OXFORD

'Most of our termes now vsed in warres are deriued from straungers': Robert Barret's Glossary of Military Terms in *The Theorike and Practike of Moderne Warres* (1598)

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Abstract

The first English dictionary of military terms was published anonymously in 1702 under the title *A Military Dictionary*. However, one glossary of this nature had already been attached to Robert Barret's (Anon. 1702)*The Theorike and Practike of Moderne* Warres in 1598: 'A Table, shewing the signification of sundry forraine words, vsed in these discourses'. Barret had fought in many battles in Europe, where English soldiers came into contact with comrades-in-arms from other countries. Hence, Barret's glossary constitutes a first-hand source of information on the loanwords used in English to refer to technological and strategic novelties on the field of military science at the time. This article (i) provides a first analysis of Barret's glossary; (ii) confirms that Barret's professional expertise as a soldier contributed to more complete and informative definitions than the ones in contemporary general dictionaries; (iii) compares the source languages Barret assigned to the entries in his glossary with the source languages specified in contemporary lexicographical works and in the *Oxford English Dictionary*; and (iv) confirms the relevance of Barret's glossary as a testimony to the military jargon incorporated into English from different languages during the sixteenth century. Finally, a close comparison of the definitions of the same entries in Barret's glossary and Florio's *A Worlde of Wordes* (1598) has revealed Florio's indebtedness to Barret's military glossary.

Keywords: Robert Barret, military terms, John Florio, Early Modern English lexicography, glossaries.

1. Introduction

Historians of the English language have identified warfare as among the many different semantic domains expanded by the introduction of loanwords during the Early Modern English period (Barber 1976: 177-182, Fisiak 1995: 102, Nevalainen 2000: 370, Barber, Beal and Shaw 2009: 191; among others). Indeed, warfare was one of those technical fields in need of lexical enrichment, a deficiency already noted in 1590 by the author of *A Briefe Discourse of Warre*, Sir Roger Williams, who justifies the incorporation of a high number of foreign military terms in his work by arguing that 'I know no other names than are giuen by the strangers, because there are few or none at all in our language' (1590: 44; quoted in Baugh and Cable 2002: 201).

Military terms entered the language mainly through translations and original works on military tactics, navigation and fortifications. The publication of 166 English military treatises between 1489 and 1657 (Cockle 1900:1-128, Pugliatti 2010: 91-92) attests to a widespread interest in war affairs during the Renaissance resulting from the turbulent European political climate (Jarrett 2019: 38). But neither the interest in this subject nor the advances in both military strategies and weapons (Foakes 2005: 37) prompted the authors of these treatises to compile glossaries of military terms that could be of help to their readers. In fact, the first English dictionary of military terms was published anonymously in 1702 under the title *A Military Dictionary* (Anon. 1702). Schäfer (1989: 43) notes, though, that one glossary of this nature is found in the late sixteenth century at the end of Robert Barret's *The Theorike and Practike of Moderne Warres* (1598). According to Somogyi (1998: 75), this glossary arose from the need to explain to the public technical military jargon of 'novel, foreign extraction [which] needed glossing at the time'. The need for this glossary is justified by Barret thus:

> […] as much as in these Military discourses, I haue vsed some words and termes, somwhat straunge vnto such as haue not frequented forraine warres, nor haue anie great insight in forraine languages, I haue therefore thought good both to declare the signification of such words […]. (Barret 1598: n.p.)

Those 'forraine warres' make reference to the dynastic confrontations and religious hostilities which had transformed Europe into a great battlefield during the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries (Palliser 1992: 26-33). This permanent state of military rivalry led many European armies to a continuous exploration of new tactics and strategies based on the study of treatises by classical writers and on the experience of veteran soldiers, who used to record their battle accounts and their knowledge of military affairs in books for the instruction of their countrymen (Scannell 2015: 45). As Parker observes, 'three of the best English military writers of the reign of Elizabeth –William Garrard, Humphrey Barwick, and Sir Roger Williams– had all served in the Spanish Army of Flanders for several years', a fact that allows him to call the Low Countries 'a seminary in which many of the great commanders of the German Thirty Years' War and the English Civil War were formed' (Parker 1976: 201).

While Charles V and Francis I were fighting for Italy, England 'was fortunate enough to escape the sight of battle within her own borders' (Oman 1900: vii), thus the activity of English soldiers mainly consisted in aiding foreign armies as auxiliary troops (Oman 1900: vii). They fought side by side with soldiers of different nationalities and were trained by Spanish and Italian captains (Oman 1900: vii), which accounts for 'a widely diffused knowledge of Italian and Spanish' among military men (Cockle 1900: xv). Their popular books on warfare written on their return home contributed to the expansion of the English war lexicon by the introduction of loanwords. This was the European background to Robert Barret's *The Theorike and Practike of Moderne Warres* (1598).

Very little is known about Barret to date. Apart from the information found in the scarce literature on him, we can infer some data from his treatise on the art of war. Robert Barret, son of Thomas Barret, was a soldier and author who lived during the sixteenth century. His birthdate is unknown, although first records of his works appear in 1586, and Somogyi dates his death in 1607 (Somogyi 2004). The youngest of three brothers, Barret married Mary Hughes on 14 February 1586. They had two daughters who were likely born before 1591 (Somogyi 2004), and references in his work hint to a late retirement in the west countryside of England, 'in these our Westerne parts and Wales' (Barret 1598: 3r). In addition to his military treatise, he wrote one of the longest epic poems written in English, 'The Sacred war. An History Conteyning the Christian Conquest of the Holy-Land', which remains unpublished (Lee 1885: 280). This hints to a man who was not only interested in the action of war, but also in history and literature, in line with the prototypical Renaissance man.

As we can read in the preface to this military treatise, Barret spent 'the most part of [his] time in the profession of Armes'. He served in the armies of France, the Netherlands, Italy and Spain (Barret 1598: 2r). The Spanish infantry and cavalry were admired all over Europe for their discipline and efficiency (Parker 1976: 198-200), whereas the Dutch soldiers were well trained in tactical movements (Parker 1976: 202). Barret is an example of an experienced soldier-writer who fought side by side with foreign comrades-in-arms in the battlefield and was thus exposed to foreign languages throughout his professional life. His military treatise is therefore the product of a professional soldier, and the attached glossary, an attractive and enriching object of study for three main reasons: firstly, because it constitutes a first-hand source of information on the specific field of military science at a time of technological and strategic novelties; secondly, because Barret claims to define military terms that had recently been incorporated into the English language; and, thirdly, because, apart from the word list, Barret offers etymological notes suggesting the source languages of most of the words in the glossary, information that we should not ignore, bearing in mind his relation with soldiers of different origins.

This glossary is not unknown to scholars: it has been reproduced in its entirety (Leslie 1932), referenced in studies of the military lexicon that would have been used by Shakespeare and other Elizabethan playwrights (see Edelman 2000, Somogyi 1998, among others), and included among the searchable *Lexicons of Early Modern English* (LEME, 2018). But this article enhances understanding of Barret's work by more comprehensively describing it and explaining its role in the history of English lexicography. This paper is intended to be a first approach to Barret's glossary, paying attention to its macrostructure and microstructure. However, this study of Barret's glossary goes beyond mere description by providing data on issues that have so far been noted in passing but not yet explored, in particular Barret's role as a source for the first monolingual and bilingual dictionaries (Schäfer 1978: 406, Considine 2022: 353). In order to carry out the proposed research, the following objectives have been established:

(i) to check whether Barret's professional expertise as a soldier may have contributed to write more complete and informative definitions than the ones contained in contemporary general dictionaries;

(ii) to compare the source languages Barret assigned to the glossary entries with the source languages specified in contemporary lexicographical works and in the *Oxford English Dictionary* online (OED henceforth);

(iii) to cross-check Barret's entries with the entry dates for the same headwords in the OED in order to assess the relevance of this glossary as a documentary source of military jargon incorporated into the English language in the sixteenth century, and

(iv) to assess the indebtedness of bilingual dictionaries to Barret's glossary.

2. Some notes on methodology

This study has relied heavily on the use of different online tools and databases that have facilitated the automated extraction of data: The *Lexicons of Early Modern English* (LEME henceforth), the digitised texts in *Early English Books Online* (EEBO henceforth) and the OED.

For lexicographical research, the LEME has been invaluable allowing me to trace the incorporation of Barret's entries into monolingual and bilingual dictionaries of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Table 1 names them.

One of the enormous advantages of LEME is that it offers a number of functionalities that have been exploited to perform exhaustive searches. Thus, in addition to the so-called 'quick lexicon search' and 'advanced lexicon search', searches have been carried out on the basis of the lemma in modern English, allowing me to determine which monolingual and

Table 1. Reference dictionaries for the analysis of Barret's glossary entries

YEAR	AUTHOR	TITLE
1571	L. H.	*A Dictionarie French and English*
1590	Corro, Antonio del (Thorius, Iohn)	*The Spanish Grammer*
1591	Perceval, Richard	*Bibliotheca Hispanica*
1591	Stepney, William	*The Spanish Schoole-master*
1593	Hollyband, Claudius	*A Dictionarie French and English*
1598	Florio, John	*A Worlde of Wordes*
1599	Minsheu, John	*A Dictionarie in Spanish and English*
1604	Cawdrey, Robert	*A Table Alphabeticall*
1611	Cotgrave, Randle	*A Dictionarie of the French and English tongues*
1616	Bullokar, John	*An English Expositor*
1623	Cockeram, Henry	*The English Dictionarie*
1656	Blount, Thomas	*Glossographia*
1658	Phillips, Edward	*The New World of English Words*
1676	Coles, Elisha	*An English Dictionary*
1689	Hogarth, Richard	*Gazophylacium Anglicanum*

bilingual dictionaries from the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries included the entries compiled by Barret and to compare the definitions and donor languages indicated by different lexicographers.

However, despite being a very powerful tool, LEME itself warns that it is 'an ongoing research publication, and content, materials and features may be added, changed, or removed' (see https://leme.library.utoronto.ca/help/termsofuse), and is therefore a project that is constantly growing and being updated; in fact, there are some omissions both in the corpus of dictionaries collated (for example, Coles' 1676 dictionary is missing) as in the entries. Examples of these omissions are the cases presented below. For these reasons, the LEME queries were complemented by manual scanning of the text of the dictionaries.

In the results of the 'Modern-English headword search' for some lemmas, some dictionaries that did include these entries were omitted. One case is that of the lemma *alferez*. If we search for this lemma (which is listed as *alferes* in the Modern-English headwords list although the entry in the OED is *alferez*), we obtain the dictionaries of Blount (1656) and Philips (1658), but we do not obtain that of Coles (1677) despite the fact that it is not only included in the first edition (1676) but also in this second edition, which is lemmatised in LEME. Similarly, the search for the headword *armada* draws the dictionaries of Philips (1658) and Hogarth (1689), but not those of Blount (1656) and Coles (1677), where this headword is also included.

On the other hand, LEME offers the possibility of performing searches through the 'LEME word list' function, which collects all the forms of the entries included in the dictionaries of the database. Such a query requires that we know the spelling of these words in the different dictionaries beforehand, so that if the entries in other dictionaries are graphically similar to Barret's entry, the search for the lemma recorded in Barret will help us find those entries in other dictionaries that begin with the same letters; but if, for example, the entries in other dictionaries begin with a different letter, it is possible that we will not find out in which dictionaries they are included or it will take us a long time to find out. This mainly concerns the headwords of the bilingual dictionaries that have been used to study their definitions.

Thus, if, for example, we want to know whether a word in Barret's glossary is found in bilingual dictionaries, we cannot use the 'Modern-English Headword Search' function because the results we will obtain will be those entries that contain the English word in question as a headword or as part of its definitions. The other search option is via the 'LEME word list', but then we run into the problem mentioned above and illustrated next. Searching for the word *ambuscado* in the 'LEME word list' leads us to a list of results that can help us find dictionaries that present this headword with a close spelling (Figure 1), in this case, all monolingual ones. But if we want to read the definitions of this word in bilingual dictionaries and these dictionaries present a headword beginning with another letter –e.g. *imboscata* in Florio (1598) or *emboscáda* in Minsheu (1599) –, it will be difficult to do it in an automated way because they will not appear in this list, nor in the 'Modern-English Headword Search' list.

Where LEME's database provided the lexicographical context for Barret's work, the OED and EEBO databases provided lexical contexts. As for the OED, it has provided me with information related to the date of entry into the English language of the terms listed in the glossary or the first date on which a term was used in the military sense as defined by Barret. This phase of the research has allowed me to assess whether the military terms of foreign origin collected in the attached glossary were only used in Barret's treatise and therefore did not spread in the English language at the time, or whether, on the contrary, Barret collected words that were already in use during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The OED, however, although it includes lexicographical works among its sources, does not do so systematically (McDermott 2002), so that consultation of LEME and the dictionaries themselves became essential. Furthermore, although the list of OED sources is exhaustive, there are texts that have not been used in the documentation work, so we also

Figure 1. Caption of LEME Word List for *ambuscado*

consulted the EEBO digital collection to carry out searches that could provide information on the use of these terms in the period studied. These searches revealed, on the one hand, that some words in Barret's glossary that are not included in the OED were in use in English works of the period, and, on the other hand, that some words included in the OED at a certain date were used in earlier texts.

The information gathered from LEME, OED, EEBO and the manual dictionary search was compiled on files which were designed for each of the lemmas and from which we present a sample in Figure 2:

3. *The Theorike and Practike of Moderne Warres* (1598) and the attached glossary

The text of *The Theorike and Practike of Moderne Warres Discoursed in Dialogue Wise*, as the title indicates, reports a dialogue between a gentleman and a captain. In those

OED HEADWORD	ENTRY IN BARRET'S GLOSSARY (1598)	DEFINITION IN BARRET'S GLOSSARY	ETYMOLOGY IN BARRET'S GLOSSARY	OED ETYMOLOGY	OED FIRST ATTESTED ENTRY / SENSE
Camarada (Obsolete)	*Camarada*	A Spanish word, is a small number of 11 or 12 soldiers, and is the one halfe of a squadra, being vnited together in their lodging, and diet, and friendship, the chiefe man of whom is the Cabo de Camara.	Spanish	Spanish	1598 (Barret) EEBO 1588 (*camarade*)

Florio (1598) **Camerata**, a camerada, a societie in a chamber, a chamber full.

Minsheu (1599) **Camaráda**, f. a comerade or cabbin mate souldier. Also a placing of diuers pieces of ordinance in warre togither. Also placing of diuers men togither.

Cotgrave (1611) **Camerade**: f. A Camerade, or chamberfull; a companie that belongs to, or is euer lodged in, one chamber, tent, cabin.

Blount (1656) **Camerade**, (Fr. and *Camerada* Spa. from *Camera* a Chamber) a Tent, chamber or Cabin-fellow, or a fellow-souldier. *Min*.

Phillips (1658) **Camerade**, (Spanish) a Cabin, or chamber-fellow.

Hogarth (1689) **Camerade**, from the Fr. G. *Chambre*, Ital. *Camera*; *q.d.* a Chamber-fellow. **v. Chamber**.

OBSERVATIONS:
- Although this is a collective term in Barret's glossary, he also uses it in the treaty to refer to individual soldiers, as defined by other lexicograhers.
- In OED, Barret is the only source; in EEBO we have many examples.

EEBO (1st EXAMPLE)

La Noue, François de (1588: 190) 'THe Lord of *Langey* in his booke of martiall discipline maketh mention of *Camarades,* which in our French speech he tearmeth *Chāberers,* making them to consist of ten soldiers a peece [...]'.

Figure 2. Sample of the files created for the headwords of Barret's glossary

conversations, Barret explains, among other things, the distinctions between the new military ranks, new warfare tactics and innovative army arrangements. The treatise is organised into different chapters that Barret calls *books*, which, in their turn, are divided into dialogues on different topics.

As a conclusion to his military treatise, Barret added a glossary of hard words which he called 'A Table, shewing the signification of sundry forraine words, vsed in these discourses'. The glossary is preceded by an introductory note in which Barret justifies inclusion of the glossary by arguing that 'most of our terms now vsed in warres are derived from straungers' (Barret 1598: 248); in other words, Barret testifies to the foreign origin of many early modern English war terms. Therefore, this glossary would respond to a practical need: to help those countrymen who were not competent in other languages.

Barret also points to French, Spanish, Dutch and Italian as the main donor languages of these terms and makes clear that he has recorded the original spelling as far as possible. In fact, he expresses his disapproval with processes of adaptation, typical in English, as he notes. Among the examples provided, he mentions the adaptation of the Italian word *Caporall*, which has been naturalised in English as *Corporall*. Finally, he remarks that he resorts to his memory for the meaning of the entries recorded.

3.1. *The macrostructure and the microstructure of the glossary*

The glossary itself consists of 111 entries alphabetically arranged in a single column. The headwords are not typographically marked, unlike the definitions, which are presented in italics. The entries vary in length, but all of them follow the same pattern: a one-sentence definition.

Barret's entries anticipate some of the features that will characterise hard word dictionaries (Starnes 1937). Thus, he usually mentions the source language of the words, although no references to sources or authorities are made, since his own experience and memory seem to be the foundations of his glossary. As for the fields of knowledge of the entries, information which some hard word dictionaries include, they are not mentioned, but all the terms belong to the same lexical domain, as Barret specifies in the introduction: 'terms now vsed in warres', or using a modern label, 'military terms'.

The entry in (1), taken from Barret's glossary, illustrates the former characteristics:

(1)   **Garrita**, a Spanish word, is a little watch house or towre, for the souldier to stand in at Sentinell, seated vpon the walles.

It should be noted, though, that 'military term' is a general semantic domain that allows further classification. Therefore, to understand the macrostructural scope of the glossary, Figure 3 displays a classification of the terms into different subfields[1]. Thus, *abanderado*, *campemaister* and *cabo de camara* can be labelled as 'military ranks'; *citadella*, *parapet* and *skance* can be grouped under the generic term 'fortifications'; *ambuscado*, *escalada* and *pelmell* are examples of 'tactics'; *corslet*, *burgonet* and *chieffront* designate pieces of the 'armour'; *cornet*, *colours*, and *guidon* are grouped as 'ensigns'; *alerta*, *alvarado* and *the word* can be categorised as 'orders'; *aquaducts*, *cannonera* and *casamata* are types of 'constructions'; *centuria*, *esquadra* and *legion* are gathered under the category of 'military units'; and *quarter*, *terraplene* and *campania* name different 'locations'. It is worth noting, however, that although classifications help to present data in a more orderly way, sometimes they do not respond to clear-cut boundaries. In this sense, the term *pelmell*, which is difficult to classify, has been included in the 'tactics' group, although its meaning is more akin to 'lack of tactics'.

3.2. Defining military terms: Barret vis-à-vis hard word dictionaries

It comes as no surprise that Robert Barret was able to create a very well documented glossary of military terms. His own expertise as a professional soldier and his experience
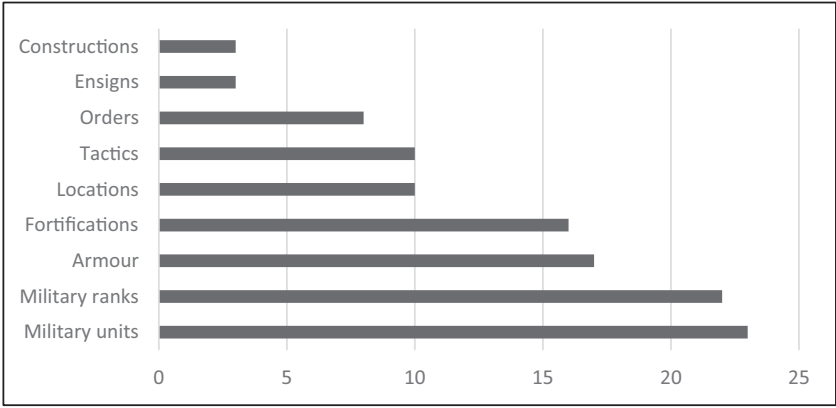
Figure 3. Semantic classification of warlike terms in Barret's glossary

in battle fighting along with different countries endowed him with a vast knowledge of military affairs as well as competence in other languages. Although he was not a lexicographer, Barret could create a trustworthy glossary which, in some cases, offered more complete and accurate definitions than the ones included in contemporary dictionaries, as illustrated in the following examples, which prove his abilities as a lexicographer.

Thus, when defining *hargubuzier*, Barret makes clear that this term refers to a type of soldier, an immediate and explicit reference to the semantic field of warfare. This specification, though, is not found in the definitions for the same word in contemporary monolingual English dictionaries, as shown in (2), which just say ***hee that shooteth*** or ***one that serves*** [my emphasis], implying that any man carrying an arquebus could be thus called.

(2)   **Hargubuzier**, a French word, and is the souldier, carying and vsing a peece called a calliuer or Hargubuz. (Barret 1598)
      Harquebusier. Hee that shooteth in it. [**Harquebuze**. A Hand gun, shorter, but bigger and heauier than a Musquet.] (Cockeram 1623)
      Arcabuzier, one that serves with such a gun in the wars. [**Arcabuz** (Sp.) a kind of hand-gun or Caliever.] (Blount 1656)
      Arquebusier (Fr.) that serveth with such a gun. [**Arquebuse** (Fr.) a Gun, somewhat bigger then a Musket, a Caleever.] (Blount 1656)

Likewise, as illustrated in (3), Barret's definition of *centinell* is more exhaustive than the ones given by Cawdrey, Blount or Phillips since Barret makes reference not only to the soldier who watches but also to the place where this action is performed.

(3)   **Centinell**, a Spanish word, and signifieth the souldier which is set to watch at a station or post, *a certaine distance from the Corps de guard, or in a certaine litle garret or watch house vpon the walles, or at certaine places in the field without the ring of the Campe*. (Barret 1598) [my emphasis]
      §² **sentinell**, watching by night. (Cawdrey 1604)
      Sentinell. A man standing in some conuenient place to discry what company cometh neere an army or towne of warre. (Bullokar 1616)
      Sentinel (Fr.) or Sentry, a Common Souldier appointed to stand and watch in a certain place. (Blount 1656)

> **Sentinell**, (French) a Military Scout or Watchman, from the Latin *Sentire*, i. to perceive, because he is to perceive and look narrowly into the enemies designs. (Phillips 1658)
>
> **Sentinel**, f. a sentry standing to watch. (Coles 1676)

Similarly, the second sense for *cauaglere* in Barret's glossary, which makes reference to a military fortification, is not recorded in hard word dictionaries (4):

(4) **Cauaglere**, an Italian word, and signifieth a Gentleman seruing on horsebacke, *but in fortifications, a Caualiere is a mount or platforme of earth, built and raised high, either within or without the wall for to plant great Ordinance vpon*. (Barret 1598) [my emphasis]

   Cavalier (Fr.)*/ Cavalero* (Spa.) A Knight, or Gentleman, serving on horseback, a man of arms. (Blount 1656)

   Cavalier, a brave man, a Knight, or Gentle-man, serving on hors-back from the *Italian* word *Cavallo*. (Phillips 1658)

   Cavalier, f. **–lero**, Sp. a brave man [on horseback.] (Coles 1676)

It seems then that Barret's professional career as a soldier in foreign armies granted him the benefits of a wide knowledge of warfare and competence in other languages. His definitions are the product of this expertise and thus provide details and senses that are not usually registered in general hard word dictionaries.

4. Barret's glossary, the *OED* and contemporary monolingual dictionaries
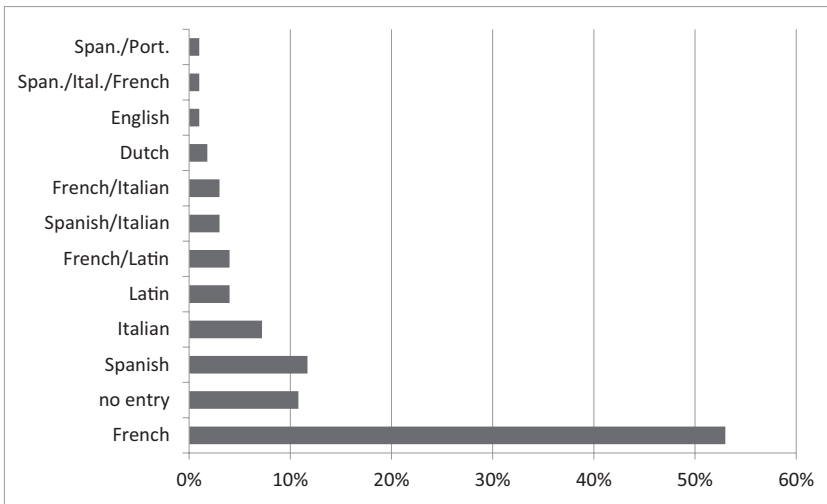
4.1. Source languages

One of the most innovative features of Barret's glossary is the indication of the donor languages from which the entries have been borrowed, a practice which was not adopted in monolingual dictionaries until the publication of Blount's *Glossographia* in 1656, that is, more than 50 years later (Hayashi 1978: 51, Starnes and Noyes 1991: 44, 46). The possibility of having information on the origin of the words at a moment very close to the time of their incorporation into English (see section 4.2) allowed me to compare the languages identified by Barret as donor languages with the donor languages identified by the OED for the same entries. Obviously, the results of such a comparison should be viewed with caution since, as Durkin (2014: 372) warns about Romance inputs in early Modern English, 'it is very difficult to distinguish precisely which Romance language a word has entered English from'. Indeed, the similarity between the different cognates in Romance languages sometimes makes it impossible to pinpoint the exact source language of a word, yet the results obtained from the comparison are of interest.

   Out of the 111 entries in the glossary, 85 present information about the different languages of provenance, distributed in the following way: 32 are of French origin, 30 come from Spanish, 14 have been borrowed from Italian, 2 are of Dutch origin, and 1 comes from Greek (see Figure 4). Barret gives more than one donor language for some words (this is the case of *bisognio, mayordome, ronda, forlorne sentinell,* and *harguluttier*).

   Although Barret's indications of the donor languages identify French as the language that has mot influenced military terminology, his entries credit French and Spanish almost equally. Barret's recognition of Spanish is in keeping with subsequent linguistic research that has highlighted an influx of Spanish loanwords during the ealy modern period. In fact, as Algeo states, 'in the sixteenth century, Spanish loans in English increased dramatically' (1996: 19, Durkin 2014: 365), among which Algeo distinguishes a number grouped under the semantic category 'aggression and the military', including terms such as *armada, caporal* or *camisado*, all of them contained in Barret's glossary.
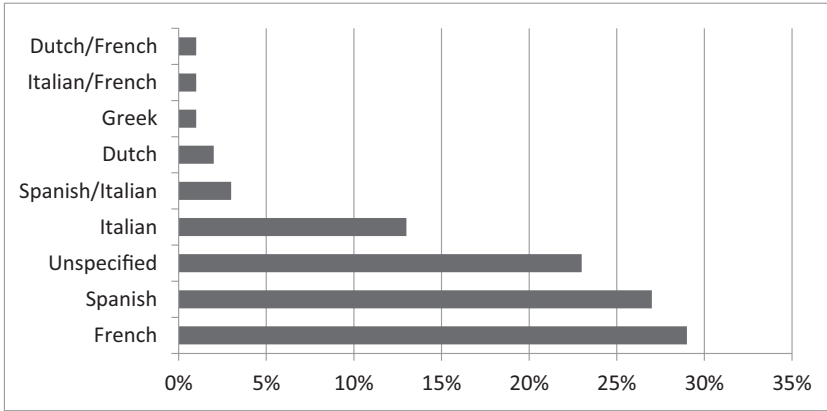
Figure 4. Languages of origin of glossary entries according to Barret

Figure 5. Languages of origin of Barret's lemmas according to the OED

These results may seem contradictory to the data extracted from the OED. Certainly, a first scrutiny of the OED concludes that French is by far the main source language of the English military lexicon recorded by Barret, as shown in Figure 5. This is in line with the idea prevailing in most histories of the English language 'that English has borrowed more war words from French than from all other languages combined' (Thompson 1945: 152). Besides, the OED includes donor languages not mentioned in Barret's glossary, such as Latin or Portuguese, and disagrees on the assignment of some entries. For example, Barret considers *squadron* a Spanish word, whereas the OED considers it Italian; and the same happens with *campania*, which Barret classifies as Italian and the OED as French. However, if we consider, on the one hand, that Barret does not indicate the donor languages for many entries, and, on the other hand, that the OED does not record a high number of entries included in the glossary, the distribution of languages in both Barret and the OED does not differ much. In fact, there is an 81% of coincidence, a consensus than can also be found in contemporary lexicographers, as shown in the language attribution of words such as *ambuscado*, *camarada*, *conuoye*, *citadella*, *cornet*, *parapet*, *rampier* or *alferez*. The last word

in this list, for example, is attributed to Spanish in Barret's glossary and in other dictionaries, as shown in (5), an agreement which is also reproduced in the OED:

(5)   **Alferez**, is a Spanish word, and signifieth the Ensigne bearer. (Barret 1598)
        Alferes (Spanish) an Ensign or Ancient-bearer in war. (Blount 1656)
        Alferes, (Spanish) an Ensign bearer. (Phillips 1658)
        Alferes, Sp. Ensign-bearer. (Coles 1676)

4.2. Barret's glossary as evidence for recent military terms

The importance of Barret's glossary is that it collects military words that had only recently been introduced into the English language in order to explain 'the signification of sundry forraine words, vsed in these discourses' (Barret 1598: n.p.). A thorough analysis of Barret's terms shows that not only was he accurately documenting words in use in sixteenth-century texts but terms he documented would begin to be used in the seventeenth century with the sense assigned to them by Barret.

The following list includes the words in Barret's glossary that are recorded before 1598 according to the OED, with an indication of (i) the lemma entered in the OED, if different from that of the glossary; (ii) the morphological information accompanying the entry, and (iii) the earliest date given in the OED. When the earliest dating of the entry is 1598, the EEBO collection has been consulted in case there are earlier texts that are not recorded in the OED; if so, information on the text is also included and this date will be taken as the reference for the inclusion of the lemma in this list. If a word that is not in the OED is recorded in a text prior to 1598, it is also included in this list accompanied by the phrase "not in the OED".

1. **al'arma**: *alarm*, int., n. and adv., c1400.
2. **alerta**: *alert*, adj. and n., sense 1.a, *a*1595.
3. **alferez**: n., 1581.
4. **alguazil**: n., *a*1530.
5. **ambuscado**: n., sense 2, 1595.
6. **aquaducts**: *aqueduct*, n. sense 1.a, *a*1552.
7. **armada**: n., 1.a, 1533.
8. **artillaria**: *artillery*, n., sense 2.b, 1509.
9. **bisognio or bisonnio**: *besonio/ besognio*, n., sense 1, 1591.
10. **burgonet**: n., 1570.
11. **cabo de esquadra**: not in the OED. EEBO: *Cabo de Esquadra*, Smythe (1590): 14v).
12. **camarada**: n., 1, 1598 = Barret. EEBO: *camarade*, La Noue (1588): 190); *camerada*, Smythe (1590): 16); *camarada*, Sutcliffe (1593): 327);
13. **camisada**: *camisado*, n., sense 1.a, 1548.
14. **campania**: n., sense 1, 1663. EEBO: *campania*, Garrard (1591): 215).
15. **campania raza**: not in the OED. EEBO: *campania rasa*, Garrard (1591): 216).
16. **campe-maister**: *camp-master*, n., *a*1569.
17. **cannonera**: *cannonery*, n., 1598 = Barret. EEBO: *canoneres*, Garrard (1591): 286).
18. **casamatta**: *casemate*, n., 1.a, 1550.
19. **castellano**: *castellan*, n., 1393.
20. **cauaglere**: *cavalier*, n. and adj., sense 1, c1470; *cavalier*, n. and adj., sense 4, 1562.
21. **cauagleria**: *cavalry*, n., sense 3.a, 1591.
22. **centinell**: *sentinel*, n., sense 1.a, 1579.
23. **centre**: n.1 and adj., sense 11.a, 1590.
24. **centuria**: *century*, n. sense 2.a, *a*1450.
25. **cohort**: n., sense 1, 1489.

26. **chieffront**: *chamfron*, n., sense 1.a.ε, *a*1509.
27. **citadella**: *citadel*, n., sense 1α, 1542.
28. **colonell or coronell**: *colonel*, n., 1548.
29. **colours**: *colour/ color*, n.1, sense 20.a (a), 1590.
30. **conuoye**: *convoy*, n., sense 4.a, 1553.
31. **cornet**: n.2, sense 4, 1579.
32. **corps de guard**: *corps de garde*, n., sense 1, 1590.
33. **corslet**: *corslet/ corselet*, n. sense 1.a, 1563.
34. **cuisset**: derivative included in *cuisse/ cuish*, n., 1598 = Barret. EEBO: *cuisset*, Williams (1590: 29).
35. **curtine**: *curtain*, n.1, sense 4.a,?*a*1560.
36. **cuyratz**: *cuirass*, n., sense 1, 1464.
37. **enginero**: *engineer*, n., sense 1.a (α), c1380.
38. **escalada**: *escalade*, n. 1598, quote from Florio, not from Barret. EEBO: *escalade*, Wingfield (1589: 2).
39. **fila**: *file*, n.2, sense 7.a, 1598 = Barret. EEBO, *file*, la Noue (1588: 186).
40. **flaancque**: *flank*, n.1, sense 6, 1548.
41. **front**: *front*, n., sense 6, 1365.
42. **fronte**: *front*, n., sense 5.a, *a*1375.
43. **forlorne sentinell**: *forlorn*, adj. and n., sense 3.b, 1577.
44. **garrita**: *garret*, n.1, sense 1, c1330.
45. **grueues**: *greave*, n.2, sense 1, c1400.
46. **guantlet**: *gauntlet*, n.1, c1420.
47. **guidon**: n., sense 1.a, 1548.
48. **hargubuzier**: *arquebusier*, n., 1554.
49. **harguluttier**: *argoletier*, n., 1579.
50. **infanteria**: *infantry*, n., sense 1, 1579.
51. **launcier**: *lancer*, n.2, sense 1, 1590.
52. **legion**: n. and adj., 1.a, c1275.
53. **maestre del campo**: not in the OED. EEBO: *Maestros de Campo*, Smythe (1590: 14v); *master del Campo*, Williams (1590: 52); also used after 1598: *Maestro del Campo*, Digges (1604: 8), Jonson (1631: n.p. Act 2 Scene 4).
54. **maniple**: n., sense 2.b, 1574.
55. **maritime**: adj. and n., sense B.1.a, 1591.
56. **mayordome**: *major-domo*, n., 1589.
57. **miditerraneall**: *mediterranean*, adj. and n., sense A.3, 1601. EEBO: *mediterranean*, Curione (1575: 74); Lodge (1592: L1v).
58. **orecch[i]one**: *orecchion*, n., c1585.
59. **parapet**: n. sense 1, 1575.
60. **pectron**: n., 1590.
61. **pelmell**: *pell-mell*, adv., adj., and n., sense A.1.a, 1579.
62. **pendent**: *pendant*, n., sense 11, *a*1387.
63. **percluis**: *parclose*, n., sense 1.a, 1387.
64. **phalanx**: n., sense 1, 1553.
65. **pietranelli**: *petronel*, n., sense 2, 1588.
66. **pistollier**: *pistolier*, n.,?1563.
67. **place of armes generall**: *place*, n.1. > sense P3.b *place of arms*, n.n. a. 1588.
68. **pouldron**: n., sense 1.α, *a*1396.
69. **quarter**: n., sense 16.a, 1570.
70. **rampier**: *rampire*, 1548.
71. **ranke**: *rank*, n., sense 3.a, *a*1533.

72. **rauelline** or *tenaza*: *ravelin*, n. sense 1, 1588.
73. **regiment**: n., sense 8.a, 1569.
74. **ronda**: *round*, n.1, sense 23.b, 1581.
75. **roupt**: *rout*, n.6, sense 2.a, 1596.
76. **sallie**: *sally*, n.1, sense 1.a, 1560; *sally*, n.1, sense 1.b, 1542.
77. **scalada**: *escalado*, n., 1598 = Barret. EEBO: *escalado*, Barleti (1596: 403).
78. **srerée**: *serr*, v., 1562.
79. **squadron**: n., sense 1, 1562.
80. **taisses**: *tasse*, n.1, 1548.
81. **tenaza**: *terrace*, n., 1.c, 1579.
82. **tertio**: *tercio*/ *tertio*, n., 1583.
83. **trauessa**: *traverse*, n., sense 8, 1524.
84. **trench**: n., 2.a, 1445.
85. **vanbraces**: *vambrace*, n., sense β, 1411.
86. **vanguard**: n., 1.a (b), 1503.
87. **vollie**: *volley*, n. 1.a.γ, 1573.
88. **the word**: *word*, n. and int., sense 1.e, *a*1500.

The dates of entry of these lemmas clearly indicate that a very high percentage of the words in the glossary entered the language in the second half of the sixteenth century, so that Barret fulfils his purpose of explaining borrowings possibly unknown to his readers.

On the other hand, other military terms found in texts after 1598 are recorded for the first time in Barret's glossary, which is the first written record of these terms. The OED records most of them by including quotations from Barret's treatise or glossary, but this is not always the case. Sometimes the OED does not record these terms even though they are recorded in texts of the time, and sometimes it assigns them to Barret, but does not indicate that they were also used in contemporary texts, implying that they were terms used only by Barret. The following list includes these terms from Barret's glossary that we find in texts from 1598 or later, regardless of their inclusion in the OED. If the OED records them (i) with a different spelling, (ii) after 1598, or (iii) does not record them but they are found in other texts contained in EEBO, we report this in the information following the headword. In addition, we indicate whether the quotations come from the treatise or the glossary. Finally, when there are large time lapses between Barret's quotation and the next one in the OED, or the OED only cites Barret as the sole source, we have searched EEBO to confirm their use during the seventeenth century and have included the references to the authors mentioning them. If the OED provides quotations after 1598, nothing is added:

1. **abanderado**: n.; quote from treatise. In the OED the next citation after Barret's is from 1955, but EEBO also records it in Anon. (1623: 18) with the form *auanderado*.
2. **alvarado**: n.; quote from treatise.
3. **bando**: n.; quote from treatise.
4. **cabo de camara**: not in the OED, but recorded in EEBO: *cabo-de-camara*, Markham (1622: 61).
5. **camp maister-generall**: *camp-master-gener*al, included in the entry *camp-master*, n.; quote from glossary. EEBO: *campmaster generall*, Anon. (1630: 4), Wadsworth (1630: 47).
6. **caporal**: n., sense 1.a; quotes from treatise and glossary. OED only records quotations from Barret, but EEBO records uses of this form in Anon. (1654: n.p.) and Turner (1683: 13, 14). The spellings *corporall* or *corporal* mentioned by Barret in the glossary foreword are recorded in the OED in texts from 1579 onwards.

7. **criniere**: *crinière*, n.; quote from treatise.
8. **modern warre**: not in the OED, but recorded in EEBO: *modern war*, Rohan (1640: title page), Turner (1683: 5, 18).
9. **posta**: *post*, n.5, sense 2.a; quote from treatise.
10. **skance**: *sconce*, n.3, sense 1.a, β; the form with <a> is first recorded in Barret, although it is later than the forms with <o>; quotes from treatise and glossary.
11. **spontone**: *spontoon*, n., OED entry date, 1746; EEBO records an earlier use: *spontons* (Gaya 1678: 26)
12. **terraplene**: *terreplein*, n., sense 1α, Barret is cited as the first author to present this spelling that is closer to the Italian and Spanish forms as opposed to the French spelling, which entered the English language earlier; quotes from treatise and glossary.
13. **tertiare**: *tertiar*, v. OED only records it in Barret, but EEBO records a quotation with the form *terciar* in Barry (1634: 12); quotes from treatise and glossary.

Finally, a search for a last group of terms in EEBO shows that they are only found in Barret. The OED only lists a few of them, giving as the only citations the volume by Barret: *caualliere à cauallio* (not in the OED), *contra round*, *contrafront*, *esquadra* (not in the OED with Barret's sense), *quarteret*, *recoia* (not in the OED), *serracenesca* (not in the OED), *squadra* (not in the OED), *taladro* (not in the OED), *tragon* (not in the OED). Of this group of words, a few are recorded in the French nomenclature of Florio's dictionary, published the same year as Barret's treatise: *caualliere à cauallio*, *contra round*, *serracenesca*, *squadra*, *taladro* and *tragon*. These are not the only coincidences between Barret's glossary and Florio's dictionary; in fact, the similarities are so striking that we will discuss them in the following section.

By way of summary, we could conclude that out of the 111 entries recorded in Barret's glossary, 101 are attested in primary sources and only 17 date from before 1500, therefore, we find 84 military terms integrated in English texts already in the sixteenth century. Barret's work helped thus to disseminate these recently incorporated military terms contributing to their consolidation in the English language. Many of these words became part of the nomenclature of the hard word dictionaries, as is the case of *alferez* (5), *ambuscado* (6), *burgonet* (7), *camisado*, *corps de garde* (8), or *guidon*, among others.

(6) **Ambuscado**, A Spanish word, and signifieth any troupe or company of soldiers either foot or horse, lodged secretly in some couert, as in woods, hollow wayes, behind bankes, or such like, to entrappe the enemy secretly attending his comming. (Barret 1598)
Ambuscado. A company of Souldiours, hid in some wood or other covert, to entrap their enemies vnwares. (Bullokar 1616)
Ambuscado. Souldiers hid in a secret place to entrap the enemie. (Cockeram 1623)
Ambuscado (Spa.) souldiers hid in a secret place to entrap the enemy unawares; an ambush, a way-laying, or laying in wait for. (Blount 1656)
Ambuscado, (Spanish) an ambush, or men secretly so disposed as to rush out upon an enemy unawares. (Phillips 1658)
Ambuscado, sp. Ambuscade, f. an. (Coles 1676)
(7) **Burgonet**, A French word, is a certaine kind of head-peece, either for foote or horsemen, couering the head, and part of the face and cheeke. (Barret 1598)
Burganet. A Helmet, a Head-peece. (Bullokar 1616)
Burganet. A helmet. (Cockeram 1623)
Burganet, (French) a kinde of Helmet. (Phillips 1658)
Burganet, f. an helmet. (Coles 1676)
Burganet, from the Fr G. *Bourguignotte*, a sort of net; *q.d.* a *Burgundy*-net. (Hogarth 1689)

(8) **Corps de Guard**, a French word, is the body of a watch, of a certaine number of souldiers set for such purposes. (Barret 1598)
Corps du guard, (French) A Term in Military Discipline, signifing a Company of Souldiers set to watch. (Phillips 1658)
Corps-du-gard, f. the body of the Guard. (Coles 1676)

However, other terms were not included in hard word dictionaries or did not include Barret's meaning, despite their currency in Early Modern English texts. Such is the case of *cabo de esquadra* (which is not included in the OED either), *launcier*, *orecchion*, *trench* or *tertio*, among others, which are nevertheless included in bilingual dictionaries. In fact, what is striking is not so much the high number of these loans contained in Early Modern English bilingual dictionaries, given their foreign provenance, but the coincidence of the definitions, especially in Florio and Minsheu (9).

(9) **Cauaglere**, an Italian word, and signifieth a Gentleman seruing on horsebacke, *but in fortifications, a Caualiere is a mount or platforme of earth, built and raised high, either within or without the wall for to plant great Ordinance vpon*. (Barret 1598) [my emphasis]
Cauagliere, a knight or gentleman seruing on horsebacke: but in fortification it is a mount or platforme of earth built or raised high, either within or without the wall for to plant great ordinance vpon. Also it is taken for a silke worme or spinner. Also a kinde of sea crab or lobster. (Florio 1598) [my emphasis]
Cavalléro, m. a knight, or gentleman seruing on horsebacke. (Minsheu 1599)
***Cavalléro**, m. a certaine fortification being a mount or platforme of earth built or raised on high either within or without the wall to plant great ordinance vpon. (Minsheu 1599) [my emphasis]

4.3. Barret's glossary as one of the sources of Florio's military terms in *A Worlde of Wordes* (1598)

As noted above, some of the entries in Barret's glossary are not recorded in either the OED or EEBO or any contemporary monolingual English dictionary of hard words. However, a comparison of the same entries in Early Modern English bilingual dictionaries reveals that they do appear in Minsheu (1599) and especially in Florio (1598); *contra round*, *serracenesca squadra* and *taladro* are found in Florio and Minsheu, and *caualliere à cauallio*, *contrafront recoia* and *tragon* are also found in Florio, who not only records them but follows Barret's definitions almost verbatim, as in (10) – (12):

(10) **Caualliere à Cauallio**, is a high mount or platforme of earth raised very high, so that the Artillery vpon the same, may shoote ouer the walles and bulwarkes, to scoure and cleare the fields all about. (Barret 1598)
Cauagliere a cauallo, is a high mount or platforme of earth, raised verie high that the artillerie vpon the same may shoote ouer the wals and bulwarks to scoure and cleere the fields all about. (Florio 1598)

(11) **Taladro**, a Spanish word, and is an instrument or engine to mount any peece of ordinance vp into the Cariage. (Barret 1598)
Taladro, an instrument, heauer, or engine to mount any piece of ordinance vp into the cariage. (Florio 1598)

(12) **Tragon**, is the rereward of the squadron, or battell. (Barret 1598)
Tragone, the rerewarde of a battle, or squadron. (Florio 1598)

Florio's identical wording, though, is not only restricted to these unattested words in English texts; it also extends to many other loanwords contained in Barret, as shown in (13) – (18).

(13) **Citadella**, an Italian word, is a *Castell or spacious fort, built, not onely to defend the city, but also to keepe the same in awe and subiection*, as that at Antwerp, Millan, and Naples, &c. (Barret 1598) [my emphasis]
Citadella, Cittadella, a citadell, *castell, or spacious fort built not onely to defend the citie, but also to keepe the same in awe and subiection*. (Florio 1598) [my emphasis]

(14) **Contra Round**, An Italian word, is *a certaine number of commanders and officers going, visiting the Corps de guard, watches, Sentinels, and also the Roundes, to see if they performe their duties* and be vigilant and carefull. (Barret 1598) [my emphasis]
Contrarondo, a certaine number of commanders or officers going to visite the corps de guard watches, sentinels, or the round, to see if they performe their dutie. (Florio 1598) [my emphasis]

(15) **Curtine**, a French word, is *the long wall running leuell from bulwarke to bulwarke*. (Barret 1598) [my emphasis]
Cortina, a curtain of a bed. also a curtain of *a long wall running leuell from one bulwarke to another*. (Florio 1598) [my emphasis]

(16) **Enginero**, A Spanish word, is *one skilfull in fortifications, and other machines and stratagems for warre*. (Barret (1598) [my emphasis]
Ingegniéro, Ingeniére, an inginer, a fortifier, a deuiser of engines. Also an artificer, a maker of any tooles, *one skilfull in fortifications, machines, and stratagems of war*. (Florio 1598) [my emphasis]

(17) **Esquadra**, a Spanish word, is *a certaine part of a company of souldiers of some 20 or 25 souldiers whose chiefe is the Caporall*. (Barret 1598) [my emphasis]
Squadra, a squadron, a troupe, or band of men. Also a square, a squire, or a carpenters ruler. Also *a certaine part of a company of souldiers of 20. or 25. whose chiefe is a Corporall*. (Florio 1598) [my emphasis]

(18) **Harguluttier**, An Italian and French word, and is the *souldier seruing on horsebacke, vnarmed, vsing a calliuer with a snap hance*. (Barret 1598) [my emphasis]
Hargolottiere, a *soldier seruing on horsebacke vnarmed vsing a caliuer with a snaphance*. (Florio 1598) [my emphasis]

On rare occasions Florio does not copy Barret's definitions. In these cases, Florio's definitions are shorter (19) or do not include the meaning of the headword in a military context (20) – (22). Besides, Barret often indicates an origin other than Italian, as illustrated in (21) – (24).

(19) **Al'arma**, is a word vsed among men of warre, at times of the enemies suddaine approching, and at their discouerie, and doth signifie, to armes or weapons. (Barret 1598)
Al'arma, To armes or weapons. Also a march so called, sounded vpon the drum or trumpet. (Florio 1598)

(20) **Alerta** an Italian word, vsed vnto the souldiers, when there is any suspition of the enemy; and signifieth to be watchfull, carefull and ready. (Barret 1598)
Alérta, readie, heedefully, prepared, watching alwaies at an aduantage. (Florio 1598)

(21) **Bando** A Spanish word, and signifieth, an act, or law made by the Generall and Counsell of war, in the Campe, and published by sound of the drumme or trumpet vnto the souldiers. (Barret 1598)

Bando, a proclamation, a cry, a banishment, a publication: an act or law published. (Florio 1598)

(22) **Bisognio or Bisonnio**, a Spanish or Italian word, and is, as we terme it, a raw souldier, vnexpert in his weapon, and other Military points. (Barret 1598)
Bisogno, neede, necessitie, want. (Florio 1598)

(23) **Burgonet**, a French word, is a certaine kind of head-peece, either for foote or horsemen, couering the head, and part of the face and cheeke. (Barret 1598)
Borghinetta, a burganet, a skull, a caske. (Florio 1598)

(24) **Camisada** A Spanish word, and doth signifie the inuesting or putting on of a shirt ouer the souldiers apparell or armour; the which is used in the night time when any suddaine exploit or peece of service is to be put in practise vpon the enemy, vnexpected or vnseene, to the ende that the attempters may thereby the better one know and discerne another. (Barret 1598)
Camisciata, a sudden secret attempt or surprise in time of warre, so called bicause it is done and executed with shirts ouer the souldiers armour, a camisado. (Florio 1598)

As noted by Starnes (1937: 1012-1013) and Steiner (1970: 39-40), many of the glosses added by Minsheu to Percival's dictionary were drawn from Florio's *A Worlde of Wordes* (1598), so Florio could have acted as a kind of intermediary between Barret and Minsheu. As for Florio's dependence on Barret's glossary, Considine (2022: 353) points to Barret as one of the sources of the military terms contained in Florio's dictionary. While Florio acknowledges a number of his sources, he does not name all of them, as has been noted by Starnes (1937, 1965) and Haller (2013: xvii). Barret could be one such unacknowledged source.

Florio's identical wording of Barret's definitions of uncommon terms used only in military jargon suggests that Florio consulted Barret's glossary for the compilation of *A Worlde of Wordes*, and, although we do not have evidence to date that allows us to say with certainty how Florio could have obtained Barret's treatise, we can identify the circle of friendships shared by both authors that could have served as a conduit of transmission of Barret's text.

The first question that may awaken some doubts and reservations about Florio's indebtedness to Barret is the coincidence in the date of publication of both works. We may wonder how Florio could have access to a volume that was published the same year as his dictionary. Obviously, the only possible explanation is that someone may have provided Florio with a copy of Barrett's military treatise prior to its publication. Although 1598 marks the publication of Barret's volume and Florio's dictionary, a copy of Florio's work was registered in the Stationer's Company (*Stationer's Register Online*) much earlier than Barret's: the former was registered on 2 March 1596 (Stationer's Register SROID: SRO3840;), whereas the latter was registered on 7 November 1597 (Stationer's Register SROID: SRO4005); however, the Register entries did not imply that the volumes were finished and published at the time, therefore Florio had the possibility of reading Barret's glossary before the publication of his dictionary in 1598, a viable hypothesis considering the glossary is itself quite short.

The second question that remains unresolved is how Florio was able to obtain a copy of Barret's manuscript. Certainly, the circulation of manuscripts prior to publication was a frequent practice at the time, especially within the same social circle (Mentz 2000), so that friends and relatives would act as potential readers and disseminators of unpublished works. Given that Florio and Barret moved in the same circles, Florio may well have leafed through a copy of Barret's treatise made available to him by an unknown mutual acquaintance, but since this puzzle cannot be resolved, I will limit myself to presenting possible routes of transmission.

A possible supplier may have been the publisher of Florio's dictionary, Edward Blount, who had been working as an apprentice for the publisher of Barret's military treatise,

William Ponsonby (Burnett 1991: 44). Both men had remained on very good terms, even after Blount established his own business. However, it does not seem plausible that Ponsonby would provide the copy of Barret's treatise to a business competitor, no matter how cordial their relationship.

A second hypothesis again points to Ponsonby, who did not appear to have a direct association with Florio but can be connected to him through two characters: the first is Mary Sidney Herbert, Countess of Pembroke, wife and mother to the dedicatees of Robert Barret's military treatise: The Earl of Pembroke and his son William, Lord Herbert of Cardiff, and the second is Samuel Daniel, playwright and poet who served the Countess at her Wilton residence. I will briefly outline the type of relationship that these characters maintained in order to understand the context that may have allowed the circulation of Barret's manuscript.

Over the years, Ponsonby had earned the respect and regard of Mary Sidney Herbert and the privilege of being the publisher of her brother's works and her own. It was Ponsonby who in 1586, the same year as Philip Sidney's death, warned that an unnamed publisher had submitted an unauthorized copy of the *Arcadia* for licencing (Brennan 1988: 55). Ponsonby was eventually responsible for the publication of Sidney's *Arcadia* (1590), which had also been edited by John Florio in cooperation with Matthew Gwinne, also known as Il Candido, the author of the prefatory poems in Florio's work (Woudhuysen 2015: 47). He also published the new version of the *Arcadia* in 1593, in which Mary Sidney Herbert was closely involved, and in 1598 he published Sidney's complete works in a single volume. As Brennan (1988: 58) states, 'this volume marked the culmination of both the Countess of Pembroke's and Ponsonby's involvement with Sidney's literary remains'. Furthermore, in 1592 Ponsonby also published in a single volume Mary Sidney Herbert's translations of Philippe de Mornay's *A discourse of life and death* and Robert Garnier's *Antonius* (Duncan-Jones 1977: 441), thus confirming his role as publisher of the Sidneys and the Countess of Pembroke's confidence in him. With regard to Florio, although the Countess of Pembroke knew him, it is unlikely that they had a good relationship since the latter had been very dissatisfied with the first edition of the *Arcadia* which had been edited by Florio, among others (Hannay 1990: 71-74;) besides, Florio had openly criticised the new version of the *Arcadia* under the Countess's supervision (Lamb 1981: 201; 1982: 166).

Another figure who did enjoy the favour and patronage of Mary Sidney Herbert, however, was the poet and playwright Samuel Daniel. Probably tutor to the Countess's children (Lamb 1982: 167), Samuel Daniel was commissioned by the Countess to write a work that would serve as a continuation of her translation of Garnier (Lamb 1981: 197), a work that earned him the Countess's favour and respect. In this network of friendships among which manuscripts and texts could circulate, Samuel Daniel played a key role because it is he who had a direct relationship with Florio and could have acted as an agent for the transmission of Barret's treatise. Florio and Daniel had formed a close friendship since their student days at Oxford that was consolidated with Barret's marriage to Daniel's sister (Yates 1934: 54; Hamlin 2013: 6), who had also been in the household of Sidney's sister, Mary Sidney Herbert (Engel 2012: 354). Daniel was an admirer of Florio's work and even devoted some laudatory verses to him in the preface to the 1611 edition of *A Worlde of Wordes* (Yates 1934: 130) and in the preface to Florio's translation of Montaigne's *Essayes* (1603) (Keener 2014: 89). If Barret's work came to the Pembrokes' Wilton residence via Ponsonsby, it is plausible that Daniel provided it to his brother-in-law for the compilation of his dictionary.

Whatever the means of transmission of Barret's manuscript may have been, what is really relevant in this story is that Florio had the opportunity to consult Barret's glossary for the

compilation of his dictionary, a fact that had hitherto gone almost unnoticed in the history of English lexicography.

5. Conclusions

The massive influx of loanwords during the Renaissance gave way to the production of different lexicographical products, including both appended glossaries meant to explain meanings in treatises and other works and the so-called hard word dictionaries (Schäfer 1970: 33-42, Read 2003: 193). Barret's glossary is one of these readers' lexicographical aids.

Although we do not know much about Robert Barret, his work evinces an active man with diverse interests. It is evident that his real vocation was that of a military man, but his pioneering military glossary reveals his awareness of the need for works of this kind to help his countrymen to enrich their lexicon on a discipline much esteemed at the time. His glossary appears before the publication of the first hard word dictionaries and, in a way, it anticipates some of the features present in these lexicographical works. Thus, apart from short definitions, one-sentence long, it includes the source language of the terms.

Barret obtained his knowledge from the battlefield and that makes his contribution to the military lexicon even more valuable. In fact, no other contemporary lexicographer took part in battles and was in contact with soldiers from different European countries. This real life experience impregnates his definitions with a degree of accuracy absent in other dictionaries. He even provides new military senses for words that in other dictionaries do not relate to the battlefield.

As for the source languages assigned by Barret to his entries, we can establish French and Spanish as the main donor languages of the military terms contained in Barret's glossary. Given the major role played by French as a donor language all throughout the history of English, especially in warfare affairs, this first position is easily justified. As for Spanish, Spain's prominent position on the European scene in the early modern era led to an interest for this country and, particularly, for those Spanish military achievements that could contribute to the improvement of the English army.

Out of the 111 military terms in Barret's glossary, only 17 date from before the sixteenth century and 84 are recorded in sixteenth-century texts, mostly warfare treatises. This makes Barret's glossary an excellent testimony to the expansion of English military terminology during the Early Modern English period and the first major lexicographical work on the discipline.

Finally, a comparison of Barret's glossary with Florio's *A Worlde of Wordes* has revealed that Barret was part of the group of sources Florio consulted for the compilation of many of the military terms in his dictionary, something that is evident from an analysis of the definitions. The exact wording of a very large number of entries leaves no doubt: Barret's military knowledge is reproduced word for word in Florio's definitions. How Florio could have had access to Barret's text before its publication remains unknown, but the existence of a whole network of shared friends and acquaintances allows us to venture transmission routes that facilitated the circulation of the text.

A. Dictionaries

Acknowledgements

Notes

1 Although Barret includes 111 entries in his glossary, the graph shows 112 words as the term *cauaglere* presents two definitions and, therefore, is included under two categories: 'military ranks' and 'fortifications'.
2 This symbol in Cawdrey's dictionary indicates that the word comes from French.

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