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Celtic Egyptians: Isis Priests of the Lineage of Scota

Samuel Liddell MacGregor Mathers – the primary creative genius behind the famous British occult group, the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn – and his wife Moina Mathers established a mystery religion of Isis in *fin-de-siècle* Paris. Lawrence Durdin-Robertson, his wife Pamela, and his sister Olivia created the Fellowship of Isis in Ireland in the early 1970s. Although separated by over half a century, and not directly associated with each other, both groups have several characteristics in common. Each combined their worship of an ancient Egyptian goddess with an interest in the Celtic Revival; both claimed that their priestly lineages derived directly from the Egyptian queen Scota, mythical foundress of Ireland and Scotland; and both groups used dramatic ritual and theatrical events as avenues for the promulgation of their Isis cults.

The Parisian Isis movement and the Fellowship of Isis were (and are) historically-inaccurate syncretic constructions that utilised the tradition of an Egyptian origin of the peoples of Scotland and Ireland to legitimise their founders' claims of lineal descent from an ancient Egyptian priesthood. To explore this contention, this chapter begins with brief overviews of Isis in antiquity, her later appeal for Enlightenment Freemasons, and her subsequent adoption by the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn. It then explores the Parisian cult of Isis, its relationship to the Celtic Revival, the myth of the Egyptian queen Scota, and examines the establishment of the Fellowship of Isis. The Parisian mysteries of Isis and the Fellowship of Isis have largely been overlooked by critical scholarship to date; the use of the medieval myth of Scota by the founders of these groups has hitherto been left unexplored. This chapter considers the Parisian Isis cult and the Fellowship of Isis in tandem and argues that although both groups constructed their religions of Isis in an eclectic manner, rather than being anomalous, each built upon and contributed to the continuous reformation of the goddess Isis evident since antiquity. Scota functions as a shared marker of authenticity that links the Parisian mysteries of Isis and the Fellowship of Isis; association with this figure provided sanction for their roles as Celtic priests of the Egyptian goddess Isis.

The Goddess Isis

The ancient Egyptian goddess Isis is first recorded during the Fifth Dynasty (2494–2345 BCE) in the *Pyramid Texts*. Subsequent mythological literature portrays Isis as a powerful and important goddess with six distinct roles: as sister-wife of Osiris; mother and protector of Horus; mother of the Pharaoh; the mourner, sustainer and protector of the deceased; goddess of cosmic associations; and goddess of magic.[1] During the Ptolemaic period (332–30 BCE) in Alexandria, Isis was paired with a new, composite deity called Sarapis and along with their son, Harpocrates, and the god of the dead, Anubis, was exported out of Egypt via Greek settlements in the eastern Mediterranean, eventually reaching Rome in 90 BCE. There, in contrast to Pharaonic Egyptian religion, the cult of Isis became a Mystery Religion requiring initiation for membership and to obtain secret knowledge.[2]

During the many subsequent centuries until first steps in the translation of the Egyptian hieroglyphs were taken by Jean-François Champollion in 1822, Isis was known only from ancient Greek and Latin texts.[3] In 1731 the Abbé Jean Terrasson, a Hellenist at the Collège de France, published a novel, *Sethos*, which purported to describe elaborate ancient Egyptian initiations and Isiac Mysteries.[4] Widely reprinted and translated, the novel would prove to be extremely influential upon later Freemasonic and other secret societies. In 1787 Enlightenment philosopher and Freemason, Karl Leonhard Reinhold, proposed that an ancient Egyptian inscription on a veiled statue of Isis in a temple at Sais in the Egyptian Delta, recorded by Plutarch and Proclus – 'I am all that has been and is and will be; and no mortal has ever lifted my veil' – meant that Isis was the personification of Nature.[5] The inscription was subsequently considered, within literary, philosophical and artistic circles, to be an extremely profound and sublime metaphor for 'veiled truth', and the embodiment of Egyptian wisdom.[6]

Once hieroglyphs had been deciphered, texts written by the ancient Egyptians were able to be read; students of ancient Egypt no longer had to rely solely on Greek, Latin or Arabic writings about Egypt. Decipherment marked the creation of the discipline of Egyptology and its split from what Erik Hornung has termed 'Egyptosophy', 'the study of an imaginary Egypt viewed as the profound source of all esoteric lore'.[7] As the nineteenth century progressed, more was revealed about the original Pharaonic goddess Isis; however, the centuries since antiquity had changed Isis permanently into a symbol of the mysteries of nature. The penetration of her secrets was the goal of seekers of Hermetic wisdom.

One such collection of seekers was the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn, a secret society in the tradition of Freemasonry that taught its members ritual magic. Founded in 1888 by Dr William Wynn Westcott (1848–1925), Samuel Liddell MacGregor Mathers (1854–1918), and Dr William Robert Woodman (1828–1891), the Golden Dawn augmented the Hermetic Egyptosophical tradition with the latest findings from academic Egyptology.[8] Designed as a school whereby Western esoteric systems such as alchemy, astrology, tarot, kabbala, geomancy, and ritual magic would be expounded through elaborate initiation rituals, the Order created ceremonies infused with Egyptian content.[9] While utilising the long-accessible Classical literature about Egypt, as well as the latest research from academic Egyptology, the Golden Dawn interpreted both types of material through a Hermetic lens.

Aspects of Egyptian religion were suffused throughout the Golden Dawn's ritual programme. Members were initiated into the Order through the Neophyte Ceremony which combined echoes of Apuleius' description of the initiation into the Isis cult in *Metamorphoses* and vignettes from the more recently translated Egyptian *Book of the Dead*.[10] Higher degree members encountered the myth of Isis and Osiris, as told in Plutarch's *De Iside et Osiride* (13–19), in symbolic form through the mystical 'L.V.X. signs'.[11] These encapsulated the story of Osiris' murder by Typhon (the Egyptian Seth), the subsequent mourning of Isis, and Osiris' eventual resurrection, syncretising this with Christianity by associating Osiris with the crucified Christ. Another set of gestures known as the 'Portal Sign', part of the 'Greater Ritual of the Pentagram', enabled initiates to rend and see beyond the 'veil of Isis', a prerequisite to entering the 'tomb of Osiris' within which, after experiencing a symbolic death, they were reanimated through a version of the 'Opening of the Mouth' ceremony.[12] The Order's biannually enacted Equinox Ritual incorporated the Isian myth of Pharaonic succession; the officer, who had for the previous six months played the role of Hierophant in Golden Dawn ceremonies – representing Osiris who in Egyptian religion signified the deceased pharaoh – vacated his position in favour of a new officer representing Horus, the new pharaoh.[13]

The Isis Movement

Isis' relative prominence within the Golden Dawn's rituals, as well as the Hermetic and Freemasonic traditions from whence the Order derived, undoubtedly contributed to the goddess

being chosen to be the focus of a new cult founded by two prominent members of the Golden Dawn. Samuel Liddell MacGregor Mathers and his wife Moina (1865–1928) were the creative geniuses of the Order.[14] They met in 1887 in the Egyptian Sculpture Gallery of the British Museum where Moina was sketching statues.[15] The following year MacGregor co-founded the Golden Dawn and Moina became the first initiate; later she was the only female member to attain the highest degree within the Order's graded system of advancement.[16]

In 1892 MacGregor and Moina moved permanently to Paris where there was a flourishing occult scene, establishing a Paris branch of the Golden Dawn, the Ahathoor Temple, in 1894.[17] By 1896 the couple were heavily involved in the exploration of what they termed 'The Egyptian Mysteries' (Fig. 1). By 1898 they were 'restoring the Mysteries', while 1899 saw them putting on public performances of 'Rites of Isis' at the Théâtre Bodinière in Paris, having been 'converted to the strange and passionate mysticism of the worship of Isis during their travels in Egypt', a claim which was almost certainly untrue.[18] This led, in 1900, to their establishment of private initiations into the 'Mysteries of Isis'.[19] MacGregor Mathers' biographer, Ithell Colquhoun, suggests that the Isis religion may have been intended as a recruiting ground for postulants for the Paris branch of the Golden Dawn and/or as a way to make money.[20] The Isis cult was not, however, connected to the Golden Dawn and reflected the Matherses' long-standing interest in ancient Egyptian religion.

[INSERT FIGURE 1 HERE]

Figure 1. MacGregor and Moina Mathers in Egyptian costume.

The Parisian Isis cult had an exclusive initiatory aspect as well as a public face. Administered from the Matherses' various rented residences, a large rural mansion and a public theatre, the couple constructed their Egyptian rituals using a combination of material from the available literature and their 'memories' of past lives in Egypt.[21] Decorating their lodgings with Egyptian-style art, according to journalist Frederic Lees:

> Their flat on the Rue Mozart in fashionable Passy had been renovated into a Temple of Isis. Her winged statue stood at the door to the temple room, with light, diffused by the shutters behind, forming an aureole around her. Flowers lay at her feet, their odour mingled with that of incense. Large drawings of Osiris, Nephthys, Horus and Harpocrates

> flanked an altar to the left, upon which was a triangular-shaped Tibetan lamp of green stone with a flame that was never extinguished.[22]

Another visitor, Ella Young, witnessed:

> The richest collection of Egyptian treasures I have ever seen outside a museum [...] Curtains, woven in Egypt make a background in one corner of the room for a small altar. [She also saw] frescoes in mosaic [...] apparently, images of Egyptian deities.[23]

Lees reported that the soirées held at the Matherses' Egyptian-style residence were 'the most interesting in Paris […] [as the] people attending them [were] of nearly every shade of opinion and profession; Isis worshippers, Alchemists, Protestants, Catholics, doctors, lawyers, painters, and men and women of letters, besides persons of high rank.'[24] According to the Matherses' friend, William Butler Yeats, at such events Moina, dressed in ancient Egyptian costume, performed dances with 'devout eyes, obviously believing in what she does' and hymns to Isis, after which MacGregor gave lectures on Egyptian religion and magic, the great gods of Egypt and the magical power that they would bestow upon their worshippers.[25]

Journalist, Jules Bois, collaborated with the Matherses in the staging of rituals to Isis in their various dwellings. Noting the popularity of the cult, he suggested that they transfer their activities to the Théâtre Bodinière, a small theatre in the Rue Sainte-Lazare that mainly catered to aristocrats, grand bourgeois, and the intelligentsia, with himself as *compère*.[26] Initially disinclined to perform their Isis rituals in a public theatre, the Matherses reconsidered the proposal after a dream visitation from the goddess Isis herself encouraging them to proceed.[27]

The first public performance of the Rites of Isis occurred in March 1899. MacGregor was introduced as 'the Hierophant Rameses' and Moina as 'the High Priestess Anari' (Figs. 2, 3). Lees evokes the visual impact of the event:

> In the center of the stage was the figure of Isis, on each side of the statue were gods and goddesses, and in front was a little altar, upon which was an ever-burning green stone lamp. The Hierophant Rameses and High Priestess Anari appeared in long white priestly robes with bracelets on their arms and ankles, and each with a wide *uskh*, or collar, around the neck [...]. Rameses, almost a head taller than his High Priestess, had a zodiacal belt around his waist and a leopard skin fastened over his shoulders. A sidelock of hair was

> attached over his left ear as an emblem of youth. The High Priestess Anari let her long flowing hair fall loose to express the 'idea of rays of light radiating through the universe.' Upon her head she wore a lotus flower 'symbolic of purity and wisdom' and a cone 'symbolical of the Divine Spirit.'
>
> The Hierophant Rameses, holding in one hand the sistrum, which every now and then he shook, and in the other a spray of lotus, said the prayers before the altar, after which the High Priestess Anari invoked the goddess in penetrating and passionate tones. Then followed the 'dance of the four elements' by a young Parisian lady, who, dressed in long white robes, had previously recited some verses in French in honour of Isis. [...]. Most of the ladies present in the fashionable Parisian audience brought offerings of flowers, whilst the gentlemen threw wheat on to the altar. The ceremony was artistic in the extreme.[28]

[INSERT Figures 2 and 3 here]

Figure 2. MacGregor Mathers as the Hierophant Rameses.

Figure 3. Moina Mathers as the High Priestess Anari.

The theatrical component was already present in the Matherses' domestic Isis cult with its Egyptian curtains, large-scale drawings akin to a fabricated stage set and intimate audience. That their personal religious practice was scaled up for the public Rites of Isis at the Théâtre Bodinière is suggested by the presence of cult equipment from their home altar such as the Tibetan green stone lamp. Like the Golden Dawn ceremonies, the Rites of Isis were not authentic ancient Egyptian rituals, rather they were constructed from a combination of Classical and Pharaonic sources filtered through a Hermetic lens.[29] Nevertheless, as Irish political activist, Maude Gonne, then living in Paris, explained the performance 'astonished and delighted most people – people that mattered!'.[30] Indeed, such was the positive response that the Matherses expected that the Isis religion would presently be adopted by all artistic people.[31]

Not everyone was entirely impressed with the Rites of Isis, however. A correspondent from the *Sunday Chronicle* was scathing about MacGregor's French accent but went on to say that:

> After the preliminary prayers, the High Priestess performed the ceremony of the 'unveiling of the gods', and then she invoked Isis with such passion and force in both voice and gesture that she quite saved the situation and assured the success of the performance which

> otherwise might have turned to the ridiculous. [She has a] graceful attitude and dignified manner. More than that, she is very handsome, she has a beautiful oval face with large black, mysterious eyes – and beauty always tells in Paris.[32]

The correspondent may have found Moina more authentic because her dark eyes made her look like an Egyptian. The Rites of Isis at the Théâtre Bodinière were an aesthetic, as much as a spiritual, success. As well as the exoteric theatre performances of the Rites of Isis, the couple performed esoteric initiations into the mysteries of Isis and Osiris away from the public at a rural mansion.[33] Journalist, Andre Gaucher, was privy to the private initiations. Blindfolded and taken by carriage to a secret location outside Paris, Gaucher witnessed the 'Isis Mysteries'; his description providing the impression of an elaborate and immersive event:

> When the rite began the priest and priestess knelt at the foot of the statue to light a diffuser of perfume, and the sanctuary was filled with the scent of benzoin and incense. Then they sprinkled grains of wheat and flowers on the floor and on the worshippers. The priest of Isis, with a slight yet triumphant gesture, removed the mysterious veil from the statue. The goddess appeared, smiling; the worshippers fell to their knees crying, 'Isis! Isis! Isis!' The priestess fell to her knees. The priest remained standing, his arms widespread, his head held high, ecstatic. Slowly, as if the floor beneath it were dropping away, the statue began to descend. The priest hastily covered it again with the veil. Then he gave out a terrible cry; the crowd answered with a mournful moan.
>
> The white veils and garlands along the walls fell with an ominous shiver and the walls were revealed to be covered in black. At the same time the torches were extinguished, as if by an invisible wind. The drapes at the rear of the hall tore apart with a sinister rustling. In the distance a shapeless, chaotic mass was slowly emerging from the blackness. The worshippers sat up, rigid, motionless, then cried out, three times: 'Osiris! Osiris! Osiris!' The enormous statue was in fact the Egyptian god, an enormous *pschent* on his head […]. From the top of the statue a luminous, phosphorescent beam circled the hall, inexplicably, bathing the worshippers in the changing light. One after the other, in the eye of the god, they fell in ecstasy or cataleptic fits. All around were sighs and convulsive cries. Bodies rolling on the ground, in the darkness, prey to terrible nervous spasms. Others stood up rigid, their faces drained of blood, their eyes haggard. A reddish glow lit the depths of the

> sanctuary with an infernal light, from behind the gigantic statue which seemed to be locked in a terrible grin.[34]

The participants were evidently responding in what they thought was an authentic manner although such behaviour does not approximate the description of ancient Isiac initiation in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*. So popular did the Matherses' cult of Isis become that they eventually required a dedicated temple, which they claimed was being built in Paris; however, it is unclear whether it ever was.[35] In Frederick Lees' interview he asks Moina, 'Have you very many followers amongst the Parisians?', who answers, 'An increasing number, and quite as many as our little chapel will hold. A temple for our Egyptian ceremonies is now being built in Paris'.[36] In a letter to fellow Golden Dawn member, Florence Farr, MacGregor relates that 'My time is just now so enormously occupied with the arrangements for the Buildings and Decorations of the Egyptian Temple of Isis in Paris, as well as other matters, that I must write as briefly as possible'.[37] These snippets of information about a temple being built have since been conflated with John Brodie-Innes' eulogistic obituary of McGregor Mathers published in the *Occult Review* (1919), in which he claimed that:

> When he arranged a Temple of Isis for the Paris Exhibition, an Egyptologist whose name is world-famous said 'MacGregor is a Pharaoh come back. All my life I have studied the dry bones; he has made them live.'[38]

Brodie-Innes refers to MacGregor working in an Egyptological capacity at the Paris Exposition of 1900. This idea, however, almost certainly derives from Brodie-Innes' misunderstanding of references to an 'Egyptian temple' being built for the Isis rituals mentioned in interviews and correspondence dating to 1900. According to Egyptian Revival expert, James Curl, the Palais de l'Égypte at the Exposition Universelle of 1900 was designed by the French architect, Marcel Dourgnon, 'who juxtaposed an Arab Bazaar, a theatre in the *style égyptien polychromé*, and a temple in the *égyptien antique* style'.[39] While Mathers may conceivably have helped Dourgnon, there is no evidence to support this, nor that the Rites of Isis were performed in any of these structures.

Celtic Connection

Whilst performing as Egyptian priests of Isis, MacGregor, and Moina also presented themselves as Scottish aristocrats. MacGregor claimed that his father was Highland Scottish from the Clan MacGregor, and he had been calling himself the 'Comte de Glenstrae' from as early as 1877, declaring that the title had been bestowed by the King of France in recognition for family services to the French.[40] In 1885, under the influence of the Celtic Revival, he added the Scottish clan name to his birth name (Samuel Liddell Mathers) and Moina changed her name from the original 'Mina' when they married in 1890.[41] After moving to Paris the couple became known as the Count and Countess of Glenstrae.[42] An American visitor, Max Dauthendey, described MacGregor as 'the last descendant of a Scottish king who was living in Paris as an Egyptologist'.[43] According to Yeats, MacGregor spent most of his day in Highland costume 'to the wonder of his neighbours' and whilst so attired claimed that he 'feels like a walking flame'.[44] For the correspondent from the *Sunday Chronicle* who witnessed the Rites of Isis at the Théâtre Bodinière, MacGregor:

> Looked for all the world like a North Yorkshireman or a Scotchman, And, sure enough, when I made enquiries after the performance a braw Highlander he proved to be. M'Gregor is his name, but whence he comes I know not. They call him 'Count M'Gregor' in one of the French newspapers, but this, M. Jules Bois says, is a mistake. 'Monsieur M'Gregor is only the chief of an old Scottish clan!' Really! How delightfully they mix things up on this side of the channel.[45]

The Celtic Revival, which began to flourish in the 1880s, was the result of increasing Irish nationalism during the nineteenth century. Mainly a literary movement, it was closely bound up with politics and Ireland's freedom. William Butler Yeats, Lady Gregory and George Russell, known as 'A.E.', were prominent members who provided a fresh and stimulating approach to Irish literature by drawing on native mysticism and visions of a Celtic past.[46] Yeats had a background in Hermeticism and had co-founded the Dublin Hermetic Society with Charles Johnston in 1885. In 1886 the society became the Dublin Lodge of the Theosophical Society. Yeats joined the London Theosophical Society in 1887, resigning in 1889 because he found it too fanatical and was subsequently initiated into the Golden Dawn in 1890.[47]

Yeats had been able to observe the Matherses' Isis Movement in Paris as he had travelled there in order to seek MacGregor and Moina's help in formulating 'Celtic Mysteries [...] based on the

lore of the Druids'.[48] He began working on this project with the help of other Golden Dawn members in London in 1893 with the aim of restoring the link between holiness and beauty, lost because 'commerce and manufacture had made the world ugly; the death of pagan nature-worship had robbed visible beauty of its inviolable sanctity'.[49] Envisioned as a new Celtic Mystical Order that would 'find its manuals of devotion in all imaginative literature', the content of the mystery rituals was to be derived from group sessions of scrying into the Celtic Otherworld.[50] Rather than 'compose rites as if for the theatre', Yeats wanted the Order's symbols and rituals to be created by the ancient Celtic gods themselves, as communicated through visions; 'They must in their main outline be the work of invisible hands'.[51] In 1896 he journeyed to the west coast of Ireland for inspiration and returned 'wrapt in a faery whirlwind [...] talk[ing] much of reviving the Druidic Mysteries'.[52] That same year he sought the input of MacGregor and Moina who had originally introduced him to the method of attaining knowledge through visions when he joined the Golden Dawn in 1890.[53]

The Matherses were interested in Celtic traditions for political purposes and as a source of magical power connected to the land, as they felt that Gaelic magic involved comradeship with Nature and the Earth.[54] In 1897 they travelled to MacGregor's ancestral homeland of Scotland and on their return to Paris found an increased focus on Celtic religion within literary and artistic circles, with bookshop owner and publisher, Edmond Bailly, interested in making his magazine, *Isis Moderne*, an organ for the Celtic cause.[55] Thus, the Matherses were at work on both the Rites of Isis and the Celtic Mysteries by the time Yeats visited them in Paris. By early 1898, however, although still busy scrying the Celtic Otherworld, ascertaining kabbalistic correspondences for the Celtic deities and designing the first initiation ritual for the Celtic Mysteries, the Isis movement was demanding more attention. Eventually, the Matherses prioritised the Rites of Isis and the Celtic Mysteries project with Yeats fell by the wayside, although the Matherses maintained interest in Celtic Paganism and Druidism well into the first decade of the twentieth century.[56] By 1903 Yeats had produced entire drafts of the rituals for the Celtic Mystical Order but later lost interest and allowed the project to lapse into permanent neglect.[57]

Celtic Priests of Isis

France was the perfect place for MacGregor Mathers to perform his dual identities as a priest of the goddess Isis and a Scottish aristocrat because of its appropriation of both Egyptian and Celtic culture. Isis had been associated with Paris during the French Revolution when she was recast as the goddess of reason and nature intended to replace Christianity. After Napoleon Bonaparte's invasion of Egypt in 1798, Isis became the tutelary goddess of Paris, and Egyptian forms such as the pyramid, obelisk and sphinx became popular. Jacques Louis David's *Fontaine de la Régénération* which consisted of a statue of an Egyptian goddess with water streaming from her breasts was erected on the ruins of the Bastille and there was even temporary employment of the Egyptian calendar.[58] The belief that the cult of Isis had been instrumental in the founding of the city of Paris became widespread, based on false etymology; the Egyptian 'par-Isis' meaning 'House of Isis' or 'Temple of Isis', was reminiscent of 'Paris', and it was believed that Isis had been worshipped at some of the older church locations such as St Germain-des-Prés and Notre Dame.[59] In 1811 Napoleon even added an image of Isis to the Paris coat of arms which had originally only depicted a ship.[60]

The association of France with the ancient Celts was also promoted during the French Revolution. The ancient Gauls were ethnically and linguistically Celtic, and in 1789 the Revolution was characterised as indigenous Gauls throwing off the control of the Frankish aristocrats. In 1804 Napoleon founded the Académie Celtique, and between 1860 and 1865 his nephew, Louis Napoleon (Napoleon III), sponsored an ambitious archaeological excavation of the battleground of Alesia where the Gaulish war leader Vercingetorix had made his last heroic stand against Rome.[61] Napoleon III also initiated the excavation of the principal *oppidum* of the Aedui at Bibracte (Mont Beuvray), and in 1863 opened a Museum of National Antiquities in Paris to house Celtic antiquities.[62] The promotion of Celtic identity was intended to foster a national Gaulish identity unified under the emperor.[63]

MacGregor was thus able to harmonise his interest in both Egyptian and Celtic religion with his residence and ritual practice in Paris. In his interview with Gaucher, he brought the Egyptian and Celtic streams together by claiming to be a member of an ancient Scottish lineage of the priesthood of Isis, explaining that:

> A good long time before the Christian era [...] a daughter of the Pharaohs, the queen Scota, carries to Scotland the Goddess' altars. The tradition has continued until today. I am the last link in this secret chain.[64]

Scota

The Egyptian queen 'Scota' is the founder of Ireland and Scotland according to Irish and Scottish mythology and pseudohistory, and is often invoked in Irish and Scottish sources in order to distinguish the Irish and Scottish peoples from the English and thence from English rule.[65] The legend of Scota is found in various medieval texts including the *Historia Brittonum* (*History of the Britons*) (*c*.829), attributed to the Welsh priest Nennius, which tells of a series of successive colonisations from Iberia by the pre-Gaelic peoples of Ireland, as well as the origins of the Gaels and how they came to be the ancestors of the Irish; *The Book of Leinster* (*c*.1160), which contains a redaction of the *Lebor Gabála Érenn* (*The Book of Invasions of Ireland*) (eleventh–twelfth century), relates that Ireland was settled six times by six groups of people: the people of Cessair, the people of Partholón, the people of Nemed, the Fir Bolg, the Tuatha Dé Danann and the Milesians. The version in the *Book of Leinster* was heavily influenced by biblical stories and traced all the groups back to Noah.

The *Instructions* and the *Pleading of Baldred Bisset* (1301) written by the lawyer employed to refute Edward I's claims to the Scottish throne in a submission to the Pope, invoked the myth of Scota to demonstrate the great antiquity of the Scottish people. The better-known *Declaration of Arbroath* (1320) by Bernard of Kilwinning, which was sent to Pope John XXII in the wake of Robert the Bruce's victory at Bannockburn in 1314 in an effort to legitimise Scotland's independence from England, drew on Bisset's text. The *Chronica Gentis Scotorum* (*Chronicle of the Scottish Nation*) (1380) by John of Fordun; the *Scalacronica* (1363) by Thomas Grey; the *Oryginale Cronykil of Scotland* (*c*.1420) by Andrew of Wyntoun; the *Scotichronicon* (1477) compiled by Walter Bower, which drew extensively on John of Fordun's earlier chronicle and which also includes the first illustrations of the Scota legends; and the *Historia Gentis Scotorum* (History of the Scottish People) (1527) by Hector Boece, also include various renditions of the Scota myth.

These texts present several variants of the story of Scota and combine remnants of traditional Irish historical sagas with biblical events and characters. Scota is said to be the daughter of the Pharaoh Nectanebus or the Pharaoh Cincris (a name found only in Irish legend) who was a contemporary of Moses. One version has Scota married to a Babylonian language scholar named Niul, son of Fénius Farsaid and grandson of the biblical Gomer.[66] Scota and Niul's son, Gáedal Glas (Geythelos), the eponymous ancestor of the Gaels, invented the Gaelic language from the best features of the seventy-two languages of Babel. Sometimes Scota is married to Gáedal Glas, a Greek or Scythian king, who becomes the eponymous founder of the Scots and Gaels after being exiled from Egypt.[67] In other versions, Mil Espaine is Scota's husband, providing a connection to Iberia, and the sons of Mil and Scota settle in Ireland. Baldred Bisset linked the Stone of Destiny (Stone of Scone) upon which all Scottish kings were crowned with the Scota foundation legends. He argued that during the exodus of Moses, Scota had transported the Stone from Egypt to Scotland and therefore Scotland was Scota's original Celtic homeland.[68] Ireland can claim to be the resting place of Scota, however, as a 'grave of Scota' is located in a valley south of Tralee Town, Co. Kerry, in an area known as Glenn Scoithin, the 'Vale of the Little Flower', or Foley's Glen.

The Fellowship of Isis

Over seventy years after MacGregor Mathers claimed to be the last priest of Isis of the lineage of Scota, another priest and priestess of Isis – this time *bona fide* aristocrats rather than pretenders like MacGregor – would explicitly cite the pseudo-historical medieval texts in order to support their claim to be descendants of the Egyptian queen Scota. Lawrence Durdin-Robertson (1920–1994), his wife Pamela (1923–1987) and his sister Olivia (1917–2013) founded the Fellowship of Isis at Huntington Castle, Clonegal, County Carlow, in Ireland in 1976.[69] Lawrence had been a Christian minister but left the Church in 1957 because he had come to believe in the 'Divine Feminine', a Goddess that complemented the traditionally male God. By 1966 Lawrence was experiencing 'an influx of Goddess energy' and writing about the Great Mother Goddess, and in 1972 felt called to the priesthood of Isis. Olivia also favoured Isis, while Lawrence's wife Pamela had a more animistic approach, revering the goddess as Mother Earth.[70] Olivia visited Egypt in 1975, and the following year the three of them founded the Fellowship of Isis. Olivia

outlived both Lawrence and Pamela by several decades and consequently became the guiding light of the Fellowship from the early 1990s until her death in late 2013 (Fig. 4).

[INSERT FIGURE 4 HERE]

Figure 4. Olivia and Lawrence Durdin-Robertson.

Starting with only 44 members in 1976, the Fellowship of Isis today has more than 27,000 members spread over 132 countries, partly as a result of its prominent internet presence.[71] While based in Ireland, the Fellowship is an international organisation with most of its branches located in the USA. The organisation aims to promote closer communion between the goddess and each member, in order that the individual experience personal transformation through identification with the divine, resulting in higher spiritual awareness.[72] It also has an ecological focus and members are encouraged to participate in the goddess's creative work of regenerating the planet.[73] The Fellowship is open to members of any religion and includes all sorts of contemporary Pagans as well as Spiritualists, Christians, Buddhists, Hindus, Taoists and Sufis.[74] There is no joining fee and prospective members are only required to be over eighteen and agree with the *Manifesto*.[75]

Unlike the religion of Isis founded by MacGregor and Moina Mathers in *fin-de-siècle* Paris, there is a plethora of information available about the beliefs and rituals of the Fellowship of Isis. The organisation provides online access to many of their documents. Lawrence and Olivia wrote many liturgical and philosophical texts, and Olivia provided monthly oracles, all of which are available on the main website. Although named after Isis, the Fellowship is not exclusively focussed on Egypt or Egyptian deities and does not seek to reconstruct Egyptian religion.[76] The Fellowship interprets Isis as a universal goddess, 'Isis of 10,000 names', a Divine Mother and the personification of Nature.[77] It describes itself as 'multi-religious, multi-racial, and multi-cultural,' honouring 'the religion of *all* the Goddesses and pantheons throughout the planet.'[78] The central temple of the Fellowship of Isis is located in the basement of Clonegal Castle and exemplifies the organisation's syncretic religious view; in addition to Isis, various chapels are dedicated to other goddesses from diverse pantheons, as well as to the signs of the Zodiac.[79]

Like MacGregor and Moina Mathers, the founders of the Fellowship combined the worship of the Egyptian goddess Isis with Celtic paganism.[80] The Durdin-Robertsons were well aware of the Celtic Revival and had been personally acquainted with some of its key players such as William

Butler Yeats and 'A.E.'.[81] Lawrence and Olivia identified as Druids as well as priests of Isis and claimed to have received direct initiation into indigenous Celtic pagan religion through an ancient hermit called Mr Fox who lived on the banks of the River Slaney and was the guardian of a prehistoric pagan site. According to Olivia 'He was an absolutely wild man, but he had been to Egypt'.[82] They had also received Druidic initiations from Ross Nichols, leader of the Order of Bards, Ovates and Druids.[83] Lawrence explained that because Isis is a universal goddess she can be venerated as Dana or Brigit in Ireland, and as such the Fellowship incorporates Celtic Pagan sub-branches such as the Noble Order of Tara, the Druid Clan of Dana and the Circle of Brigid.[84]

Despite the syncretistic and multi-religious nature of the Fellowship of Isis, according to Olivia it was not a modern invention but based on the revival and adaptation of authentic ancient traditions. She stated in official documents of the organisation that she and Lawrence were the true heirs of Isis, responsible for reviving the College of Isis after a break of 1500 years,[85] and, like MacGregor Mathers, to have received their authority as priests of Isis from Scota.[86] In the Fellowship of Isis *Handbook* she explains that:

> The priestly line comes to Lawrence and Olivia Robertson from the Egyptian princess Scota – the dark One – daughter of the Pharaoh 'Cincris'. Scota was hereditary Daughter of Isis through her descent from Isis and Osiris, Queen and King of Egypt. Scota left Egypt with her Scythian husband Nel and gave her name to Scotland. The Gaelic race was named after her son Goadhal or Gaelglas.[87]

Olivia's claim of descent from Scota is repeated in the Preface to the *Ordination of Priestesses and Priests* and the information page on the Fellowship of Isis' priesthood.[88] In *The Line of Priesthood within the Fellowship of Isis* she asserts that:

> The Priesthood of the Fellowship of Isis is hereditary. It comes through the family of two of the co-founders of the Fellowship of Isis, Olivia Durdin-Robertson and her late brother, Lawrence Durdin-Robertson [...]. The right to establish a line of Isian priests and priestesses comes to Lawrence and Olivia Durdin-Robertson through their direct descent from the St. Legers, a family who can claim descent from the Egyptian Princess Scota, the daughter of the Pharaoh Cincris and legendary Queen of the Scots. Scota as the daughter of Pharaoh Cincris held the hereditary title Daughter of Isis, the royal line of the kings of Egypt always claiming descent through Horus, the son of Isis and Osiris.[89]

In Olivia's understanding the queen Scota's lineage can be traced to the Egyptian gods themselves. Scota has been incorporated into the Fellowship of Isis' cosmology as an authenticating ancestress, and features in other Fellowship literature. She is a figure in the 33-degree 'Spiral of Alchemy' system; a divinity in a ritual called 'Cesara's Ark' which is part of a larger series called 'Fortuna, Creation through the Goddess'; and a heroic Egyptian queen in a dramatic ritual called 'Scota, the Heretic Princess', part of a group of rituals within the series, 'Sphinx, Goddess of Myths and Mysteries'.[90] One of the groves of the Druid Clan of Dana is named after Scota, and the design on the coat of arms of the Barony of Strathloch, held by Lawrence Durdin-Robertson and which is the basis for the Order of Tara, is proposed as further validation for the Fellowship's relationship to Scota.[91] In addition, Olivia painted various portraits of Scota,[92] suggesting that she was able to see her through visionary means.

Conclusions

MacGregor and Moina Mathers and Olivia Durdin-Robertson are important and influential figures within the British occult revival and the subsequent Pagan movement whose spiritual legacies remain potent today. This study is the first to highlight the fantastic claims of these figures and to explain the source of their assertions of priestly descent. It is evident that both MacGregor Mathers, and to a much larger extent the founders of the Fellowship of Isis, used the Egyptian Queen Scota as a validating ancestress in order to endorse their claims to be authentic priests of the goddess Isis. As the founder of Scotland and Ireland, Scota also bestowed authentic Celtic identity on these figures through an ancient Egyptian lineage. For MacGregor Mathers and the Durdin-Robertsons, then, being Celtic and being Egyptian were essentially two complementary sides of the one coin that provided them with a doubly potent spiritual identity.

While they claimed lineal descent from an ancient cult of Isis, as is evident from their ritual performances, occult theatre, personal interviews, missives and explanatory texts, the Parisian Isis mysteries and the Fellowship of Isis were created according to the abilities and concerns of their founders. Both groups favoured an ahistorical construction of the goddess Isis as an eternal, mysterious, magical figure representative of universal harmony, unity and nature. Although consciously reconstructed through a mixture of study and creative imagination, the Parisian mysteries of Isis and the Fellowship of Isis can also be understood as valid expressions of a

religio-philosophical tradition, evident since antiquity, in which the goddess Isis is appropriated and re-fashioned in order to serve as a symbol of the zeitgeist. For the Matherses and the Durdin-Robertsons, association with the figure of Scota authenticated the performance of Egyptian selfhood as an expression of Celtic heritage.

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——— *Druid Clan of Dana Groves*. www.fellowshipofisis.com/directory_groves.html

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Notes

[1] Reginald Eldred Witt, *Isis in the Ancient World* (Baltimore, 1971); Richard H. Wilkinson, *The Complete Gods and Goddesses of Ancient Egypt* (London, 2003), pp. 79, 146–7.
[2] Sarolta A. Takács, *Isis and Sarapis in the Roman World*, (Leiden, 1995), pp. 32–51; Robert Turcan, *The Cults of the Roman Empire*, (Oxford, 1997), pp. 75–129.
[3] Charles Burnett, 'Images of Ancient Egypt in the Latin Middle Ages', P. Ucko and T. Champion (eds), *The Wisdom of Egypt: Changing Visions Through the Ages* (London, 2003), pp. 65–99.
[4] Jean Terrasson, *Life of Sethos*, trans. Thomas Lediard (London, 1732).
[5] The Neo-Platonic writer Proclus (410–85 BCE) had added 'The fruit I bore was the sun.' Jan Assmann, *Moses the Egyptian: The Memory of Egypt in Western Monotheism* (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 118–125; Pierre Hadot, *The Veil of Isis: An Essay on the History of the Idea of Nature* (Cambridge, 2006).
[6] Erik Hornung, *The Secret Lore of Egypt: Its Impact on the West* (Ithaca, 2001), pp. 1, 3.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Ellic Howe, *The Magicians of the Golden Dawn* (London, 1972), p.1.
[9] All the Golden Dawn temples had Egyptian names: the Isis-Urania Temple in London; the Osiris Temple in Weston-super-Mare; the Horus Temple in Bradford; Amen-Ra Temple in Edinburgh; and the Ahathoor Temple in Paris.
[10] Israel Regardie, *The Complete Golden Dawn System of Magic.* Vol. 6 (Scottsdale, 1990), pp. 18, 5–22, passim; Vol. 8, 62–6; Vol. 3, pp. 2, 10; Apuleius, *The Golden Ass*, trans. Joel C. Relihan (Indianapolis, 2007), p. 249; Raymond O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead* (New York, 1985), pp. 44–50.
[11] Regardie, *Complete Golden Dawn*, Vol. 7, p. 53.
[12] Ibid., p. 151; Vol. 8, pp. 17–19; Caroline J. Tully, 'Egyptosophy in the British Museum: Florence Farr, the Egyptian Adept and the Ka', in C. Ferguson and A. Radford (eds), *The Occult Imagination in Britain, 1875 – 1947* (London, in press).
[13] Ibid., pp. 8, 1–13; Vol. 6, p. 84; Caroline J. Tully, 'Walk Like an Egyptian: Egypt as Authority in Aleister Crowley's Reception of *The Book of the Law*', *Pomegranate: International Journal of Pagan Studies* 12 (2010), pp. 20–47.
[14] Née Bergson. Moina was the Sister of French philosopher Henri Bergson. Originally 'Mina', she would later change her name to the more Celtic 'Moina'. Mary Katherine Greer, *Women of the Golden Dawn: Rebels and Priestesses*, (Rochester, 1995), pp. 41–2.
[15] Ibid., p. 55.
[16] Ibid., 191.
[17] Christopher McIntosh, *Eliphas Lévi and the French Occult Revival* (London, 1972); James Webb, *The Occult Underground*, (Illinois, 1974), pp. 153–90; Tobias Churton, *Occult Paris: The Lost Magic of the Belle Époque*, (Rochester, 2016). In Paris in 1891 MacGregor had allegedly met a Higher Adept, Frater Lux E Tenebris, who gave him materials for constructing higher degree rituals for the Golden Dawn. Greer, *Women of the Golden Dawn*, p. 102.
[18] They were reliant in Paris on the financial beneficence of their wealthy friend Annie Horniman until mid-1896, after which they struggled financially. There is no evidence that Horniman or anyone else paid for them to visit Egypt. Greer, *Women of the Golden Dawn*, pp. xviii, 155, 174, 207. Contra Colquhoun who fails to provide any evidence. Ithell Colquhoun, *The Sword of Wisdom: Macgregor Mathers and the Golden Dawn*, (New York, 1975), p. 86.

[19] Andre Gaucher, Christopher Kimberley, trans. 2008, 'Isis a Montmartre', *L'Echo du Merveilleuax* (1900), pp. 446–9, passim.
[20] Colquhoun, *Sword of Wisdom*, pp. 84, 88.
[21] Ella Young, *Flowering Dusk: Things Remembered Accurately and Inaccurately* (New York, 1945). p 105; Greer, *Women of the Golden Dawn*, pp. 200, 314.
[22] Frederic Lees, 'Isis Worship in Paris: Conversations with the Hierophant Rameses and the High Priestess Anari', *The Humanitarian* 16/2 (1900), pp. 82–87. Paraphrased by Greer, *Women of the Golden Dawn*, p. 222.
[23] Young, *Flowering Dusk*, pp. 105–106.
[24] Lees, 'Isis Worship in Paris', p. 86.
[25] William H. O'Donnell (ed.), *The Speckled Bird by William Butler Yeats. An Autobiographical Novel, with Variant Versions. New Edition, incorporating recently discovered manuscripts* (London, 2003), p.185, n. 27.
[26] Colquhoun, *Sword of Wisdom*, p.86.
[27] Lees, 'Isis Worship in Paris', p. 83.
[28] Ibid., p. 84.
[29] Caroline Tully, 'Samuel Liddell MacGregor Mathers and Isis', in D. Evans and D. Green (eds.), *Ten Years of Triumph? Academic Approaches to Studying Magic and the Occult: Examining scholarship into witchcraft and paganism ten years after Ronald Hutton's Triumph of the Moon* (Harpenden, 2009), pp. 64–8.
[30] Young, *Flowering Dusk*, p. 105.
[31] Yeats, *Speckled Bird*, p. 78.
[32] Moina was a native French speaker. Greer, *Women of the Golden Dawn*, p. 42.
[33] Lees, 'Isis Worship in Paris', pp. 85–6.
[34] Gaucher, 'Isis à Montmartre', pp. 446–9. Quoted in Greer, *Women of the Golden Dawn*, pp. 248–250.
[35] O'Donnell, *Speckled Bird*, p. 79.
[36] Lees, 'Isis Worship in Paris', p. 86.
[37] George Mills Harper, *Yeats's Golden Dawn* (London, 1974), p. 202.
[38] John Brodie-Innes, 'MacGregor Mathers: Some Personal Reminiscences', *Occult Review* 29/5 (1919), pp. 284–6. Cited in R. A. Gilbert, *The Golden Dawn Scrapbook* (York Beach, 1997), p. 112.
[39] James Stevens Curl, *The Egyptian Revival: Ancient Egypt as the Inspiration for Design Motifs in the West* (London, 2005), p. 345. Dourgnon also designed the Egyptian Museum in Cairo.
[40] Butler, *Victorian Occultism*, p. 8.
[41] Greer, Women of the Golden Dawn, p. 75.
[42] Ibid., pp. xvi–xvii, 115.
[43] Colquhoun, *Sword of Wisdom*, p. 85.
[44] O'Donnell, *Speckled Bird*, p. 194, n.90.
[45] Greer, *Women of the Golden Dawn*, p, 42.
[46] Jeanne Sheehy, *The Rediscovery of Ireland's Past: the Celtic Revival 1830–1930* (London, 1980), p. 95.
[47] Susan Johnston Graf, *W. B. Yeats Twentieth Century Magus* (York Beach, 2000), pp. 6–7.
[48] Greer, *Women of the Golden Dawn*, p. 196.
[49] Ibid.; O'Donnell, *Specked Bird*, p. 186.
[50] Ibid., p. 194, n.89; Greer, *Women of the Golden Dawn*, pp. 196–8; Mark Williams, *Ireland's Immortals: A History of the Gods of Irish Myth* (Princeton, 2016), pp. 332–341.
[51] O'Donnell, *Speckled Bird*, p. 194, n.89.
[52] Ibid., p. x.
[53] Ibid.; Greer, *Women of the Golden Dawn*, pp. xviii, 76–79.
[54] Ibid., p. 189; Young, *Flowering Dusk*, p. 106.
[55] Richard J. Finneran, George Mills Harper, William M. Murphy and Alan B. Himber (eds.), *Letters to W. B. Yeats* (London, 1977), pp. 29–30.
[56] Greer, *Women of the Golden Dawn*, pp. 189, 201–2, 207, 318.
[57] Lucy Shepard Kalogera, *Yeats's Celtic Mysteries* (Florida, 1977); Graf, *Twentieth Century Magus*, pp. 40–42.
[58] Jed Z. Buchwald and Diane Greco Josefowicz. *The Zodiac of Paris* (Princeton 2010), pp. 52–53, 63.
[59] Hornung, *Secret Lore of Egypt*, pp. 132–4; Kevin McGeough, *The Ancient Near East in the Nineteenth Century: Appreciations and Appropriations. 1. Claiming and Conquering* (Sheffield, 2015), pp. 29, 51.
[60] The ship on the Paris coat of arms, which dates to the thirteenth century, actually refers to the importance of shipping on the Seine. King Louis XVIII changed the coat of arms back to the old design in 1817.
[61] Champion, *Celt in Archaeology*, p. 74.

[62] Cunliffe, *The Ancient Celts*, pp. 13–14.
[63] Joep Leerssen, 'Celticism', in T. Brown (ed.), *Celticism* (Amsterdam, 1996), p. 4; Barry Cunliffe, *The Ancient Celts* (London, 1997), p. 13.
[64] Gaucher, 'Isis à Montmartre', p. 449.
[65] William Matthews, 'The Egyptians in Scotland: The Political History of a Myth', *Viator* 1 (1971), pp. 289–306; Edward J. Cowan, 'Myth and Identity in Early Medieval Scotland', *The Scottish Historical Review* 63/176 (1984), pp. 111–135; John Collis, *The Celts: Origins, Myths, Inventions* (Stroud, 2003), pp. 30, 32–3; Ralph Ellis, *Scota, Egyptian Queen of the Scots* (Cheshire West, 2006) p. xiv; Joseph Lennon, *Irish Orientalism: A Literary and Intellectual History* (Syracuse, 2004).
[66] Collis, *The Celts*, p. 30.
[67] McGeough, *Ancient Near East*, p. 3.
[68] Ellis, *Scota*, p. xiv.
[69] Lawrence and Olivia are descents of the first Lord Esmonde who built the castle in 1625. They were also cousins of another major influence on British Paganism, Robert Graves (1895–1985).
[70] Olivia claimed that her first spiritual awakening from Isis dated back to 1946. *Isis of Alchemy, Transformation through the Goddess*. www.fellowshipofisis.com/liturgy/alchemyintro.html (Accessed 18/3/17).
[71] Catherine Maignant, 'Irish Base, Global Religion: The Fellowship of Isis', in O. Cosgrove, L. Cox, C. Kuhling and P. Mulholland (eds), *Ireland's New Religious Movements* (Newcastle upon Tyne, 2011), p. 267.
[72] Maignant, *Irish Base, Global Religion*, p. 270.
[73] *Fellowship of Isis Manifesto*. www.fellowshipofsis.com/manifesto.html (accessed 24/2/17).
[74] Maignant, Irish Base, Global Religion, p. 265.
[75] *Fellowship of Isis Enrolment*. www.fellowshipofisis.com/joinform.html (accessed 6/4/17).
[76] Maignant, Irish Base, Global Religion, p. 269.
[77] *Fellowship of Isis Manifesto*.
[78] *Fellowship of Isis Introduction*. www.fellowshipofsis.com/intro.html (accessed 24/2/17).
[79] Maignant, Irish Base, Global Religion, p. 269
[80] Ibid., p. 265.
[81] Caroline Wise (ed.), *Olivia Robertson: A Centenary Tribute*, (London, 2017), p.10.
[82] Hopman, Ellen Evert. *A Legacy of Druids: Conversations with Druid Leaders of Britain, the USA and Canada, past and present*. Winchester: Moon Books, 2016, p. 49.
[83] Mr Fox had served in Egypt in the British Egyptian Expedition with General Edmund Allenby in World War I. *The Faery Seat of the Druid Clan of Dana* www.fellowshipofisiscentral.com/druid-clan-of-dana--the-faery-seat (Accessed 25/2/17).
[84] Maignant, Irish Base, Global Religion, p. 265. *Noble Order of Tara*. www.fellowshipofisis.com/nobleorderoftara.html; *Druid Clan of Dana*. www.fellowshipofisis.com/druidclanofdana.html; *Circle of Brigid*. www.fellowshipofisis.com/circleofbrigid.html. (Accessed 13/4/17).
[85] Maignant, Irish Base, Global Religion, p. 273.
[86] Vivianne Crowley, 'Olivia Robertson: Priestess of Isis', in I. Bårdsen Tøllefsen and C. Guidice (eds), *Female Leaders in new Religious Movements*, (Basingstoke, 2017), pp. 152–3.
[87] Olivia Robertson (ed.), *The Handbook of the Fellowship of Isis*, (N.P., 1992), pp. 4–6.
[88] Olivia Robertson, Preface to the *Ordination of Priestesses and Priests*. www.fellowshipofisis.com/liturgy/ordainpref.html; *Fellowship of Isis Priesthood*. www.fellowshipofisis.com/priesthood.html (Accessed 24/2/17).
[89] Olivia cites the *Lebor Gabála Érenn* and the *Scotichronicon* as her sources. *The Line of Priesthood within the Fellowship of Isis*. http://www.fellowshipofisiscentral.com/college-of-isis---training-of-priestesses-and-priests (Accessed 11/12/2016).
[90] *Quick Key to the Cosmic Web Spiral of Alchemy*. www.fellowshipofisis.com/keylach.html; Olivia Robertson, *Fortuna, Creation through the Goddess*. www.fellowshipofisis.com/liturgy/fortuna6.html (Accessed 24/2/17). 'Cesara' refers to Cessair who features in the *Lebor Gabála Érenn* as the female leader of the first group of settlers in Ireland. Collis, *The Celts*, pp. 30, 32–3; Olivia Robertson, *Sphinx, Goddess Myths and Mysteries*. www.fellowshipofisis.com/liturgy/sphinx.html (Accessed 24/2/17).
[91] *Fellowship of Isis Druid Clan of Dana Groves*. www.fellowshipofisis.com/directory_groves.html; *Clan Donnachaidh – Robertson Barony of Strathloch*. www.fellowshipofisis.com/coatofarms.html (Accessed 24/2/17)

[92] *Fellowship of Isis Blog*. foihomepage.blogspot.com.au/2011/03/changing-faces-of-temple_24.html; foihomepage.blogspot.com.au/2011/06/changing-faces-of-temple.html; foihomepage.blogspot.com.au/2013/05/new-temple-photos.html (Accessed 23/2/17).