

The Unknown Kálnays – From their Birth to their Emigration

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Introduction

Sometimes it happens that the information you received once becomes important a few years later. It has happened to me, too. When I was the Deputy Head of Mission in Buenos Aires between 2004 and 2008 I met the Chairman of the Board of the Hungarian Engineers in Argentina, Antal Balogh Kovács quite often. He drew my attention to the Hungarian born architect András (Andrés) Kálnay who became one of the most famous architects in Argentina in the 1920s and 1940s. He gave me a book published by the Latin American Architectural Documentation Center, CEDODAL, in 2000 and presented in 2002.¹ The essays in this book described in details the buildings designed by András Kálnay but there were only two shorter studies about András Kálnay himself² and his early years in Hungary.³

András Kálnay and his younger brother, György Kálnay – about whom I received information later –, played a leading role in the architecture of Buenos Aires. Their buildings, style and decorations were a mix of new European ideas that moved away from the old standards and had some Hungarian national or Transylvanian touch. Despite their vast contribution to the building culture of one of the biggest Latin American countries, they are unknown among Hungarian architects. It was interesting to discover during this research that in Buenos Aires I lived just two blocks from one of the Kálnay-built apartment buildings on Pampa Street. Another famous building he designed we visited several times in the town of Tigre. The building was meant to be the local casino first and then was transformed into the Municipal Art Museum.

The next couple of years passed with the speed of light. Some months ago when I started to overview materials for this volume, I rediscovered the volume on Kálnay. That was when I decided to start research to find out who this engineer was, where we can find his works in Hungary, what kind of data can we add to those published earlier?

¹ MÉNDEZ 2000.

² KÁLNAY 2000, 11–15.

³ BALOGH KOVÁCS 2000, 31–37.

The Beginning of the Research

Obviously, the starting point of the study was the book. As a source, it had to be carefully double-checked. It turned out that the information published came mostly from oral sources: Kálnay's daughter, Eugenia Kálnay and his son, Esteban Kálnay. The narrated stories could contain uncertain references, yet other studies were also based upon these. Mariana Leidemann, an outstanding member of the Hungarian community in Argentina and also an architect by profession made a presentation about the Kálnays in Argentina on 26 August 2016.

In Hungary I could only trace some interest in the works of the Kálnay brothers.

- An article entitled *The Hungarian brothers who changed the streets of the Argentinian capital for good*⁴ is devoted mostly to the activities of the Kálnays in Argentina.
- András Kálnay is mentioned twice in Zoltán Bolla's book *The Hungarian Art Deco Architecture* where the author lists seventeen buildings in Buenos Aires built by Kálnay.⁵
- György Merényi was planning to make a publication about the Kálnays in 2013 but after receiving information from the Budapest Art Deco Facebook community that the photos of practically all the buildings of the brothers had already been published on the Internet by Antonio Machado and that the CEDODAL book had also been published in Argentina, Mr. Merényi dropped the idea of publication. His last Facebook message of 29 August 2013 proves this.

Basic Data and the Family

First of all András Kálnay's personal data had to be clarified. As it was written by Antal Balogh Kovács, he was born in Jasenovac, Croatia, on 4 April 1893. His father, József Kálnay was an officer of the Hungarian Royal State Railroad Company, MÁV. At that time their surname was written *Kálnai*. This difference did not make research or the verification of personal data easier.

Records of his mother's name were not available at the first stage of the research. This would have been useful to be able to find other data in different municipal or national archives supposing that the documents survived all the cataclysms of the 20th century. Later, however, I found the maiden name of the Kálnay brothers' mother on www.geni.com: Margulit Rosza. Supposedly the correct name is Margit Rózsa.⁶

After contacting the local authorities in Jasenovac, it became confirmed that András Kálnay was really born in Jasenovac, but his father was not a simple railroad officer. József Kálnay was a Chief Supervisor, responsible for the region and he was commissioned to be the first stationmaster of the newly built Jasenovac train station. Miroslav Juric from the Jasenovac Municipal Authority wrote the following about him and his carrier: "When the railway was built (it was under Hungarian leadership), Hungarian workers came to Jasenovac. With them, also came Jozef, the father of Andres. Jozef Kalnay is mentioned

⁴ VINCZE 2015.

⁵ BOLLA 2016.

⁶ Geni s. a.

as the first stationmaster in Jasenovac.⁷ Andres Kalnay was born on April 4th in 1893 in Jasenovac, where he started school. His father was relocated in Koprivnica, (Kapronca) where Andres finished school.”⁸

After a careful search in different sources, I found the correct data about the most important milestones of József Kálnai’s carrier in the archive of the Hungarian State Railways (MÁV). As a context, it is necessary to know that the city of Jasenovac has always been an important hub. It is almost halfway to the only significant seaport of Hungary on the Adriatic Sea, to Fiume. For eight hundred years the Sava River played an important role in the transportation system and trade of the region and the country but in the 19th century it could not cope with the growing requirements of the developing trade any more. The idea to develop a wide railroad network in Hungary rose during the Diet of 1832–1836 in Pozsony (Pressburg, today Bratislava). Law No. XXV about the development of the railway system foresaw thirteen directions, among them the Southern Railway to Fiume.⁹

The first section from Szeged to Szabadka (Subotica) was opened on 11 September 1869. A year later the railroad reached Eszék (Osijek). The original owner of the railway was the Alföld–Fiumei Vasút. This Company was substituted later by the Austro–Hungarian State Railways. Due to financial problems, the Government decided to sell the railroads to private companies. After the promulgation of Law XXV of 1891 on the redeeming of the railroads of the Austro–Hungarian State Railways,¹⁰ the wealth of the company became property of the Hungarian State Railways. The construction of the railroad line which crossed Jasenovac started in 1888. Supposedly this year József Kálnay and his family moved to the city. The region badly needed the modern railroad for its developing industry. According to Miroslav Juric there were over 120 crafting workplaces and industrial facilities (a brickyard, a tanner, a mill, a chain factory, a processing factory of wattle).¹¹ He also informed me about the Kálnay family’s move to Koprivnica due to the new position of the head of the family, but the details, as for example the date when they moved is still unclear.

What refers to the new findings in the Railways’ Archive, it helped to clarify that the pre-construction works of the railroad crossing Koprivnica were authorised by the Minister of Trade in 1893.¹² The station had to be built by 1985 because Koprivnica is referred in the document quoted above as a starting point in the List of Fares.¹³

According to the Yearbook of the Austro–Hungarian Railways (*Eisenbahn Schematismus*)¹⁴ and the Railroad Almanac (*Vasúti Almanach*),¹⁵ József Kálnai was stationmaster of Koprivnica between 1899 and 1909.¹⁶ This time his monthly allowance was 1,400 crowns in the category

⁷ Actually the population of Jasenovac is less than 700 (!).

⁸ Miroslav Juric’s letter addressed to the author.

⁹ 1836. évi XXV. törvénycikk 1§ 8. pont [Law No. XXV of 1836, para. 1, item 8].

¹⁰ 1891. évi XXV. törvénycikk a szab. osztrák-magyar államvasutttársaság magyarországi vasutvonalainak megváltásáról [Law XXV of 1891 on Redeeming the Railroads of the Austro–Hungarian State Railways, running on the territory of Hungary].

¹¹ Miroslav Juric’s letter addressed to the author.

¹² Railway and Transport Bulletin 1893, 1050.

¹³ Railway and Transport Bulletin 1895, 250.

¹⁴ *Eisenbahn Schematismus* 1892–1905.

¹⁵ *Vasúti Almanach* 1905–1912.

¹⁶ The first reliable information about his position as stationmaster in Jasenovac is from 1895 but there were also data from 1892 without naming his exact position in the railways system. I suppose he was stationmaster from 1892.

VII. 2. In 1910 a new stationmaster took his position but Kálnai remained active although his allowance was reduced to category VII. 1. He kept his job until 1911 when he probably retired. I did not find his name in the yearbook of 1912. Unfortunately, the List of Railways' Pensioners and the Service Records are incomplete, a large part of the documents disappeared during the last century, and therefore it was impossible to find more data about József Kálnai's professional carrier. Once again, the way his surname was written – Kálnai or Kálnay – made the research rather complicated. In the list of railroad officers in the Yearbook of the Austro-Hungarian Railways his surname was written *Kálnay* while in the list of stations and personnel it was written *Kálnai*. This is the reason why I use different spellings, too. Later, his sons used the form *Kálnay*.

New Members of the Family Emerge

András had a younger brother, György, who – according to some sources – was born in Budapest.¹⁷ Based upon my research, I can clarify that György Kálnay was also born in Jasenovac, on 18 May 1894. The fact was proven by the documents of the brothers from their elementary and high schools in Kaposvár and Csurgó. Their surname in this period was still written *Kálnai*.

My attempts to receive a copy of their birth certificate remained unsuccessful due to the sorrowful fact that the recent wars on the Balkans in the 1990s destroyed a huge part of the local archives in Croatia, especially in Jasenovac where a concentration camp was set up – half a century after the end of World War II. What survived the 1940s, disappeared in the 1990s. In his article, Antonio Balogh Kovács wrote that the birth certificate of András was written in Croatian language. Possibly, a copy was preserved in the family's archives, but I have certain doubts whether that document is an original one or only a late copy. My doubt is based on the fact that according to Law XXXIII of 1894 on State Matriculation, civilian registration of births, marriages and deaths was introduced in Hungary only from 1 October 1895, thus András Kálnay's birth had to be registered by the ecclesiastic authorities. According to the school documents, his denomination was Israelite. I have no available records whether he was baptised later.

Another promising point in the search for data about the Kálnays was finding Mr. George Christian Kálnay, György Kálnay's grandson. Mr. Kálnay lives in Boca Raton in the U.S. and gave me some really important information. András and György had another younger brother, Ferenc, who emigrated to the U.S. and later became an officer of the Office of Strategic Services, the predecessor of the Central Intelligence Agency. The OSS operated between 1942 and 1945.

Altogether there were seven children in the Kálnay family. Until now only three of them have been known as émigrés. First I was surprised but decided to make some efforts to clarify the identity of all the Kálnay children. They were:

- András Kálnay (Jasenovac, 4 April 1893 – Buenos Aires, 28 December 1982)
- Barbara Kálnay (Jasenovac, 1892 – Budapest, 2 December 1944)
- György Kálnay (Jasenovac, 18 May 1894 – Buenos Aires, 13 August 1957)

¹⁷ Casa Kálnay 2011.

- Ferenc Kálnay (Koprivnica, 18 July 1900 – Carmel-by-the-Sea, California, U.S., 2 December 1992)¹⁸
- Margit Kálnay (Jasenovac, ? – Budapest, 1948)
- Ilona Kálnay (Jasenovac, ? – Budapest, 4 May 1974)
- István Kálnay (Jasenovac, ? – Budapest, 1980)

As an old family photo shows István could have been the oldest brother.

Childhood in Kaposvár and Csurgó

The *Sitio al Margen*, an Argentinian digital cultural and historical review, in an article about the presentation of the book *Andrés Kálnay un húngaro para la renovación arquitectónica argentina* wrote that when András was 7, his mother died, therefore his father decided to send him and his brother to one of their aunts living in Zagreb to continue their studies there.¹⁹ In his article about András Kálnay, Antal Balogh Kovács wrote that “due to the move to Zagreb, András probably lost a year in school and he could continue his studies in a lower grade only and he had to live in a zone of permanent conflicts on ethnic basis due to his Hungarian origin”. His older age and his Hungarian nationality could have made him an object of jokes from the other Croatian pupils, so he could not integrate successfully in the class. Although there were no open hostilities among the different national or ethnic groups at that time, the coexistence in the region was far from being easy. The information above was probably based upon a conversation between Antal Balogh Kovács and possibly Eugenia or Esteban Kálnay but I did not find any written or documented confirmation of it. A couple of lines later I found the first reference to the younger brother, György saying that “then their father decided to take András and his brother György, who later accompanied him to Buenos Aires, to a school in Kaposvár”. It was an important moment when this information received a documental confirmation.

Why Kaposvár? The question is reasonable. This city is roughly 100–120 kilometres away from Koprivnica, the administrative centre of Somogy province, to the south of the Balaton. It is situated in a strategic point, therefore its history since the 14th century has been full of struggles. It is not clear when the village became a city but in 1690 it already had 100 households. The first *gymnasium* i.e. secondary and high school was opened in 1812. At that time the language of instruction was Latin. The situation changed in 1844 when the language of instruction was switched to Hungarian.²⁰ The land for the actual building of the high school where originally the Hungarian State Railways’ Education Centre was

¹⁸ Referring to the year of birth there are some mismatches. According to the archival records, he was born in 1900, while www.geni.com says he was born a year earlier, in 1899. He received one of the most important awards in literature in the U. S., the Newbery Honor in 1959 for his book for children *Chucaro: The Wild Pony of the Pampa*. Source: Newbery Medal and Honor Books, 1922–Present. American Library Association, Francis Kálnay, Goodreads.

¹⁹ *Sitio al Margen* 2002.

²⁰ Homepage of the Tánácsics Mihály Gimnázium s. a.

situated was purchased by the municipal authorities in 1896.²¹ The first school day was 8 September 1896.²²

During the development of the national railroad network, Kaposvár became an important hub. Due to the growing number of the personnel, it became necessary to set up a residential, training and educational centre not only for the officials but also for their families. Although Law XXXVIII of 1868 provided that an appropriate opportunity for education at a basic level had to be granted close to the living area including families of the railroad workers, it was impossible to do so near the so-called Croatian–Slavonian railways.²³ The Hungarian State Railways recognised the significance of well-founded and systematic education, therefore it established one of the biggest educational complexes for the children of the railroad workers in Kaposvár independently of their denominations. The democratic principles and the well selected teaching staff made the Kaposvár Education Centre an acknowledged institution. Instruction started in the autumn of 1897. Another education centre of the Hungarian State Railways Company was opened in Szeged a year earlier, in 1896.

An Argentinian source wrote the following about András's academic achievements: he studied in a "secondary grammar school for boys in Kaposvár (Hungary) where he was known as a good student having outstanding results in mathematics and religion. He started to speak not only his native Hungarian language, but also German, French, Latin and Spanish."²⁴ At that time it was compulsory at the secondary grammar schools to study German and Latin. It is also possible that he attended some extracurricular courses of French too, but Spanish was not a popular language at that time and one can hardly imagine that in a public school or even in the city of Kaposvár, András had the opportunity to study Spanish as well. In my research I did not find information confirming it.

András (and his brother) spent the second half of their secondary school education in the famous secondary grammar school of Csurgó, in a small city just 25 kilometres from Koprivnica, from their father.

What about Csurgó?

Since the secondary grammar school of Csurgó was founded in 1792, it has always been a centre of open-minded education aiming to give extensive knowledge to the students in many fields, in philosophy, languages and natural sciences. The staff, the teachers came from the most prestigious College of the Reformed Church, in Debrecen. One of the most well-known and recognised Hungarian poets, Mihály Csokonai Vitéz was also Director of the Secondary Grammar School of Csurgó for a certain period after 1799.

When the Kálnay brothers arrived there, the secondary grammar school was one of the best secondary schools of the country which gave a wide range of knowledge and skills to the schoolboys. The method of teaching encouraged the students to think, to elaborate their own approaches, and to solve problems in general. This attitude became very useful

²¹ Hungarian State Railways' Education Centre s. a.

²² Homepage of the Táncsics Mihály Gimnázium s. a.

²³ BERECK 1925, 116.

²⁴ Sitio al Margen 2002.

for the brothers. It helped them not only to absorb the knowledge and skills received during their future studies at the Royal Superior College of Industry but also to develop new ideas and after 1920 to integrate in the professional life of the architects in Argentina, taking there fresh notions from the old continent.

The open-minded attitude of the Secondary Grammar School of Csurgó is proven by the fact that the students belonged to different denominations. There were Catholics, Greek Orthodox Christians, Greek Catholics, Lutherans and Calvinists and also Judaists like the Kálnay brothers. This time their surname was still written Kálnai and the status of their father was stationmaster of Koprivnica.²⁵ At that time András Kálnay was a freshman and his grades were not the best. The following year he significantly improved his marks.²⁶ In 1906 András finished his studies in Csurgó.²⁷ György was a year younger, so he probably graduated in 1907.²⁸

As the childhood of the Kálnay brothers was over, the first phase of the research came to its end, bringing up many interesting results. Some preliminary questions received answers but various new ones emerged, which motivated me to continue the research to find the reasons and the way how the brothers grew up, what they studied and how they became émigrés.

Adolescence – Professional Studies

András started his studies at the Royal Superior College of Industry in the 1907–1908 academic year and graduated in 1910–1911. György followed him two years later in 1908–1909 and graduated in 1911–1912.

To show how important the role of the Royal Superior College of Industry was in the training of highly qualified construction workers and construction managers and also in the development of the scientific basis for the architecture in Hungary beginning from the 1880s, it is indispensable to introduce this academic centre.

The process of urbanisation that started in Hungary in the last third of the 19th century provoked a construction boom which required highly qualified specialised workers. While there were not enough Hungarian specialists, German engineers and construction managers led the constructions. Facing this situation József Eötvös and Ágoston Trefort – both Ministers of Cult and Public Education – founded the Intermediate School with faculties of architecture, engineering, and chemistry on 7 December 1879. Its first building stood on Elder Street in Budapest.²⁹ In 1891, the institution moved to a new place closer to the downtown on Népszínház Street. After the number of students exceeded two hundred and thirty, the Minister of Trade, Ernő Dániel transformed it into an independent institute in 1898 with the only specialty of architecture. Since then its name has changed to Royal Superior College of Architecture. The temporary building was in a three-storey

²⁵ *Csurgói Államilag Segélyezett Evangélikus Református Főgimnázium Értesítője 1903–04* (1904). Csurgó. 44.

²⁶ *Csurgói Államilag Segélyezett Evangélikus Református Főgimnázium Értesítője 1904–05* (1905). Csurgó. 91.

²⁷ *Csurgói Államilag Segélyezett Evangélikus Református Főgimnázium Értesítője 1905–06* (1906). Csurgó. 90.

²⁸ During the first phase of the research I concentrated on András's life because I did not have information about György at all, thus I did not request information about him from the school archives.

²⁹ Actually, the name of the street is Szilárd Rökk Street.

house at 18/b, Damjanich Street in one of the most rapidly developing areas of Budapest. Considering the importance of the education of the new generation of construction workers, the authorities of the Hungarian capital offered a piece of property nearby. The new building was opened in 1901 at 74, Thököly Avenue in Budapest, and is the present-day Miklós Ybl College of Architecture.

At the Royal Superior College of Architecture there were two types of courses: full time training and winter school. The latter one was organised for the architects in winter when there were no constructions. The full time training lasted for three academic years while the winter school lasted for four academic years. As a complementary activity, the students gathered information about the architectural monuments of the country during their summer vacations. These targeted excursions were organised and led by Ernő Foerk, one the most outstanding lecturers of the institution.

That time, according to the legislation, the graduates of the Royal Superior College of Architecture could apply for a license of individual practice after graduation and two years of work in the building industry. If they spent three years of internship led by a master builder,³⁰ they could pass the special exams to become master builders. The only Examination Commission for master builders in Hungary worked at the Royal Superior College of Architecture. Its first chairman was Miklós Ybl, one of the most recognised architects of the country of all times.

According to the Bulletin of the Royal Superior College of Architecture for the academic year of 1907–1908,³¹ András started his studies in a class of almost fifty students. His registration number was 14 and his surname was written *Kálnai*. His marks for the first year showed a mediocre student with some behavioural challenges. Seemingly, discipline was not his strongest point. The freshmen had the following subjects: Hungarian Language, Mathematics, Geometry, Biology, Chemistry, Designing Geometry, Geometric Drawing, Stonework, Stonework Drawing, Carpentry, Carpentry Drawing, Free-hand Drawing and Calligraphy. Looking at Kálnai's marks, it becomes clear why his drawing designs were so spectacular.

György Kálnai, the younger brother, had always been an exemplary student. According to his academic records of 1909–1910, he had a scholarship of 100 crowns granted by the Israelite Craftsmen's and Farmers' Guild and won a book as an award for his outstanding results.³² At the same time, András continued his studies in the senior class and improved his marks a bit.

The following year the form master of György's class was Ernő Foerk. Under his guidance the younger Kálnai's results became even better than the year before. His scholarship was doubled and he received another award at the end of the academic year.³³ During the last year of his studies, the marks of György were outstanding: he received "excellent" in Book-keeping, Mechanics and Practice, Planning (Design) and Decorative Drawing. His results were very good in the History of Hungarian Literature, National

³⁰ A highly qualified specialist with long practice and numerous edifices built by him. A master builder was not an architect, he did not have a license to design whole edifices. He was the leader of the construction works at the working area.

³¹ KOLBENHEYER 1908, 31.

³² KOLBENHEYER 1910, 38.

³³ KOLBENHEYER 1911, 42.

Economy, History of Architecture, Architectural Drawing, Practical Design and Health Sciences. Once again, he received a scholarship of 100 crowns granted by the Israelite Craftsmen's and Farmers' Guild, and won a book as an award for his results in the students' self-study circle.³⁴ That was in 1912, two years before the outbreak of World War I.

Preparing for the Professional Carrier

From 1910 up to 1912, András Kálnai spent several months learning and practicing at the studios of famous Hungarian architects and engineers, for example, Manó Pollák, Oszkár Fritz, Ambrus Orth, Emil Somló, Dr. Dezső Hüttl, Ödön Bleuer and the company Sugár & Sajó. He wanted to become an architect, therefore he systematically learned from the best professionals of the time.

The Great War

He was drafted when he was 21. At the beginning of the war that was the generation which was drafted first.³⁵ According to the information published in Buenos Aires on the Kálnay brothers' works in Argentina,³⁶ based probably on the narratives of Eugenia Kálnay, András Kálnay's daughter, he first served in the 7th Tirolian Artillery Regiment. As soon as the commanding officers realised Kálnai was talented in drawing, but not in geometry, they enrolled him in the School of Field Artillery and Fortification in Komárom. After graduation he was sent to Transylvania. Probably András Kálnai joined the 7th Field Artillery Brigade of the 7th Army Corps located in Nagyvárad. I tried to find some traces of the artillery school but unfortunately the Hungarian Military Archive could not identify that one in Komárom. The reason can be that from 1860, the courses of the training of the sub-officers of artillery were usually organised at the headquarters of the regiments. The documentation of these courses practically disappeared after the collapse of the Austro–Hungarian Empire and the end of war. It was surprising that the Yearbook of the Imperial and Royal Armed Forces of the Austro–Hungarian Empire for 1918 did not have any record about the Komárom Artillery and Fortification School. I also made an attempt to request data from the Austrian Military Archive, but unfortunately I did not receive any answer in ten months.

To follow András Kálnai's military carrier once again I have to quote and compare the book on the Kálnay's works in Argentina on the one hand, and the letter from the Director of the Hungarian Military Archive on the other. According to the congruent data András Kálnay became first lieutenant (reserve) on 31 May 1916 after repulsing the attack of the Romanian infantry. He received several medals: Military Cross of Merits 3rd class, Silver Military Medal and the Bronze Military Medal. At that time he served in

³⁴ KOLBENHEYER 1912, 47.

³⁵ Letter reg. No. Lev-219-1/2017 of the Director of the Military Archive addressed to the author on 10 February 2017.

³⁶ MÉNDEZ 2000.

the Imperial and Royal 35th Kolozsvár Artillery Regiment. András Kálnay participated in the operations in Transylvania and Italy where he received a minor injury.³⁷

The Stormy ‘Peace Time’

After the war was over András Kálnay returned to Budapest.³⁸ The political changes, the collapse of the empire and the birth of the republic in October 1918, the pro-Soviet revolution and the bloodshed during the dictatorship of the proletariat in March 1919 turned his life upside down. There is no documented information about the life of the Kálnays for the period of October 1918 – November 1919. Thus, it is really difficult to find out the truth about the brothers’ attitude. Different sources offer different narratives. Some say the brothers opened their studio in the apartment of their father in Budapest.³⁹ The same year András Kálnay obtained the necessary qualification not only to lead construction works but to design buildings, as well.⁴⁰ The family sources state that András Kálnay participated in the building of the new enlarged compound of the Generali Insurance Company and forty-eight houses for the people harmed by the recent war. Unfortunately, there were no traces in the Budapest City Archives.⁴¹ It is reasonable to suppose that after the war and because of the severe conditions of the peace treaty, the state financing of wide-range building projects was impossible. But what about a privately financed project? According to the information found at the Budapest City Archives, the old smaller building of the Insurance Company was near the Chain Bridge, in the heart of Budapest, on Dorottya Street. In the same compound there was another very nice building built in 1830. That was the so-called Lloyd Palace designed for the Commercial and Trade Society of Pest by József Hild, one of the most respected Hungarian architects.⁴² Any enlargement of the Generali building could not have been implemented without affecting the Lloyd Palace. All the official documents confirm that the compound of the Lloyd Palace was not altered until World War II, more precisely until December 1944 – January 1945, although there were different plans for modifications. In the end, the Lloyd Palace had to be demolished in 1949 due to the damages caused during the war. The territory was empty until the Atrium Hyatt was built in 1983.

At the Verge of Emigration

It seems the Kálnays’ expectations regarding the desired boom in construction works did not come true. Some sources say András Kálnay became a leader of the organisation

³⁷ Letter reg. No. Lev-219-1/2017 of the Director of the Military Archive addressed to the author on 10 February 2017; MÉNDEZ 2000.

³⁸ As I wrote earlier not only András served in the Army but György, too and their two other brothers did as well. Due to the limited time I did not make an in-depth investigation of their military careers.

³⁹ According to the Budapest Phone Book of 1916, József Kálnay (the only one with this name) lived at 14 Kende Street in the 1st district of Budapest. (See Budapest Phone Book 1916, 1752.)

⁴⁰ Sitio al Margen 2002.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Pest, Buda and Old Buda were separate cities until 1873 when they were united under the name Budapest.

of the construction workers or engineers, but the actual Association of the Hungarian Architects does not possess any document proving this. Due to the absence of information, it is impossible to determine exactly the reasons for the emigration of the Kálnay brothers. If we suppose that András played a role under the Bolshevik regime, he could have become a victim of repression when the new, right wing nationalist regime came to power.⁴³ A contrary opinion is expressed in the article *András Kálnay: un arquitecto húngaro en Argentina*.⁴⁴ According to this, the brothers welcomed the fall of the Empire but did not support the Bolsheviks. Therefore, their situation and perspectives in Hungary became more than difficult. If we add the frustration they felt about the projects which were not implemented, we can see some firm basis for the decision to emigrate to the United States where architectural development reached unprecedented levels.

Final Departure

All the sources agree that the brothers left for Italy, and some even add that they went there on foot.⁴⁵ At last they boarded a ship in Naples which they supposed would depart to the U.S.⁴⁶ The emigrants usually left Europe through the ports of Hamburg, Bremen, Antwerp and Genova. Naples was not the primary port to board for America. Due to geographic reasons, the Hungarian emigrants preferred Genova because this port was the closest one to Hungary. The distance from Budapest to Genova is roughly one thousand kilometres while the other ports were and are farther. There were many agencies organising emigration, selling tickets, organising transfer and accommodation. After the Great War and due to the political, economic, social and demographic changes that occurred as consequences of the armed conflict, huge masses intended to obtain passports, visas and purchase tickets for ships going overseas. The most popular destination has always been the United States, so to buy a ticket to the U.S. was very difficult and the queue was very long. If a person wanted to leave the old continent as soon as possible, he or she could buy a ticket to another destination on the American continent in hope of having a chance to get to the U.S. at least in an indirect way. According to the article in the *Al Margen*, the Kálnay brothers boarded a ship under Hungarian flag in Naples as free riders and the ship suddenly turned to Argentina on high seas instead of going to the U.S.⁴⁷ The same article stated that they arrived in San Nicolás de Arroyos in Argentina 230 kilometres to the northwest from Buenos Aires. From this city they went to the Argentinian capital, where they arrived on 15 March 1920.⁴⁸

⁴³ VINCZE 2015.

⁴⁴ Sitio al Margen 2002.

⁴⁵ Ibid. The author of the article states that the brothers went to Venice first then crossed Lombardy walking to get to Naples.

⁴⁶ VINCZE 2015.

⁴⁷ Sitio al Margen 2002.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

Epilogue

From 1920 up to the late 1940s András and György Kálnay played an essential role in the architecture of Argentina, one of the largest countries in the world. Although the architectural development of the country included only a few major cities, their impact became a source for the local tendencies in decorative art, architecture and in Latin American culture in general. First they worked together having a joint studio, but later – when the evolution of architecture overpassed András Kálnay's style – they separated. György remained in the mainstream of architecture practically until his early death in 1957.

András devoted the last decades of his life to painting. He died in Buenos Aires on 28 December 1982. He could have returned to Hungary twice. For the first time he came to Budapest in the 1930s to participate in the international congress of architects as a member of the Argentinian delegation. Unfortunately, the documents that could prove it burnt down during World War II just like some other parts of the old archive of the Hungarian Architects' Association.

For the second time, he probably visited the country in 1968. The only source where this information was published is Miklós Vincze's above mentioned article.⁴⁹ Unfortunately, this second visit has not been confirmed either.

The emigration of the Kálnay brothers was a loss for Hungary where the appropriate conditions to develop their art and abilities did not exist. Their immigration to Argentina gave two wonderful architects to the country that was developing faster than many other countries in the world. This country became their second homeland where they received the recognition they deserved which they did not receive in Hungary for many reasons. This study aimed to be a late tribute to the talent and merits of András and György Kálnay. Although almost a century later, they should also be known and recognised in their native country.

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⁴⁹ VINCZE 2015.

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