

GENOESE NAVAL FORCES IN THE MEDITERRANEAN DURING THE FIFTEENTH AND SIXTEENTH CENTURIES

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A REPUBLIC that does not possess the art of war is deprived of that which makes it a republic.¹ Thus spoke Doge Matteo Senarega, at the end of the sixteenth century, in a debate that involved all the ruling groups of Genoa at the time. Was it necessary to create a real state fleet, capable of making the power of the Republic respected and of preserving its liberty, or was it better to leave matters in the hands of private ship-owners from whom the state could charter services in case of a foreign threat, imperial naval obligations, or corsairs who dared to attack the vessels of *la Superba*?

The imbalance between public naval forces and private ones was a constant feature of Genoese history. The galleys of the state counted for little compared to the fleets that the great familial clans could assemble, especially at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Was this a consequence of the Genoese individualism so dear to Roberto Lopez,² or was it due to a delayed development toward a modern state, leaving Genoa slow to put into place the means of defence necessary for its survival? To explain the reason for these disproportions it is necessary to determine the importance of Genoese naval forces raised during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It is also necessary to evaluate the frequent, often debated, efforts to construct a real state fleet and, finally, to demonstrate the conditions which were required for such efforts to establish a fleet to be realised.

The studies of Jacques Heers, followed by those of other modern Genoese scholars,³ allow a characterisation of the Genoese fleet over the course of the two centuries examined here. Indeed, its major features hardly changed from one century to the next. Merchant ships were distinguished by their ample displacement, designed for transporting heavy goods such as alum or salt, and

¹ C. Costantini, 'Aspetti della politica navale genovese nel Seicento', in *Guerra e commercio nell'evoluzione della marina genovese tra XV e XVII secolo*, 2 vols (Genoa, 1970–3), I, 209.

² R. S. Lopez, 'Le Marchand génois, un profil collectif', in *Annales. Economies. Sociétés. Civilisations*. 13e année, no. 3 (1958), 501–15, reprinted in his *Su e giù per la storia di Genova* (Genoa, 1975), 17–33.

³ J. Heers, *Gênes au XVe siècle. Activité économique et problèmes sociaux* (Paris, 1961), 642; *Guerra e commercio*.

the grain necessary to feed the city. They are, on the whole, much better known than the galley, whose commercial use seemed to decline over time, the type principally shifting to its military tasks. According to Heers, in 1458 the Genoese fleet included twenty-six ships with a total capacity of 340,000 cantars, i.e. about 16,200 tons for an average of about 620 tons per ship.⁴ A decade later, in 1465–6, the composition of the Genoese fleet had scarcely changed: twenty-four ships represented a total of about 321,000 cantars, about 15,300 tons or close to 640 tons capacity per vessel.⁵ As for galleys, their number changed according to the demands of war. Rarely did more than ten or so take to sea at one time, and there were never more than a few under construction in the shipyard each year. In 1459, the Council of Elders, noting that the Commune had only three galleys and two *fuste*, decided to arm seven to ten galleys, under unquestionably exceptional circumstances.⁶

At the end of the fifteenth century, the forces provided for the naval expedition of King Charles VIII of France are known in detail. In 1494, the Genoese fleet was composed of nineteen *navi*, six *barche*, thirty-six *galioni* and *saette*, twenty-nine galleys, three *fuste*, and five *brigantine*, with a total of approximately 19,000 tons, excluding the galleys.⁷ Between 1474 and 1509, the number of *navi* larger than 8000 cantars capacity ranged from a minimum of eleven vessels in 1502 to a maximum of twenty-one in 1494. The total tonnage of the Genoese fleet oscillated between 250,000 and 300,000 cantars, i.e. between 12,000 and 14,200 tons. That would be slightly smaller than the Venetian fleet, which is estimated at 355,000 cantars (17,000 tons) at the end of the fifteenth century. Genoa constructed, on average, two *navi* per year with an aggregate tonnage of 30,000 to 40,000 cantars (1430 to 1900 tons). In 1548 the Genoese fleet grew to around 20,000 tons, a figure that is slightly greater than that of the Venetian fleet, estimated at 16,000 tons in 1560.⁸

That 1560 figure was the maximum, however, because beginning in the 1520s, in Genoa as in Venice, there was a crisis in naval construction arising from the difficulty of recruiting crews and the rising price of materials, especially of timber needed by the arsenals. Further, the increasing threat of piracy made commercial navigation ever more precarious. The scarcity of timber was the major factor in making naval construction more expensive after 1550. To maintain its fleet Genoa found it necessary to grant loans to ship-owners at a rate of interest sufficiently attractive to encourage naval investment. This is one indication of greater state intervention in maritime affairs. The government of

⁴ Heers, *Gênes au XV^e siècle*, 639–42.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 642–4.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 270 n. 3.

⁷ M. Calegari, 'Navi e barche a Genova tra il XV e il XVI secolo', in *Guerra e commercio*, I, 15.

⁸ M. Calegari, 'Legname e costruzioni navali nel Cinquecento', in *Guerra e commercio*, II, 107–8.

Genoa was becoming aware that maintaining a fleet was an important element in the power and prosperity of its citizens and even of the state itself.

Over several centuries, in fact, Genoa had entrusted the defence of its territory and the undertaking of large naval operations to private ship-owners. As early as 1263, the Commune sent twenty-five galleys, one *saetta*, and five *barche* under the command of Pietrino Grimaldi and Pescetto Mallone, who had loaned their government 36,000 *lire genovesi*, to fight against Venice. The government, in turn, imposed a forced loan of 30,000 *lire genovesi*, granting to the creditors revenues arising from an increase in the tax on imports of grain. For the first time the terms *luoghi* and *colonna* were used to designate the shares held by the creditors of the state and the blocs of shares that they held.⁹

Table I shows the size of fleets armed by the Commune from 1298 to 1400, a period that is well known for three great colonial wars between Genoa and Venice. The chronicler Giorgio Stella recorded the mobilising of a fleet approximately every two years. At the beginning of the century these fleets put to sea as the result of confrontations between Genoese Guelfs and Ghibellines. In the years around 1330, the struggle against the Catalans took priority. From 1350 to 1354, the conflict with Venice and Catalonia required prodigious naval endeavours. In 1373, the expedition to Cyprus was organised and, from 1378 to 1381, the War of Chioggia necessitated the mobilisation of all available units. However, during the whole century, there was never a question of a permanent state navy. The great Genoese *alberghi*, the towns of the Riviera, and the feudatories of the Commune participated in financing efforts that were always considered exceptional: forced loans and increases in previously instituted taxes led to the formation of the *compere*, associations of the creditors of the state who joined together when they were not repaid, so that their collective strength could ensure that public resources would be dedicated to the payment of the interest on the debt. In this way the arming of fleets was the principal cause of the rise in the public debt that led to the creation of the Banco di San Giorgio in 1408.

The process can be made more clear by looking at some examples. Under the leadership of Simone Vignoso, the conquest of Chios was achieved in 1346. Twenty-nine ship-owners put their galleys at the disposal of the Commune, which could define a policy of overseas expansion but was not capable of providing the means to carry it out.¹⁰ The *Annali* of Giorgio Stella are explicit in the reporting of this event: 'Considering that in Genoa the public treasury was deprived of money, the Council decided to arm twenty-five galleys or more [there were actually twenty-nine] with money taken from the citizens, in such a way, however, that the Commune of Genoa . . . was obliged, after the expedition was over, to pay the ship-owners a return of 20,000 *lire genovesi* that the Republic receives every year from the *compere* of the *luoghi del Capitolo* and

⁹ C. Imperiale di Sant'Angelo, *Annali genovesi di Caffaro e de' suoi continuatori*, vol. IV (Rome, 1926), 49–50.

¹⁰ P. P. Argenti, *The Occupation of Chios by the Genoese and Their Administration of the Island 1346–1566*, 3 vols (Cambridge, 1958), vol. I, 86–105.

other revenues.¹¹ Once the conquest of Chios was successfully achieved, the ship-owners then returned to Genoa and advanced the sum of 250,000 *lire* to cover the expenses of the campaign. After long deliberations, an agreement was concluded on 26 February 1347 between the Commune and the group of its creditors represented by Simone Vignoso. This association took the name of the *Maona* of Chios. The debt owed to the ship-owners was repaid in shares, or *luoghi*, to an amount of 203,000 *lire genovesi*. This was less than the commanders of the ships demanded, but nonetheless they got property and the administration of Chios and the two Phocaeas, in addition to the revenues provided by the *luoghi*.¹² The more-or-less forced benevolence of the ship-owners made up for the deficiencies of the state, which was then obliged to hand over public revenues to them to meet its obligations.

Four years later, during the War of the Bosphorus (1350–5), the Commune was again taken by surprise. On 25 November 1350, Doge Giovanni Valente imposed a forced loan of 300,000 *lire genovesi*. The lenders were grouped into a new *compera*, the *Compera Magna Venetorum*. The revenue from twenty-two indirect taxes was assigned to them to guarantee the payment of the interest on the loan. The *Officium Guerre Venetorum*, established to coordinate the war effort, chartered merchant galleys that were easily converted into warships. Of the sixty galleys that comprised the fleet commanded by Paganino Doria, only eighteen were new: five constructed in Sampierdarena, five by the *darsena* of Genoa, two at Sarzano, two at the Molo, one at the mouth of the Bisagno, while three communes of the Riviera: Savona, Recco, and Sestri Levante each built a new galley.¹³

The same system was used in two later expeditions to the east. In 1373, the Commune set out to avenge the humiliations visited upon its citizens during the riots that accompanied the coronation of Peter II of Lusignan as king of Cyprus. It decided to levy a tax of 104,000 *lire genovesi* in the city and in the towns of the Riviera, and still the Commune could equip only a few small craft. A group of individuals had to help the government to finance the projected naval expedition: seven galleys arrived in Cyprus under the command of Damiano Cattaneo, ahead of the main fleet of thirty-six vessels led by Pietro di Campofregoso, the brother of the doge. Thus was the *Maona Vecchia di Cipro* born, made up of the *patroni* of the ships that participated in the expedition and the individuals who had provided the necessary funds. The sums advanced were divided into *luoghi*, which were backed by money paid in by the king of Cyprus. A list compiled in August 1374 contained two hundred and twenty-two names of participants,

¹¹ Georgius and Johannes Stella, *Annales Genuenses*, ed. G. Petti-Balbi, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* 2, XVII/2 (Bologna, 1975), 145.

¹² M. Balard, *La Romanie génoise (XIIIe-début du XVe siècle)*, 2 vols, Bibliothèque des Ecoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome no. 235 (Rome, 1978), vol. I, 123–5.

¹³ M. Balard, 'A propos de la bataille du Bosphore. L'expédition de Paganino Doria à Constantinople (1351–1352)', in *Travaux et mémoires du centre de recherche d'histoire et civilisation byzantines*, vol. IV (1970), 435, reprinted in his *La Mer noire et la Romanie génoise (XIIIe–XVe siècles)*, Variorum Reprints (London, 1989), II.

among them some of the greatest *alberghi* of Genoa, owners of the expedition galleys. The *maona* which was thus created oversaw the accounts of the Genoese colony of Famagusta, received the remittances of the king of Cyprus and distributed them among its members. This gave them the right to intervene in decisions taken by the Commune regarding the affairs of Famagusta.¹⁴

In January 1403, a loan of 32,000 florins was floated to arm the expedition planned by Marshall Boucicault, governor of Genoa for the king of France, who intended to reply to the failed attempt by King Janus of Cyprus to take Famagusta. Nine galleys, seven *navi*, a galeass, and a *huissier* were all fitted out with money from individuals who formed a new *maona* of Cyprus.¹⁵ These profited from the payments imposed upon King Janus by the treaty of 1403, i.e. 15,000 ducats per year realised from taxes collected in the kingdom of the Lusignans. Boucicault, trained in the French royal school of administration, conceived the idea of providing Genoa with a permanent fleet for defence and for the high seas. However, the royal governor was expelled from Genoa in September 1409 and was never able to bring this idea to fruition.

During the war against Alfonso V of Aragon the Commune had to negotiate endlessly with private ship-owners to obtain vessels, with the protectors of the Banco di San Giorgio for funding, and with the towns of the Riviera to institute new taxes or to determine their individual contributions. Although an *Officium Balie Marittime* had been established and was charged with organising the arming of the fleet, its departure under the command of Tommasino di Campofregoso for the expedition against Naples was delayed for financial reasons. The government had to get loans from the richest citizens.¹⁶

Though entirely without suitable financing, the Commune did not turn away from its maritime life. It immediately set about elaborating its maritime laws that touched upon the commercial aspects of navigation as well as naval policy. From the beginning of the fourteenth century the *Officium Gazarie* assumed such tasks as the fixing of crew strengths, establishment of safety measures in the stowage of goods, organisation of reserve shipping, and the inspection of ships on arrival or departure. The *Officium's* regulatory activities continued until 1528 even though its role began to diminish from the last years of the fourteenth century.¹⁷ In 1498 its duties were absorbed by the *Officium Maris*, which, from the time of its creation at the end of the fourteenth century, was primarily occu-

¹⁴ C. Otten, 'Les Institutions génoises et les affaires de Chypre', in M. Balard, ed., *Etat et colonisation au Moyen Age* (Lyon, 1989), 169–70; C. Otten, 'Les Relations politico-financières de Gênes avec le royaume des Lusignans (1374–1460)', in M. Balard and A. Ducellier, *Coloniser au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1995), 62–3.

¹⁵ *Annales Genuenses*, 263; cf. F. Surdich, 'Genova e Venezia fra Tre e Quattrocento', in *Atti della Società ligure di storia patria*, n.s. 7 (81), fasc. 2 (Genoa, 1967), 248 n. 34.

¹⁶ On all of these, see G. Olgiati, *Classis contra Regem Aragonum (Genova 1453–1454). Organizzazione militare ed economica della spedizione navale contro Napoli* (Cagliari, 1990), 115–215; E. Basso, *Genova: un impero sul mare* (Cagliari, 1994), 243–61.

¹⁷ V. Vitale, *Le fonti del diritto marittimo ligure* (Genoa, 1951). Cf. M. Calegari, 'Patroni di nave e magistrature marittime', in *Guerra e commercio*, I, 62.

ped with the supervision of crews and the recognition of guarantors presented by sailors when they were recruited.¹⁸ This office also disappeared in 1528, much to the profit of the *conservatori del mare*, private ship-owners who thus got from the state prerogatives of supervision and intervention over the craftsmen who built and repaired ships and ship fittings as well as over harbour discipline. Finally, in 1559, a new commission was formed, *Il magistrato delle galee*, whose mission was to organise a state fleet for the defence of Genoese coasts and ships.¹⁹

The first initiatives in this direction, however, began in the second half of the fourteenth century. When Domenico Campofregoso was doge (1370–8), the first attempt was made to finance a naval force with state funds.²⁰ One of his successors, Leonardo Montaldo, achieved this goal in 1383 by arming ten galleys to free Pope Urban VI, besieged at Nocera by Louis III of Duras.²¹ With Boucicault having free rein for his projects of Mediterranean expansion, two fleets began to be prepared, one of Africa against the Barbary Coast, the other of Cyprus and Syria against the Mamlukes. In the end, only one expedition, that of Cyprus and Beirut, was actually carried out by the marshal in 1403.²²

These were only ephemeral projects, yet by comparison to them, the lone enduring operation of the sentry galley appears totally derisory. Beginning in 1369, one can follow in the ordinary budget of the Commune, but only very irregularly, sums dedicated to this galley that patrolled along the Ligurian coast with the mission of signalling the presence of hostile fleets or corsairs. One can, nevertheless, extrapolate that practice to other zones, since a document of 1402 mentions the surveillance of Provence, Corsica, and Sardinia among the tasks assigned to the sentry galley.²³ The cost to the Commune ranged from 1500 to 12,000 *lire* depending on the year and, especially, on the duration of service.²⁴ Indeed, it seems that only the officers were paid by the year while the pay of sailors and ship's boys was calculated according to the time that they were at sea.²⁵ A coastguard vessel, whose expenses did not exceed 300 *lire* per year, was attached to the sentry galley beginning in 1398. The modest sums recorded in the regular budget of the Commune for its naval defence confirms that this duty was still essentially entrusted to private initiative. The expenses incurred were covered by loans, by the organisation of *maone*, and by the assignment of indi-

¹⁸ Ibid., I, 62.

¹⁹ V. Borgese, 'Il magistrato delle galee', in *Guerra e commercio*, II, 189.

²⁰ G.-G. Musso, 'Armamento e navigazione a Genova tra il Tre e il Quattrocento (appunti e documenti)', in *Guerra e commercio*, II, 21.

²¹ R. di Tucci, 'Costruzione di galee genovesi durante il dogato di Leonardo Montaldo', in *Ad Alessandro Luzio – Miscellanea di studi* (Florence, 1933), 331–8.

²² Surdich, 'Genova e Venezia', 238–65.

²³ Musso, 'Armamento, e navigazione', 32.

²⁴ M. Buongiorno, *Il bilancio di uno Stato medievale. Genova 1340–1529* (Genoa, 1973), 374–438.

²⁵ Calegari, 'Navi e barche', 41.

rect taxes to those who really wanted to participate in the extraordinary financing of these galleys.

Overseas, the situation was just as difficult. Caffa maintained only one galley on duty and some *brigantine* to oversee commerce in the Black Sea and to protect communications with other Genoese commercial centres.²⁶ In 1402, the bourgeois of Pera were required by Boucicault to commit some support to his expedition against Cyprus. They advanced 34,838 hyperpers, 22 carats, which the French marshal promised to repay from a portion of the excise taxes collected at Pera after the return of peace.²⁷ The expenses of equipping the sentry galley, as well as the pay of its crew, were raised from the budget of each community. These costs became intolerable when a local conflict exploded and required the simultaneous equipping of several vessels, and especially when the metropolis called on its overseas colonies for naval support, as happened, for example, at the time of the various conflicts with Venice. Between April 1379 and January 1382, Caffa was required to arm five galleys, at a cost to its treasury of close to 7500 *sommi*, while, at the same time, the *podesteria* of Pera and the *maona* of Chios each put two galleys at the disposal of the Commune.²⁸ Here again, public mobilisation was financed, in part or in whole, by forced loans or by the imposition of new indirect taxes whose yield was assigned to the creditors of the Commune.

In spite of this constant recourse to the private ship-owners of Genoa itself and of its overseas colonies the need for state galleys became increasingly clear during the fifteenth century. In 1402, under the government of Boucicault, the *Officium super gubernatione Darssine Communis Janue et armamentorum gallearum* was created. It was composed of four officers who maintained the inventory of supplies and equipment necessary for arming the galleys of the Commune.²⁹ Between 1400 and 1450, an average of four galleys were constructed each year. At least some of them must have been built in the state arsenal.³⁰ In 1494, at the time of Charles VIII's expedition to Italy, Genoa prepared twenty-two galleys, of which four were owned by the Commune.³¹ On the other hand, Andrea Doria had a permanent fleet of twenty to thirty galleys, a superiority that explains why, when he chose to side with Spain, he had no difficulty in imposing this choice on his city and instituting a centuries-long aristocratic republic of biennial doges. Against his fleet in 1527 the city could only deploy its two sentry galleys and two others belonging to Fabrizio Giustiniani.³²

It was not until the second half of the sixteenth century that a Genoese war fleet was established. Its creation caused much debate at Genoa. After 1528, little by little, the idea of establishing a permanent fleet alongside that of the

²⁶ Balard, *La Romanie génoise*, I, 397.

²⁷ Ibid., I, 396–7 and 448–52.

²⁸ Ibid., I, 451.

²⁹ Musso, 'Armamento e navigazione', 32.

³⁰ Calegari, 'Legname e costruzioni navali', 140.

³¹ Ibid., 114.

³² Borghesi, 'Il magistrato delle galee', 199.

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1. The Genoese Fleet and the Arsenal of Genoa, by Christoforo Grassi.
By courtesy of the Museo Navale di Genoa

Dorias took hold. The poet Paolo Foglietta saw the surest guarantee of the autonomy of the republic in that development.³³ Though the creation of a fleet might have been seen as a competitor threatening to Genoa's Spanish ally, it seems highly doubtful. Again, in 1535, at the time of the expedition against La Goulette, the Republic could only muster three galleys, while the Doria family had thirty afloat and one under construction.³⁴ Until 1559 the two sentry galleys secured coastal defence, while galleys chartered by the Republic or private galleys undertook the expeditions launched against corsairs.

The institution of the *magistrato delle galee* in 1559 was a decisive turning point that marks the final outcome of the debate on the naval rearmament of Genoa. The four nobles who were elected to make up this new magistracy were charged to look after the management of funds dedicated to the establishment and maintenance of a fleet of state-owned galleys, to construct and to sell new galleys, and to manage the Arsenal. The communities of the Riviera were obliged to pay two-thirds of the expenses associated with each of the public galleys. Most of the expenses were covered by income from chartering of those galleys and by the yield from several excise taxes, in particular the *Ripa grossa*, a tax on the sale of personal property.³⁵ Results were slow in coming: four public galleys in 1559, then only three in 1564, four again in 1583, then six in 1586.³⁶ Up to that date, the incomes from the various excise taxes were far from covering expenses: 80,000 *lire* in receipts against 130,000 *lire* of expendi-

³³ Ibid., 191.

³⁴ Ibid., 199.

³⁵ D. Gioffre, *Liber Institutionum Cabellarum Veterum (Comunis Janue)* (Milan, 1967), index.

³⁶ V. Borghesi, 'Il magistrato delle galee', 192.

tures.³⁷ Yet, the movement toward the foundation of a state navy had begun. It was far from equalling the naval strength that Venice (twenty galleys in 1580), the Papal States (fifteen in 1550), or even Sicily (ten galleys) could muster. Nevertheless, Genoa had become aware of the need to preserve the integrity of its Ligurian territory just at the moment when the Barbary corsairs were at their most aggressive. The victory of Lepanto as well demonstrated the importance of state fleets in the struggle against the Ottomans.

It remains to explain this surprising Genoese contrast: on one hand it had one of the most powerful merchant marines of the Mediterranean world while on the other its war fleet was weak, indeed laughable, in comparison with the forces of its naval competitors. The first explanation for this situation arises from the weakness of the Genoese state, a conglomeration of diverse economic interests incapable of establishing a stable government and obliged to call on foreign protectors: Valois France, Milan, then Spain. The great familial clans, recognising only their own economic and financial interests, were scarcely supporters of investing in naval forces whose under-utilisation would be obvious except in times of great conflicts. Only then would they accept forced loans or put their own vessels at the disposal of the state with the intent of defending its threatened interests or to profit by skimming from the public purse.

The second explanation comes then from the emphasis placed upon large-capacity merchant ships able to transport raw materials and foodstuffs over long distances economically. Genoa was concerned with the protection of these maritime transports so that it required them to operate in convoys furnished with accompanying fighting personnel who were considered indispensable.

The third explanation derives from the astonishing agility with which the Genoese were able to transform their naval resources. A merchant ship such as the great galley could become, in an emergency, a warship, just as a merchant could become a corsair preying on his government's enemies. The Arsenal of Genoa, as illustrated in the famous picture by Christoforo Grassi,³⁸ held a sufficient reserve of galleys and war *matériel* to allow a naval campaign to be launched with very little delay because of the exceptionally high degree of competence of its workforce.

In short, the domination of the sea by the Genoese essentially meant freedom of the trade routes to the orient and then toward the west, routes that intersected with those of the Venetians and which might be blocked by Catalan imperialism in the central Mediterranean. The desperate battles that Genoa fought in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, interrupted by long periods of truce and of peace, gave rise to freedom of commerce. Curiously, it was at the time when the Genoese passed under the protection of Spain and became the bankers of Europe that they finally asserted the need for a public war fleet as guarantor of the prosperity and of the autonomy of their city.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 195.

³⁸ Naval Museum of Genoa.

Table I. Genoese fleets in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries

| Years | Ships | Commanders | Destination | Source |
|-------|---|--|----------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1205 | 2 galleys | Henry, count of Malta | Romania | <i>Annali Genovesi</i> , II,98 |
| 1206 | 3 galleys | | Constantinople | <i>Annali Genovesi</i> , II,104 |
| 1207 | 7 galleys | | Ultramaré | <i>Annali Genovesi</i> , II,106 |
| 1208 | galleys and <i>naves</i> | | Crete | <i>Annali Genovesi</i> , II,109 |
| 1209 | <i>naves</i> | | Ultramaré | <i>Annali Genovesi</i> , II,112 |
| 1210 | 8 galleys, 1 <i>tarida</i> , 3 <i>naves</i> | Iohanes Rubeus de Volta, Petrus Auriæ | Crete | <i>Annali Genovesi</i> , II,114 |
| 1213 | <i>naves</i> | | Alexandria | <i>Annali Genovesi</i> , II,126 |
| 1217 | galleys, <i>naves</i> , <i>taridae</i> | | Ultramaré | <i>Annali Genovesi</i> , II,144 |
| 1219 | 10 galleys | | Damietta | <i>Annali Genovesi</i> , II,153 |
| 1222 | <i>naves</i> | | Beirut | <i>Annali Genovesi</i> , II,184 |
| 1226 | 4 galleys, 2 <i>sagitteae</i> , 1 <i>bucius</i> | Belmustus Vicecomes | Savona, Albenga | <i>Annali Genovesi</i> , III,15 |
| 1229 | 1 <i>caravana</i> of <i>naves</i> | | Ultramaré | <i>Annali Genovesi</i> , III,42–43 |
| 1229 | 4 galleys | Octobonus Malonus | Nizza Marittima | <i>Annali Genovesi</i> , III,48 |
| 1231 | <i>naves</i> | | Ultramaré | <i>Annali Genovesi</i> , III,55 |
| 1231 | 10 galleys | Carbonus Malocellus, Nicolaus Spinula | | <i>Annali Genovesi</i> , III,56 |
| 1232 | 5 galleys | Guglielmus son of N. Malonus | | <i>Annali Genovesi</i> , III,63 |
| 1232 | 10 galleys | Ansaldus Boletus, Bonifacius Panzanus | Ultramaré | <i>Annali Genovesi</i> , III,64 |
| 1234 | 14 galleys, 18 <i>naves</i> | Lanfrancus Spinula, Octobonus de Camilla | Ceuta | <i>Annali Genovesi</i> , III,72–74 |
| 1235 | 4 galleys, 70 <i>naves</i> | Ugo Lercarius | Ceuta | <i>Annali Genovesi</i> , III,75–76 |
| 1238 | 14 galleys | Fulco Guercius, Rubeus de Turcha | Ventimiglia, Galinara | <i>Annali Genovesi</i> , III,85 |
| 1239 | 13 galleys | Fulco Guercius | Riviera | <i>Annali Genovesi</i> , III,93 |
| 1241 | 1 <i>caravana</i> of <i>naves</i> | | Ultramaré | <i>Annali Genovesi</i> , III,115 |
| 1241 | 30 galleys | Iacobus Malocellus | Roma | <i>Annali Genovesi</i> , III,116 |
| 1241 | 53 galleys and <i>taridae</i> | Ansaldus Soldanus, Iacopus de Levanto | Against the imperial fleet | <i>Annali Genovesi</i> , III,116 |
| 1242 | 40 galleys | | Pisa | <i>Annali Genovesi</i> , III,127 |
| 1243 | 10 galleys | | Pisa | <i>Annali Genovesi</i> , III,146 |
| 1244 | 25 galleys | Podestat of Genoa | Ultramaré | <i>Annali Genovesi</i> , III,150 |
| 1245 | galleys | | Trapani | <i>Annali Genovesi</i> , III,161 |
| 1245 | galleys | Nicola Lercarius, Iacopus de Levanto | Louis IX's Crusade | <i>Annali Genovesi</i> , III,168 |

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| 1247 | 25 galleys | Podestat of Genoa | Pisa | <i>Annali Genovesi</i> , III,173–174 |
| 1248 | 32 galleys | | Louis IX's Crusade | <i>Annali Genovesi</i> , III, 178 |
| 1251 | 4 galleys | | Pope's escort | <i>Annali Genovesi</i> , IV,5 |
| 1256 | 12 galleys | Paschetus Mallonus, Petrus Advocatus | Massa | <i>Annali Genovesi</i> , IV,22 |
| 1256 | 24 galleys | Simon Guercius, Nicola Cigala | Sardinia | <i>Annali Genovesi</i> , IV,23 |
| 1256 | 16 galleys | Ugo Ventus, Iacopus Niger | Sardinia | <i>Annali Genovesi</i> , IV,28 |
| 1257 | 1 caravana of <i>naves</i> | | Ultramare | <i>Annali Genovesi</i> , IV,29 |
| 1258 | 25 galleys, 4 <i>naves</i> | Rubeus de Turcha | Venice | <i>Annali Genovesi</i> , IV,34 |
| 1258 | 8 galleys | | Tyre | <i>Annali Genovesi</i> , IV,34 |
| 1261 | 10 galleys, 6 <i>naves</i> | Marinus Buccanigra | Constantinople | <i>Annali Genovesi</i> , IV,42–43 |
| 1262 | 10 galleys | Otto Ventus | Constantinople | <i>Annali Genovesi</i> , IV,49 |
| 1263 | 25 galleys, 1 <i>sagitte</i> , 5 <i>barchae</i> | Petrinus de Grimaldo, Peschetus Mallonus | Constantinople | <i>Annali Genovesi</i> , IV,49 |
| 1264 | 3 galleys, 2 <i>naves</i> | | Acre | <i>Annali Genovesi</i> , IV,54–55 |
| 1264 | 20 galleys | Symon Grillus | Eastern Mediterranean | <i>Annali Genovesi</i> , IV,54 |
| 1265 | 10 galleys | Symon Guercius | Against Venice | <i>Annali Genovesi</i> , IV,68 |
| 1266 | 18 galleys, 1 <i>navis</i> | Lanfrancus Borboninus | Against Venice | <i>Annali Genovesi</i> , IV,89 |
| 1266 | 25 galleys | Obertinus Auriae | Crete | <i>Annali Genovesi</i> , IV,91 |
| 1267 | 25 galleys | Luchetus de Grimaldis | Acre, Tyre | <i>Annali Genovesi</i> , IV,103 |
| 1270 | 55 galleys, <i>naves and ligna</i> | | Tunis, Louis IX's Crusade | <i>Annali Genovesi</i> , IV,131 |
| 1272 | 2 <i>naves</i> | | Ultramare | <i>Annali Genovesi</i> , IV,149 |
| 1280 | 3 galleys | | Ancona | <i>Annali Genovesi</i> , V,9 |
| 1280 | 4 galleys | | Romania | <i>Annali Genovesi</i> , V,9 |
| 1282 | 4 galleys | Franciscus de Camilla | Bonifacio | <i>Annali Genovesi</i> , V,21 |
| 1282 | galleys | | Romania | <i>Annali Genovesi</i> , V,27 |
| 1285 | 3 galleys | | Constantinople | <i>Annali Genovesi</i> , V,61 |
| 1286 | 5 galleys | | Romania | <i>Annali Genovesi</i> , V,73 |
| 1287 | 5 galleys | | Ultramare | <i>Annali Genovesi</i> , V,76 |
| 1288 | 4 galleys | Leonellus Advocatus | | <i>Annali Genovesi</i> , V,82 |
| 1288 | 4 galleys, 1 <i>galionum</i> | Petrus Embronus | Pisa | <i>Annali Genovesi</i> , V,84 |
| 1288 | 7 galleys | Benedictus Iacharia | Tripoli | <i>Annali Genovesi</i> , V,89–90 |
| 1289 | 3 galleys | Polinus Aurie | Cyprus | <i>Annali Genovesi</i> , V,95 |
| 1289 | 12 galleys | | | <i>Annali Genovesi</i> , V,113 |
| 1290 | 6 galleys | Enricus de Mari | Pisa | <i>Annali Genovesi</i> , V,115 |

| Years | Ships | Commanders | Destination | Source |
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| 1290 | 14 galleys | Conradus Aurie | Romania | <i>Annali Genovesi</i> , V,117 |
| 1290 | 20 galleys | Conradus Aurie | Pisa | <i>Annali Genovesi</i> , V,119 |
| 1291 | 2 galleys | Thedisius Aurie, Ugolinus de Vivaldo | Atlantic Ocean | <i>Annali Genovesi</i> , V,124 |
| 1291 | 6 galleys | Franceschinus Porcellus | Pisa | <i>Annali Genovesi</i> , V,124 |
| 1291 | 7 galleys | Nicolinus de Petraccio | | <i>Annali Genovesi</i> , V,124 |
| 1291 | 2 galleys | Benedictus Iacharia | Riviera | <i>Annali Genovesi</i> , V,127 |
| 1292 | 7 galleys | | Romania | <i>Annali Genovesi</i> , V,145 |
| 1293 | 7 galleys | | Romania | <i>Annali Genovesi</i> , V,167 |
| 1294 | 18 galleys, 2 <i>ligna</i> | | Romania | <i>Annali Genovesi</i> , II,97 |
| 1298 | 165 galleys | | Against Venice | G. Stella, <i>Annales</i> , 35 |
| 1299 | 78 galleys | Lamba de Auria | Against Venice | G. Stella, <i>Annales</i> , 35 |
| 1300 | galleys | Tedius de Auria | | G. Stella, <i>Annales</i> , 70 |
| 1310 | 10 galleys | Accelinus Grillus | Rhodes | G. Stella, <i>Annales</i> , 77 |
| 1312 | galleys | Lamba de Auria | Pisa | G. Stella, <i>Annales</i> , 78 |
| 1319 | 28 galleys | Conradus de Auria | | G. Stella, <i>Annales</i> , 89 |
| 1319 | 32 galleys | Gaspar de Grimaldi | | G. Stella, <i>Annales</i> , 90 |
| 1320 | 66 and 13 galleys | | Guelfs against Ghibellins | G. Stella, <i>Annales</i> , 93–95 |
| 1321 | 16 and 18 galleys | Petrus de Goano | Guelfs against Ghibellins | G. Stella, <i>Annales</i> , 98 |
| 1322 | 17 and 20 galleys | | Guelfs against Ghibellins | G. Stella, <i>Annales</i> , 102 |
| 1323 | 10 and 16 galleys | | Guelfs against Ghibellins | G. Stella, <i>Annales</i> , 105–106 |
| 1325 | 24 and 20 galleys | Gaspar de Auria | Guelfs against Ghibellins | G. Stella, <i>Annales</i> , 108 |
| 1328 | 40 and 33 galleys | Luchinus de Nigro | Guelfs against Ghibellins | G. Stella, <i>Annales</i> , 113–14 |
| 1330 | 15 galleys | Aitonus de Auria | | G. Stella, <i>Annales</i> , 113–14 |
| 1332 | 45 galleys | Antonius de Grimaldi | Against Catalans | G. Stella, <i>Annales</i> , 121 |
| 1333 | 10 galleys | Octobonus de Marinis | Against Catalans | G. Stella, <i>Annales</i> , 122 |
| 1333 | 10 galleys | Ianotus Cigala | Against Catalans | G. Stella, <i>Annales</i> , 122 |
| 1334 | 10 galleys | Sologrus de Nigro | Against Catalans | G. Stella, <i>Annales</i> , 122 |
| 1335 | 7 galleys | Odoardus de Auria | Against Catalans | G. Stella, <i>Annales</i> , 126 |
| 1335 | 28 galleys | Odoardus de Auria | | G. Stella, <i>Annales</i> , 126 |
| 1336 | 14 galleys | Neapolionus Spinula | | G. Stella, <i>Annales</i> , 127 |
| 1337 | 9 galleys | Franciscus de Marinis | | G. Stella, <i>Annales</i> , 127 |
| 1338 | 40 galleys | Aitonus de Auria | For the King of France | G. Stella, <i>Annales</i> , 128 |

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| 1340 | 9 galleys | Simon de Quarto | | G. Stella, <i>Annales</i> , 134 |
| 1341 | 20 galleys | Egidius Buccanigra | For the King of Castille | G. Stella, <i>Annales</i> , 134 |
| 1344 | 15 galleys | Martinus Zacharias | Smyrna | G. Stella, <i>Annales</i> , 140 |
| 1345 | 19 galleys | | | G. Stella, <i>Annales</i> , 143 |
| 1346 | 29 galleys | Symon Vignosus | Chios | G. Stella, <i>Annales</i> , 145 |
| 1350 | 14 galleys | Nicolaus de Magnerrri | Constantinople | G. Stella, <i>Annales</i> , 150 |
| 1352 | 60 galleys | Paganinus de Auria | Constantinople | G. Stella, <i>Annales</i> , 151 |
| 1353 | 60 galleys | Antonius de Grimaldis | | G. Stella, <i>Annales</i> , 152 |
| 1354 | 25 galleys | Paganinus de Auria | | G. Stella, <i>Annales</i> , 153 |
| 1355 | 15 galleys | Philippus de Auria | Tripoli | G. Stella, <i>Annales</i> , 154 |
| 1367 | 8 galleys | | | G. Stella, <i>Annales</i> , 161 |
| 1371 | 10 galleys | Thomas Muritius | | G. Stella, <i>Annales</i> , 164 |
| 1373 | 43 galleys | Damianus Cattaneus | Cyprus | G. Stella, <i>Annales</i> , 166–67 |
| 1377 | 10 galleys | Aron de Struppa | | G. Stella, <i>Annales</i> , 169 |
| 1378 | 32 galleys | Ludovicus de Flisco, Lucianus de Auria | | G. Stella, <i>Annales</i> , 170–73 |
| 1379 | 69 galleys | Petrus de Auria | Against Venice | G. Stella, <i>Annales</i> , 175 |
| 1380 | 13 galleys | Matheus Maruffus | | G. Stella, <i>Annales</i> , 179 |
| 1380 | 5 galleys | Ivanus de Mari | | G. Stella, <i>Annales</i> , 181 |
| 1380 | 13 galleys | | | G. Stella, <i>Annales</i> , 181 |
| 1381 | 13 galleys | Isnardus de Guarco | | G. Stella, <i>Annales</i> , 183 |
| 1383 | 10 galleys | Nicolaus Maruffus | Cyprus | G. Stella, <i>Annales</i> , 189 |
| 1385 | 10 galleys | Clemens de Facio | | G. Stella, <i>Annales</i> , 191 |
| 1386 | 10 galleys | | | G. Stella, <i>Annales</i> , 192 |
| 1388 | 15 galleys | Raphael Adurnus | | G. Stella, <i>Annales</i> , 193 |
| 1389 | 40 galleys | Iohanes Centurionus | Tunis | G. Stella, <i>Annales</i> , 194 |
| 1396 | 11 galleys | | | G. Stella, <i>Annales</i> , 215 |
| 1397 | 4 galleys | | Romania | G. Stella, <i>Annales</i> , 222 |
| 1398 | 4 galleys | Georgius Granellus | Romania | G. Stella, <i>Annales</i> , 225 |

