Travelling for Salvation. The Azores in the Focus of Late Medieval Travellers from the North

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This volume takes a diachronic approach to the topic of leisure, travel and tourism. It thus addresses a research desideratum (Gyr 2010). The 20th century is considered the age of "mass tourism", in which travel acquired enormous social and economic relevance. In contrast, its beginnings, which are located in the early modern period, seem rather modest. For example, the German word "Reisen" originally had a completely different meaning, namely "war campaign" or "campaign". But even today, mobility is not only practised in leisure time, and by no means serves exclusively for recreation and diversion and as a factor of consumption.

From what we know, people in the Middle Ages did not travel for pleasure; campaigns have already been mentioned. But there were other groups; mobile were like merchants, scholars, mercenaries, pilgrims, craftsmen, health seekers on trips to the spa, but also beggars, vagrants and robbers. In addition, the top echelons of society of the time were sometimes even permanently on the move; this applies to the nobility right up to the king (Aries 1998). Before the emergence of fixed residences, rule was practised on an itinerant basis. Similar to modern tourism, travelling meant freedom, but in pre-modern times with

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all the positive but also negative side effects. Even then, a return to the starting point of the journey was not always intended or feasible. Unfortunately, we know little about the subjective feeling that most people had when travelling until the 15th century. Travelling and wandering as a way of coming to terms with oneself and as a part of self-realisation is considered by researchers to be a phenomenon of the dawning modern era (Gyr 2010).

In general, for the European Middle Ages, distinctions between duty and pleasure are hardly to be found in the sources. Therefore, for this period, it is easier to ask about the reasons for travelling than about its character as a "leisure pleasure" or "official duty".

My contribution will therefore deal primarily with people who have had little opportunity to raise their voices and thus make their views known. Their journeys can therefore only be dealt with indirectly, although their historical impact was considerable. In previous research, they have received little attention. This applies on the one hand to the rural population, who were considered "sedentary", and on the other hand to highly placed women. In many cases, their activities have also only been passed on indirectly. This is perhaps especially true of the "Age of Discoveries". Although it was characterised by great mobility, it has a high historical relevance and has produced a rich research literature with its national identities. At the same time, it presents itself in research and perception as a "purely male affair" (Boxer 1975).

In the following, an 'episode' from the early days of Atlantic crossings will be examined more closely. The starting point is formed by some indications given by Martin Behaim (1459-1507) from Upper Germany in the early 1490s. They have been handed down on the globe that was created in Nuremberg in 1492 according to his designs and which was included in the UNESCO World Document Heritage List a few years ago (Germanisches Nationalmuseum 2023; Knefelkamp 2012; Willers 1992; Dieffenbacher 2007).

However, the focus will not remain on its creator, but will be directed towards other actors. Before that, the source and its author will be briefly introduced and then the acting persons, their motives, measures taken and the effects of their actions will be critically discussed with regard to travelling: Martin Behaim was born in Nuremberg in 1459 as the eldest son of a respected upper middle-class family. The city was one of the most important southern German trading metropolises of the late Middle Ages (Schieber 2007; Wendehorst 1993). Behaim's life was rather unusual for people of his time and was characterised by a high degree of mobility. In accordance with family tradition, he became a merchant. In this capacity he can be traced to the great

trading centres of northern Central and Western Europe (Frankfurt am Main, Mechelen, Antwerp and Bergen-op-Zoom) in the years between 1476 and 1484. In 1484 he travelled to Portugal, where he gained access to the Portuguese court and was knighted by King João II. This took him to West Africa at least once in the following years. In 1489 he married Johanna de Macedo, a daughter of the Donatar captain of the Azores islands of Fayal and Pico, Joos von Hurter (Loureiro 2019; Pohle 2012, 193, 195, 200; Pohle 2011; Pohle 2007, 54-74; Görz 2007; Paviot 2006, 11, 15, 20; Jakob 2007). Hurter was a native of the county of Flanders, where his family was wealthy. The marriage produced a son who bore the same name as his father. Behaim did not return to his home town until 1490, where he remained until 1493 and designed the globe on behalf of the town.[1] After that, only little information is available about him; it indicates that he continued his life as a merchant, functionary and envoy between the Netherlands, the Portuguese mainland and the Atlantic islands and finally died in Lisbon in 1507 (Knefelkamp 1992; Bräunlein 1992; Knefelkamp 2007; Willers 1992).

Despite, or perhaps because of, its fame, the so-called Behaim globe, which is still kept in Nuremberg, has long been a controversial object of international historical research. Its creator, Martin Behaim, has been accused of inaccuracies, charlatanry, false pretences and uncritical adoption of other people's knowledge, in addition to the undoubted recognition of his work (Pohle 2012; Verlinden 1991a; Verlinden 1991b; Ravenstein 1908). This article will focus on a passage that has already been discussed several times (cf. Paviot 2006, 9, 20, 24) but which, in my opinion, has not yet been sufficiently appreciated. It can shed light on the following questions: Around the middle of the 15th century, what reasons and motives did people from the north of mainland Europe, who did not have an agenda as merchants or "explorers" or belong to a ship's crew, have for undertaking a sea voyage to the Azores?

For this purpose, we will take a look at the second of a total of three entries found on the Behaim globe on the Azores (Ravenstein 1908; Knefelkamp 2012), on material technology (cf. Menna 2012), and on the Azores on the Behaim globe (cf. Pohle 2011; Ramos 2009, 194; Carita 2009). In it, one learns more about the background of the voyage and about other actors involved. The text reports that the islands were settled in 1466, after the Portuguese king gave them to his sister, Duchess Isabella of Burgundy, Countess of Flanders, at her request. An occasion is also mentioned: As there was a great war going on in

1 *Earth globe, so-called Behaim globe, Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, inv. no. WI 1826*, online at: http://objektkatalog.gnm.de/objekt/WI1826 (accessed on 17/1/2022).

Flanders around this time, there had been a sharp rise in food prices. Therefore, the Duchess sent many men and women of various professions by ship from Flanders to the distant islands. With them came priests and altar utensils for the service. Furthermore, household goods and what was necessary for agriculture were loaded onto the ships. In addition, each person was provided with the necessities by the duchess for two years. In return, she demanded only one thing: a Hail Mary was to be prayed at all masses in perpetuity for the salvation of Duchess Isabella. It ends with 2,000 people accepting the offer.

Following this, the text makes a time jump of about 25 years and continues in the present around the year 1490. There one reads: If one adds those who have come every year since then and the annual increase in population, then there are now many thousands who populate the island, Germans and Flemings. They were under the regiment of the "noble and honourable knight, Herr Jobst von Hurter, Lord of Moerkerken in Flanders". Beheim refers to him as his "dear Lord father-in-law". The Duchess Isabella "gave" this island to him and his descendants. This is followed by a few remarks on the island's economy and its cultivated products: Portuguese sugar' grew there. Moreover, the fruits ripen twice a year, as there is no winter there. Therefore, food of all kinds is very cheap. For this reason, immigration is strong and many people still come there every year to make a living.[2]

This text is not unknown in the history of the Azores, but has been doubted simply because of the high figures it contains (Pole 2012, 195-198; Verlinden

2 "Die obgeschriebene inseln wurde(n) bewohnt anno 1466 wan der konik vo(n) Portugal dise inseln vo(n) vleissiger bydte wegen sy geschenscht het der hertzogin vo(n) Burgund seiner schwester mi namen frawen Isabella. Und waren in Flandern dißmals groß krieg und teurung schichte die vorgenant herzogin vil volks man(e) und frawe(n) allerley handwerk mit sambt priestern und was zum gottesdienst gehört etwan vil schiff mit hausrath und was zu dem veldbau gehöert zu pauen aus Flandern in die insel, ließ jedem in die zwai jar geben waß sy nottürffig sein umb zu ewigen zeitten in allen messen jr zu gedenkhen jegliche person mit einem Ave Maria. Welcher persone(n) bei 2000 ware(n) und mit denen, die seiter järlich dar kumen sindt und seiter darine(n) gewachsen, dar sindt vil tausent worden. Anno 1490 do wone(n) in vil tausend persohne nochda von teutsch und flaming angesessen, weliche unter dem edlen vnd gestrenghe(n) ritter hern Jobsten vo(n) Hürtter hern zu Mo kirchen aus Flandern, meine(m) lieben hern schweher, dem diese insel von der vorgenanten hörzogin von Burgundt ime und seine(n) nachkhumen gegeben ist. – In welichen insule der portugalische zucker wechst und die frücht zwier im jar wan daselbst nim(m)ermehr winnter ist und alle leibsnahrung vost wolfeil ist. Darumb kumen noch järlich vil volckhs da umb ir narung da zu suchen". The transcription was made by Ellen Widder after the facsimile by Ravenstein (1908). The transcription by Ravenstein (ibid., 76) has reading errors and unresolved abbreviations.

1991a; Verlinden 1991b; cf. Parriot 2006, 15, 20).[3] However, even in the 15th century, we are still in "pre-statistical times". One may assume that Beheim wanted to express above all that the settlement was numerous and successful and triggered a further influx of population until the 1490s. It is not entirely absurd to assume that other recruitment intentions were also pursued. Behaim obviously knew what he was talking about. On the one hand, this refers to his position as son-in-law, married to a daughter of the governor and apparently chosen as his successor. At least for the nobility in Flanders, an existence that combined the position of a nobleman with the activity of a big merchant was socially accepted (Buylaert 2007, 46).

The contacts with the Azores continued during the years of Behaim's absence, just as he was in correspondence with his family of origin (Ghillany 1853, 107). However, he wrote the texts on the globe in the service of the city of Nuremberg. It is no longer possible to fathom how far this knowledge was made available to a wider public at all.[4]

However, the information on the globe holds further historical insight potential. In it, Behaim reports that the islands were systematically settled from Flanders from 1466 onwards, after the King of Portugal had left them (or the settlement project) to his sister Isabella, Duchess of Burgundy. However, the text is probably deliberately very vague about the legal form in which this took place. We hear more about the reasons that prompted this emigration. Due to war hardships and the resulting rise in food prices, she would have sent or could have sent many men and women from various professions by ship from Flanders to the islands. The enterprise had been extensively prepared and quite obviously planned and organised as an emigration. Among the emigrants were representatives of various professions, but mainly farmers. Clergymen are explicitly mentioned as another group. In addition, there were infrastructural means: besides altar equipment for the church service, household goods and equipment for agriculture were mentioned. In addition, one learns something about the financing: the crossing as well as the maintenance for the first two years at the new place were at the expense of the duchess. One may assume that the necessary funds came from her private fortune. Considering the number of emigrants, the sums involved must have been considerable.

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3 Arguing for a strong immigration from the Algarve around this time (Coelho 1996).

4 Presumably, it was subject to secrecy. On the Nuremberg Council and the principle of secrecy, cf. Fleischmann 2008.

Further reflections on these messages have hardly been made in research so far; even less interesting, however, was the question of what Isabella actually expected from the beneficiaries in return. This consisted of praying a Hail Mary for her salvation at all masses and for all times. This gives an idea of the enormous role that "*memoria*" or "*cura animarum*", i.e. concern for the personal salvation of the soul, played for the people of the Middle Ages. But more of that later. In the following, a number of other information contained in this entry will be critically discussed and the reasons for this journey will be explored. It was most certainly not a pleasure trip, but all those involved promised or hoped for an improvement in their lot—and not only before but also after their demise.

The background to this success story was the marriage in 1430 between the Infanta Isabella of Portugal (Évora, 1397-Dijon, 1471) and Duke Philip "the Good" of Burgundy (Dijon, 1396-Bruges, 1467) (Costa-Gomes 2013). A votive tablet she donated after the birth of her third son Charles provides a glimpse of the ducal family and Isabella's self-image (Berkemeier-Favre 2004). Her coat of arms and the text below the picture refer prominently to her Portuguese origins, where she was designated as founder under the title of Most Serene and Most Powerful Prince Isabella, daughter of King Joao I of Portugal and Algarve, Lord of Ceuta, Duchess of Burgundy, Lorraine, Brabant and Limburg (Berkemeier-Favre 2004; Sommé 1998; Sommé 2009; Bousmar & Sommé 2000, 47-78).

Isabella's parents were King João I of Portugal (1357-1433, r. 1385) and Philippa, a sister of the first English Lancastrian king Henry IV. As Isabella's two sisters died at a very early age, she grew up as the youngest among five brothers. She seems to have received a similar education to them, learning to ride, hunt, calculate and administer, and speaking French and Latin as well as Portuguese.

After the death of her mother (1415), Isabella took over her mother's political duties at the age of 18 and remained unmarried for another twelve years. During this time, she had her own income from her mother's estate, which Dom Joao I had left to her after her death (Costa-Gomes 2003, 73). Isabella also demonstrated this experience of government in Burgundy after her marriage to Duke Philip the Good (*Ibidem*, 73). The marriage was not only a political but also a dynastic success: nine months after her arrival in the Burgundian Netherlands, she gave birth to her first son Antoine in September 1430, who, however, died after 16 months, as did her second son Josse. On 10 November 1433, her son Charles was born; he was the future Duke Charles the Bold (†1477). But Isabella also remained connected to her family of origin during the years of her marriage.

Isabella and her siblings are considered the "Famous Generation" (*Ínclita Geração*) in Portuguese history (Trevisan 2016, 18-25). Her brother Dom Duarte I (†1438) succeeded their father João I to the Portuguese royal throne after his death. Another brother was Pedro (†1449), Duke of Coimbra and, after Duarte's untimely death, imperial administrator and guardian for his minor heir, the later King Dom Afonso V (r. 1449, †1481). The most famous of these siblings, however, was Henry the Navigator (1394-1460), with whom Portugal's rise to world power began; he too was one of Isabella's elder brothers.

The question arises as to what the Duchess intended with her initiative to settle the Azores with Flemish farmers and to create incentives for this. Especially in economic-historical research, this story is strongly doubted.[5] If one looks at the living world of the Middle Ages, the answer could be different. Isabella, born in 1397, was almost 70 years old in 1466 and the last of her sibling generation. It stands to reason that she was concerned for her salvation around this time. In Latin times, this was called "*cura animae*", i.e. care for the soul. This is analogous to "*cura corporis*", care for the body, as we still use it today as the term "bathing cure" in a spa.

Efforts for the *cura animae* can also be proven for the duchess in these years, although only a few sources have survived (Sommé 1998, 456-478; Sautman 2018). But Isabella was not only pious, but also an energetic princess and a well-informed entrepreneur. The settlement of the Azores had apparently not been particularly successful so far. A corresponding privilege granted by the Infante Henry in 1439 to populate the seven Azorean islands with people and to bring sheep there had apparently not led to any resounding success. The renewal of the privilege ten years later was not only due to the fact that the monarch had come of age in the meantime, but probably also for another reason. Extensive sheep farming on a large scale corresponds to Mediterranean livestock farming with transhumance, i.e. a migration of livestock adapted to the seasons and their dry periods. It is common on the Portuguese mainland because of the climatic conditions (Vicente 2014, 101-111; Jaeger 1997). However, the climate in the Azores did not correspond to that in mainland Portugal.

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5 Paviot 2006, 15: "La notice du Manuscrit Valentim Fernandes, de 1506, offre une vue moins idyllique, mais peut-être plus véridique. Faial a reçu le nom d'île des Flamands, car elle fut trouvée quand l'infante D. Isabel épousa le Philippe le Bon (c'est-à-dire en 1429-1430). À la demande de la duchesse, les condamnés à mort (de Flandre) furent déportés à Faial".

Sheep farming, for which Henry was privileged in 1439 and 1449, was not optimal for the islands in the Atlantic, not only because of their small size, but above all because of the extremely maritime climate (Macaronesia 2016). Transhumance with seasonal cattle migration was also not necessary there; due to the regular and heavy rainfall, there was sufficient pasture land available all year round. The maritime climate is characterised by small fluctuations in the daily and annual temperature and a high relative humidity throughout the year with regular precipitation. Such a climate, influenced by the Gulf Stream, prevails not only in the Azores but also in Flanders.[6] Both regions therefore offer ideal conditions for grazing livestock and dairy farming, Flemish farmers had a corresponding competence.

The solution for the Azores was therefore not to adapt Mediterranean, but rather maritime forms of economy in the temperate climate zone. Here, the European northwest had the necessary expertise and also a high population potential. In contrast to sparsely populated Portugal, the county of Flanders (along with the northern parts of Italy) was one of the most densely populated regions in Europe with numerous large cities from the 12th century onwards. Figures are available for the first time for Flanders in the late Middle Ages. Despite the loss of population due to the plague waves, which is estimated at about a quarter in Flanders, one puts the population density at that time at about 73 inhabitants per square kilometre. In the northern part of the county, about 36 percent of the population lived in towns around the middle of the 15th century. The largest of these, Ghent, Bruges and Ypres, were—along with Paris and Cologne—also the largest north of the Alps. Despite the population losses due to the plague, however, the country would still have had a population density of about 50 inhabitants per square kilometre (Verhulst 1989, 525). Especially around the large cities in the north of Flanders, peasant positions were highly fragmented and oriented towards the cities as buyers (Verhulst 1989, 526-527).

In contrast, the total population of the Kingdom of Portugal at the beginning of the 14th century is estimated at just over one million inhabitants. Even with a maximum value of one and a half million, this results in a population density of less than 17 inhabitants per square kilometre, albeit with considerable regional differences. As in Flanders, the population was decimated by plague waves from the middle of the 14th century onwards, without being able to determine the exact decline. A general demographic upswing did not begin again until 1450 (Ramos 2009, 82).

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6 Climate and weather encyclopaedia.

If one compares the two regions, one can speak of a relative population surplus in Flanders compared to Portugal. With regard to migration towards the Azores, the offer of a free transfer together with a two-year "start-up aid" may have created considerable incentives. The service required in return was not the repayment of a loan with interest, but the eternal remembrance of the duchess (Oexle 1993).

There are further arguments in favour of thorough planning as the basis for the enterprise. In the text on the Behaim globe, there is a reference to the fact that in Flanders at the time, a famine, including inflation, had additionally motivated migration. This can be confirmed by contemporary tradition. A combination of famine and plague was rampant in 1455-1457, which was repeated in 1481-1490. Without quite reaching the level of the previous exceptionally high inflation of 1437-1438, grain prices were not significantly lower in 1455-1457 (Uyten 1975, 1104-1105).

Therefore, the question arises as to who had the expertise to realise a migration on this scale. The Behaim Globe sees Duchess Isabella as the driving force here. She drew her experience from the administration of her domains. This concerns not only her marital property in Flanders, Artois and Burgundy (Sommé 1998, 123-157), but also the properties that had fallen to her in the period after her mother's death (Costa-Gomes 2003, 73; Sommé 1998, 22), She was also familiar with the situation in Flanders, where she had already lived for over 30 years. Moreover, it should not be underestimated that her mother, Philippa of Lancaster, had been English by origin, i.e. from north-western Europe (Silva 2009; Serrano 2009). England, ruled by the Lancaster dynasty since 1399, lay on the other side of the English Channel and was not only the closest but also the most important ally and economic partner of the Burgundian dukes residing in Flanders. From the 1440s onwards, diplomatic relations were primarily maintained by Isabella (Sommé 1998, 447-450). She was generally regarded as a good housekeeper and enjoyed the full confidence of her husband in financial matters (Sommé 1998, 41-63). If one believes the information in the Behaim globe, she chose economic incentives as a means of settling the Azores. To explain this, it is necessary to look again at Flanders here.

A few years ago, Belgian economic historians tried to explain the extent to which the late medieval county of Flanders coped with the economic crises of the 14th and 15th centuries. They concluded that its rural areas near the coast developed differently from those further inland. In general, the conditions near the North Sea were more favourable, as the soil was more fertile and the urban markets were closer. At the same time, however, this led to a greater economic

dependence of the farmers on urban demand, especially for grain production and livestock breeding. At the same time, investing in farms was profitable for the counts as well as for potent financiers and investors. The price development disadvantaged the incomes of the smaller "semi-commercial" farms more than those of the larger commercial enterprises. At the same time, the costs caused by storm surges increased, as the dikes were not sufficiently maintained due to the high repair costs. What remained was a highly polarised society: many dispossessed poor people faced larger and medium-sized businesses. A part of them probably moved to the inland areas of Flanders to acquire a small property or to the cities to find work and wages (Thoen & Soens 2015, 219-221).

Very likely, the emigrants who sought their fortune in the distant Azores from the 1460s onwards were also recruited from them. According to the explanations on the Behaim globe, the emigration was organised. Among the Flemings was Martin Behaim's "dear Lord father-in-law", the noble and honourable knight Jobst von Hurter, Lord of Moerkerken in Flanders. The Duchess of Burgundy had given the island of Faial to him and his descendants (Ravenstein 1907, 76).[7] Hurter was connected with the city of Bruges (Sommé 1998, 46),[8] but especially with the so-called Brugse Vrije (Bruges Freehold), a district surrounding the city. It was directly under the rule of the counts, then dukes of Burgundy, and together with the three large Flemish cities of Ghent, Bruges and Ypres formed the four estates of the county of Flanders. The lordship of Moerkerken, after which Behaim named his father-in-law Joos Hurter, was one of the so-called "Herrlichkeiten" (Seigneurien) of the Bruges Freiamt (Brugse Vrije s.d.; Buylaert 2007; Paviot 2006, 10-11, 15, 17).[9] This area surrounded the city of Bruges, bordered the North Sea and formed the northwestern part of the County of Flanders (cf. the map in Buylaert 2007). It is worth noting that Duchess Isabella made the city of Bruges one of her favourite places to stay (Sommé 1995).

However, the journey to the Azores did not lead to a distant paradise, for the market orientation remained there as well, but under completely new conditions and in connection with the first beginnings of the world economy. But this still does not answer the question of why the relatively remote Azores, of all

7 On Hurter (or Hürter), cf. in detail Paviot 2006, 15-25.

8 On Bruges as the preferred trading centre of the Portuguese in Flanders, see Serrão 1995, 231f.

9 Doubts that Hurter was ever lord of the high noble estate. Their own lordship was called Haegebrouck and also lay in the area of the Brugse Vrije s.d., 10.

places, were chosen as the destination for Flemish emigration. This is explained by their global location, which only becomes apparent at second glance. Here are a few explanatory sentences: The Portuguese economic historian Joaquim Veríssimo Serrão noted for the county of Flanders that the advancing overseas discoveries significantly changed the range of Portuguese trade goods brought there. Until 1450, the traditional trade with Portuguese surpluses typical of the country remained. These were wine, salt, olive oil, leather, dried fruit and honey. On the return journey from Flanders to Portugal, the ships took smoked fish, horses, wheat and grain as well as manufactured goods and weapons of war.

From around 1450-1460, however, new products from the Atlantic economy were added. At first it was honey and wax from Madeira, then wine and, in larger quantities, sugar were added, which became the most important export towards Flanders (Serrão 1995, 236-237). However, the shipping routes also changed during these years. The Volta do Mar (later also called Volta do Largo, Volta da Guiné or Volta da Mina) was begun by Portuguese sailors in the middle of the 15th century, more precisely in the years 1444-1445. It was the return route from the voyages that extended further and further south along the West African coast during these years (Costa 1979, 39-43; DIFFIE 1977, 60, 136, 189). The return route took a wide arc across the sea to avoid the north and east winds in the Atlantic, to avoid southbound ocean currents and thus facilitate the return to Portugal. Already at the height of the Canary Islands, the return journey did not take the same route back to Portugal due to the Canary Current flowing from north to south, but had to complete an arc to the west, touching the island of Madeira.

This arc, the so-called Volta do Mar, grew larger and larger towards the west, out into the Atlantic Ocean, the further Portuguese ships penetrated on their way south. At the latest, when they reached the trading post of Arguim on the Atlantic coast at the level of the Sahara, they no longer passed Madeira on their way back, but the Azores, which were much further to the northwest. It was only north of the Azores that they encountered the eastward-flowing Azores Current and the westerly wind zone, which brought the ships back to the west coast of the kingdom (Gyory 2002-2013; Bishop 2003). Arguim was reached by Portuguese ships in the late 1440s (Vernet 2007; Monod 1986; Vernet and Naffé 2003, 123). It was precisely from this point on that the Azores became an unavoidable fixed point when one was on the way home to Europe.

In 1466, when, according to the Behaim globe, the settlement of Flemings on a larger scale began on the western Azorean islands, the Portuguese had advanced as far as the Gulf of Guinea in their conquests along the coasts of

West Africa (Centro Virtual Camões s.d.; Nixon 2011, 361-369). From this dynamic sequence, one can see very clearly the growing importance of the Azores. This remained a constant even as the Portuguese voyages of conquest extended further and further east (India) and finally towards South America (Brazil). Because of its location, the Azores became a logistics centre for ships and their crews. After months on the high seas, they needed supplies, drinking water, ship repairs, but also rest for the crew. After all, they still had a long voyage ahead of them. It was about 1,500 kilometres from Ponta Delgada to Lisbon, and 2,000 kilometres from Horta on the island of Faial further west, presumably named after Behaim's father-in-law Josse van Hurter. The settlement of professionally qualified people and the intensification of agricultural production on the Azores islands created the basis for this in the second half of the 15th century.

From this, one can see the immense importance of the settlement of the Azores. It was not a matter of deporting criminals[10], but a rationally planned measure for an emerging world economy. The Azores, which had grown enormously in importance, were made potentially more efficient by the recruitment of foreign specialists by people who obviously had good knowledge—in a key position in this Isabella—and were better able to supply the new Atlantic skiing: however, this was still a utopia at the time. Not a utopia, however, but very real was the concern for one's own salvation, for the true treasure of a medieval man lay in heaven, not on earth. It was attained through hard work and godly deeds—this applied to rich and poor alike.

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10 Cf. above, footnote 5.

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