

Tolerance in City Planning as a central element for understanding the transformation of the urban fabric of a historic city

Applying the Plan Cort in Valladolid under Franco's dictatorship.

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Abstract

The Plan Cort was applied in the city of Valladolid during the first years of Franco's dictatorship. This urban plan was characterized by the application of the classical rules of city planning at that time. It was a plan to reform the street alignments in the historic centre alongside the construction of working class suburbs on the outskirts and new-build areas beyond the city limits. Actions in the years that followed focused on reforming the historic centre, elevating the permitted heights and increasing the authorized buildable depths. By analysing the licenses of the time, we can conclude that a system of concessions for licenses had been established that openly breached the regulations of the Plan, violating numerous legal requirements. Perhaps the most important violations involved the permitted heights, which were frequently over the maximum authorized. The most important proposals were gradually diluted through a long series of reforms and modifications. It was those who approved the Plan who, in the end, transformed it until it was practically unrecognisable. The Plan was in fact a decoy, a false image of modernity behind which a distracted, self-interested administration hid. As a result of the said flexibility, in several streets of the city of Valladolid, it is currently possible to see the different scales, the typological rupture and the stark contrast between modern and traditional buildings side by side, which have given rise to an urban landscape with a great dissonance.

Keywords

city planning materialization, historic centre destruction, urban transformations, building ordinances, urban planning in the dictatorship

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THE CITY'S SITUATION FOLLOWING THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR

During the Spanish Civil War (1936-39), the city of Valladolid and its province was under the control of the military revolt, and as such did not suffer any direct actions during the war, since the front was far away for the duration of the war. In Valladolid and its province there was initially a strong repression that began with the arrest and summary execution of the most prominent citizens of the Republic¹. Faced with the great number of arrests, several places were set up as de facto prisons and concentration camps were also built².

At the very start of the uprising, the Nationalists took over all the positions of the public administration; all the offices in the public institutions, at all levels, from the Civil Governor to the mayor of the smallest village in the province, but also at lower levels in the municipal administrations and public services, were systematically occupied by "individuals truly loyal to the National Movement"³. Numerous initiatives were undertaken to remove those under suspicion, replacing them with those loyal to the new political regime⁴.

CITY PLANNING IN THE FIRST THIRTY YEARS OF THE 20TH CENTURY IN VALLADOLID

The city of Valladolid in the 1930s, just before the start of the Civil War, was in a particular situation in terms of city planning, due to the lack of any plan to control the city as a whole. There were isolated, uncoordinated projects; there was a lack of any vision for the future with respect to the reforms to be carried out; and there was a quite arbitrary expansion of new suburbs⁵. The city was slowly acquiring planimetric instruments to gain knowledge concerning the situation. From the start of the 20th century, urban areas on the outskirts of the city had arisen that were beyond municipal control. Suburbs were thus added to the edge of the city; areas with new, low quality, self-built, buildings without urbanisation or municipal permits, and with bad sanitary conditions. During the Republic, this phenomenon had accelerated. The City Council, faced with a great need for housing, looked the other way and even allowed such housing to be legalised following the payment of a monetary fine⁶. Some municipal initiatives had taken place, such as the Plan Frías of 1931, to limit the city's urban growth, but it had not managed to slow down the process of uncontrolled growth and there was no general plan for the entire city, no city planning document that could deal with the issue in its entirety.

THE PLAN CORT

The Civil War, incidentally, gave the city council the opportunity to make a general plan with the arrival of a celebrity in city planning at that time, as a political refugee, the architect César Cort. The military uprising initially failed in Madrid, where Cort resided at that moment. Faced with the threat of reprisals, he took refuge in the Norwegian Embassy, where he spent several months, until he could escape to the zone controlled by the Nationalists, settling in

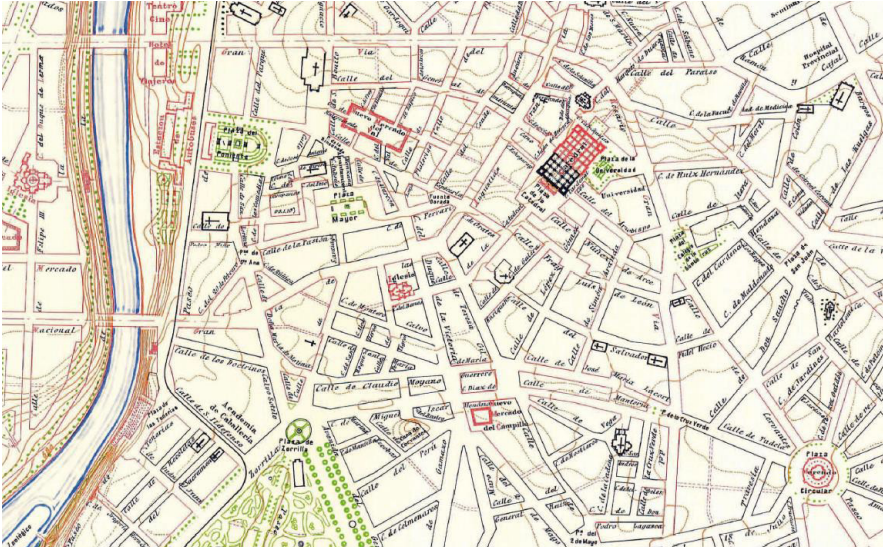


Fig. 1. Partial image of the Plan Cort, 1939.

Valladolid. César Cort, who had been a city councillor in Madrid⁷ representing the Royalist Party in the Republic, offered to draw up the much needed general urban plan for the City Council of Valladolid⁸. The proposal was finally embodied in a beautiful, carefully drawn and coloured plan that, on the one hand, was the answer to an exercise of the imagination, proposing new parks, markets, churches and arcaded squares, and on the other, proposing an almost total reform of the city's existing alignments. Thus it was that the "Urbanisation Plan of Valladolid: General Expansion & Interior Reform Plan" arose and was approved in 1939, together with its ordinances, now known as the Plan Cort.

It must be said that the Plan Cort gave rise to a strange situation, which would be breached by the very same people who approved it. It would necessarily become complicated due to the way it was applied. The Plan is characteristic of the epoch, one of the last to be drawn up in the Spain of Interior Expansion and Reform⁹, mixing the reform of the existing alignments alongside the proposition of extending the city over large areas, surrounding the old city in the form of new growth. In the city centre, large avenues were projected, cutting through the historic fabric, while also proposing the widening of practically all the ancient streets by means of alignment reform. As for the new areas, the proposal was to call it the "manzana americana" (American block)¹⁰. Of note is the appearance of some proposals derived from the political ideology of the time, that is, the opening up of large avenues: the so-called 'Gran Vía del Rosario', splitting the mediaeval city of the 11th and 12th centuries in two, which would continue via a bridge over the river as the 'Avenida de los Cerros', in order to articulate the expansion towards the 'Huerta del Rey'; the 'Gran Vía de las Angustias', breaking up the existing fabric; the opening up of a new street as the prolongation of 'Platerías', which would necessarily suppose the demolition of the 'Iglesia de la Cruz'; the completion of the Cathedral, an unfinished building, according to the original project, with the creation of squares on the north and

The biggest obstacle was the procurement of licences for the plots of land that had to be set back when the Plan proposed an alignment reform. No method was clearly set out for managing this situation. The Ordinances of the Plan Cort¹² did not clearly state how to proceed, leaving the solution to a hypothetical agreement between Council and owner. If there were no agreement, there was no clear path set out to follow. Did the Council have to financially compensate owners for the loss of land through a document setting out the expropriation terms? Was the land needed for the street widening ceded to the Council without any compensation at all? When it was a question of only a few metres, there were no problems; but in most cases, the Council had to expropriate the land and, faced with a lack of economic resources, the result was the paralysis of the construction work. Valladolid City Council did not have a large enough budget to expropriate privately owned land for widening the streets. At that time, only State organisms, which had generous budgets, could carry out expropriations of land, in particular for building social housing.

LICENCES FROM 1939 AND 1940 ANALYSED

In fact, an analysis of the building licences for new housing, either individual houses or blocks of flats, in the year the Civil War ended (1939) and the year after that (1940), demonstrates that there was a paralysis in construction work in the city centre, in particular in the so-called 'interior zone'. Among the building licences given for major works in the two years in question, twenty were for individual houses, chalets, mainly in 'Pinar de Antequera' and 'Puente Duero', both areas under the jurisdiction of Valladolid City Council, but outside the sphere of the Plan Cort. There were 25 licences for the construction of small terraced houses, situated mainly in the outskirts lacking services, called 'molineras'; some were self-built, either partially or totally, and most had only one floor and a backyard. There were four licences for blocks of flats, all within the zone regulated by the Plan Cort. To be precise, three blocks of flats in the 'Paseo de Zorrilla' and one in 'Calle Gamazo', this latter in an area with no changes in alignment. At least one was from 1935 and was almost certainly held up by the Civil War¹³. Also worth noting is the expropriation papers of the land for the future construction of 1,126 social houses¹⁴. In conclusion, the building activity in the city centre, the so-called interior zone of the Plan Cort, stopped and was reduced in the outer areas, forcing the City Council to find a solution¹⁵.

Proof that the City Council encountered difficulties and resistance on applying the new plan comes from the report requested by the Mayor and provided by Council's lawyer concerning whether the Plan Cort had been properly approved and if so, must therefore be adhered to. The lawyer's response is significant: "The new urban plan and its ordinances have been duly approved and are totally effective"¹⁶. However, this response did not satisfy the critics and the unease of the developers and owners, who were faced with the obligatory nature of the new alignments, forced the City Council to accept, in exceptional cases, the authorisation of every new building even though the current alignment orders were not being respected, as long as the owner agreed to the obligation, in the case of forced expropriation, to demand only the current value of the building, renouncing the value of the new building, which must be included in the Property Register. To do so, a document was drawn up entitled "Note for public deeds", which had to be signed by the owners who did not wish to respect the existing alignment¹⁷.

THE LACK OF REGULATIONS IN CITY PLANNING MANAGEMENT

As for the creation of new suburbs in areas of urban expansion, the problem once more lay in the serious economic crisis and the lack of financial and legal handling of the newly formed urban land. Thus, for the construction of the so-called 'American blocks', the way the Plan Cort proposed to manage them was through a single operation, which would bring together the entire block as a single piece. This, in turn, would involve one single owner, while setting unreachable financial conditions on the businessmen of that period¹⁸.

THE PARALYSIS OF THE BUILDING WORK IN THE 'INTERIOR ZONE'

Faced with the paralysis in building activity in the city centre, the Director General of Architecture, Pedro Muguruza Otaño, was asked for his advice and to recommend solutions. His response was that the municipal technicians should formulate an alignment reform and that authorisation should be given for the technicians to interpret the general principles contained in the Plan Cort¹⁹. So the plan would in fact no longer be an obstacle for building activity, essentially passing the responsibility to the municipal technicians and their criteria. This is what, in the years that followed, led to the municipality's tolerance and relaxation in complying with city planning norms.

MANAGING CONSTRUCTION WORK AND THE REFORMS OF THE PLAN

Nevertheless, the main building activity in those years was led by the State through the promotion of social housing. In fact, the State, through its social housing estates managed by the National Housing Institute (INV), was paradoxically the first to violate the resolutions of the new Plan, with the occupation of green zones, the construction of new housing estates on rural land, or the alteration of street alignments fixed by the Plan. The process was gradually violated more and more over time. In this sense, the first, the estate of José Antonio Primo de Rivera (1946), did not respect part of the layout of the streets defined in the general plan, but maintained the principal axis marked out by the 'Reyes Católicos' street and the general structure. The second, the quarter of 'la Victoria' (1946), openly breaks with the Plan, occupying all the free space supposedly dedicated to a park, the 'Prado de San Sebastián', up to the banks of the Pisuerga River; as well as the zone destined for roads, the 'Paseo de Cigales'. In the third case, the Quarter 'José Antonio Girón' (1951), only one street of those proposed in the Plan Cort was respected, the 'Avenida de los Cerros', which linked the quarter to the city; while the layout of the other main street, the 'Ronda de las Contiendas', was modified. Also suppressed in this official housing estate were the parks of 'las Contiendas' and 'de Recreos', being occupied by semi-detached houses. The fourth case is that of the quarter of 'San Pedro Regalado' (1956), promoted by the Diocesan Housing Trust (Patronato Diocesano de la Vivien-

da), an organisation that depended on the Bishopric of Valladolid. It was situated on rural land where building was not allowed. That is, agricultural space, reserved only for crops, where the construction of neighbourhoods was prohibited. Surprisingly, the State (accompanied by the ecclesiastical institution) would be the first to seriously violate the Plan.

HOW BUILDING HEIGHTS ARE REGULATED

The Plan Cort follows the rule of linking the width of the street with the height of the buildings and in essence distinguishes between two different zones, the interior zone (the so-called historic centre and some of the already existing suburbs), with the exceptions established in the Special Ordinance (mainly such areas as the Main Square, which have fixed façades and heights)²⁰; and the expansion zone, where new urban areas are expected to be created. As a general rule, in the interior zone, the regulations concerning the heights of buildings is connected to the width of the street, by defect, the height of buildings being equal to the width or 1.5 times the width of the street (art. 56). Nevertheless, this turns out to be one of the most controversial elements, as the regulations are somewhat contradictory. This is because the maximum height is accepted to be 25 metres, which is the sum of the ground floor height (3.6 metres), plus the remaining floors, measuring 3 metres each. The result is a ground floor (4 m) + 7 upper floors (21 m) in streets with a width of over 16.6 m. (art. 58).

THE CONDITIONS REGULATING PATIOS IN THE PLAN CORT

In the interior zone, in buildings destined for housing, at least 20% of the plot must remain as free surface area, which is reduced to 15% in corner plots (art. 38). Also included is the requirement of a minimum of 20 m² for the patios of the plot, with a width not inferior to 3m, when “living rooms or bedrooms” give onto them (art. 40). Toilets and bathrooms can be ventilated by “patio chimneys” whose surface area can be inferior to that of the plot’s patios, but no minimum dimensions are stipulated. However, whatever their surface area, it is computed as patio surface area for the purpose of calculations concerning article 38.

It must be pointed out that, in the Plan Cort, both the building height and the conditions concerning the patios do not substantially modify what was already stipulated in the ordinances of 1886, the ordinances in force previously. The Plan follows tradition in managing the city; however, patios are now linked to questions of hygiene, which becomes part of the Plan’s argumentation. There are long paragraphs concerning this question, such as the regulation of wells, rubbish collection or sanitation. The hygienic conditions of the housing are also regulated, for instance, the minimum size of bedrooms (art. 42) and lighting conditions are established, fixing a minimum size for windows²¹.

One interesting example is the building of the ‘Paseo de Zorrilla’ n° 42, constructed in 1940, one of the first four blocks of flats built under the Plan Cort. This building is less than 100 metres from ‘Campo Grande’, the city’s great park; the adjacent streets being the preferential

site for the construction of housing for the industrial bourgeoisie in the 19th century. In the original project, the building consists of semi-basement, ground floor and five upper floors, approximately 20 metres high, with two flats on each floor, as well as in the semi-basement, a total of 14 flats. The most characteristic aspect is that the building has an interior patio of 3 x 15 metres (45 m²) and a plot patio of 295 m², making up 45% of the total surface area, generously complying with the then current ordinances²².

RESOLVING THE IMPASSE

In response to the discontent due to the Plan Cort, specifically concerning all the changes in alignment and their regulation in the ordinances, and with respect to the undeniable paralysis of construction activity, new ordinances were drawn up and approved that corrected and modified what had been established previously. The key to the success of these ordinances was to allow developers to increase the height of buildings, from two, three or four floors to seven, eight or more. This enabled developers to cede land free of charge in order to increase the width of the street, this being amply compensated for by the extra height. This managed to resolve the impasse, through great generosity it must be said, enabling investment in land and housing, while guaranteeing large profits. The Delegation of the College of Architects played an important role in the modification of building ordinances. In the document presented to the City Council, emphasis was placed on the technical improvement of the ordinances, without mentioning even once the economic crisis caused by the two wars²³. This was as a reward for ceding land to set back the façade, thus avoiding expropriation; while allowing the owners greater leeway in the height and thus a greater number of flats to sell (art. 45). Five years later, in 1950, the Alignment Reform of the General Plan of Valladolid was approved. A more didactic and rational street hierarchy was established using a colour coding system: red for arterial roads, blue for secondary streets and green for ringroads. The regulation of the patios was also modified²⁴.

However, the solution found had a serious problem; the daylight patios. These, in fact, had to have a minimum width of 1/6 the height, no less than 3 metres. Thus, in buildings with Ground + 6 floors this minimum of 3 metres was sufficient, but higher buildings had to make the patios wider whenever another floor was added. Greater heights meant larger patios, which forced the builders to have more than 20% surface area in patios. On the other hand, it must be noted that buildings reached their maximum height at the façade; yet one or two attic floors were frequently built, set back, above the façade's cornice. Thus, buildings 30 metres high up to the cornice, in reality had two further floors, reaching 36 metres in the central line. Furthermore, terraces were often added to kitchens (giving onto interior patios, necessary and popular for hanging out washing and putting kitchen appliances and cupboards), which made the patio narrower. This tension between increasing the building height and obtaining greater profits came up against compliance with the standards regarding patios. It was precisely here that municipal tolerance appeared, opting in many cases to turn a blind eye to these "minor" questions.

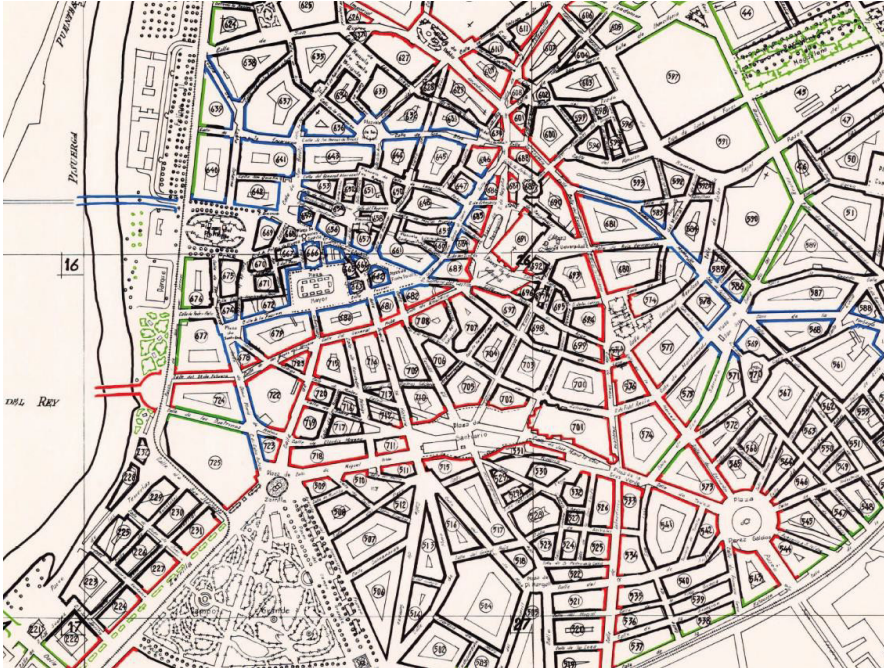


Fig. 3. Partial image of the Alignment Reform Plan of 1950.

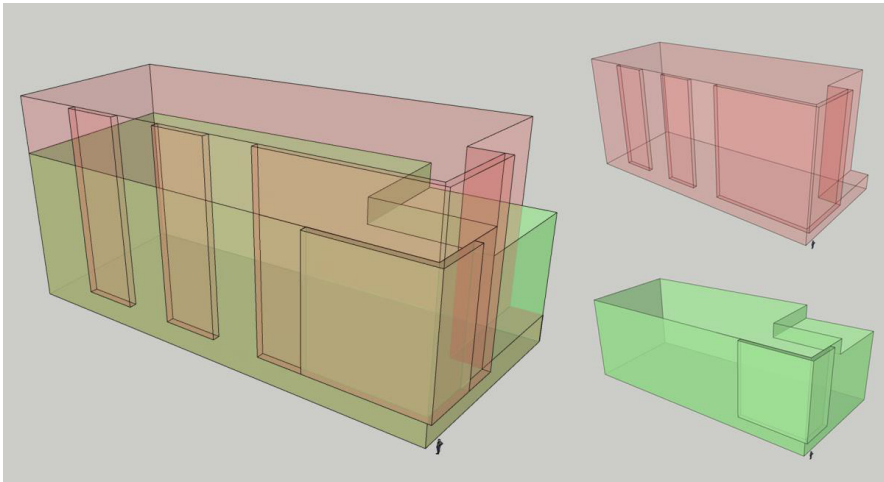


Fig. 4. Image of the building on the west corner of San Quirce with calle Imperial. In red the current building, in green the building according to the ordinances.

THE CRITICAL POINT: CORNER BUILDINGS

It was with the corner buildings where the seams of the system were stretched. Analysing examples from the 1960s, it is clear that important irregularities did in fact occur in the concessions of licences. We have analysed the licences for several corner buildings around that time; the first being a project from 1963 on the corner of 'calle Imperial' with 'calle Esteban García Chico'²⁵. It complies with the ordinances concerning height and patios, but the municipal architect's report points out that there are too many 'miradores' (balconies), despite which the licence is given²⁶.

The second example is on the west corner of 'calle de San Quirce' with 'calle Imperial', whose licence was applied for in 1964²⁷. These two streets have different widths. According to the regulations, the height should be with respect to the widest street (San Quirce) and, in the narrower (Imperial), the height could be extended up to a distance of 10 metres into the street, but from then on, the height had to be reduced in relation to the width of the narrower street (art. 62). However, surprisingly, they use a trick which is to set back the building in 'calle Imperial' from the first floor, thus creating a 'patio' in the façade on the upper floors, which supposedly permits them to respect the official alignment and, at the same time, build up the fiction of a wider street than in reality, thus maintaining the greater height of the wider street in the narrower one²⁸. And the municipal architect's report says:

"As for the distribution of the flats, it complies with the ordinances and tolerances allowed with respect to some articles of the same"²⁹.

That is to say, he openly accepts, in an official document of the City Council of Valladolid that there are "tolerances" in compliance of the ordinances and this generates no reaction from Works Commission or the Permanent Commission. In fact, the Works Commission report is kept in the same file, with the stamp of the Permanent Commission, where both accept the setting back as valid, as well as the violation of the maximum height. The concession of the licence is agreed upon despite the warnings of the municipal architect concerning the illegalities and the so-called "tolerances"³⁰. The building was finally constructed higher than the maximum permitted height, with 26 metres (Ground + 7 floors), while also violating the conditions of the patios and the distribution of the flats.

The third example, facing the previous one and built a year later, has a similar projection. On the east corner of 'San Quirce' and 'Imperial', a further floor is proposed (Ground + 8 floors), performing the same 'setting back' as the other building from the first floor 'calle Imperial'. The trick is repeated, except in this case with an extra floor, since the 'calle Imperial' now has opposite the building analysed previously, with a 'patio' on the façade, which means that, according to their way of understanding the concept "street width", this has grown by 3 metres. A detailed analysis of the streets 'Imperial' and 'Esteban García Chico' in the current situation of their surroundings shows us a panorama of up to 21 tall blocks of flats with ground plus 7 or 8 floors, all built between 1966 and 1975. Tolerance triumphed. The new business model won out.



Fig. 5.



Fig. 6. Photos of calle Angustias showing the alignment reform at two different times, in which the rupture of the new building at n° 7 and 9 is visible.

A fourth example is that of 'calle Angustias' n° 7 and n° 9, on the corner of 'calle Fernando V'. The project has a building of Ground + Mezzanine + 9 floors with flats + Attic. According to the municipal architect's report, it does not comply with the height restrictions for 'calle Fernando V' and nor does it comply with the ordinances concerning the patios. Once more, the formula of tolerances is used to accept the granting of the licence³¹. In this case, the City Council forces a reduction in the height in the façade of 'calle Fernando V' and, following an appeal by the developer, the design of the patio in dispute is also corrected, but the construction of open terraces in the interior patios is accepted, thus reducing the width of at least one patio to under the 3 metre minimum, to be exact, to 2.55 m., when it should be 5.00 m. If they had followed the regulations for patios, it should have had 4 fewer floors. However, what is most important is that the building, as constructed, breaks with the urban scale through its height and its relation to several monuments, and this is not commented on by the municipal services. Fig. 5 and 6.

THE GRADUAL ADJUSTMENT OF THE PLAN THAT BECOMES CITY PLANNING 'A LA CARTE' FOR DEVELOPERS

The process of adapting the Plan to the city's economic reality occurs gradually. It is initially justified due to the paralysis in building activity, without citing the disastrous economic conditions of the post-war years; then the plan is adapted to the necessities of the companies and, finally, a sort of unjustified tolerance of the norms is established, since no justification is needed, no-one criticises anything, no criticism is admitted. There is no political opposition. What is to be done is decided by a small group of politicians, developers and architects³².

The most interesting proposals of the Plan Cort were finally diluted through endless reforms. As for the creation of a system of parks and green zones, most of the designated areas were eventually built up, either through reforms to the Plan, or through the concession of licences with no explanation whatsoever. The development of the periphery did not happen, in particular where the low density 'American blocks' had been planned, following the developers whims. Over time, the Council's administration was honed, adapting the regulations to the demands of the developers. At the same time, public funding was focused on particular developments. Several estates of social housing were built in the 1960s using a new formula: 'officially protected housing', which was constructed through the INV, rather than directly by the State, taking advantage of private initiatives.

In 1968, a new General Plan was approved, which replaced the Plan Cort. However, the Municipal Ordinances of 1945 remained in force until democracy, and were replaced by the ordinances of the General Plan of 1984, which revealed the key value that this document had based on the interests of that small group that held the power of the Valladolid City Council in his hands.

CONCLUSIONS

The transformation of the historic city of Valladolid was due to many causes; however, the exceptional conditions fostered by Franco's dictatorship had a decisive influence. First, a type of plan that had been, until that time, the formula used to regulate many of Spain's cities, was blamed for paralysing building activity, an unjust accusation that served as an excuse to forget all rationality and foresight in city planning; second, the dictatorship encouraged a total lack of legal control of the citizens over the Administration and this enabled the gradual transformation of city planning; third, the very ones who approved the Plan Cort were the ones who also violated it, favouring an intense transformation of the historic centre, whereby the abuses of a small but powerful group in the City Council could prolong the said abuses in time and thus worsening the effect.

When the economic development started at the end of the 1950s, and in particular in the 1960s, the institutional mechanism was already rotten and the web of economic interests is what controls city planning, with the systematic application of exceptions, tolerances and biased interpretations of the ordinances. The succession of general plans and their respective reforms are aimed at greater profit for the small group who control the resources of the City Council. There are no more references to planning theories, no criticism of the existing city, no references to other urban experiences in Spain or abroad. In fact, democracy, management, financing and leadership were lacking in the defence of planning objectives.

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DISCLOSURE STATEMENT

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

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ENDNOTES

1. Including the execution by firing squad of the city mayor and several councillors, as well as mayors and councillors from numerous villages and small towns in the province, the civil governor and members

- of parliament. Jesús María Palomares: "La guerra civil en Valladolid. Datos sobre la represión en la ciudad". *Investigaciones Históricas* 20. Universidad de Valladolid, 2000. Page 252.
2. These were maintained after the Civil War ended. The repression, which was extremely intense in the first months following the coup, carried on in the prisons for several years after the war ended. Jesús María Palomares: *El primer franquismo en Valladolid*. UVA. Valladolid, 2002.
 3. "For any post, preference was given to ex-combatants and those maimed fighting for the Nationalist cause". Palomares (2002), pages 15 & 29.
 4. "At this juncture, the victors rounded up the defeated. Places were reserved as prizes for those who accumulated the most merits in the party (blue shirts & founders of the 'Jons')". Palomares (2002). Page 31.
 5. María Antonia Virgili Blanquet: "El Plan Cort en el Valladolid de la postguerra" in the *Boletín del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y Arqueología*: BSAA, 1979, N.45, page 535.
 6. Calderón Calderón, Basilio; Sainz Guerra, José Luis; Mata Pérez, Salvador: *La Cartografía de Valladolid* (Parte Tercera). Valladolid, 1931-1970. Ayuntamiento de Valladolid. Valladolid, 1986. Page 13.
 7. A liberal monarchist councillor during the period 1931-35. He was in the Commissions of Public Works & Expansion. Ayuntamiento de Madrid: *Lista de Sres. Concejales. Comisiones y Dependencias*. Artes Gráficas Municipales. Madrid, 1931. Page 25. See also María Cristina García González: *César Cort*. (2018). Pág. 503.
 8. In a city traumatised by repression and the Civil War, César Cort drew up a document that, surprisingly, included the participation of the citizens through the local press. Naturally, those citizens who enjoyed freedom were able to exercise that right. José Luis García Cuesta: *De la urgencia social al negocio inmobiliario. Promoción de viviendas y desarrollo urbano en Valladolid (1960-1992)*. Ayuntamiento de Valladolid. Universidad de Valladolid, Valladolid, 2000. Page 62.
 9. Antonio Font & others: *Valladolid. Procesos y formas del crecimiento urbano*. Vol. I. Page 139.
 10. Large built-up blocks on the outside with common use green areas in the centre of each block.
 11. The Plan frequently only changed one side of the street, while the other remained the same. The problem that arose was this rule of the width controlling the height of new buildings. Another problem was that the unmodified side of the street, unaffected by the widening, had certain advantages over the buildings on the other side, where it was obligatory for them to be moved back, thus having to cede land voluntarily or through expropriation.
 12. Articles 23, 24 and 25 describe the "act of reassessing alignments" to be done between the deputy mayor and the municipal architect, the landowner and his own architect. The plots that could be "expropriated" or were "appropriable" would be marked on a City Council map. If an agreement was reached, it must be ratified by the City Council: "without agreement being obligatory until validated by the City Council".
 13. 881(1017-29). AMV.
 14. "Anteproyecto de viviendas protegidas. Expediente relativo a la expropiación de terrenos en el Camino Viejo del Prado ...". 15836-1. AMV. 740 houses would finally be built by the National Housing Institute (INV) inaugurated in 1946 and the quarter would receive the name of the Phalangist José Antonio Primo de Rivera.
 15. In the years of 1934 and 1935, licenses were given for 183 terraced houses, 13 chalets and 24 licenses for multi-family residential buildings. Own elaboration based on AMV data.
 16. Report by the lawyer of April 14th 1940. C22005-12. AMV.
 17. Report by the lawyer of June 21st 1940 and its ratification by the Permanent Commission the same day. C22005-12. AMV.
 18. "The American blocks that appear in the project must be built together, as a whole...". Art. 12 of the Municipal Ordinances of Valladolid, 1939. Throughout the validity of the Plan Cort and its respective reforms, covering over 29 years, the only plots of land developed for new neighborhoods in this way were those financed by the State or the Catholic Church, while private promoters did not create a single square meter of new urban land.
 19. María Antonia Virgili. "El plan Cort en el Valladolid de la posguerra", *Boletín del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y Arqueología*, nº 45, 1979. Pages 536-537.
 20. "Ordenanza VIII. Que trata de los parajes de arquitectura concertada" in particular articles 118, 119 and 120. Plan Cort.
 21. Sainz Esteban, Alicia: "Transformation of the Historic Center and Urban Landscape of Valladolid (Spain) with the Internal Reform Plans in the Twentieth Century". 14th International Planning History Society (IPHS). I.T.U. Urban and Environmental Planning and Research Center. Conference Proceedings Vol. 3. Istanbul, 2010. Pág. 157-173.
 22. Building licence in Paseo de Zorrilla 64, 66, 68, subsequently 56 and current 42. Exp. 29/1940. AMV.
 23. The new ordinances also fixed the height of buildings with respect to the width of the street on which they were to be built, but with prodigality. For the streets of the "interior" (the historic centre), a maximum building height of 1.5 times the width of the street was fixed; while in expansion areas and newly

- created streets it was fixed at the same as the width of the street. The maximum height was also raised to 30 metres. Delegation of the College of Architects. Reform Project of the Municipal Building Ordinances. 1944. AMV.
24. The building ordinances of 1945 define a more complete, varied terminology for patios. Ventilation Patios, daylight Patios (patio de luces), plot Patios (patio de parcela).
25. Project for shops and 16 flats in calle Imperial nº 2. C01190. Exp. 19/1963. AMV.
26. "The surface area of balconies greatly surpasses the quarter part of the surface area of the façade set out in article 80 of the said ordinances". Report of the municipal architect. Exp. 19/1963. AMV.
27. Building for shops and 98 subsidised flats in calle San Quirce c/v calle Imperial. C01222. AMV.
28. According to the municipal architect's report, the project violated the restrictions in both streets: "The mean width in 'San Quirce' in the part where the projected building is in measures 13 metres". As the authorised height is 1.5 times the width of the street, the maximum height would be 19.5 metres. In the case of 'calle Imperial', setting back the building is not the solution, according to his judgement: "With the proposed setting back (in 'calle Imperial'), a width of 12.0 m is reached, corresponding to a maximum height of 18 m. The projected building at the façade has a height of 26.0 m". The report also warns of the non-compliance with the conditions of the patios. In other words, not even this 'trick' of setting back the buildings allows greater height. Municipal Architect's Report to the Mayor dated 1st December 1964. C01222- 013A41C. AMV.
29. *Ibidem*.
30. It is not the only licence or the only document which mentions "tolerances" in applying the norms. See for instance the following files, among others: Exp. 5/1964, Exp. 201/1969 of the AMV.
31. "The building complies with the Municipal Ordinances and custom tolerances with respect to some articles". Municipal Architect's Report 16-9-1968. Exp. 201/1969.
32. Antonio Font Arellano et altres: Valladolid. Procesos y formas de crecimiento urbano. Page 144. Pastor, L.J.; Delgado Urrecho, J.M.; Calderón Calderón, B.: Crecimiento y transformación de Valladolid: 1960-1988. Análisis de un proceso complejo y contradictorio. Ayuntamiento de Valladolid. Valladolid, 1992. Page 84. Pablo Gigosos; Manuel Saravia: Arquitectura y urbanismo de Valladolid en el siglo XX. Ateneo de Valladolid. Valladolid, 1997. Page 412.

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IMAGE SOURCES

Fig. 1 Urbanización de Valladolid. Plano General del Ensanche y Reforma Interior. Known as Plan Cort. AMV. [https://www10.ava.es/cartografia/planos_historicos.html]

Fig. 2 Urbanización de Valladolid. Plano General del Ensanche y Reforma Interior. Known as Plan Cort. AMV. [https://www10.ava.es/cartografia/planos_historicos.html]

Fig. 3 Reforma de Alineaciones al Plano General de Valladolid. AMV. [https://www10.ava.es/cartografia/planos_historicos.html]

Fig. 4 Drew by ASE.

Fig. 5 Valladolid. Fotos Antiguas.

Fig. 6 Photo JLSG.