., blueberries, wild strawberries) and wild vegetables (nettle, sorrel, docks, pilewort, coltsfoot, hop shoots) as well as wildflowers

(e.g., dogtooth violet, liverwort, fritillaria) (BABAI ex litt. 2015; BARTHA 2015; DÉNES ined. 2015; SZÉKELY ex litt. 2012). Elsewhere in Europe the use of forest products and consequently their market availability have declined. The sale of mostly mushrooms, wild fruits, and a few wild vegetables have persisted in the twentieth century, but their rediscovery in the 21<sup>st</sup> century can be observed in almost all countries. The situation is the same in Hungary – aside from forest mushrooms, only a very few species gathered in nature are being used today as they were used in the past, and data about their sale are few and sparse. The market supply of freshly foraged herbs has been suppressed in the last decades by readily accessible drugs and a good healthcare system, while the emerging demands were met through organized sales of processed herbal supplements. Wild plant foods – especially in a country with an increasing number of fertile lands due to the cultivation of lowlands and hill countries – have also been almost completely suppressed, their sale not very common. As ornamental plants, wildflowers appeared on the market only about a century ago, after World War I, and by the end of the century they were sold in bulk each spring. Due to environmental protection laws at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, their supply has declined, and by today the varieties of sold species have largely changed. 20 years after the regime change, I observed for 4 years the wild plant supply of the markets of a major Hungarian city surrounded by a diverse natural environment, rich in forests and grasslands, yet with markets that are some of the most expensive in national standards.

## MATERIALS AND METHODS

For the study of today's practices of wild plant sales in Pécs, I frequented the markets of Pécs from 2012 to 2015, along with its farmers' markets and occasional fairs (e.g., Christmas market). I found the most wild plant sales in the market hall hosting the largest vegetable and flower market in Pécs, so I visited it on a daily basis in the more important periods of wild plant sales (spring, fall, holidays). During the four years, I spoke with 28 sellers, getting to know more and more about their gathering and selling practices, and I also asked three market supervisor about their prior observations. The longest-employed supervisor was able to look back on the last 20 years. Data of species sold that was observed by me at least once and/or mentioned in interviews and easily identifiable has been entered into the summary table (Table 1) as an unpublished source marked Dénes 2015 ined. Data of past wild plant sales in Pécs – especially for the period between 1940 and 1980 – was compiled from information found in botanical, ethnographic and environmental conservation literature, as well as in the ethnographic repository and photographic database of the Janus Pannonius Museum. The data from this period is sporadic, but despite this, we can learn a lot from the practices of the time. I supplemented my own observations with information from five colleagues from Pécs, all of whom have worked or are still working in environmental conservation and who were able to look back over the last 10–20 years. I received data from László Wágner (WÁGNER 2015 ex litt.), Sándor Völgyi (VÖLGYI 2015 ex litt.), Balázs Kevey (KEVEY 2015 ex litt.) Gábor Nagy (NAGY 2015 ex litt.), and Géza Vágner (VÁGNER 2015 ex verb.).

The study site is Pécs, Hungary's fifth largest city, a regional center and the seat of Baranya County. The population is over 145,000 today. The city that has existed since

Roman times is situated in the southwestern foothills of the Mecsek Mountains, at the junction of three geographic regions: the Mecsek Mountains, the Baranya Hills, and the Dráva Plain. The proportion of natural habitats in the region is high. The city is bordered on the north by unbroken forested lands, and on the south by sometimes still swampy, flat areas. The flora of Pécs' surroundings is one of the richest of our domestic landscapes in terms of its absolute and relative number of species (WIRTH et al. 2010:71–72). The county is also home to Hungary's most forested lowland landscapes, the Dráva Plain. In the spring, nature awakens here first in the country, thus the very first willow catkins and wild garlic bouquets are available in the markets of Pécs. The ethnography and history of the markets and fairs of Pécs until the middle of the last century are described in a study by Imre Dankó (DANKÓ 1965). In the past, the marketplaces were the city's large public spaces, and Baranya's diverse, multi-ethnic population sold their goods here, but Pécs' weekly fairs may have had an even larger agglomeration. Today the city operates a market hall, and three smaller marketplaces, but several other private, occasional farmers' markets and craft fairs also operate to serve the demand. According to KIRÁLY (2011:89), Pécs' markets are mentioned among the most expensive domestic markets because the products almost always came from afar – in the past, mainly from producers on the Great Plain, currently also from abroad. For a long time, Bulgarian gardeners settled in the vicinity of Pécs at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century also supplied the city with local vegetables, but today local producers are present on the market in very small proportions.

## HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF WILD PLANT SALES

### *Wildflower sales in Hungary*

The sale of wildflowers as cut flowers appeared in towns during the difficult period after World War I. Primarily they sold early spring species because they were popular as the first signs of spring after a dark and cold winter in the city, and thus brought a modest income for the vendors. Well-known domestic botanists of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century took stock of the wildflowers sold on the streets and markets of several big cities. PÉNZES (1926a, 1926b), RAPAICS (1932) and BOROS (1924, 1947) all describe the condition and species of wildflower sales in Budapest. PÉNZES (1926b) lists 89 species of wild plants in the markets of Pest. MÁTHÉ (1938) in Debrecen and TÍMÁR (1953) in Szeged both recorded the practices of wildflower sales in the respective cities' markets. Adolf Olivér Horvát, a botanist from Pécs – having had recorded sales of 61 species gathered in the wild – published a study in 1940 and again in 1942 about the wildflowers sold in the markets of Pécs. According to the studies of VIGA (1986:69–70), for example, the women of Cserépfalu in the Bükk mountains were “*making a living*” by gathering forest products all year round, and they would even go pick snowdrops near Pécs:

They started their gathering “in the early spring with the snowdrop, then came the violets, mushrooms, lily of the valley, mushrooms again, then raspberries, herbs (Christmas rose, belladonna, chamomile, centaury, black locust flowers, agrimony). The herbs were purchased by the village trader – they themselves did not really use them. But the rest they took to the market themselves. The gathering of snowdrops became fashionable in particular after World

War II, although already quite a few people did it before the war (...) they pick snowdrops especially for Women's Day and Mother's Day, collecting them in the surrounding woodlands of the Bükk mountains, but they would also go to pick flowers in the remote Transdanubian forests (Pécs, Villány, Kaposvár, Dombóvár, Nagykanizsa), then bring the "harvest" to be sold in the markets of the capital, sometimes Eger and Miskolc."

I myself saw the process of making bouquets out of snowdrops gathered in bulk and piled high on tables pushed together in the waiting room of the Villány railway station near Pécs in the '90s. Snowdrops were popular not only in Hungary but also in the neighboring (then) Czechoslovakia, with bouquets delivered even by air to large cities (Új Szó 1973). The weekly magazine *Hét*, referring to Dunacsúny, wrote in 1976 that there were "some people who even bought cars from [the proceeds of] snowdrops" in the village dubbed "*Hóvirágfalva*" (Snowdrop Village), but the people living there did not mind because "no other village in the country has such a beautiful name" (SCHNEIDER 1976).

Initially botanists were less worried about the mass gathering of wild plants, but later they became more and more worried (ARADI et al. 1975:35; BOROS 1968; MOLNÁR V. 2014:41–45; NÉMETH – SEREGÉLYES 1982). The demand for wildflowers increased, especially for those blooming in early spring before the cultivated species, and became more than just a supplement to meager incomes, and thus more people got involved in the wildflower trade. Several species were declared protected by a 1982 act, the first of its kind in Hungary, in order to prevent further environmental damage caused exactly by wildflower gathering.<sup>1</sup> Despite their protected status, some protected species still appeared on the stalls. I've also regularly seen colorfully painted feather grass (*Stipa*) sold at Baranya's famous pilgrimage site, Máriagyúd in the 1990s, and in those years the more common, protected flowers of the Mecsek also appeared in the markets of Pécs. For some species, their sales increased to worrisome degrees, so in 2001 WWF Hungary launched a campaign called "*Let the wildflowers live*". In their brochure, they analyzed the contemporary situation, and they concluded that several protected species of plants were being sold in the metropolitan markets, and of the non-protected ones, the snowdrop was being threatened by the tremendous demand for it on International Women's Day (March 8), when most men gift their female friends, female relatives with a bouquet of snowdrops. On this day, and a few days before, many millions of snowdrops were put on the markets. As calculated by the conservation organization, just from Nagykanizsa, arriving by train, nearly 73 million snowdrops made it to the markets in the capital (KERÉKI 2001). Snowdrops were eventually declared protected in Hungary in 2005. In those years, rangers often checked the markets and flower shops. They informed, warned, posted posters, and market supervisors did not allow the sale of snowdrops and other protected species, so now we can say that protected species are very rare in the markets, and certainly not in large quantities.

<sup>1</sup> 1/1982. (III.15.) OKTH Regulation – Hungarian Bulletin 1982, No. 14.

*Historical overview of the market sales of edible wild plants*

Researchers of foraging economies considered the use of wild plants in Hungary to be most significant until the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Nature foraging was better preserved in landscapes that were less suitable for agricultural production but richer in natural habitats and forests, or even in rocky and arid mountainous landscapes (GUNDA 2001, ÚJVÁRI 1957). According to ethnographic and ethnobotanical sources, one could find some 216 wild plant species as food or herb on the tables of Hungarians living in the Carpathian basin (DÉNES et al. 2012:383). In the opinion of VIGA (1990:89),

“...foraging basically serves self-sufficiency, and foraged forest products become a commodity in larger quantities primarily with the development of the social division of labor. Their real customers are city/town markets, possibly nearby micro-regions that lack certain typical fruit or plant species due to different geographical conditions. However, these materials rarely serve as basic provisions, but rather appear in the markets of cities or other regions as a delicacy, a ‘specialty’, and it is exactly their ‘otherness’ that gives them value.”

Of the forest foods, it was mainly wild fruits, juniper, pine and cumin seeds, but mostly mushrooms that made it to the markets from the regions where foraging was “an inalienable part of traditional culture” (VIGA 1990:91). The earliest data is about the market sales of the water chestnut (*Trapa natans*) occurring in the swamps along the great rivers. In 1902, Lajos Zoltay listed among the occupations in Debrecen from 200 years ago the “seller of water chestnuts”, of which at that time there was only one at the market in Debrecen (ZOLTAY 1902:23). Chervil (*Chaerophyllum bulbosum*) and corn salad (*Valerianella*) were sold in eighteenth-century Debrecen markets, or at least at the time this was recorded by student poets (ORTUTAY 1977). Also known are early sales of the ground-ivy (*Glechoma hederacea*) in the markets of Pest (VESZELSZKI 1798:151). There is also mention of the sale of the sap of the birch (*Betula pendula*), birch water, in the 1700s; Ferenc Rákóczi, in a letter from 1760, mentions birch water, which “is not more expensive (...) than the Tokaj harvest” (KISS 1929:4). Birch water was brought from the Nyírség to the Great Hungarian Plain, too, by itinerant vendors (KISS 1929:4), and water chestnut was also sold along the Tisza, Danube, and Dráva (ANDRÁSFALVY 1965:16; GUNDA 1956:23; NAGY 1917:839; PETRIKOVITS 1943), and in Baja even in 1980, when Ortutay (1981) documented in a striking photo the water chestnut-selling women of Baja. Along the Dráva, in Baranya, elders still remember the vendors of water chestnuts from Cún, whose products sold out of carts they themselves have tasted as children (DÉNES ined 2015).

## RESULTS

*The wildflowers of the flower market of Pécs in the past and today*

In light of available data, so far a total of 98 wildflower species (including shrubs and trees) have been sold as ornamental plants in the markets of Pécs (Table 1). The most complete record of sales has been published by Adolf Olivér Horvát (1942:60–61),

listing 61 species, including several that are now protected. The lady orchid (*Orchis purpurea*), the pheasant's eye (*Adonis vernalis*), the spiny and spineless butcher's-broom (*Ruscus aculeatus*, *Ruscus hypoglossum*), feather grass species (*Stipa* sp.), and the since extinct cottongrass (*Eriophorum* sp.) have all turned up at the market. There is little data available from the next period. From the 1980s to 2005, sales of 19 species is known with certainty. They sold, among others, snowdrop (*Galanthus nivalis*), lily of the valley, species of mistletoe (*Viscum album*, *Loranthus europaeus*), catkin (*Salix caprea*), and rosehip (*Rosa canina*) bouquets, but the protected dogtooth violet (*Erythronium dens-canis*), butcher's-broom (*Ruscus aculeatus*), leopard's bane (*Doronicum* spp.), and in small bouquets even the primrose (*Primula vulgaris*) made an appearance in the market. By now the species sold have been to a large extent replaced. In the last four years, 57 species have been tied into bouquets in the market, but only 23 of the species were the same as those sold a long time ago. Still sought after today are bouquets of violet (*Viola* spp.) and lily of the valley (*Convallaria majalis*) (Figure 1), and sometimes meadow sage (*Salvia pratensis*), woodruff (*Asperula odorata*) (Figure 2), or oxeye daisy (*Leucanthemum vulgare*) also get mixed into bouquets of garden flowers. Seemingly late discoveries, of the summer wildflowers the hoary cress (*Lepidium draba*) and cypress spurge (*Euphorbia cyparissias*) (Figure 1), both easily gathered from roadsides, are sold by many, and they have been incorporated into Biedermeier bouquets (Figure 3) supplemented by vividly colored garden flowers. Many other common species also appear on the market, just-blooming or colorful species, shrubs and trees, too, such as black locust (*Robinia pseudoacacia*), wild privet (*Ligustrum vulgare*), spindle berries (*Euonymus* spp.), Chinese lantern (*Physalis alkekengi*), and bladder campion (*Silene vulgaris*). The leaves of ivy (*Hedera helix*) and horse chestnut (*Aesculus hippocastanum*), and many grasses (*Anthoxanthum odoratum*, *Briza media*, *Arrhenatherum elatius*) are only supplemental "greens" in the bouquets. Many are selling the green shoots of the Scotch broom (*Cytisus scoparius*) as "horsetail" (Figure 4). At Easter the catkins of the pussy willow (*Salix caprea*) (Figure 10), before Christmas the yellow mistletoe (*Loranthus europaeus*) and white mistletoe (*Viscum album*) are an inevitable mass commodity (Figure 4). Bouquets of hawthorn (*Crataegus monogyna*) and rosehip (*Rosa canina*) wrapped with ivy or pine boughs (Figures 4–5) have long been popular at this time – there are people who have been selling them for 20 years. Today, as in the past, part of the winter supply is the colorfully painted cutleaf teasel (*Dipsacus laciniatus*) (Figure 6) and bushgrass (*Calamagrostis epigeios*), but even the milkweed's (*Asclepias syriaca*) dry "parrot beaks" may be incorporated into bouquets nowadays (Table 1).



Figure 1. *Euphorbia cyparissias*, *Lepidium draba* and *Convallaria majalis* on the market. Pécs, Hungary, 2015. (Photo by Andrea Dénes)



Figure 2. Selling of *Asperula odorata* bouquets as ornamental plants. Pécs, Hungary, 2015. (Photo by Andrea Dénes)



Figure 3. Hoary cress and cypress spurge sold by many, and they have been incorporated into Biedermeier bouquets. Pécs, Hungary, 2015. (Photo by Andrea Dénes)



Figure 4. *Cytisus scoparius*, *Rosa canina*, *Loranthus europaeus* and *Viscum album* on the Christmas market. Pécs, Hungary, 2015. (Photo by Andrea Dénes)



Figure 5. Bouquets of hawthorn (*Crataegus monogyna*) wrapped with pine boughs. Pécs, Hungary, 2015. (Photo by Andrea Dénes)



Figure 6. Colorfully painted cutleaf teasel (*Dipsacus laciniatus*) and very first willow catkins (*Salix caprea*) at the end of winter on the market. Pécs, Hungary, 2015. (Photo by Andrea Dénes)

*The wild food plants of the markets of Pécs*

In Baranya County, sources have recorded 47 wild plant species used as food (BORSOS et al. 76:4; FÜVESY 1997; GUNDA 1956:23; KISS 1980:20–21; Z. KISS 1994:178–179; MÜLLER 1973; NAGY 1942:269–273; NYILASSY 1951; VÁRÓCZI 2011; ZENTAI 1966:185–186). Data about sales of far fewer species have survived. Based on all available data, a total of 30 edible wild plants turned up in Pécs markets. 10 species of plants were sold as vegetable (green leaf, young shoot), 6 species were offered for their flower, and 18 species collected in the wild were available as fruit or seed. Of the wild fruits, it is especially blackberry (*Rubus fruticosus*), rosehip (*Rosa canina*), and blackthorn (*Prunus spinosa*) sales that appear to be continuing to the present day. Based on the data from the ethnographic interviews from the 1950s in Zengővárkony (NYILASSY 1951:15, 47–48), of the forest fruits, the wild strawberry (*Fragaria* spp.) was most often gathered and taken to the market. A then 82-year-old informant said that even earlier, in the time of her mother, they sold wild strawberries in markets. At ripening time, they set out for the woods at 2 in the morning and picked them sometimes until 4 in the afternoon. The next day they took them to the local or to the Pécs market (NYILASSY 1951:48). Nowadays wild strawberries can be found only rarely, as a delicacy, picked with the stem, bound in small bouquets. On the other hand, rosehips and the jam made from them, the hecsedli, have been in demand throughout the times. There is demand for the wild blackberry (*Rubus fruticosus*) today, and it has been a long-time favorite, at least according to Kovács Jánosné, a former collector: “the blackberry is a very valuable fruit, they pay for it well” (NYILASSY 1951:47). Of the wild fruits, in addition to the above, the Cornelian cherry (*Cornus mas*) and the hawthorn (*Crataegus monogyna*) are sought after, but there is no data about their former sales (Figures 7–9).

Of the 10 wild vegetables sold, the wild garlic (*Allium ursinum*) is the most common in the markets of Pécs (Figures 8–9). The nationally soaring career of this species over the past decade began in the vicinity of Pécs. The first Orfű Wild Garlic Festival, held in 2004, is considered to have caused the increased interest in wild garlic (BARINA 2014; MÉSZÁROS B. 2015), so much so that due to the plant now being gathered “by the tons” (FEHÉR – VARGA 2013), conservationists are considering having the wild garlic declared protected (BARINA 2014; TEMESI 2014). There are no traces of its sale in the past, and not a lot of data in the county about its consumption. What is certain is that the people of Nagyváty gathered and consumed it (NAGY 1942:270, 307). Nonetheless, wild garlic is common in the natural forests of Baranya County. Since about 10 years ago, its sale has often started in early February and lasted up until early June. In the four years of observation, of the relatively thin leafed wild onions, two species (*Allium scorodoprasum* and *A. vineale*) were often available in the winter and early spring as “wild chives” and “wild garlic” (Figures 8-10). Their barren, winter-spring leaves were regularly sold by two vendors. Pilewort (*Ranunculus ficaria*) was rarely available (Figure 9), but there is a demand for its restaurant delivery (VÖRÖS ex verb). I have only seen hop shoots (*Humulus lupulus*) in the market once, purslane (*Portulaca oleracea*) was supplied by order by a vegetable vendor. Chickweed (*Stellaria media*), dandelion (*Taraxacum officinale*) and fresh nettles (*Urtica dioica*) were sold alone, and mixed with garden salad leaves.





Figure 7. Cornelian cherry (*Cornus mas*) and the blackthorn (*Prunus spinosa*) are sought after, but there is no data about their former sales. Pécs, Hungary, 2015. (Photo by Andrea Dénes)



Figure 8. Fresh rosehip (*Rosa canina*) fruit and semifinished rosehip concentrate were sold every year on the market. Pécs, Hungary, 2012. (Photo by Andrea Dénes)



Figure 9. Blackthorn, rosehip and Turkish hazel on the market. Pécs, Hungary, 2012. (Photo by Andrea Dénes)



Figure 10. Marika is a reliable source for many species of edible wild plants at the market. Pécs, Hungary, 2012. (Photo by Andrea Dénes)



Figure 11. Selling *Allium ursinum*, *Allium scorodoprasum* and *Ranunculus ficaria* as wild vegetable on the market in spring. Pécs, Hungary, 2012. (Photo by Andrea Dénes)



Figure 12. Willow catkins (*Salix caprea*) and wild garlic (*Allium scorodoprasum*) bouquets are available in the markets of Pécs. Pécs, Hungary, 2015. (Photo by Andrea Dénes)

*Herbs for sale*

Foraged herbs were less likely to make it to urban markets in the past, and today it is still very rare, mostly because selling fresh or dried herbs in bulk or in bunches is prohibited by relevant rules. In the past, they collected them to satisfy the needs of the family, but there were some who bought them from itinerant vendors or from local herbalists: “We never pick the teas, the Gypsies bring them” (Widow Szűcs Józsefné, in NYILASSY 1951:54). Only the best-known, time-tested herbs were sought after in the Pécs markets: “Chamomile, linden I collect, but I will not sell it, it is not valuable (...) I’ll also pick centaury, and sell it too (...) in the market, in clumps like the ‘Mecsek tea’ (*Melittis melissophyllum*). But it is not as expensive, because only those buy it that have stomach aches and are convinced that it is good. And the ‘Mecsek tea’ (*Melittis melissophyllum*) is not just medicine” (Kovács Józsefné in NYILASSY 1951:57). In Hungary, the organized acquisition, processing, and trade of herbs (TÉTÉNYI 1995:504–505) began very early, in 1904, with the foundation of the Research Institute of Medicinal Plants in Cluj, which still operates today. There are few data about market sales of herbs, such as Tamás Grynaeus’, which commemorates the last herbalist woman in the Szeged market (1964). Today the herbalist man of the Pécs market sells packaged, labeled herbs, tinctures and ointments in compliance with the law (as I saw in 2012–13, he now has an independent shop near the market). In the case of herb sales in Pécs markets and fairs, we have data about 10 species (Table 1). The ‘Mecsek tea’ or bastard balm (*Melittis melissophyllum*) used to be very sought-after, was repeatedly brought to market, purchased by Pécs pharmacies, as well as bought by the quintals by consumers (NYILASSY 1951:6–7, 30, 50–55). It is no longer sold. Linden flower also used to be collected; ethnographer László Mándoki documented its sale in 1970 at the Pécs market with a photo (Figure 13). Today, it is rarely for sale at the market. Similarly, only once in a while did dried nettles, ribwort plantains, oregano, thyme or the wild mint appear among the market goods. Those who might order them can find a vendor who collects and delivers them on demand. Of the flowers of wild plants, one could occasionally get fresh elderflowers, black locust flowers, and dried mallow flowers (Figure 14). Jam made from dwarf elderberries (*Sambucus ebulus*) was also sold (Figure 15), but the most common for tea and jam alike were fresh haw and rosehips (Figure 16) (Table 1).

*Mushrooms for sale*

This study focuses on the sale of wild plants, but mushrooms played an important role at all times in forest foraging and in the market sale of forest products. The market sale of mushrooms has been a longstanding and safely continuing activity primarily in the cities of Transdanubia and the central mountainous regions, of which we have data from Pécs (Figure 17). In the Pécs market, they mainly sold the more frequent mushrooms known and sought by the customers, whereas today only those are sold that are allowed by Hungarian law.<sup>2</sup> Many of the wild plant vendors also collect and sell mushrooms. It

<sup>2</sup> 107/2011. (XI. 10.) VM ordinance

was so in the past, too. The “*Mushroom King*” of Zengővárkony – as he was called in the village – foraged for and sold mushrooms, herbs and wild fruits. Started by necessity, he had been doing it for 22–23 years by the time of the 1951 interview, and made a good living with it. “I have a knack for mushrooming like for a profession, though it is very burdensome” (NYILASSY 1951:1–2, 10–17). Today, sales of mushrooms and the necessary inspections and monitoring can only be resolved in the Pécs market hall. In the four years of observation, they sold 38 species of mushrooms. Porcini (*Boletus*) species are in highest demand, along with chanterelle (*Cantharellus cibarius*) and Scotch bonnets (*Marasmius oreades*). The mushrooms arrive to the Pécs mushroom markets mainly from Baranya County and the neighboring Somogy County, but local mushroom vendors also ship to the city markets of the Great Plain that is less rich in fungi; I have encountered mushroom merchants from Pécs at the markets of Szeged and Baja as well.

#### *Wild plant sales practices*

Wild plant sales in Pécs are seasonal, but the season adapts to customer needs beyond the collection period, especially in the case of wildflowers. In periods of greater demand there are more vendors, and vendors normally selling other goods will supplement their goods with popular seasonal species, most often wild garlic. According to approved license applications at the Pécs market hall, forest products (wild plants and mushrooms) were sold by 55 vendors in 2015. Among the edible wild plants, fresh wild garlic and wild fruits are sold most. Several wild vegetables were only sold by two vendors over the four years. Of the 28 interviewees, six were selling more or less continuously – four flower and two vegetable vendors. Their stocks almost always included wild plants, sometimes they did not even sell anything else. 13 people were selling wild mushrooms or plants only seasonally, but never garden produce: “in the spring wild garlic (...) when I run out of mushrooms in the fall, I go mistletoe picking”. Occasional vendors (nine people) sold the most sought-after wild garlic and wild fruits, or else Christmas and wildflower ornamental bouquets. The foraging site is Baranya County. Most of the collectors/sellers are not from Pécs, but commute from a nearby settlement. Some bring their goods themselves by bus: “(...) write this, honey, that old granny brings two bags, and takes back two bags of what she doesn’t sell”. Several have been selling wild plants for a long time, 15, 20, even 25 years. Most of them mentioned rosehips as the longest-collected plant. The supply of wild plants also showed differences from year to year during the four-year observation, thus a trend could not be determined as it was dictated primarily by the amount of crops. In 2015, for example, the Cornelian cherry grew very well, many were selling it, whereas in previous years it was not at all on the market. In 2014, no hawthorn or blackthorn grew in the area, thus there was not a large supply of these on the market, while in 2013 more than 15 vendors were selling them. And in 2013 the just-sprouted wild garlic was permanently covered with snow, thus the sales started very late.



Figure 13. Selling of lindenflowers on the marketplace. Hungary, Pécs, Photo: László Mándoki. Photo Archive of Janus Pannonius Museum / Lsz. 19978; 1970.



Figure 15. Selling dwarf elder (*Sambucus ebulus*) marmelade on the market. Pécs, Hungary, 2012. (Photo by Andrea Dénes)

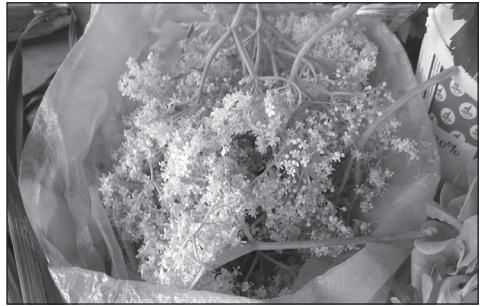


Figure 14. Selling of *Sambucus nigra* flowers for syrup and for tea. Pécs, Hungary, 2012. (Photo by Andrea Dénes)



Figure 16. Hawthorn, blackthorn and rosehip on the market. Pécs, Hungary, 2012. (Photo by Andrea Dénes)



Figure 17. Selling of fresh, wild mushrooms in the 1970s on market of Irányi Dániel square. Hungary. Pécs, Photo Archive of Janus Pannonius Museum / Lsz. F1608.

## DISCUSSION

Wild plant sales are clearly present today in the markets of Pécs and have been in previous periods, too, but mostly only edible wild fruits and wildflowers sold as ornamental plants were offered. In Hungary today, there is very sparse data about the market climate of other cities, so there is no possibility for comparison, but it is surmised that Pécs combines a number of conditions that is favorable for the market accessibility of forest products. Its natural environment rich in forests is suited for foraging; there is a big enough demand for legal mushroom sales in its largest market, thus many people turned to forest product foraging and sell other species outside of mushroom season. There is demand for their commodities because wild plants, aside from being a specialty, can also be offered cheaper than the largely non-local and therefore more expensive flowers and vegetables.

Wild plant collecting – as well as selling – has long had and still has its real experts, specialists. One such specialist was the “Mushroom King” of Zengővárkony who collected wild fruits and herbs for decades (NYILASSY 1951:1–2,10–17), or Aunt Eta, a vendor in the Pécs market who is the “last woman to collect flowers and fruits in Bisse in the foothills of Tenkes” (SZABÓ 2012). Today it is Irénke who makes the most inventive bouquets of wildflowers and stems, creating decorative table ornaments and garlands out of seemingly nothing, or a decorated “Christmas tree” out of the long branchy shoots of the Scotch broom. Marika is a reliable source for many species of edible wild plants at the market (Figure 10). Wild onions, pilewort, elderflowers and others can be obtained from her both fresh and processed, conserved. Purslane can be obtained from Miklós, who brings it from his chemical-free garden. There are some who specialize in rosehips, following family tradition, grandparents who practiced rosehip-collecting and processing for 40 years. Although the majority of the vendors selling wild plants and mushrooms, in part or in full, exercises this activity with a re-learned knowledge, they almost always possess a certain family- or community-related sensibility rooted in the past for knowing wild plants and mushrooms and for forest foraging. Often it was the grandparents, the parents, or other relatives that collected, used, and occasionally sold wild plants and mushrooms. The old Gypsy man who sells wild onions, pilewort, and mushrooms and says he himself likes to consume these and gives advice about their cooking probably does not get his information about these species from the Internet. But nowadays gatherers and vendors probably glean and learn from each other, too. If a species is selling well, next time more vendors will offer them. To many of them, the sales proceeds are an important and necessary supplement or primary income. In Zengővárkony in the 1950s, there were “those who lived off of the forest” (NYILASSY 1951:9), and there are still some today.

From the market supervisors’ and customers’ perspective, the sale and purchase of edible wild species happens almost completely on a confidential basis. Looking back over the last 20 years, market supervisors remember seeing, aside from mushrooms, only rosehips (*Rosa canina*), mulberries (*Morus*) and blackberries (*Rubus*) in the market, as the wild garlic (*Allium ursinum*) only appeared about ten years ago. But while they are qualified to inspect all forest mushrooms brought to the market, they have not been trained to recognize wild plants, so they do not inspect, for example, the bunches of wild garlic to make sure no other similar and potentially poisonous wild plant got mixed in. Although they have good intentions, what they do not recognize and do not know for

sure is edible, they cannot allow to be sold. They fear that in the case of the most sought-after wild plants in the market, the hope of increased revenue may result in less care, coupled with a less attentive gathering.

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**Table 1.** List of wild herbs sold in the Pécs market in the past and today, indicating the period of the sale and the sold parts of the plant  
**Abbreviations:** O: as an ornamental plant, F: as a food plant, M: as an herb, r: rare, ex litt: ex litteris (written communication), ex verb.: ex verbis (oral communication), ined.: ineditum (unpublished communication)

Scientific name	Hungarian name (in parentheses the name used at sale)	English name	Before 1980	1980- 2005	2012- 2015	Plant parts sold	Data source
<i>Acer campestre</i> L.	mezei juhar	field maple			O	branch with fruit	DÉNES 2015 ined.
<i>Acer tataricum</i> L.	tatár juhar	tatarian maple	O		O	branch with fruit	HORVÁT 1942:60, DÉNES 2015 ined.
<i>Adonis vernalis</i> L.	tavaszi hérics	spring pheasant's eye	O			shoot with flower	HORVÁT 1942:59
<i>Aesculus hippocastanum</i> L.	vadgesztenye	horse chestnut			O	fruit, seed, leaf	DÉNES 2015 ined.
<i>Allium scorodoprasum</i> L. & <i>Allium vineale</i> L.	kígyóhagyma / bajuszos hagyma/	rocambole & crow garlic / wild garlic			F	barren shoot with leaves, fresh	DÉNES 2015 ined.
<i>Allium ursinum</i> L.	medvehagyma	wild garlic			F, M	leaf, fresh, dried flower (r), green fruit (r), pickled	DÉNES 2015 ined.; WÁGNER 2015 ex litt.
<i>Anthoxanthum odoratum</i> L.	illatos borjúpázsit	sweet vernal grass			O	shoots with flowers	DÉNES 2015 ined.
<i>Arabis turrita</i> L.	tornyos ikravirág	tower rockcress	O		Or	stem	HORVÁT 1942:61; DÉNES 2015 ined.
<i>Arrhenatherum elatius</i> (L.) P. Beauv. Ex J. Presl & C. Presl.	Franciaperje	false oat-grass	O		O	shoots with flowers	HORVÁT 1942:60, DÉNES 2015 ined.

Scientific name	Hungarian name (in parentheses the name used at sale)	English name	Before 1980	1980- 2005	2012- 2015	Plant parts sold	Data source
<i>Aruncus dioicus</i> (Walter) Fernald (Syn. <i>A. sylvestris</i> Kostel)	erdei tünderfürt	goat's beard	O			shoots with flowers	HORVÁT 1942:60
<i>Asarum europaeum</i> L.	kereklevelű kapotnyak	asarabacca	O			leaf	HORVÁT 1942:59
<i>Asparagus officinalis</i> L.	közönséges spárga	asparagus	O			shoots with leaves	HORVÁT 1942:60
<i>Barbarea vulgaris</i> R. Br.	közönséges borbálátű	yellow rocket	O			shoots with flowers	HORVÁT 1942:60
<i>Berberis vulgaris</i> L.	sóska borbolya	common barberry			Or	branch with fruit	DÉNES 2015 ined.
<i>Brassica napus</i> L.	olajrepece	colza			O	shoots with flowers	DÉNES 2015 ined.
<i>Briza media</i> L.	közepes rezgőfü	quaking-grass	O		O	shoots with flowers	HORVÁT 1942:60; DÉNES 2015 ined.
<i>Biglossoides purpureocaerulea</i> (L.) I.M. Johnston.	erdei gyöngyköles	purple gromwell			O	shoots with flowers	DÉNES 2015 ined.
<i>Calamagrostis epigeios</i> (L.) Roth.	siska nádtippan	bushgrass	O		O	shoots with flowers	HORVÁT 1942:60; DÉNES 2015 ined.
<i>Campanula persicifolia</i> L.	baracklevelű harangvirág	harebell	O			shoots with flowers	HORVÁT 1942:60



<i>Cardamine bulbifera</i> (L.) Crantz (Syn. <i>Dentaria bulbifera</i> L.)	hagymás fogasír	coral root	O				shoots with flowers	Horvát 1942:59
<i>Castanea sativa</i> Mill.	szeletgesztenye	sweet chestnut				O, F	seed	DÉNES 2015 ined.
<i>Centaureum erythraea</i> Rafn.	kis ezerjófű	common centaury	M				shoots with flowers	NYILASSY 1951:50, 57
<i>Cerasus avium</i> (L.) Mönch	madáreresznye	wild cherry	F			F	fruit, jam	BORSOS et al 1976:4; DÉNES 2015 ined.
<i>Cytisus</i> sp. <i>Chamaecytisus austriacus</i> (L.)	buglyos törpezanót	Austrian broom	O				shoots with flowers	Horvát 1942:60
<i>Convallaria majalis</i> L.	májusi gyöngyvirág	lily of the valley	O		O	O	shoots with flowers	DÉNES 2015 ined.; NYILASSY 1951; SZABÓ 2012:10; VÖLGYI 2015 ex litt.
<i>Cornus mas</i> L.	húsos som	Cornelian cherry		F		F, Or	F: fruit, jam, O: shoots with flowers	DÉNES 2015 ined.; SZABÓ 2012:10; WÁGNER 2015 ex litt.
<i>Corydalis cava</i> (L.) Schweigg. & Körte	odvas keltike	corydalis	O				shoots with flowers	Horvát 1942:59
<i>Corylus avellana</i> L.	közönséges mogyoró	hazel				F	fruit, seed	DÉNES 2015 ined.
<i>Corylus colurna</i> L.	török mogyoró	turkish hazel				F	fruit, seed	DÉNES 2015 ined.
<i>Cota austriaca</i> (Jacq.) Sch. Bip. Syn. <i>Anthemis austriaca</i> Jacq.	nehézságú pipitér	austrian chamomile	O				shoots with flowers	Horvát 1942:60

Scientific name	Hungarian name (in parentheses the name used at sale)	English name	Before 1980	1980- 2005	2012- 2015	Plant parts sold	Data source
<i>Crataegus monogyna</i> Jacq. & <i>Crataegus oxyacantha</i> L.	egybibés és eseregálgonya	oneseed hawthorn & midland hawthorn	O		F,M,O	O: shoots with flowers, fruit, F: shoots with flowers, fruit, fresh, dried	HORVÁT 1942:59, DÉNES 2015 ined.
<i>Cyanus segetum</i> Hill. (Syn. <i>Centaurea cyanus</i> L.)	kék búzavirág	cornflower	O			shoots with flowers	HORVÁT 1942:59
<i>Cytisus scoparius</i> (L.) Link (Syn. <i>Sarothamnus scoparius</i> (L.) Wimm. ex W.D.J. Koch)	közönséges seprőzanót	scotch broom			O	shoots with leaves	DÉNES 2015 ined.
<i>Dianthus giganteiformis</i> subsp. <i>pontederiae</i> (A.Kern.) Soó	magyar szegfű	Hungarian carnation	O			shoots with flowers	HORVÁT 1942:60
<i>Dictamnus albus</i> L.	kőrislevelű nagyzejerjőfű	burning bush	O			shoots with flowers	HORVÁT 1942:59
<i>Digitalis glandiflora</i> Mill.	sárga gyűszűvirág	yellow foxglove	O			shoots with flowers	HORVÁT 1942:60
<i>Dipsacus laciniatus</i> L.	héjakútímácsonya	cutleaf teasel	O	O	O	shoots with flowers, stem	HORVÁT 1942:61, DÉNES 2015 ined., WÁGNER 2015 ex litt.
<i>Doronicum columnae</i> Ten. (Syn. <i>Doronicum caucasicum</i> Vis.)	keleti zergevirág	Leopard's bane	O	Or		shoots with flowers	HORVÁT 1942:59, DÉNES 2015 ined.
<i>Doronicum hungaricum</i> (Sadler) Rechb. F.	magyar zergevirág	Hungarian doronicum	O	Or		shoots with flowers	HORVÁT 1942:59, DÉNES 2015 ined.
<i>Dryopteris filix mas</i> (L.) Schott	erdei pajzsika	male fern	O		O	leaf	HORVÁT 1942:60, DÉNES 2015 ined.

<i>Echinops sphaerocephalus</i> L.	fehér szamárenyér	great globehead		O	shoots with flowers	DÉNES 2015 ined.
<i>Eriophorum</i> sp.	gyapjúsás faj	cottongrass	O		shoots with flowers	HORVÁT 1942:60
<i>Erythronium dens-canis</i> L.	európai kakasmandikó	fawnlily	O		shoots with flowers	KÉVEY 2015 ex litt.; Vágner 2015 ex verb.
<i>Euonymus europaeus</i> L.	csíkos kecskerágó	european spindle tree		O	branch with fruit	DÉNES 2015 ined.
<i>Euonymus verrucosus</i> Scop.	bibirekes kecskerágó	spindle tree		O	branch with fruit	DÉNES 2015 ined.
<i>Euphorbia cyparissias</i> L.	farkaskutyatej	cypress spurge		O	shoots with flowers	DÉNES 2015 ined.
<i>Fagus sylvatica</i> L.	közönséges bükk	european beech		O	nut cupule	DÉNES 2015 ined.
<i>Ficaria verna</i> Huds.	salátaboglárka	fig buttercup		Fr	leaf, fresh	DÉNES 2015 ined.
<i>Fragaria vesca</i> L. & <i>Fragaria viridis</i> Duch.	erdei szamóca és csattogó szamóca	wild strawberry & green strawberry	F	Fr	fruit, fresh	DÉNES 2015 ined.; Kis 1980:20; NYILASSY 1951:15, 47, 48.
<i>Galanthus nivalis</i> L.	kikeleti hóvirág	snowdrop	O	O	shoots with flowers	HORVÁT 1942:59; KÉVEY 2015 ex litt.; NAGY 2015; SZABÓ 2012:10; VÖLGYI 2015 ex litt.

Scientific name	Hungarian name (in parentheses the name used at sale)	English name	Before 1980	1980- 2005	2012- 2015	Plant parts sold	Data source
<i>Galium odoratum</i> (L.) Scop.	szagos müge	sweet-scented bedstraw	O		O, Mr	shoots with flowers	DÉNES 2015 ined.; HORVÁT 1942:59.
<i>Galium mollugo</i> L.	közönséges galaj	false baby's breath	O			shoots with flowers	HORVÁT 1942:60
<i>Galium verum</i> L.	tejöltő galaj	yellow spring bedstraw	O		O	shoots with flowers	DÉNES 2015 ined.; HORVÁT 1942:60.
<i>Hedera helix</i> L.	közönséges borostyán	english ivy			O	leaf, shoots with leaves	DÉNES 2015 ined.
<i>Helleborus odoratus</i> Waldst. & Kit. ex Willd.	illatos hunyor	hellebore		O		shoots with flowers	VÖLGYI 2015 ex litt.
<i>Hepatica nobilis</i> Mill.	nemes májvirág	hepatica		O		shoots with flowers	KEVEY 2015 ex litt.; NAGY 2015.
<i>Humulus lupulus</i> L.	féltűtő komló	common hop			Fr	spring shoots, fresh	DÉNES 2015 ined.
<i>Hypericum perforatum</i> L.	közönséges orbáncfű	common St. Johnswort			O	shoots with flowers	DÉNES 2015 ined.
<i>Juglans regia</i> L.	királydió	walnut			F	nut, meat	DÉNES 2015 ined.
<i>Knautia arvensis</i> (Briq.)	mezei varfű	field scabiosa	O			shoots with flowers	HORVÁT 1942:60

<i>Larix decidua</i> Mill.	vörös fenyő	european larch			O	cone	DÉNES 2015 ined.
<i>Lepidium draba</i> L.	közönséges útszél-tszásza	whitetop			O	shoots with flowers	DÉNES 2015 ined.
<i>Leucanthemum vulgare</i> (Vaill.) Lam	régi margitvirág	oxeye daisy	O		O	shoots with flowers	DÉNES 2015 ined.; HORVÁT 1942.
<i>Lilium martagon</i> L.	turbánliliom	martagon lily	O			shoots with flowers	HORVÁT 1942:60
<i>Linum austriacum</i> L.	hegyi len	asian flax	O			shoots with flowers	HORVÁT 1942:59
<i>Loranthus europaeus</i> Jacq.	európai sárgafagyöngy	European mistletoe	O	O	O	shoots with fruit	BORSOS et al. 1976:4; DÉNES 2015 ined.; HORVÁT 1942:61; WÁGNER 2015 ex litt.
<i>Lysimachia vulgaris</i> L.	közönséges lizinka	garden yellow loosestrife	O			shoots with flowers	HORVÁT 1942:60
<i>Malus sylvestris</i> (L.) Mill.	vadalma	european crab apple		F		fruit	BORSOS et al. 1976:4
<i>Malva neglecta</i> Wallr.	papsajtmályva	dwarf mallow			Fr	flower, dried	DÉNES 2015 ined.
<i>Melittis melissophyllum</i> L.	méhfü (helyi neve: mecseki tea)	bastard balm	M, O			shoots with flowers	HORVÁT 1942:60; NYILASSY 1951:6–7, 30
<i>Mentha longifolia</i> (L.) Nath.	lómenta	horsemint			O, M	shoots with flowers	DÉNES 2015 ined.

Scientific name	Hungarian name (in parentheses the name used at sale)	English name	Before 1980	1980- 2005	2012- 2015	Plant parts sold	Data source
<i>Morus alba</i> L.	fehér eperfa	common mulberry		F	F	fruit, fresh, jam	DÉNES 2015 ined.; WÁGNER 2015 ex litt.
<i>Muscari botryoides</i> (L.) Mill.	epergyöngyike	common grape hyacinth	O	O		shoots with flowers	HORVÁT 1942:59; KEVEY 2015 ex litt.
<i>Muscari neglectum</i> Guss. ex Ten.	fürtös gyöngyike	starch grape hyacinth		O		shoots with flowers	KEVEY 2015 ex litt.
<i>Myosotis scorpioides</i> L.	mocsári nefelejcs	water forget-me-not	O			shoots with flowers	HORVÁT 1942:60
<i>Onobrychis vicifolia</i> Scop.	takarmány balkacím	sainfoin	O			shoots with flowers	HORVÁT 1942:60
<i>Orchis purpurea</i> Huds.	bíboros kosbor	purple orchis	O			shoots with flowers	HORVÁT 1942:59
<i>Physalis alkekengi</i> L.	zsidóeseresznye	strawberry groundcherry			O	shoots with fruit	DÉNES 2015
<i>Pinus nigra</i> J.F.Arnold	feketefenyő	black pine			O	cone, shoot with leaves	DÉNES 2015 ined.
<i>Pinus sylvestris</i> L.	erdeifenyő	scots pine			O	cone, shoot with leaves	DÉNES 2015 ined.
<i>Plantago lanceolata</i> L.	lándzsás útifű	narrowleaf plantain			M	leaf, dried	DÉNES 2015 ined.

<i>Platanus acerifolia</i> (Aiton) Wild	platán	London planetree			O	fruit	DÉNES 2015 ined.
<i>Portulaca oleracea</i> L.	kővér porcsin	green purslane			Fr	shoot with leaves, fresh, pickled	DÉNES 2015 ined.
<i>Primula vulgaris</i> Huds.	szártalan kankalin	common primrose	O		Or	shoots with flowers, root plant	DÉNES 2015 ined.; HORVÁT 1942:59; KEVEY 2015 ex litt.; NAGY 2015; VÁGNER 2015.
<i>Prunus avium</i> (L.) L.	zselnicemeggy	wild cherry			Or	shoots with flowers	DÉNES 2015 ined.
<i>Prunus cerasifera</i> Ehrh.	csesznyeszilva	cherry plum			Fr	fruit, fresh	DÉNES 2015 ined.
<i>Prunus spinosa</i> L.	kökény	blackthorn	F	F	F	fruit, fresh, jam	BORSOS et al. 1976; DÉNES 2015 ined.; SZABÓ 2012:10; WÁGNER 2015 ex litt.
<i>Pulsatilla grandis</i> Wend.	leánykőkörcsin	pasque flower		O		shoots with flowers	KEVEY 2015 ex litt.
<i>Pyrus pyraeaster</i> (L.) Burgsd.	vadkörte	wild pear	F		Fr	fruit, fresh, dried, vinegar, jam	BORSOS et al. 1976:4; DÉNES 2015 ined.
<i>Quercus cerris</i> L.	esertölgy	turkey oak			O	fruit	DÉNES 2015 ined.
<i>Quercus pubescens</i> Willd.	molyhos tölgy	downy oak			O	fruit	DÉNES 2015 ined.
<i>Quercus robur</i> L.	kocsányos tölgy	pedunculate oak			O	fruit	DÉNES 2015 ined.

Scientific name	Hungarian name (in parentheses the name used at sale)	English name	Before 1980	1980- 2005	2012- 2015	Plant parts sold	Data source
<i>Quercus petraea</i> (Matt.) Liebl.	kocsánytalan tölgy	dessile oak			O	fruit	DÉNES 2015 ined.
<i>Ranunculus acris</i> L. ( <i>Ranunculus</i> spp.)	réti boglárka (boglárkafajok)	meadow buttercup			O	shoots with flowers	DÉNES 2015 ined.
<i>Robinia pseudacacia</i> L.	féhér akác	black locust			Fr, Mr	flower, fresh	DÉNES 2015 ined.
<i>Rosa canina</i> L.	gyepű rózsza	dog rose	F, O	O, F	F, O	O: shoots with flowers, leaves F: fruit, fresh	DÉNES 2015 ined.; HORVÁT 1942:60; 61; Kis J. 1980:23; NYILASSY 1951:43-45; SZABÓ 2012:10; WÁGNER 2015 ex litt.
<i>Rubus fruticosus</i> agg.	földi szeder	blackberry	F	F	F	fruit, fresh	DÉNES 2015 ined.; NYILASSY 2015:46-47; SZABÓ 2012:10; WÁGNER 2015 ex litt.
<i>Rumex acetosa</i> L.	mezei sóska	sorrel			Fr	leaf, fresh	DÉNES 2015 ined.
<i>Ruscus aculeatus</i> L.	szúrós csodabogyó	butcher's broom	O	O		shoot	HORVÁT 1942:60; NAGY 2015; SZABÓ 2012:10; VÖLGYI 2015 ex litt., WÁGNER 2015 ex litt.
<i>Ruscus hypoglossum</i> L.	lónyelvű csodabogyó	Spineless butcher's broom	O			shoot	HORVÁT 1942:59
<i>Salix caprea</i> L.	Keeskefűz	pussy willow	O	O	O	shoots with flowers	DÉNES 2015 ined.; HORVÁT 1942:59; WÁGNER 2015 ex litt.



<i>Salix cinerea</i> L.	rekettyefűz	grey willow			O	shoots with flowers	DÉNES 2015 ined.
<i>Salvia nemorosa</i> L.	ligeti zsályá	salvia	O		O	shoots with flowers	DÉNES 2015 ined.; HORVÁT 1942:60
<i>Salvia pratensis</i> L.	mezei zsályá	meadow clary	O		O	shoots with flowers	DÉNES 2015 ined.; HORVÁT 1942:60
<i>Sambucus ebulus</i> L.	földi bodza	dwarf elder			Fr	fruit, jam	DÉNES 2015 ined.
<i>Sambucus nigra</i> L.	fekete bodza	european elder			F	flower, fruit, fresh	SZABÓ 2012:10; VÖLGYI 2015 ex lit.
<i>Scilla vindobonensis</i> Speta (& <i>Scilla</i> spp.)	ligeti csillagvirág	scilla		O		shoots with flowers	NAGY 2015; VÁGNER 2015
<i>Silene vulgaris</i> (Moench) Gareke	hólyagos habszegfű	maidenstears	O		O	shoots with flowers	DÉNES 2015 ined.; HORVÁT 1942:60
<i>Silene coronaria</i> (Desr.) Clairv. ex Rehb. (Syn <i>Lychnis coronaria</i> Desr.)	bársnyos kakukkszegfű (szűnyogvirág)	Rose campion	O		Or	shoots with flowers	DÉNES 2015 ined.; HORVÁT 1942:60
<i>Silene viscaria</i> (L.) Jess. (Syn. <i>Viscaria vulgaris</i> Bernh.)	enyves szegfű	Sticky catchfly	O			shoots with flowers	HORVÁT 1942:60
<i>Solidago gigantea</i> Aiton & <i>Solidago canadensis</i> L.	magas aranyvessző és kanadai aranyvessző (mimóza)	giant goldenrod & canadian goldenrod			O	shoots with flowers	DÉNES 2015 ined.
<i>Sorbus domestica</i> L.	házi berkenye	service tree	F		Fr	fruit, fresh, dried	DÉNES 2015 ined.; NYILASSY 1951

Scientific name	Hungarian name (in parentheses the name used at sale)	English name	Before 1980	1980- 2005	2012- 2015	Plant parts sold	Data source
<i>Staphylea pinnata</i> L.	mogyorós hólyagfa	bladder nut			O	fruit	DÉNES 2015 ined.
<i>Stellaria media</i> (L.) Vill.	tyúkhúr	chickweed			F	spring shoot	DÉNES 2015 ined.
<i>Stenactis annua</i> (L.) Cass	egynyári seprence	Daisy fleabane	O			shoots with flowers	HORVÁT 1942:60
<i>Stipa</i> sp.	árvalányhaj	Feather grass	O	O		shoots with flowers	DÉNES 2015 ined.; HORVÁT 1942
<i>Tanacetum corymbosum</i> (L.) Sch. Bip.	sátoros varádics	Scentless feverfew	O			shoots with flowers	HORVÁT 1942:60
<i>Taraxacum officinale</i> Weber & T.	pongyola pitypang	dandelion			F	leafs, fruit in syrup	DÉNES 2015 ined.
<i>Thymus</i> sp.	kakukkfű	thyme			F,M	shoots with flowers	DÉNES 2015 ined.
<i>Tilia cordata</i> Mill. & <i>Tilia platyphyllos</i> Scop.	kislevelű hárs és nagylevelű hárs	small leaved linden & large leaved linden	M		M	flower	DÉNES 2015 ined.; MÁNDOKI 1970 (JPM fotótár 19978 sz. foto)
<i>Trifolium alpestre</i> L.	bérci here	clover	O			shoots with flowers	HORVÁT 1942:60

<i>Typha angustifolia</i> L.	keskenylevelű gyékény	small reed mace	O		O	shoots with fruit	DÉNES 2015 ined.; HORVÁT 1942:60
<i>Typha latifolia</i> L.	széleslevelű gyékény	reedmace	O		O	shoots with fruit	DÉNES 2015 ined.; HORVÁT 1942:60
<i>Urtica dioica</i> L.	nagy csalán	stinging nettle				shoots with leaves, fresh	DÉNES 2015 ined.
<i>Viburnum opulus</i> L.	kányabangita	guelder rose	O		O	shoots with flowers, shoots with fruit	HORVÁT 1942:60
<i>Viola alba</i> Besser	fehér ibolya	violet	O		O	shoots with flowers	DÉNES 2015 ined.; HORVÁT 1942:59
<i>Viola suavis</i> M. Bieb	kék ibolya	violet	O			shoots with flowers	HORVÁT 1942:59
<i>Viola odorata</i> L.	illatos ibolya	Sweet Violet	O		O	shoots with flowers	DÉNES 2015 ined.; HORVÁT 1942:59
<i>Viscum album</i> L.	fehér fagyöngy	mistletoe	O	O	O	shoots with fruit	BORSOS et al. 1976:4; DÉNES 2015 ined.; HORVÁT 1942:61; WÄGNER 2015 ex litt.

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