



This battle was researched and assessed against the criteria for inclusion on the Inventory of Historic Battlefields set out in Historic Environment Scotland Policy Statement June 2016 <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/advice-and-support/planning-and-guidance/legislation-and-guidance/historic-environment-scotland-policy-statement/>.

The results of this research are presented in this report.

The site does not meet the criteria at the current time as outlined below (see reason for exclusion).

## Dún Nechtain

Alternative Names: Dun Nechtain, Dun Nechtan, Nechtansmere, Gueith lin Garan

20 May 685

Date published: July 2016

Date of last update to report: N/a

## Overview

The Battle of Dún Nechtain was fought between a Northumbrian army under their King, Ecgfrið, against a Pictish army from the Kingdom of Fortriu led by Bridei mac Beli. The battle ended in a decisive victory for Bridei's forces with Ecgfrið along with many of his army slain, freed Fortriu from Northumbrian overlordship and permanently weakened Northumbria's power in Northern Britain.

## Reason for exclusion

There is no certainty about the location of the battle. The traditional site of Dunnichen, near Forfar, has no physical evidence to support it, and is largely based on the "Dún Nechtain" place name for a fort in the vicinity. There is no definitive reason to believe that there is a connection between the fort and the battlefield, and the location does not match the limited description in Bede. The traditional location is therefore entirely unsupported by the available evidence. There is also a rival location, Dunachton, near Kingussie in Strathspey, similarly unsupported by physical evidence, but more in keeping with Bede's description. It requires a re-assessment of the location of the Pictish kingdom of Fortriu, but is as plausible as the traditional location. With the lack of certainty about the location of the battle, it is not possible at this time to include Dún Nechtain on the Inventory of Historic Battlefields. In the event that evidence is found in future that allows the location to be identified, the battle would meet the required criteria for inclusion on the Inventory.



### Historical Background to the Battle

The reasons for Ecgfrið's fateful excursion into Fortriu to make war upon Bridei in the spring of 685 are not clear.

In the eyes of Bede, Ecgfrið was the aggressor, waging an unjust war and receiving the judgement of God when he 'rashly led an army to waste the kingdom of the Picts'. Theories from Fraser suggest Bridei devoted all his efforts towards freeing himself from Ecgfrið's overlordship. Abels, on the other hand, suggests that as an insular King in the 7<sup>th</sup> century, Ecgfrið had a solemn obligation to protect his people from any threat from their Pictish neighbours.

In Fraser's opinion, the underlying cause to the battle could be related to the power shifts that occurred after Ecgfrið's defeat in the battle of the Trent in 679, contrasted with Bridei's successful campaigns early in the 680s. Bridei, sensing Ecgfrið's vulnerability coupled with his own enhanced position, may have chosen to cease his tributes and other obligation to the Northumbrian king, leading Ecgfrið to invade Fortriu in 685.

According to Bede, Ecgfrið's army were drawn into an ambush by Bridei's Pictish army on Saturday 20 May 685, trapping the Northumbrians between the loch of Linn Garan and the 'hills' or 'mountains' near the power-centre of Dún Nechtain.

From Fraser's and Cruickshank's point of view, Ecgfrið led his men in a series of mounted charges. However, as the battle developed and their horses tired, the Northumbrians would also have eventually had to dismount and fight on foot.

The battle is likely to have lasted as little as an hour or less, although some modern accounts envisage an engagement which lasted much of the day from afternoon to late evening. Much of the fighting probably took the form of skirmishing and exchanges of missiles, especially in the early stages.

### **The Armies**

Specific details of the Pictish and Northumbrian armies at the Battle of Dún Nechtain are frustratingly sparse and open to conjecture. The Pictish army of Bridei mac Beli, king of Fortriu, would probably have been drawn from a network of small warrior groups similar to the Irish *fianna*, each centred on an arms-bearing warrior caste that was differentiated by age and experience. Written descriptions of 'Pictish' warriors are not found until the twelfth century, while the iconography of warrior images found on Pictish stones are useful, but have problems around specific dating and artistic conventions.

There is a better general idea of the nature of the army of King Ecgfrið of Northumbria. This would have been termed a *fyrð* composed of *here* (warbands) led by nobles described in sources of the period as *sub-reguli* (vassal lord) or *duces* (dukes), similar to Beornhaeth or his son Berctred who are known to have fought for Ecgfrith. The *Vita* of St Wilfrid describes Ecgfrið's army as being *equites*, (horsemen), which is a Latin variant of the Old English term *fyrð*. The army taken north against Bridei would definitely not have been a levy of peasant freemen as described by the older English



historical tradition typified by the work of scholars like Sir Frank Stenton or H. M. Stenton; this was based on the writings of Tacitus and early ethnographic accounts of Germanic groups. The more recent work of Abels and Lavelle have convincingly argued for a mobilisation of the land-owning warrior aristocracy and their *thegns/gesiths* (retainers), mounted and well-armed; a world of lords and followers maintained through gift-giving, and a network based on the overlapping bonds of lordship, kinship and friendship, familiar from the later 9<sup>th</sup>-century Old English poem *Beowulf*.

### **Numbers**

As is typical with all such early historic battles, there is no reliable documentary evidence for the size of the armies in the battle. Fraser suggests around 600 as a reasonable estimate for the invading Northumbrians, with Bridei's Picts, fighting on home ground, mustering a larger force of 1-2,000 warriors; however, these figures are Fraser's conjecture and none of the primary sources gives any indication of the sizes of the opposing armies.

Some idea of the likely sizes of such *fianna* or *here* might be gleaned from surviving legal documents or other sources such as the Laws of King Ine of Wessex c. 698, or the *Senchus Fer nAlban* of the Kings of Dalriada. However, there are major problems in using such sources to fill the gaps in the evidence, not the least of which is the fact that Ine's laws suggest that an army could be as small as 35 warriors.

### **Losses**

There are no details available for the total number of casualties on either side, with King Ecgfrið the only recorded death, although he will undoubtedly also be the most significant loss for either side. However, we can infer from Ecgfrið's death and from the tone of the sources that the Northumbrians suffered heavy losses. The *Vita Sancti Wilfrithi* mourned the loss of the king and 'all the flower of his army', while Bede relates how 'many of the Anglian nation were either slain by the sword or taken captive or escaped by flight from the land of the Picts'. Nennius recorded how the 'Saxon thug' fell there 'with all the strength of his army'. The later 12<sup>th</sup>-century *History* of Simeon of Durham notes that Ecgfrið 'was slain with the greater part of the warriors he had brought with them'. It also states that Ecgfrið's body was buried on Iona, but this is an unlikely place for a King of Northumbria to be buried, although his half-brother Aldfrith was living on Iona at the time of Ecgfrið's death.

### **Action**

The available documentary sources for any battle from the early historic period give very sparse information, and Dún Nechtain is no different. They tend to give the outcome, occasionally the participants and a place name that is frequently no longer identifiable. There is rarely any real detail about the fighting itself. Accordingly, any attempt to provide a description of the course of the Battle of Dún Nechtain can only be an 'impressionistic' one. However,



while there is little definitive information about the events of the battle, the presence of two powerful kings in Bridei and Ecgfrið emphasises the significance of the battle. This was a major engagement between two of the most powerful men in northern Britain, and was intended by both sides to be a decisive battle. The traditional interpretation of the battle is based heavily on Bede, who wrote of the Northumbrians being drawn into an ambush by feigned retreat on the part of Bridei's army on Saturday 20 May 685, which had the intended effect of trapping the Northumbrians between the loch of *Linn Garan* and the 'hills' or 'mountains' near *Dún Nechtain*.

Several modern interpretations of the fighting rely heavily on the problematic evidence of the Aberlemno Stone with both Cruickshank and Fraser basing their narratives on this piece of iconographic evidence. Accordingly, it is claimed that Bridei deployed his men dismounted in several ranks (at the very least three) with the intention of forcing the Northumbrians to attack. The Northumbrian warriors are depicted mounted and well-armed, which would suggest that contrary to popular ideas of how 'Anglo-Saxon' armies fought, Ecgfrið led his men in a series of mounted charges. Nonetheless, as the battle developed and their horses tired, the Northumbrians would also have dismounted to fight on foot if the tactical situation demanded. The duration of the battle may have been as little as an hour or less, although some modern accounts envisage an engagement which lasted much of the day from afternoon to late evening; this is again only conjecture because there is no information in the sources about the duration of the fighting. Much of the fighting probably took the form of skirmishing and exchanges of missiles, while the battle is also likely to have been punctuated by the launching of small bodies of horsemen in localised 'charges', shouting and throwing their spears to try and unnerve the enemy and to earn honour by demonstrating their bravery in this way. The more serious close combat, exchanging blows with swords and spear-thrusts may have become more frequent as the day wore on and the need for decisive action became ever more urgent. At some point in the day, the main Pictish counter-attack began and drove the Northumbrians from the field; this was the point at which the 'the flower of his [Ecgfrið's] army' was slain. The final Pictish attack may well have been a response to the sight of King Ecgfrið's death 'at the ninth hour', the moment when according to the *Vita Sancti Cudberti* the battle was over and judgement had been given 'against our people in the war'. The death of the Northumbrian king has been linked to one of the images on the Aberlemno Stone of a dead warrior being fed on by a raven, however this connection is problematic and is discussed in more detail later.

### ***Aftermath and Consequences***

The Battle of Dún Nechtain has been variously described as 'among the great and decisive battles of Scotland' and 'one of the biggest clashes of arms in the history of "Dark Age" Britain' and 'the scene of the most resounding victory the Picts ever won'. Although Fraser questions the validity of such 'grandiose' claims, it is undoubtedly one of the most significant battles of the



early historic period in Northern Britain and there is little doubt over the historical importance of the battle.

The major consequence of the defeat of the Northumbrians and the death of Ecgfrið at Dún Nechtain was the collapse of the *imperium* of the Æthelfriðingas kings of Bernicia in Northern Britain. Ecgfrið's defeat was a devastating blow to Northumbria's power and influence in the North of Britain. According to Bede it was 'from this time the hopes and strength of the Anglian kingdom began to ebb and fall away'.

The new king, Ældfrið, faced with the apparent divine judgement of God against his predecessor on the battlefield, did not attempt to regain control over Fortriu, instead looking to secure the frontiers with the Picts on the Forth. However, neither the Battle of Dún Nechtain nor Ældfrið's subsequent efforts ended the hostilities between the Northumbrians and Picts, with Beornhæth's son Berhtred being killed in 697 and Berhfrith, possibly Berhtred's son, fighting the Picts in 711. The Battle of Dún Nechtain does mark the point in which Pictish autonomy was permanently secured from the Northumbrian *imperium*. Bede recounts that the Picts subsequently recovered their lands that had been held by the Northumbrians and Dál Riata Scots.

The Pictish victory reflected the 'true political balance in the north' (Wainright 1948). It marked a further point in the decline in the political and military dominance of the Northumbrian kings, at the very time of the flourishing of the Golden Age of Northumbrian religious and intellectual culture. Conversely, Bridei's battlefield triumph was evidence of his legitimate claim to the overlordship of the lands between Dunottar and Dundurn. As such, it created the circumstances which allowed Bridei to extend his authority over the 'innumerable nations' of the Picts in the lowlands. By the time Bede wrote his *Historia* in the 730s, Pictavia was considered to be a single kingdom. The emergence of a single kingdom of the Picts is a direct result of the victory in 685 and the most significant outcome of the battle.

### Events & Participants

The Picts of Fortriu were led by Bridei mac Bili, who may have been installed as a sub-king by Ecgfrið in the kingdom of Fortriu. Bridei's father Bili appears to have been King of Alt Clut and therefore from the British kingdom of Strathclyde, but Bridei's grandfather was Nechtan of Fortriu and thus a Pict. His mother was a Deiran from Northumbria, making Bridei a member of the royal families of most of the dynasties of northern Britain. It is likely that he initially relied upon the patronage of Northumbria for his control of Fortriu. However, he quickly set about building up his power and that of Fortriu, and his expansionism seems to have been one of the reasons for Ecgfrið's hostility towards his cousin Bridei. The Northumbrians were led by Ecgfrið, king of Bernicia. He was the son of Oswiu of Northumbria and had spent time as a boy in the court of Penda of Mercia, the last and most powerful of the pagan Anglo-Saxon kings. Ecgfrið and Bridei may even have known each other personally as young men.



### Context

The Battle of Dún Nechtain decided the fate of Northumbrian hegemony north of the Forth. While none of the contemporary sources explicitly states Ecgfrið's reasons for attacking the Picts of Fortriu, Northumbrian accounts are clear that it was against the 'urgent advice of friends... and mostly Cuthbert of blessed memory' who had been recently made bishop of Lindisfarne. In the eyes of Bede, Ecgfrið was the aggressor, waging an unjust war and receiving the judgement of God when he 'rashly led an army to waste the kingdom of the Picts'.

In the highly competitive environment of late 7th century Northern Britain, where royal prestige, power and authority was founded on military superiority and victory in combat, it is likely that the war stemmed from the need for kings like Ecgfrið to demonstrate their strength and authority to extract tribute from their neighbours. This was even more vital when such authority was perceived to be weakening or undermined. The Northumbrian *imperium* over Northern Britain, won by Ecgfrið's predecessors, had begun to disintegrate, ushered in by a bloody defeat at the hands of the Mercians at the Trent (679). Ecgfrið's prestige and reputation, upon which Northumbrian power rested, had been seriously damaged. This loss of face goes some way to explain his actions in the years leading up to Dún Nechtain, as he attempted to restore his authority, although the evidence suggests that he was unsuccessful and that he 'gained no victory until the day of his death' (*Vita Sancti Wilfrithi*). It may also explain the raid of his *dux* Berhtred with 'hostile bands' into Ireland and the lands of the Uí Néill in 684, wasting 'a people that was harmless' (Bede) and burning churches and monasteries.

The period 679-85 witnessed increasing tensions between Ecgfrið and the neighbouring subject Pictish kingdom of Fortriu. In 671, Ecgfrið had defeated a Pictish rebellion at the Battle of Two Rivers. One of his sub-kings at the battle was Beornhæth who may have ruled the Southern Picts. The aftermath of the victory saw the deposition of the king of Fortriu, Drest mac Donuel and his replacement by Bridei mac Bili, as a *fratruelis* (cousin) of the Northumbrian king. His special relationship with Ecgfrið raised Bridei's profile as a successful warleader in the north. Sieges are recorded in Irish sources at Dunottar in 680 and Dundurn in Stathearn in 682, and Orkney was attacked in 681, which are associated with Bridei's rise to power in Fortriu. These attacks also posed a major challenge to Northumbrian authority among the Picts. The most plausible cause of the Anglo-Pictish War of 685 may either have been an outright refusal by Bridei to continue to pay tribute and act as a loyal sub-king, or an attempt by Bridei to re-negotiate the scale of payment to his Northumbrian overlord.

### Battlefield Landscape and Location

Since the nineteenth century, the Battle of Dún Nechtain has been identified with Dunnichen in Angus, but this identification is problematic. There is no artefactual evidence currently known from Dunnichen that could prove it as the site of the battle. The only evidence for the location of the fighting is that of



the primary sources, which give very little information about geography other than generic statements about hills and lakes. The secondary sources rely entirely upon interpreting the primary accounts because there is no physical evidence to use; Fraser's account frequently uses phrases such as 'it is not unreasonable to assume...', which highlights that the argument is largely conjectural.

The identification of the battle of *Dún Nechtain* with Dunnichen Hill, 5 km east of Forfar in Strathmore, was first made by George Chalmers in 1807 in *Caledonia*, a 'quite uncritical, romantic history'. Chalmers noted that the modern name Dunnichen could be found in the early charters of Arbroath Abbey as 'Dun Nechtan'. He also suggested that 'Dunnichen Moss' to the east of the village, which had recently been drained, could still be seen in old maps as a small lake. However, Chalmers offered Ainslie's map of Forfarshire (1794) as evidence, but this does not show a lake in that position, nor do earlier maps, for example Pont (c 1583–96) or Roy's Military Map (1747–55).

The battle is recorded under several names which preserve a sense of its original location and topography. It was remembered in Northumbria as *Nechtansmere* 'Nechtán's water' in the 12<sup>th</sup>-century *History* of Simeon of Durham. Prior to this date it had no English name. The *Annals of Ulster* record it under the year 686 as being 'the battle of *Dún Nechtain*', [the fort/settlement of Nechtan]. Nennius records its name in the 9<sup>th</sup> century as *Gueith Lin Garan* 'the pool of cranes', which Fraser believes may preserve the Pictish name for the battle. The debate revolves around the nature of the sources, which give little detail, while their meaning is dependent on the translation of the surviving texts. Bede, writing in the 730s in Monkwearmouth-Jarrow, described the location as being 'in defiles/narrow places of unapproachable mountains'. This does not seem to describe the area around Dunnichen. Fraser has attempted to resolve the problems with Bede's description. He noted that the Latin term *mons* can mean hill as well as mountain. Equally, Fraser argued, the Latin *angustiae* 'narrow places/defiles' may also be understood as 'into distress': therefore, Bede's words could be reinterpreted as the Northumbrians were drawn 'into distress in unapproachable hills'. Fraser then stated that in essence the sources indicate that the battlefield was located at a hill, with a *dun* dominating the area as a power-centre, with a large area of water nearby, and in an area of difficult ground. However, this fails to resolve the fact that Bede's description unequivocally describes the hills/mountains as being 'unapproachable', i.e. in difficult terrain. In addition, the Canmore entry for the nearby dun is highly dubious as regards its authenticity, and it does not appear to have survived to the present day so its existence cannot be easily verified.

Fraser and Alcock both emphasised the significance of the defile formed by Dunnichen Hill and Turin Hill, Green Hill to the south and Pitscandly Hill to the north, which they both considered as an echo of Bede's 'inaccessible mountains'. Fraser locates the battlefield in the ground between Loch Fithie to the north and Green Hill to the east, the present A932 running through this area. Fraser also suggests a line of approach by Ecgfrið's Northumbrian army with his conjectured 'Restenneth Loch' to their left encountering the far larger Pictish army deployed on the forward slopes of Green Hill, with *Dún Nechtain*



behind them. However, there is no empirical evidence to support this location. Indeed, it is very difficult to consider the hills around Dunnichen as equating to inaccessible mountains when there are considerably more dramatic hills only 10-12 miles to the north. If Bede's description was based upon accurate information, then the area around Dunnichen seems unlikely.

Until 2006, Dunnichen's claim to be the site of the battle of 685 was largely accepted. However, an article by Alex Woolf in that year proposed an alternative site for the battle at Dunachton, on the north-western shore of Loch Insh in Badenoch. The claim for Dunachton is essentially founded on Woolf's belief that the Kingdom of Fortriu, Bridei's territory, was further north and west of the Mounth than has previously been believed. A key part of his argument for the battle site of *Linn Garan* being further north, 7 km north-east of Kingussie, is the absence of Bede's 'inaccessible mountains' in the area around Dunnichen. Dunachton does have a position near a mere – Loch Insh – and is associated with a *dún* site on a hill, while the surrounding terrain is difficult. However, it should also be noted that Dunachton suffers the same absence of artefactual evidence as Dunnichen, and that there is no solid proof to locate the battle here either.

While the location at Dunachton arguably fits better the description given by Bede, there is no reason to accept this location above that of Dunnichen. Neither site is supported by physical evidence, while both locations rely on conjecture. Dunnichen has the Aberlemno Stone to support its claim, but the circularity of the argument that links both to the Battle of Dún Nechtain is discussed in detail in the next section. At the moment, based on current available evidence, it cannot be determined with any certainty whether the Battle of Dún Nechtain took place in Angus in the vicinity of Dunnichen, or in Badenoch in the vicinity of Dunachton, or indeed in another location entirely.

### Archaeological and Physical Remains and Potential

There are currently no known artefactual remains recorded from the battle, and no human remains that can be definitively associated with the fighting. This is not unusual for battles of this early historic period, with the only known examples of weapons from the period coming from fortified sites such as forts and duns. There is the potential of artefacts surviving from the battle: hand-to-hand fighting would result in the deposition of a variety of physical remains. Arrowheads, damaged weapons and personal accoutrements like belt-buckles, scabbard and sword fittings, and horse equipment would have been lost or abandoned during the action and subsequent retreat or rout. There is also the potential for the survival of human remains from the battle, especially if Northumbrian losses are as high as the sources suggest. However, it is important to note that, in the case of early sites such as Dún Nechtain, the sheer length of time since the material was deposited may well have had a highly detrimental impact upon its survival.

A controversial piece of evidence for the battle is the Aberlemno II Stone, an upright cross-slab of Old Red Sandstone, with a striking battle scene of Pictish-style warriors fighting mounted fighters in distinctive helmets.



# Inventory of Historic Battlefields

## Research report



HISTORIC  
ENVIRONMENT  
SCOTLAND

ÀRAINNEACHD  
EACHDRAIDHEIL  
ALBA

However, the stone is no earlier than the mid-8th century and perhaps as late as the mid-9th century and is therefore much later than the battle. Its association with the Battle of Dún Nechtain is relatively recent, and is partly based on its proximity to what has become the traditional location of the battle at Dunnichen Hill in Angus, first proposed in 1807 by George Chalmers. In contrast, in the 16<sup>th</sup>-century Boece linked the stone with the fictitious battle of Barry, rather than the Battle of Dún Nechtain. In 1985, Cruickshank proposed an interpretation of the Aberlemno Stone as a depiction of the Battle of Dún Nechtain. He suggested that it showed Pictish warriors bearing square shields fighting a mounted army of Northumbrian warriors wearing helmets with nose guards. He linked these helmets with nose guards to the 8th century Coppergate helmet found in York in 1982; this was argued as proof that the helmeted warriors were Anglians. The final panel on the stone has a large bird apparently pecking at a fallen warrior, who has been interpreted as representing the fallen Ecgfrið. Fraser, along with other scholars, has accepted this reading of the stone, and he took it as strong evidence that the battle must have taken place in the near vicinity of the stone; as the Aberlemno stone is only three miles from Dunnichen, Fraser suggested that this was good evidence that the stone was a depiction of the battle as it would be too remarkable a coincidence for the stone to be commemorating a different battle. However, this is a circular argument. The interpretation of the stone depends upon the battle having been fought in the near vicinity of the stone, while the proximity of the stone is used to strengthen the identification of the battle as having taken place at Dunnichen. There is nothing definitive in the images of the Aberlemno Stone that conclusively proves a connection between the stone and the Battle of Dún Nechtain and it cannot be taken as proof of the location of the battlefield. The stone may well depict Picts and Anglians in conflict, but it does not automatically follow that it depicts the Battle of Dún Nechtain and the battle scene could have been one of a number of other conflicts between Picts and Anglians or even Vikings. It is also possible that the stone depicts a biblical scene, given that the other side of the stone bears a Christian Celtic cross.

### **Cultural Association**

There is a modern commemorative monument at Dunnichen, which was constructed in 1985 to mark the 1,300th anniversary of the battle. This is a simple cairn-style monument with a basic plaque.

### ***Commemoration & Interpretation***

No further information



### Select Bibliography

Bede, *Vita Sancti Cuthberti*. In: B. Colgrave (ed.), 1940. *Two Lives of Saint Cuthbert*. Cambridge.

Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*. In: B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors, (eds), 1991. *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*. Oxford.

Fraser, J. E. 2002. *The Battle of Dunnichen 685*. Stroud, repr. 2009.

Woolf, A. 2006 *Dún Nechtain, Fortriu and the Geography of the Picts*, *Scottish Historical Review*; 85(2):182-201

### Full Bibliography

#### **Information on Sources and Publications**

The primary sources for the battle of Dún Nechtain are fragmentary, often later than the time of the battle, and provide limited detail. There are a number of recent studies of the battle, including those by Cruickshank and Fraser which provide detailed discussions of the 'possible' course of the battle and the tactics and strategy used. The background to the battle can be reconstructed through the use of the surviving Irish annals, the 9th century Welsh *Historia Britonum* [History of the Britons] of Nennius, and in the Northumbrian sources of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* (c. 735), the anonymous *Vita Sancti Cuthberti* and Eddius Stephanus' *Vita Sancti Wilfrethi* of the early eighth century. The later early 12<sup>th</sup>-century *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae* attributed to Simeon of Durham includes the earliest reference to the place-name of *Nechtansmere*. An Irish poem, *Inui feras Briuide cath* ('Today Bridei gives battle') commemorates the Pictish victory, but provides no details about the battle and its course.

#### **Primary Sources**

All website addresses were last accessed on 8 June 2016

*Annals of Tigernach*. W. Stokes (ed.), vol. I, Lampeter.

*Annals of Ulster (to AD 1131)*. S. Mac Airt and G. mac Niocaill (eds). Dublin.

Anonymous, *Vita Sancti Cudberti*. In: B. Colgrave (ed.), 1940. *Two Lives of Saint Cuthbert*. Cambridge.

# Inventory of Historic Battlefields

## Research report



HISTORIC  
ENVIRONMENT  
SCOTLAND

ÀRAINNEACHD  
EACHDRAIDHEIL  
ALBA

Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*. In: B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors, (eds), 1991. *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*. Oxford.

Bede, *Vita Sancti Cuthberti*. In: B. Colgrave (ed.), 1940. *Two Lives of Saint Cuthbert*. Cambridge.

Eddius Stephanus, *Vita Sancti Wilfrithi*. In: B. Colgrave (ed.), 1927. *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid by Eddius Stephanus*. Cambridge.

*Fragmentary Annals of Ireland*, J. N. Radner (ed.), 1978. Dublin. Nennius, *Historia Brittonum*. In: J. Morris (ed.), *British History and the Welsh Annals*, (London 1980)

Simeon of Durham, *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae*, Thomas Arnold (ed.), 1882. *Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia*, vol.I. Edinburgh.

### **Cartographic and Illustrative Sources**

Ainslie, J., 1794. Map of the County of Forfar or Shire of Angus. Available Digitally at <http://maps.nls.uk/joins/577.html> Roy, W. 1747-55. Military Survey of Scotland. Available digitally at <http://geo.nls.uk/roy/>

Pont, T. 1583-96. Lower Angus and Perthshire East of the Tay.  
<http://maps.nls.uk/counties/detail.cfm?id=289>

Ordnance Survey. 1855-1882. First edition, Scotland county.

### **Secondary Sources**

Abels, R. 1988. *Lordship and Military Obligation in Anglo-Saxon England*. London.

Aitchison, N. 2003. *The Picts and the Scots at War*. Stroud.

Alcock, L. 1988. *An Heroic Age: War and Society in North Britain, AD 450-850*. Rhind Lectures, 1988-89: A Synopsis. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 118, 327-34.

# Inventory of Historic Battlefields

## Research report



HISTORIC  
ENVIRONMENT  
SCOTLAND

ÀRAINNEACHD  
EACHDRAIDHEIL  
ALBA

Alcock, L. 1993. *The Neighbours of the Picts: Angles, Britons & Scots at War and at Home*. Rosemarkie: Groam House Lecture Series, Groam House Museum Trust.

Alcock, L. 1996. The Site of the 'Battle of Dunnichen', *Scottish Historical Review*, 75,130-42.

Cessford, C. 1993. Cavalry in Early Bernicia: A Reply. *Northern History*, 29, 185-7.

Cruickshank, G. D. R. 1985. *Nechtansmere 1300: A Commemoration*. Forfar: Forfar & District Historical Society.

Cruickshank, G. D. R. 1991. *The Battle of Dunnichen*. Balgavies.

Cruickshank, G. D. R. 1992. Explaining the Aberlemno Battle-Scene. In: Burt et al, (eds.). *Stones, Symbols and Stories: Aspects of Pictish Studies, Proceedings from the Conferences of the Pictish Arts Society*. Edinburgh. pp.39-43.

Cruickshank, G. D. R. 2000. The Battle of Dunnichen and the Aberlemno Battle-Scene. In: Cowan & McDonald, (eds.). *Alba: Celtic Scotland in the Medieval Era* East Linton.

Evans, S. S. 1997. *The Lords of Battle: Image and Reality of the Comitatus in Dark-Age Britain*. Woodbridge.

Fraser, J. E. 2002. *The Battle of Dunnichen 685*. Stroud, repr. 2009.

Fraser, J. E. 2009. *From Caledonia to Pictland: Scotland to 795*. New Edinburgh History of Scotland, Edinburgh.

Harrison, K. 1971. The Reign of King Ecgfrith of Northumbria. *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 43, 79-84.

Higham, N. J. 1991. Cavalry in Early Bernicia. *Northern History*, 27, 236-41.

Hooper, N. 1993. The Aberlemno Stone and Cavalry in Anglo-Saxon England. *Northern History*, 29, 188-96.

Hughson, I. I. 1999. Pictish Horses and Pictish Society. In: R. Black, et al. (eds.), *Celtic Connections: Proceedings of the 10th International Congress of*

# Inventory of Historic Battlefields

## Research report



HISTORIC  
ENVIRONMENT  
SCOTLAND

ÀRAINNEACHD  
EACHDRAIDHEIL  
ALBA

Celtic Studies, vol. I: Language, Literature, History, Culture. East Linton. pp. 211-21.

Lavelle, R. 2010. Alfred's Wars: Sources and Interpretations of Anglo-Saxon Warfare in the Viking Age. Woodbridge.

Marren, P. 1990. Grampian's Battlefields: The Historic Battlefields of North-East Scotland from AD 84 to 1745. Aberdeen.

Wainright, F. T. 1948. Nechtansmere, *Antiquity*, 22, 82-97.

Wolf, A. 2006 Dún Nechtain, Fortriu and the Geography of the Picts, *Scottish Historical Review*; 85(2):182-201

Historic Environment Scotland. Dunnichen site. Site number. NO54NW 27  
<https://canmore.org.uk/site/34681/dunnichen-hill>

Historic Environment Scotland. Dunachton site. Site number. NH80SW 2.01  
<https://canmore.org.uk/site/14913/dunachton>

Historic Environment Scotland. Aberlemno Stone. Site number. NO55NW 26  
<https://canmore.org.uk/site/34806/aberlemno>