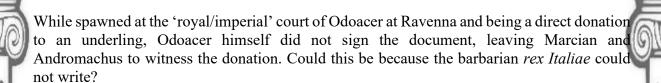


conflict in Sicily with the Vandals until 491 after Pierius' death, the rex Italiae had confronted the Vandal king Geiseric over control of the island early in his reign. Perhaps Pierius had been involved in securing the Vandal cession of Sicily to Odoacer in the early autumn of 476 (Clover (1999), 237). Pierius could also have played a role in Odoacer's conquest of Dalmatia in 481, leading to his reward of the island of Melita (Cassiodorus, *Chron.* sa.481; *Fast. Vind.* Prior sa.482; Auct. Haun. ordo prior sa.482). Pierius' overseeing of the evacuation of Roman provincials from Noricum could suggest that along with Odoacer's brother, Onoulphus, he was involved in Odoacer's war of 486/487 with the Rugians of Feletheus (Eugippus, V. Sev. 44.4; Crawford (2019), 212-213). While much of the conflict with Theoderic came after the land grants, Pierius' potential service against Theoderic would also demonstrate his ability and loyalty to Odoacer. The first direct engagement between the forces of Odoacer and the Amal Goths came on 28 August 489 at the Isontius River (the modern Soča in Slovenia and Isonzo in Italy). Very little is recorded about the battle besides Theoderic's victory (Fast. Vind. *Prior* sa. 490); however, while there is no record of Pierius being present, the fact that Odoacer commanded his own forces at Isontius could suggest that his chief bodyguard was also present. If so, then Pierius likely had a role in the orderly withdrawal and the subsequent Battle of Verona on 30 September 489, where Theoderic inflicted a second, much more emphatic defeat on Odoacer (Anon. Val. XI.50; Cassiodorus, Chron. sa.489; Ennodius, Pan. 39ff). Even if we are to posit Pierius' presence at Isontius and then Verona (Odoacer could just as easily have charged him with command of Rayenna), the aftermath of Verona introduces many more variables. The panicked and fractured retreat of Odoacer's defeated forces may have seen the comes domesticorum escape to Ravenna with Odoacer; however, Pierius could instead have been forced to join the majority of the retreating army in reaching Milan, where it surrendered to the advancing Theoderic (Anon. Val. XI.50-51). Plenty of those who surrendered found their way back into the ranks of Odoacer's army in the succeeding weeks and months. The most high-profile individual recorded doing so was Tufa, Odoacer's magister militum (Anon. Val. XI.51-52; Ennodius, V. Epiph. 111; Wolfram (1990), 281). A captured Pierius could have done so too, although his surrender would surely have been recorded alongside Tufa. The ability of many of those who surrendered at Milan to return to their Odoacer allegiance stemmed from the rex Italiae undoing much of the damage caused by his defeats of Isontius and Verona even before 489 was out through the defences of Ravenna and the financial support of the Italian aristocracy. This continuation of war with Theoderic provided plenty of opportunity for Pierius to extend his military adventures throughout 489/490 - Odoacer's recovery of Cremona, the blockading of Theoderic at Ticinum (modern Pavia), the Burgundian raid on Liguria and a Gothic invasion by Alaric II. Ultimately though, the sources only record one other military action of Pierius beyond his involvement in the aftermath of the Rugian war of 488 – his command of Odoacer's forces at the Battle of Adda River on 11 August 490. The intervention of Alaric II's forces allowed Theoderic to escape the blockade of Ticinum and gather most of his forces together. With the Goths a little more desperate for a final conclusion and Odoacer more confident in a positive result, Theoderic quickly marched to ace the forces under Pierius' command at the Adda River, "possibly near AcerraePizzighettone, where the road from Lodi to Cremona crossed the river" (Wolfram (1990), 282). Again, there is little detail about the Battle of the Adda River on 11 August 490, other than the result: a decisive Gothic victory (Anon. Val. XI.53; Auct. Prosp. haun. sa.491 Cassiodorus, Chron. sa.490; Jordanes, Get. 292ff; Ennodius, V. Epiph. 109-111, 127; Pan. 36-47). And one that proved fatal not just for Pierius, but in the long run to the regime of Odoacer too. While it was ultimately fatal, Pierius had plenty of opportunity to render significant enough service to Odoacer in order to be rewarded with land, which will be seen in Part II. The Pierii of the *Prosopography of the Late Roman Empire* PLRE I.701 – husband of Coelia Nerviana, brother-in-law of Coelia Claudiana, a late third century Chief Vestal; an old friend of Libanius, accused of peculation during a stint as an *officialis* in the east before 359 (Libanius, *Ep.* 105) PLRE II.884-885 – a late 4th/early 5th century correspondent of Symmachus, possibly an African senator (Symmachus, Ep. VIII.45); the early/mid-5th century monk, Nilus, seemingly corresponded with two separate men called Pierius (Nilus, Ep. I.316, II.167), while a certain Pierius was serving as city prefect of Ravenna on 9 June 440 (NVal 8.1) PLRE IIIb.1041 – Pierius, primicerius singulariorum of Cassiodorus during his time as praetorian prefect of Italy in 534-535 (Cassiodorus, Var. XI.32) **Bibliography** Clover, F.M. 'A Game of Bluff: The Fate of Sicily after A.D. 476', *Historia* 48 (1999), 235-Crawford, P.T. The Emperor Zeno: The Perils of Fifth Century Power Politics in Constantinople. Barnsley (2019) Tjäder, J.-O. Die Nichtliterarischen Lateinischen Papyri Italiens aus der Zeit. Lund (1955), vol. 1 279-293 Wolfram, H. History of the Goths. Berkeley (1990) The 'Donation of Odoacer' Part II: Documenting the Donation We saw last time that the career of Pierius must have been significant enough before his appearance in the historical record for Odoacer to promote him to his chief bodyguard, comes domesticorum. The wars of Odoacer's reign – against the Vandals, Dalmatians, Rugians and Goths will also have provided Pierius with further opportunity to give sufficient service for the rex Italiae to feel that he warranted reward in the shape of significant lands in his kingdom. The specific 'Donation of Odoacer' was written on papyrus shortly after the grant was made on 18 March 489 and despite its survival, it has not come through the intervening 15 centuries unscathed. The opening section is missing and the document has been divided into two parts. There is virtually no light to be shone on the first millennium of the document's existence, but one could imagine it gathering dust in the archives of Ravenna or Syracuse, before the rejuvenation of interest in antiquity during the Renaissance.







With the document generated at Odoacer's court, the matter was then placed in the hands of the *actores* or agents of Pierius (these may have been freedmen of Pierius as they refer to him as their *patronus*). These *actores* presented the deed of donation to officials at Ravenna, who obtained from Marcian confirmation that he and Andromachus, who had departed for Rome, had witnessed the grant by Odoacer to Pierius.

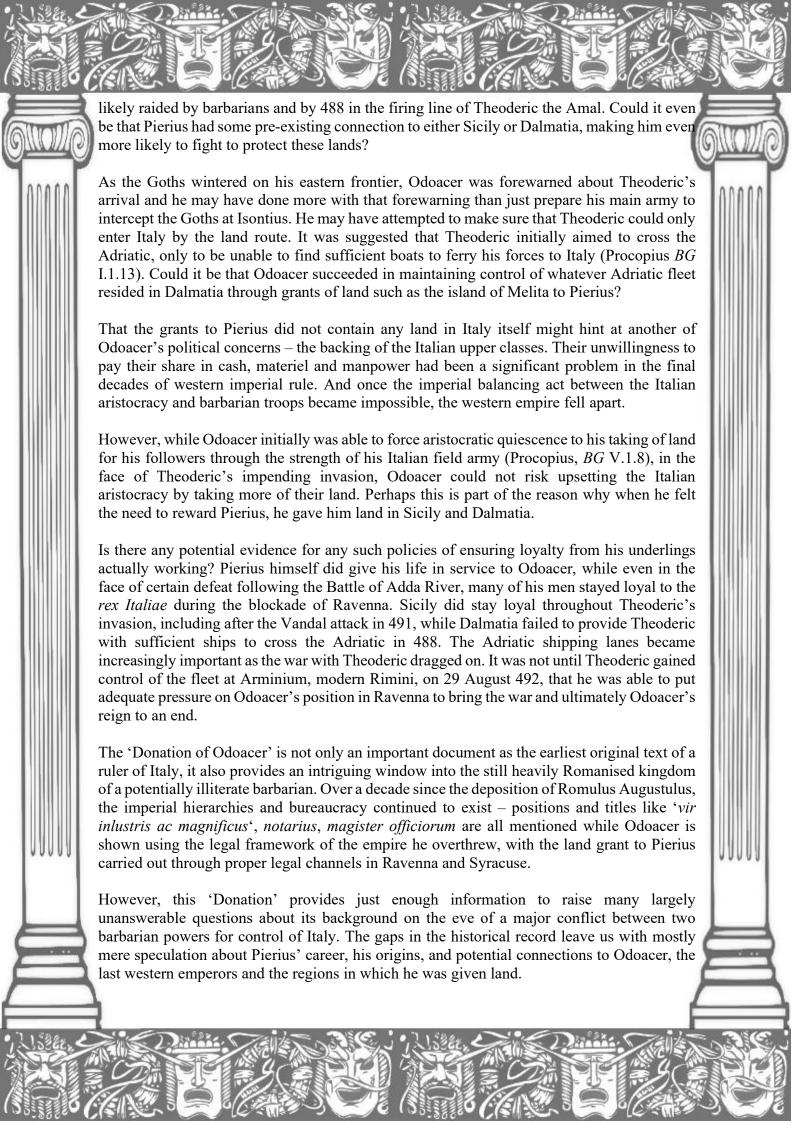
With this authentication, the matter then moved to the courts of Syracuse, the city in whose jurisdiction Pierius' new lands came under. Gregory the *chartarius* and Amantius the *decemprimus* were dispatched from Syracuse with Pierius' *actores* to the estates, where they interacted with the tenants and slaves attached to the lands (although a flaw in the document means that we are not sure what is said or done to them – were they merely being informed of the identity of their new master?). The *actores* are then given a tour of the estates, before returning to Syracuse where they take formal control of these new lands on behalf of their patron. They express his willingness to take on the fiscal responsibilities that came with the land and arrange for Pierius' name to replace that of the former owner on the public register. Once this is done, Amantius added his signature to the document and the 'Donation of Odoacer' to Pierius was complete. The *comes domesiticorum* now had full rights to dispense with the lands as he saw fit and leave them to his descendents.

No one could have known that this legal right of inheritance would be activated within 17 months of the 'Donation of Odoacer,' as Pierius was killed at Adda River (*Anon Val* XI.53; *Auct. Prosp. Haun.* s.a. 491)

"The length of the documents relating to so small a property, the particularity of the recitals, the exactness with which the performance of every formality is described, the care with which the various gradations in the official hierarchy are marked, the reverence which is professed for the mandate of Odovacar, all show us that we are still in presence of the unbroken and yet working machinery of the Roman law: though the hand, not of a Roman citizen, born on the Mediterranean shores, but of a full-blooded barbarian from the Danube, is that which must, at the last resort, control its movements" (Hodgkin (1896), III.154)



Odoacer's choice of lands to reward Pierius may not be entirely random. We may be seeing the *rex Italiae* playing political games of loyalty and defence with various individuals and groups within his realm. Perhaps Odoacer was attempting to give Pierius a direct personal stake in the defence of certain regions of the Italian kingdom. Sicily and Dalmatia had only recently been taken over by Odoacer and were still threatened by neighbouring powers – the war of 491 shows that the Vandals had not given up on Sicily, while Dalmatia was claimed by Constantinople,





Nero's Afterlife Part I: The Imposters and "Never Say Nero Again"



Confronted with rebellions by Vindex in Gaul and Galba in Spain and rumours of the allegiance of Verginius Rufus' army in Germania, the emperor Nero panicked. Rather than face up to what was perhaps far less dangerous an opposition than it first looks, Nero looked to flee the capital, reach Ostia and make for the eastern provinces, which had been the most supportive of him during his reign. This plan was reputedly interrupted when some of the Guards he ordered to flee with him refused.

Returning to the imperial palace, Nero mulled over his options, which he narrowed to throwing himself on the mercy of Galba, appealing to the people in the hope that they would allow him to take up residence in Egypt or fleeing to Parthia. With no firm decision made, the emperor drifted off into what must had been a fitful sleep. News of his proposed flight and various prevarications seems to have stripped away the loyalty of those in the palace, Guards and servants alike for upon waking Nero found virtually no one to help him; not even someone to kill him (Suetonius, *Nero* 47).



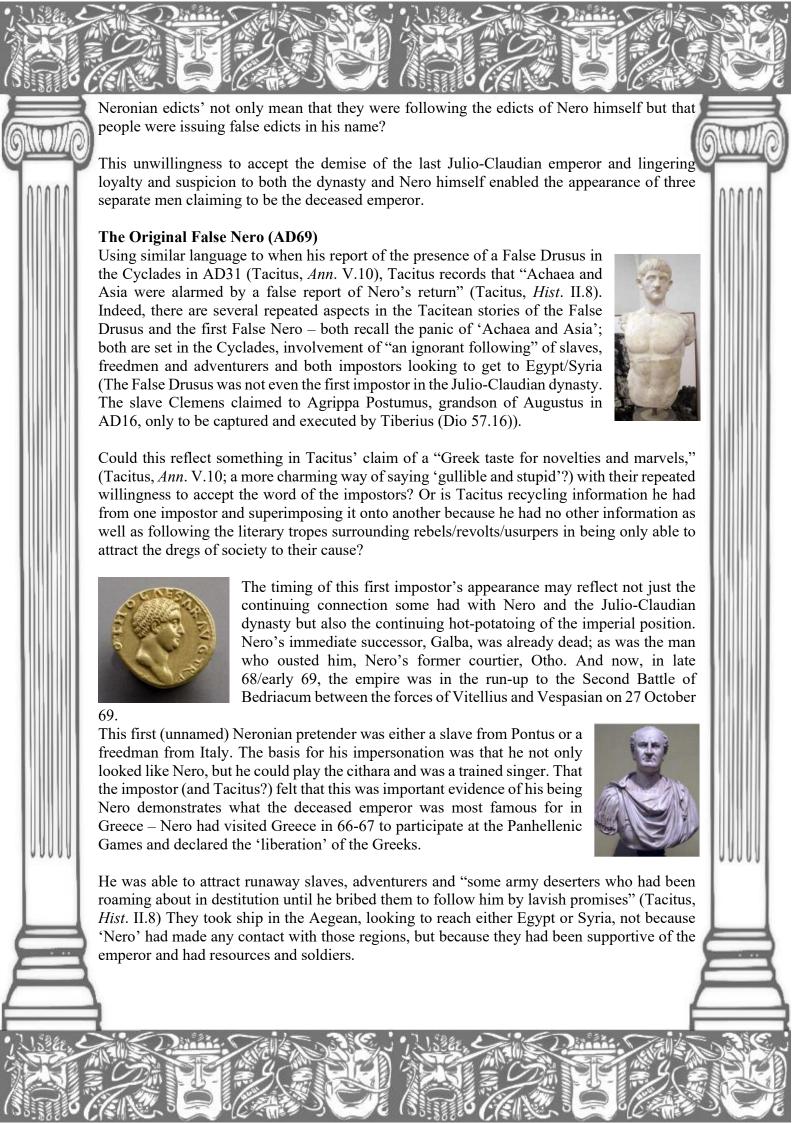
Having considered throwing himself into the Tiber, Nero instead escaped in disguise to the villa of his freedman, Phaon, about 4 miles outside Rome, with just four followers. Upon hearing the news that the Senate had declared him a public enemy, Nero finally decided on committing suicide, although even as agents of the Senate could be heard approaching, he still needed his private secretary, Epaphroditus, to carry out this 'suicide' on 9 June 68 (Suetonius, *Nero* 49).



Despite his body being seen by Galba's freedman Icelus, cremated and then buried in the Mausoleum of the Domitii Ahenobarbi (pointedly not the Mausoleum of Augustus), what is now the Villa Borghese, on the Pincian Hill in Rome (Suetonius, *Nero* 50), there were several contributing factors which led to questions around whether or not Nero had actually died in 68. Both his death and burial had not been colossal

public spectacles, which could have raised dissatisfaction and suspicion (Tacitus, *Hist*. II.8). There was also shock and fear of losing not just a young emperor at only 31 years old, but also the last in the line of the long-lived Julio-Claudian dynasty that had brought about a century of stability to the Roman Empire. His various plans to go east and to ensure his survival suggested that he had the potential to escape and had not lost his will to live. Nero was also still popular with certain sections of the population, such as the lowest classes, who loved the circus and theatre and grasped at every rumour (Tacitus, *Hist*. I.4.3; his tomb was covered in flowers and his statues draped in togas), which in itself not only saw people wanting him to have survived but also questioning the official suicide story because he still had support in large parts of the empire. His being an artist may also have spawned a dramatic 'afterlife', particularly in Greece and the Hellenised East due to his 'liberation' of Greece.

Some of these factors combined to make it that "there were people who... even continued to circulate his edicts, pretending he was still alive and would soon return to confound his enemies" (Suetonius, *Nero* 57). Could the idea that people were continuing to 'circulate

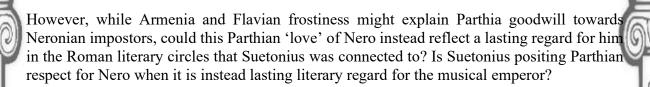




However, Terentius Maximus 'Nero' seemed to have gained the much more important support of a Parthian king. Since the death of Vologaesus I in 77, three of his sons – Vologaesus II Pacorus II and Artabanus III – had contended with each other for the Parthian throne, so the identity of the king is uncertain, but it appears to have been Artabanus. This Parthian support appeared to come in useful for despite having gained some followers in the Asian provinces of the Roman Empire, Terentius Maximus soon felt it necessary to flee across the Euphrates to the court of Artabanus III (Dio 66.19.3b; was he forced to flee by Roman forces loyal to Titus?). The Parthian king gave this Pseudo-Nero refuge and promised military aid in 'restoring' Terentius to the imperial throne, something which the impostor expected due to 'his' having ceded Armenia to the Parthians during 'his' time in power. However, seemingly once his true identity was uncovered and perhaps when Artabanus recognised that this impostor was of little use to him and provided an obstacle to Roman support/neutrality in his quest to be sole Parthian king, he had Terentius Maximus executed (Dio 66.19.3c; John of Antioch fr.104; Zonaras XI.18). Maracand • Tabae (Esfahān) MESENE SUSIANA Parthian Empire Terentius Maximus does seem to have gotten one thing right in his plotting – the expectation that the Parthians were receptive to a False Nero due to their past good relations with him. Nero's willingness to compromise over Armenia may have been the reason behind Vologaesus I (51-78) requesting that the Senate honour the deceased emperor's memory (Suetonius, Nero 57). At the very least, if he was not initially duped into believing that Terentius was Nero, Artabanus was happy to accept the fiction for his own political ends, both as a challenge to Titus and as 'imperial' backing in his challenge to his brother Pacorus II for the Parthian throne.

Parthian willingness to support Neronian pretenders may have sprouted not just from the good relations Nero had fostered with them over Armenia but also the apparent frostiness with the Flavian dynasty. Despite Vologaesus I giving Vespasian a large corps of archers for his war with Vitellius, Vespasian had refused the Parthian king's request for a joint expedition throughout the Caucasus passes against the Alans in 75. The Parthians were so put out by this rebuff that they threatened to invade Syria in 76.

The presence of 'Nero' at their court will have been a boon to Parthian attempts to firmly establish their control over Armenia and perhaps disrupt the Roman defence should the Parthians make inroads into the eastern provinces by tapping into any latent loyalty to Nero and/or the Julio-Claudian dynasty.



The Third False Nero (c.88)



This Parthian goodwill towards the memory of Nero, their less favourable relations with the Flavians and the potential political benefits saw them back "the mysterious individual [who] came forward claiming to be Nero" (Suetonius, *Nero* 57) some twenty years after his death – c.88 during the reign of Domitian, who the Parthians may have known was unpopular with the Roman senatorial classes (by this point, Pacorus II had overcome his brothers and was sole Parthian king).

Suetonius perhaps plays into any accusations that he was allowing pro-Nero literary influences to seep into his work by claiming that "so magical was the sound of his name in the Parthians' ears that they supported him to the best of their ability, and only handed him over with great reluctance" (Suetonius, *Nero* 57).



While Suetonius is dialling up the drama, Tacitus reports that there is a hint of truth in the Suetonian depiction of the Parthian reaction to this third impostor, as "thanks to the activities of a charlatan masquerading as Nero, even Parthia was on the brink of declaring war" (Tacitus, *Hist*. I.2). However, despite Vologaesus' annoyance at Vespasian and Parthian support for two Neronian impostors, Romano-Parthian relations remained peaceful throughout the remainder of the first century and on into the early second century, before the massive Parthian campaign of the emperor Trajan (Gallivan (1973), 364-365 on the chronology of the False Neros).

As already seen with Clemens and the False Drusus, imperial impostors were not created through the mystery surrounding Nero's death. The attempted use of Pseudo-Neros by the Parthians would not be the last such attempt by Rome's enemies. There was a Pseudo-Theodosius, supposedly son of the emperor Mauricius, who the Persians used in their war against the Romans in 602-628, while in the late eleventh century, the Norman conqueror, Robert Guiscard, invaded Roman possessions in the Balkans with a monk called Raiktor who claimed to be the deposed and executed emperor Michael VII Doukas (Anna Komnena, *Alexiad* I.12).

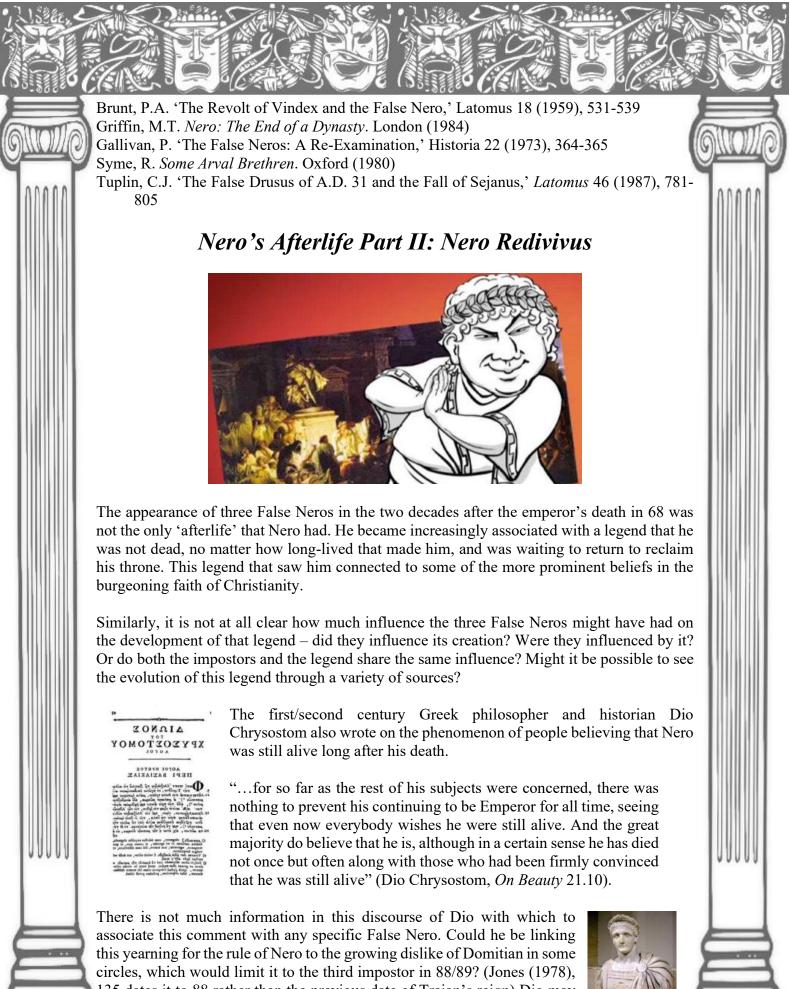
The False Neros has endured as a story, becoming the focus of some historical fiction with Lion Feuchtwanger's *Der Falsche Nero* (1936) using the story of the second Neronian impostor, Terentius Maximus, while Lindsey Davis looked at the last of these Pseudo-Neros in the 2017 book *The Third Nero: Never Say Nero Again*.

We may laugh at the ancients who were taken in by these False Neros, but what of the number of people who believe that Hitler did not commit suicide in his bunker in 1945? And how many people claim to have seen Elvis in the decades since his death?

Bibliography

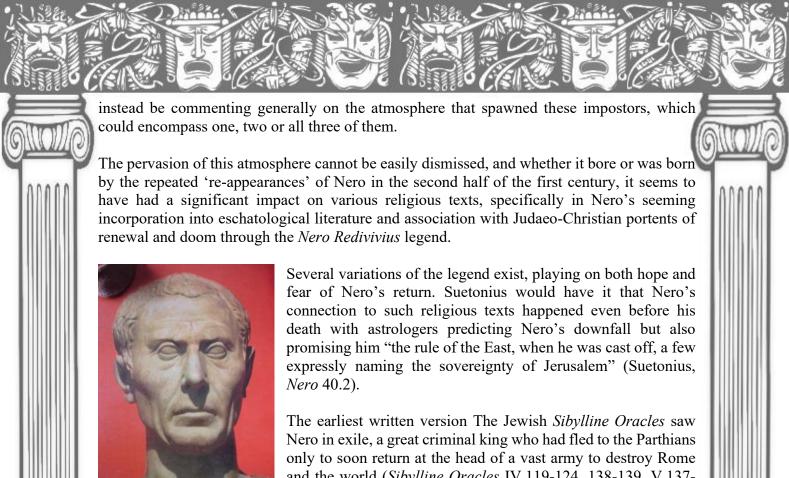
Bradley, K. 'The Chronology of Nero's Visit to Greece A.D. 66/67,' Latomus 37 (1978), 61-

70



135 dates it to 88 rather than the previous date of Trajan's reign) Dio may





and the world (Sibvlline Oracles IV.119-124, 138-139, V.137-152, 362f.; Collins (1974), 80-87) It also refers to Nero as a

"purple dragon" (I.88) and a "great beast" (V.157).

By the time certain parts of the Sibylline Oracles were written, Nero would have been well over 100 years old so while they do not speak of him being reborn or revived, the leap is not far to make.

Aspects of that leap may be seen in sections of the Bible. It could be that the False Neros influenced the mentioning of false Christs and false prophets in Mark 13:21-22, but it is in the Book of Revelation where the real inferences towards Nero may appear.



The idea that Nero might return to reclaim his throne at the head of an army from across the Euphrates, possibly used by or taken from the False Neros, may have inspired the author of the Book of Revelation, who writes of the Beast being wounded in a similar fashion to Nero's fatal injury, only for that wound to heal miraculously, which would also been similar to Nero if he had indeed survived the somewhat self-inflicted wound (Revelation 13:3; Minear (1953), 93-101).

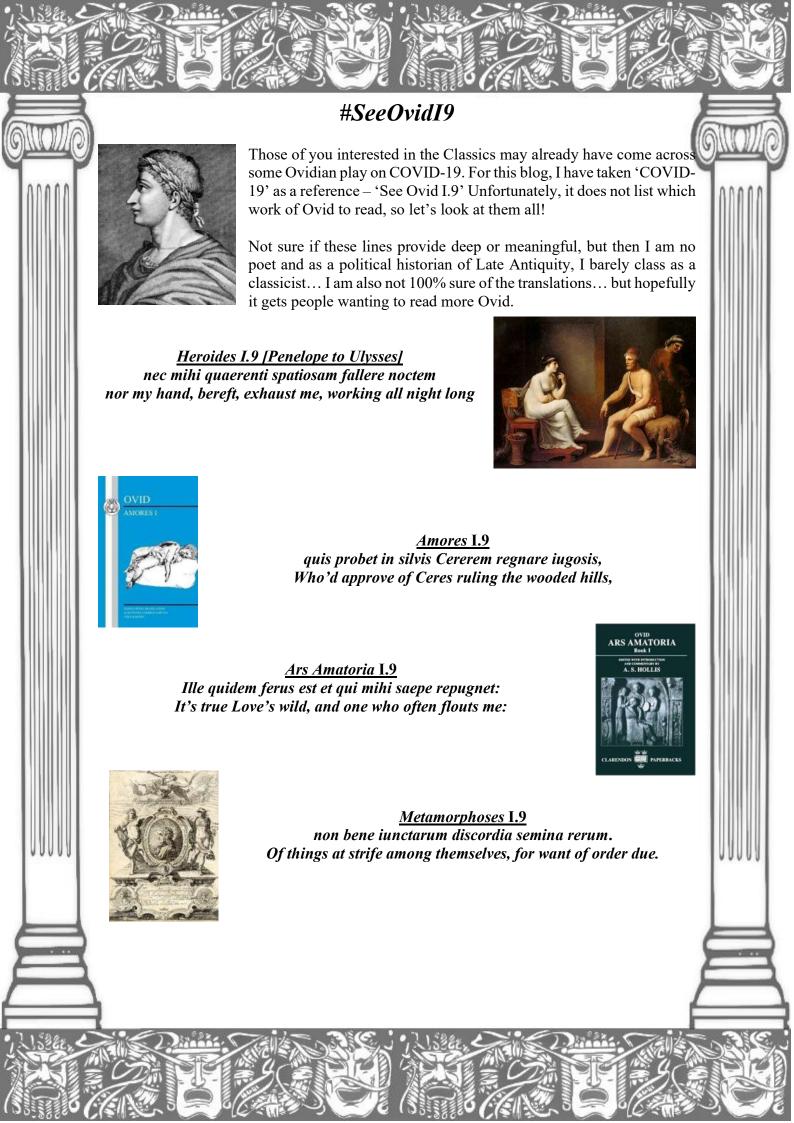


Attempts to portray Nero in such Beastly fashion are also seen in the seeming encoding of his name as a cryptogram in the 'Number of the Beast.' As it might be expected, it does require some literary gymnastics and assigning numbers to certain Greco-Hebrew letters and sounds, such as n=50, r=200, w=6, q=100 and s=60, but 'Nero Caesar' renders the number 666... (Sanders (1918), 95-99; Klauck (2001), 690)

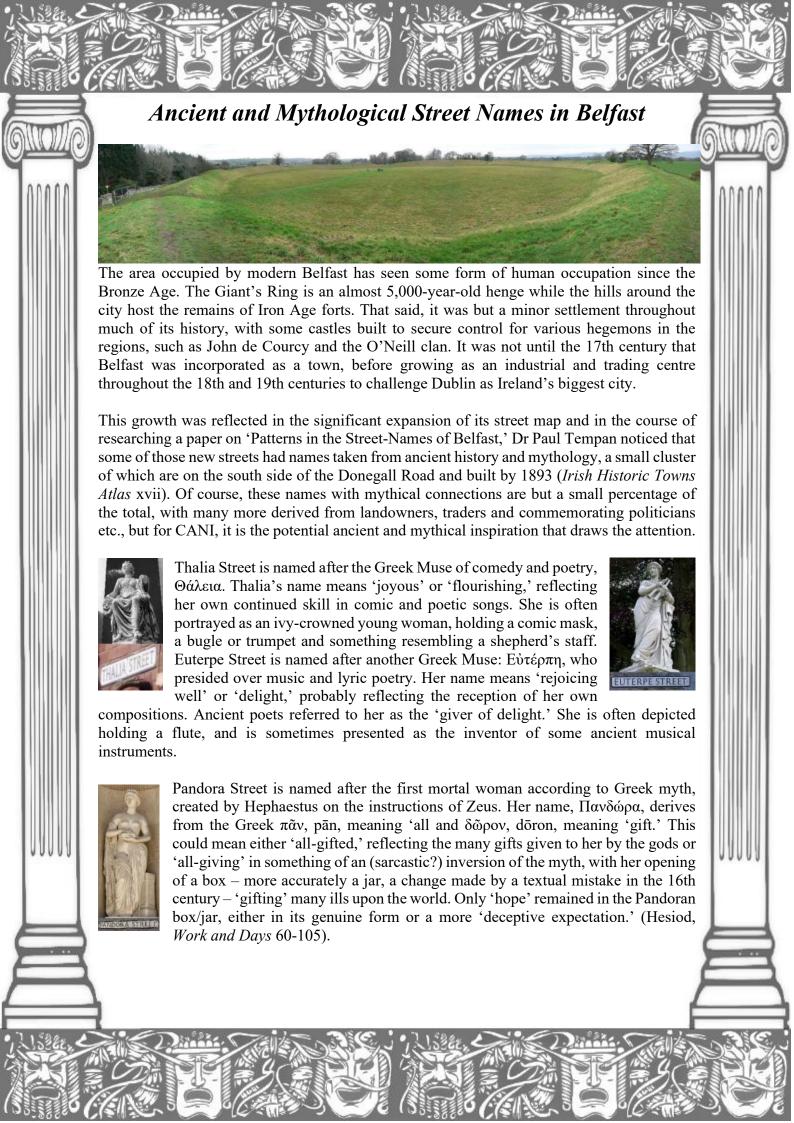
Perhaps then some in the late first century thought that Nero was to be Christ's antagonist? Or could the author be using Nero as something of a cipher for Domitian? Such veiled criticism

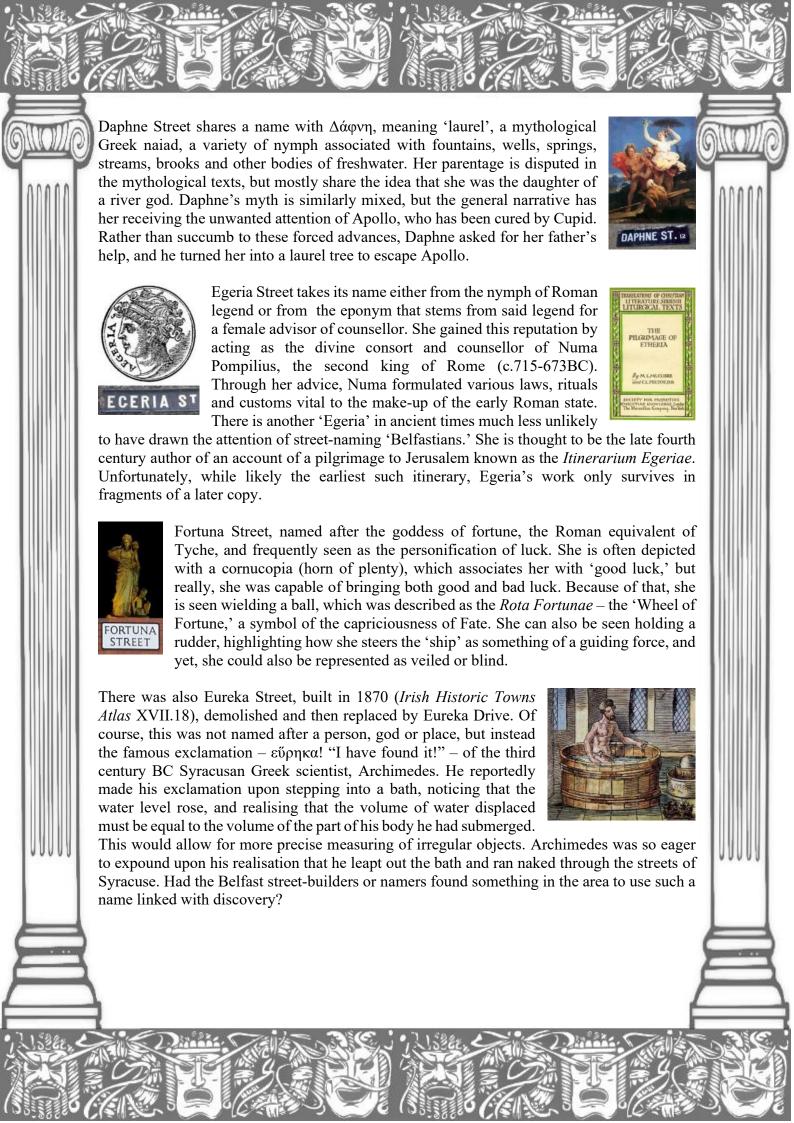
of Nero as the Beast or a harbinger of doom may well have been to protect the author and anyone found reading it. These criticisms were also the next step in joining the Nero Redivivius legend to the Antichrist While this connection does not seem to appear directly in these early religious texts, it was established by the third century. He was certainly connected to the Beast in the Ascension of Isaiah, an anonymous work comprised of sections from various points in the first to third century and perhaps compiled later again. Ascension of Isaiah 4:2-14 presents Nero as "a lawless king, the slayer of his mother," a Christian persecutor, and the personification of Beliar, the Hebrew Devil, to ultimately be slain by Christ in the final battle. The mid-third century Christian poet, Commodianus, presents the revived Nero as something of a lieutenant of the Antichrist to "be raised up from hell" to rule part of the world (Commodianus, Instructions 41). Not all Christians shared the popular belief that Nero was the Antichrist, his precursor or lieutenant. In his On the Deaths of the Persecutors, the early fourth century convert, Lactantius, belittles the idea that Nero would return (Lactantius, DMP II.7), although in the process of doing so, he acknowledges that such a belief was still around at the time when the Roman Empire was on the cusp of Christianisation. Even a century later, when the empire had been Christianised, St. Augustine felt the need to address Nero Redivivius in the section of the City of God which dealt with II Thessalonians 2:7. And as with Lactantius, Augustine ridicules the inferences others have made regarding Nero's proposed reviving (as well as the attempts to have 'Nero as the Antichrist' appear in the writings of St. Paul), but demonstrating that these ideas were still prominent enough to need to be debunked at the turn of the fifth century (Augustine, City of God 19.3.2). This is further seen in the early fifth century writings of Sulpicius Severus, who calls Nero, "the basest of all men, and even of wild beasts...who will yet appear immediately before the coming of Antichrist' (Sulpicius Severus, Sacred History, II.28-29), following Revelation in that Nero's 'fatal' wound will have healed for him to be able to be a precursor to the Antichrist (Sulpicius Severus, Sacred History, II.29). It is possible to see the development of the *Nero Redivivius* myth through Tacitus, Suetonius, Dio, Sibylline Oracles, Revelation and later sources, although the links are not always clear or strong and there is also considerable opposition to Nero Redivivius' influence on Revelation (Klauck (2001), 690 nn.28-29 lists many dissenting voices). **Bibliography** Collins, J.J. *The Sibylline Oracles of Egyptian Judaism*. Missoula (1974) Jones, C.P. The Roman World of Dio Chrysostom. Cambridge (1978) Klauck, H-J. 'Do They Never Come Back? "Nero Redivivus" and the Apocalypse of John,' The Catholic Biblical Quarterly 63 (2001), 683-698 Kreitzer, L. 'Hadrian and the Nero Redivivus Myth,' ZNW 79 (1988), 92-115

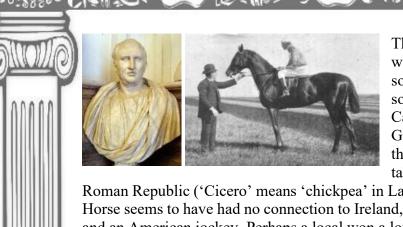












There are also numerous streets in Belfast which take their name from someone or something that has taken its name from something an ancient or myth. Castlereagh, East Belfast, there is Cicero Gardens, which takes its name from the horse that won the Derby in 1905, which in turn takes its name from the great orator of the late

Roman Republic ('Cicero' means 'chickpea' in Latin). Perhaps rather surprisingly, Cicero the Horse seems to have had no connection to Ireland, with an English owner, and English trainer and an American jockey. Perhaps a local won a lot of money betting on the equine chickpea?







Vulcan Street on the Short Strand may be so named due to local industries (not for a love of the home planet of Star Trek's Mr Spock). That said, there was a Vulcan Foundry in another part of Belfast, while the English company Vulcan Foundry Ltd produced locomotives for the Belfast and County Down Railway in the 1880s. The Roman Vulcan was god of fire, volcanoes, metalworking, deserts and the forge. Due to the latter, he was frequently depicted wielding a blacksmith's hammer.

Rosetta

Apollo Road, off Boucher Road, was probably named after the Apollo space programme that put the first men on the Moon, rather than directly after the Greek god of healing, medicine and archery, and of music and poetry, son of Zeus and Leto and the twin brother of Artemis.

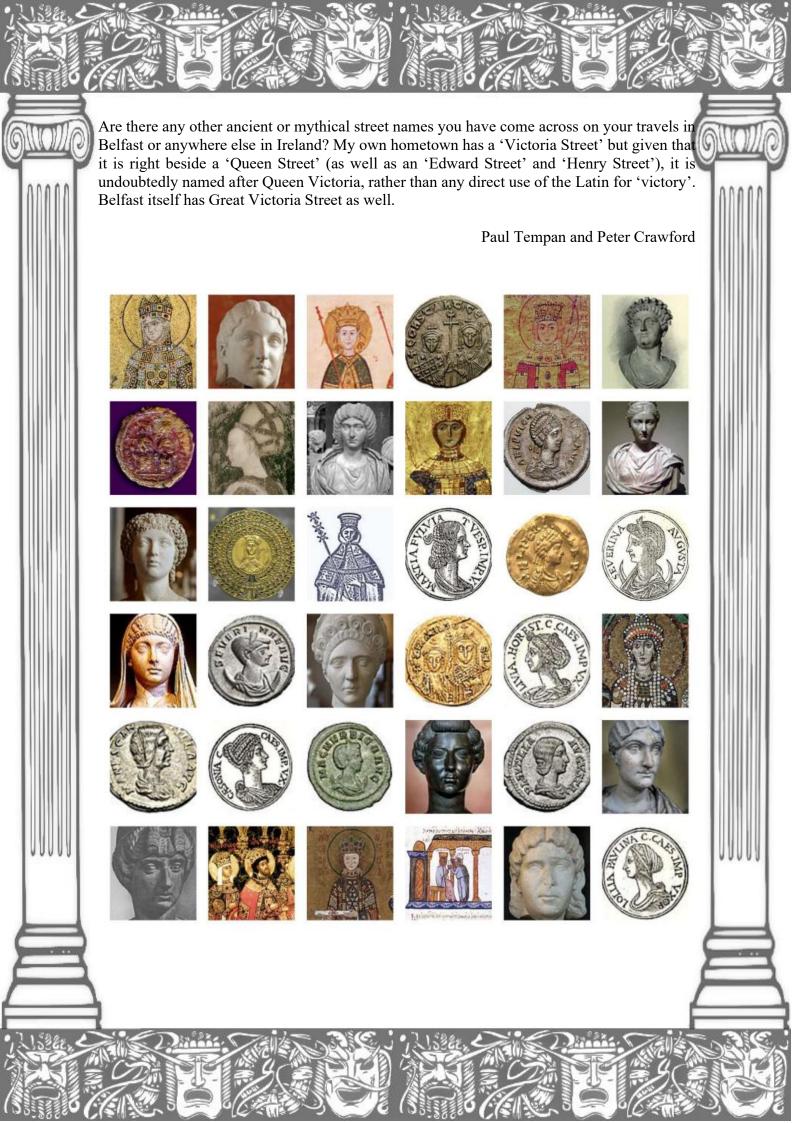


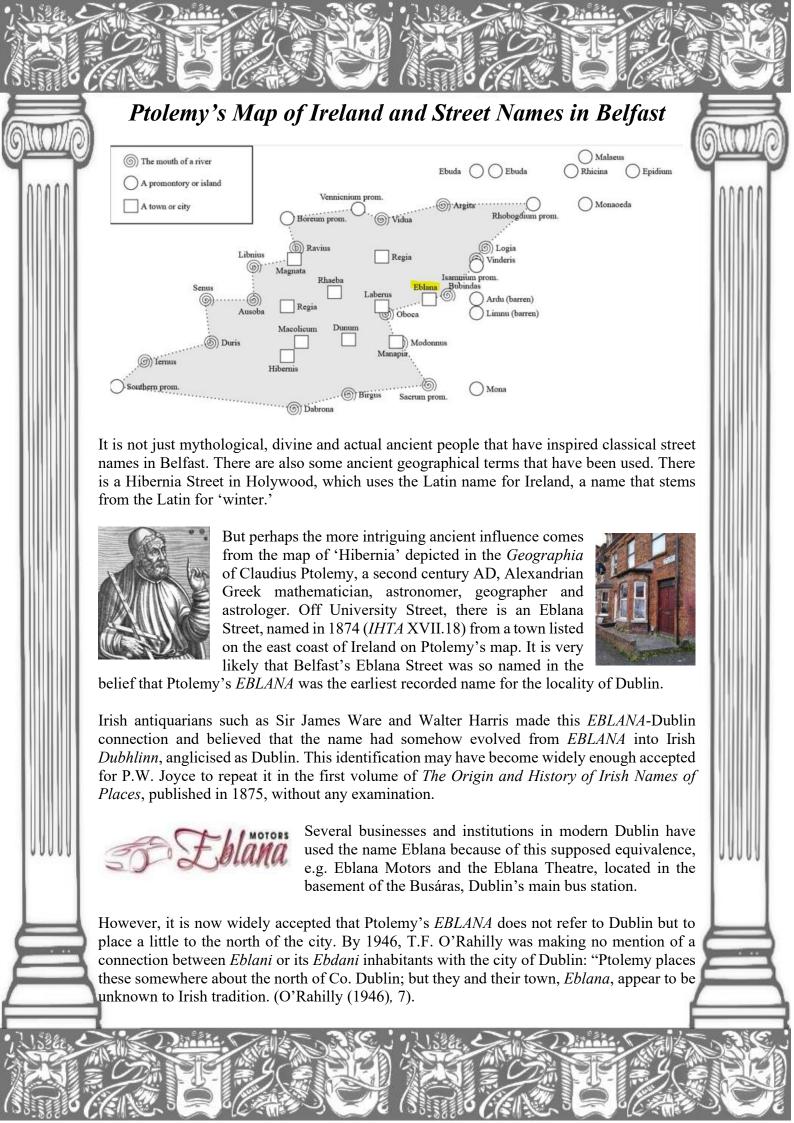


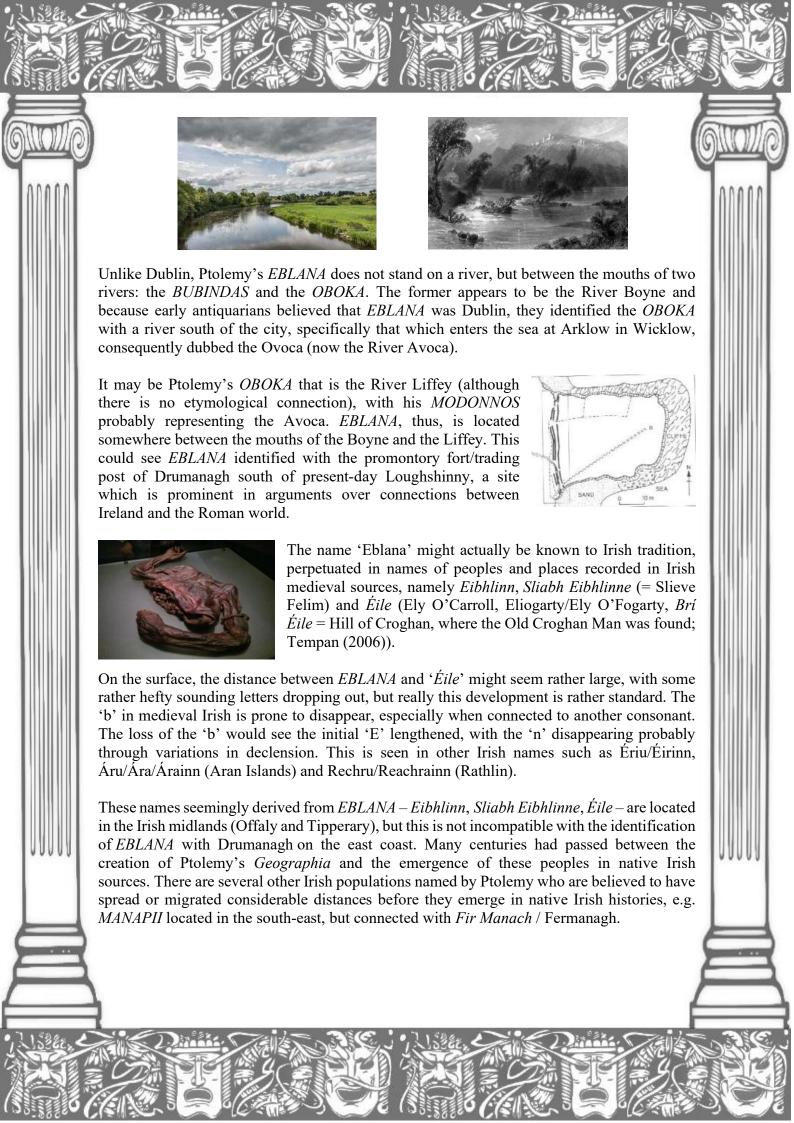




Park is likely named after Rosetta Primary School, which in turn was likely named to commemorate (probably an anniversary of) the deciphering of the Rosetta Stone and therefore Egyptian hieroglyphics in 1822 by Jean-François Champollion.



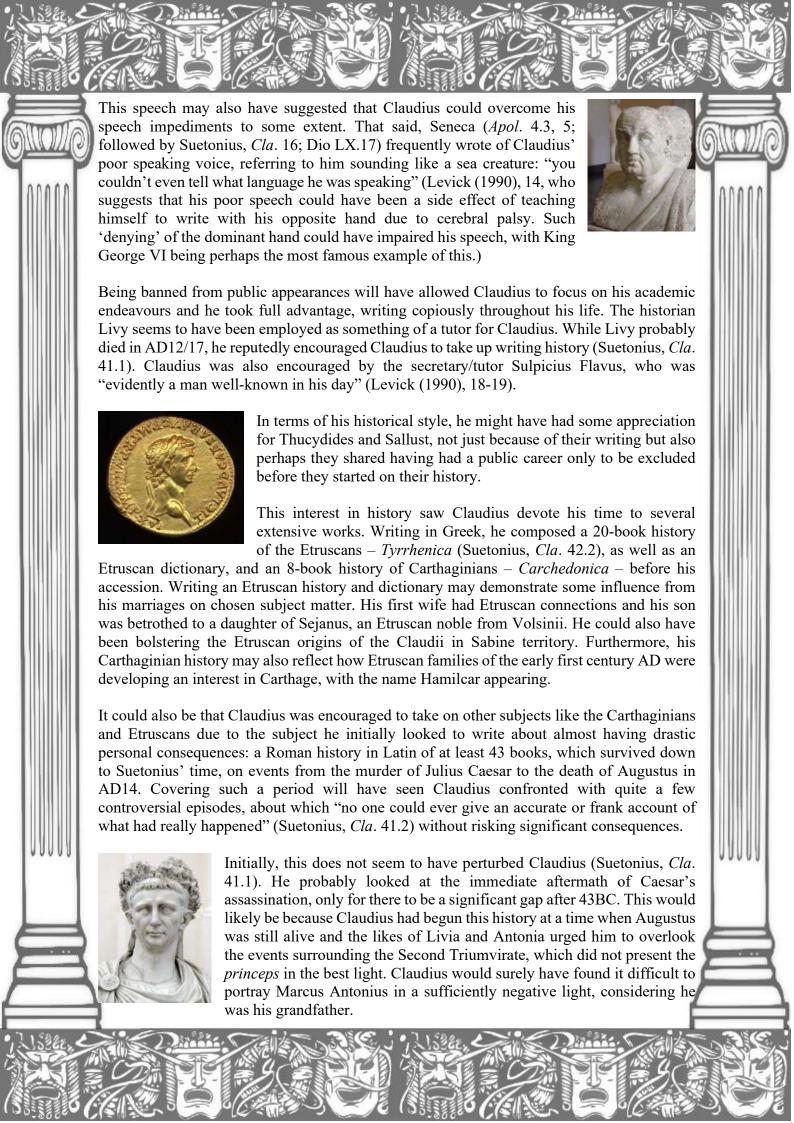




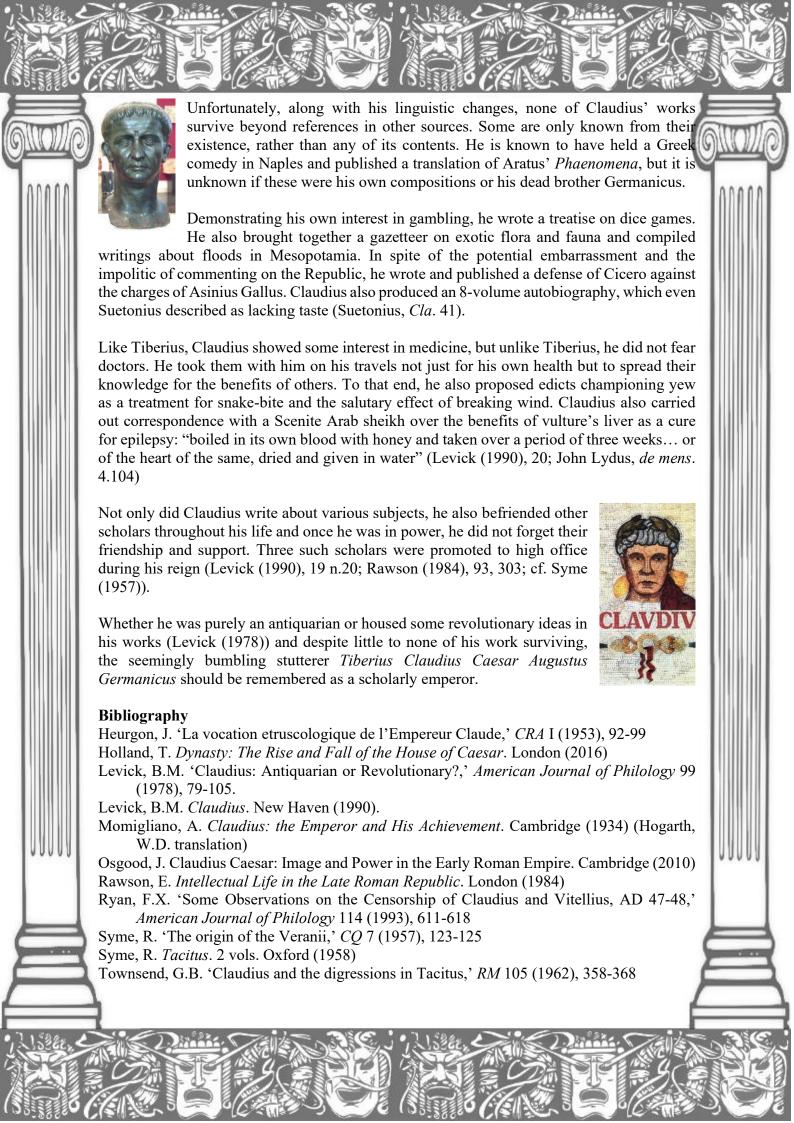






















One benefit from the pandemic has been the ability (read: necessity) for *CANI* to make more use of its various social media platforms. Thankfully, in the months before COVID struck, *CANI* had been making strides in recording our public talks, so we were at least somewhat prepared to host online presentations (although we had to learn Zoom just like everyone else).

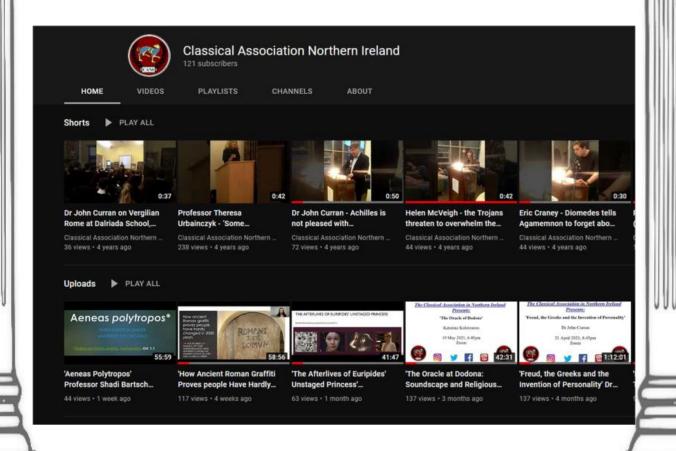
Because of this, we have been able to add a full talk at the rate of about one a month throughout the last year, a rate we hope to maintain as our new programme of events gets up and running again.

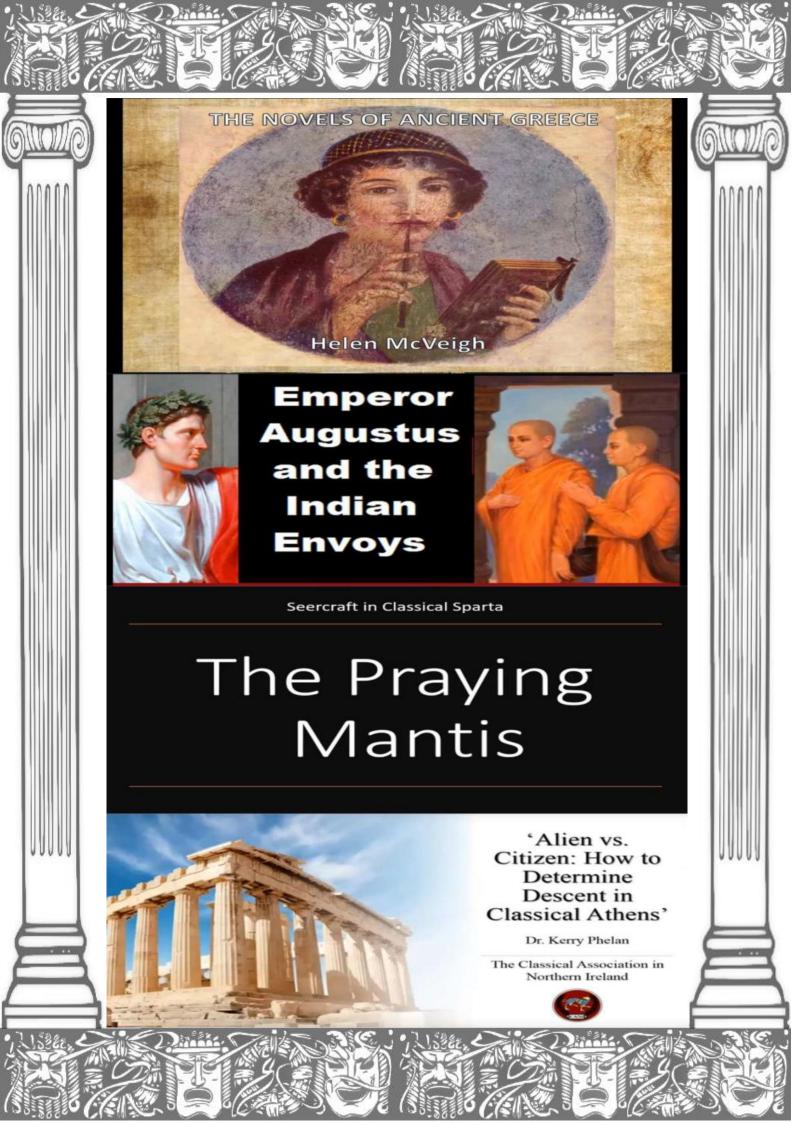
On the next page you will see a small pictorial selection (four to be exact) of full talks that are available to view, but there are also various other recordings of previous *CANI* talks, as well as a couple of other talks we have been allowed to host by sister organisations.

There are also numerous short videos on a variety of classical subjects, such as excerpts from our public readings, earlier non-filmed talks, outreach seminars and the work of the Belfast Summer School.

You can find the CANI Youtube Channel by searching 'Classical Association in Northern Ireland' in the Youtube search or by clicking the following link...

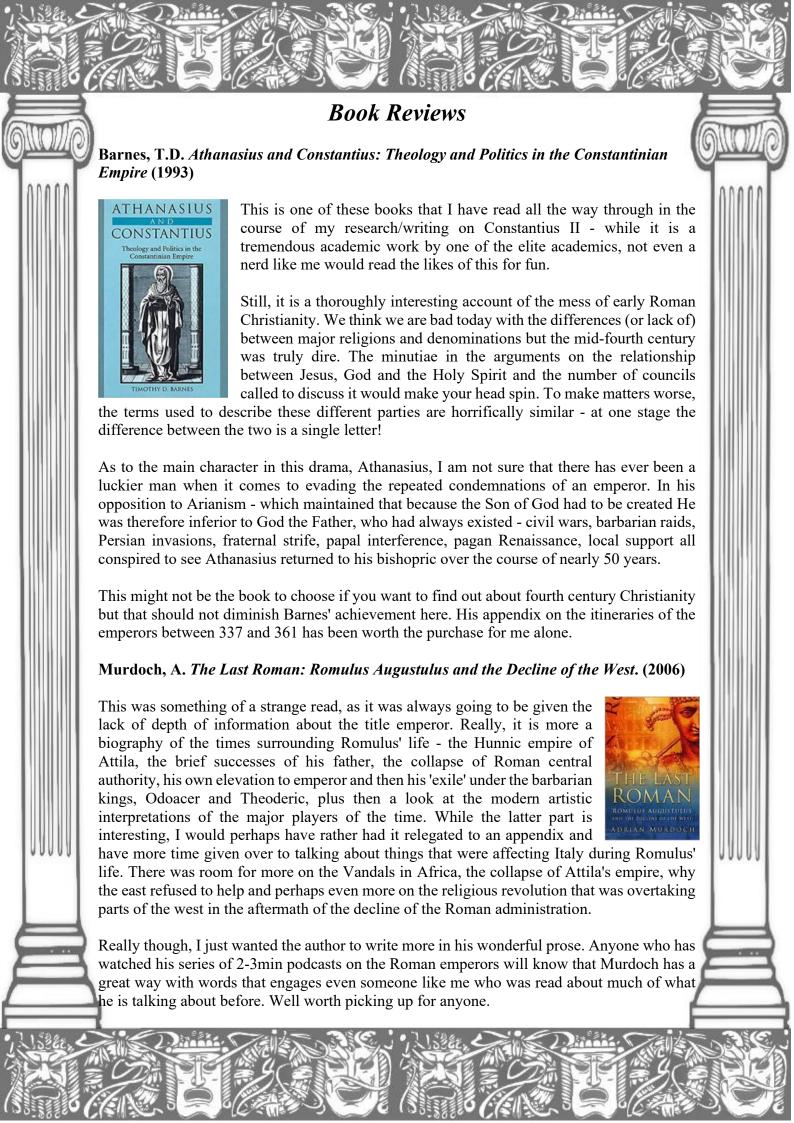
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The Classical Association in Northern Ireland

Programme of Events 2021-22 **



A Brief History of Byzantine Mutilation,

Peter Crawford

Wednesday 24th November Winter Drinks and CANI Bookshop QUB Peter Froggatt Centre 02/018 CANI Film Night Celebrates 2,500th Anniversary of the Battle of Thermopylae with 300 Spartans (1962)

The Strand Arts Centre, Belfast

Thursday 9th December 2021, 6pm

'Where are the Names of the Persecutors now? Exploring Christian Responses to Tetrarchic Material Culture' Rebecca Usherwood
Thursday 27th January 2022
QUB Peter Froggatt Centre 02/018

CANI 4 Schools: Dalriada School, Ballymoney Dr John Curran (QUB) and Dr Peter Crawford February 2022

CANI Honorary Patron Inaugural Address Natalie Haynes Thursday 10th March 2022 QUB Peter Froggatt Centre 02/018

Schools' Classics Conference

Legion Ireland; Handling Sessions; Practical Activities; Natalie Haynes, Amber Taylor and Helen McVeigh Ulster Museum, 11 March 2022

CAM Film Night V: Agora (2009)

£5 entrance, brief introduction, drinks services available Saturday 7th May 2022 (venue to be confirmed)

'The Epithet Megas/Magnus in the Hellenistic and Roman Worlds'
Shane Wallace
Wednesday 8th June 2022
Summer Drinks and CANI Bookshop
QUB Main Site Tower 03/004

HM Academy
Belfast Summer School in Classics (online)
Beginners, Lower and Upper Intermediate and Advanced Latin and
Greek
Academic Talks

'Sparta and Hero-worship' Nicolette Pavlides TBC 2022

See helenmcveigh.co.uk for details

July/August 2022

Please check the relevant weekday for individual events