

Hashemite Royal Mausoleum in Baghdad: Multi-Faceted, Cosmopolitan, and Diverse Influences

Elizabeth Bishop

Abstract

The Hashemite family ruled Makkah al-Mukarramah (Mecca) since the tenth century. Their descendants ruled Iraq from 1920 to 1958. In Iraq, J. Brian Cooper served King Fayṣal I as the official architect. In this capacity, he designed and supervised the construction of a mausoleum (1936), a parliament building (1951-1957), and a palace (1956-1957, currently known as “the Republican Palace”). Eleven members of the Hashemite family are buried in the mausoleum, under a dome with turquoise tiles (Mackey 2002, 121). The Hashemite family's architectural projects demonstrate a multi-faceted, cosmopolitan, and diverse set of influences (not merely British, or Abbasid, or Ottoman, or pan-Arab—rather, all of them), as shall be substantiated by our discussion of the Royal Mausoleum (*maqbara malikiyya*) in Baghdad. The Hashemite mausoleum's central dome with turquoise tiles, the scale of the whole complex, and its function, all allude to Great Britain's Royal Burial Ground at Frogmore (consecrated 23 October 1928), which was still under construction when the construction of the mausoleum in Baghdad was proposed. This article draws on twentieth-century publications (ephemera, the trade press) and newsreels to connect Cooper's design with diverse design influences within Iraq, as well as from Great Britain, the Ottoman Empire, and the Kingdom of Egypt, underscoring colonial aspects, Iraq's status as a post-Ottoman jurisdiction, and connections between the Arab states in their post-colonial stage.

Keywords: Archaeology, Baghdad, Egypt, Great Britain, Hashemite family, Iraq, *khedive*, Kingdom of Egypt, Ottoman, Royal Mausoleum.

1. Associate Professor, Department of History, College of Liberal Arts, Texas State University, San Marcos, TX, USA. Email: eb26@txstate.edu



© The Author(s) 2022. Published by University of Religions and Denominations.
Received: 22 February 2021; revised: 12 June 2021; accepted: 30 September 2021.

This is an Open Access article distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution License (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>), which permits unrestricted reuse, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited.

Introduction

The Hashemite Mausoleum's enduring significance stands as testimony to the political accomplishments of King Fayṣal I and his son King Ghazi I (Khadduri 1960ch 47, 138), as well as to the aesthetic vision of their architect. Fayṣal bin Hussein bin Ali al-Hashemi, on his election to represent Jeddah in the Ottoman Parliament, moved his family to Istanbul. Subsequently, he broke with the Ottoman authority, forming the Arab resistance. Aryeh Shmuelevitz and Asher Susser credit "a coalescence of British imperial and Hashemite interests, [which under Fayṣal bin Hussein] greatly expanded the Hashemite domain, which hitherto consisted solely of the kingdom in the Hijaz, proclaimed by [his father] Sharif Husayn during the Arab revolt" (1995, 3).

Fayṣal bin Hussein established Iraq as a League of Nations mandate, channelling Arab nationalism into the same direction as well as developing international norms about sovereignty, and shifting attitudes to the "overseas empire" within the U.K. (Dodge 2003). As "King Fayṣal I," he successfully negotiated Mosul's affiliation with Iraq, and the passage of the 1925 Organic Law through Iraq's legislature (Allawi 2013, xxiii). His son Ghazi bin Fayṣal, born in Mecca, moved to Istanbul as a child. As "King Ghazi I" he successfully managed Iraq's diplomatic relations with European jurisdictions, as well as relations between civil and military authorities (Tripathi 2013: 72).

Following the defeat of the Ottoman Empire in the Mesopotamian campaign of World War I, the League of Nations' Permanent Commission on Mandates awarded an advisory role to the United Kingdom during 1920. The Hashemite Kingdom of Iraq (*al-Mamlakat al-'Irāqīyat al-Hāshimīyya*) was founded on August 23, 1922 as a formally sovereign Iraqi kingdom under an effective British administration. The plan was formally established by an Anglo-Iraqi Treaty (1922), which allowed for Baghdad's self-government while reserving control of foreign and military affairs for London. Following a second Anglo-Iraqi Treaty (1930), the role of the United Kingdom in the formal administration of the Kingdom of Iraq ended (1932).

Even before the construction of a "royal mausoleum" began, public mourning ceremonies for King Fayṣal I and King Ghazi I bestowed meaning upon its site in suburban Adhamiya. The father's funeral during 1933, "worthy of a national hero," began at the offices of the royal *diwan*, and ended at a simple tomb. At the son's funeral during 1939, "huge crowds gathered on both sides of the capital's main street," where they exhibited "grief and mourning such as Iraq had not witnessed since the funeral" of his father and predecessor

(Khadduri 1960). Newsreel films from Ghazi's funeral show a scaffolding around the Mausoleum's dome, indicating the unfinished state of its construction when he died.

In *al-Madīna al-Munawwara* (Medina), a Green Dome above the tombs of the Prophet Muhammad and caliphs Abu Bakr and 'Umar, in *al-Masjid an-Nabawi* known as *al-Haram al-Madani*, stands as a clear symbol for any Muslim burial. Acknowledging that the mourning for King Fayṣal I and his son King Ghazi I had already imbued the Adhamiya site with meaning before the construction of the Royal Mausoleum, J. Brian Cooper, as the Official architect for the new royal family, attempted to invest this site with additional aesthetic symbols to enhance and deepen Iraqis' emotional attachment to the monarchy. The corpses of these two men, "central figures of Iraq's early history as a state" and of "the institution of the monarchy they served," rest in a building, the aesthetic of which indicates a multi-faceted, cosmopolitan, and diverse set of influences.

Elsewhere, Cooper is described as a "modernist" (Association of Collegiate Schools of Architecture 1990, 12; Levine 2016, 421). More precisely speaking, Cooper's career was divided between Britain and Iraq. In Britain, his architectural practice was credited with "traditional type houses on the Westfield Walk Site," (*Municipal Journal*, 1948), completed "erection of 14 houses at Klee Hill" (*Electrical Times*, 1949), and contracted for road and sewer works (*Roads and Road Construction*, 1949). In Iraq, Cooper reported to the Ministry of Development (*Foreign Commerce Weekly*, 1954), and his architectural practice was credited with commissioning "beautiful piece[s]" (*Light Metals*, 1960).

Not merely British, or Abbasid, or Ottoman, or pan-Arab—rather, his building reflects all of these. Eventually, their brother (King 'Ali ibn Hussein), wives (Queen Huzayma bint Nassir, Queen Aliya bint 'Ali), son (King Fayṣal II), and other family members (Princess 'Abdiya, Princess Jalila, Prince 'Abd al-llah and his ward Mariam) were laid to rest in it with them under comparatively simple white marble sarcophagi, while Ministers of Defence Ja'far Pasha al-'Askari and Rustam Haydar are buried elsewhere within the complex (Mackey 2002, 121). Regarding the mausoleum, historian Dr. Khaled al-Sultani requests "deep understanding and awareness of the architecture that was produced in Iraq, during the finite period between the first and second wars." This research responds to his request (Anonymous 2001).

Al-Sultani calls for a “deep study of these influences, and their clarification, ... because [we need to know] the values and methods of the architects who produced this architecture, as well as the main ideas inherent in the designs of these buildings and their backgrounds, and the chronological sequence in the formulation.” While it is increasingly common today to describe modern Iraq as an “artificial” nation-state, a discussion of the architecture of the Royal Mausoleum in Baghdad would be a test for such generalization by identifying a series of visual referents for J. Brian Cooper’s Royal Mausoleum inside and outside Iraq.

Christopher Catherwood discusses how Churchill created Iraq’s monarchy after the First World War (2004). Toby Dodge popularized an observation: “Iraq was an artificial creation of the British: its identity was manufactured during the process of state building” (Dodge 2003). For Asher Susser and Aryeh Shmuelevitz, too, Iraq and Jordan were “artificial creations [which] were carved out of portions of the Fertile Crescent to serve a coalescence of British imperial and Hashemite interests” (1995, 3).

The “Iraq is artificial” school of history suggests three influences. Of these, the first is London, and Great Britain’s imperial model of governance. The world “royal” joined the Hashemites with the House of Windsor. Common elements connect the design for the mausoleum in Adhamiya with that of Frogmore. These connections include triple entrances, symmetrical flanking arches, the central dome, and the park-like setting. While Frogmore’s polychrome interior recalls the wide scope of Prince Albert’s personal interests, Adhamiya’s interior relies on expanses of expert brickwork broken with teak millwork for an austere dignity. Also, it is helpful to note that just as Frogmore does not support a congregation with pastoral services, the Baghdad mausoleum lacks specific architectural elements necessary for Muslim norms, such as separate entrances/exits for men and women that a prayer hall requires, appropriate provision of water for ablution (or any marker indicating the direction of prayer, such as the *mihrab*).

The second influence acknowledges Baghdad’s history as a capital (specifically the Abbasid caliphate, before it ended with the Mongol conquest in 1258 C.E.). Further, the Adhamiya mausoleum’s arches and prominent use of Mesopotamia’s characteristic yellow bricks for its façade, are reminiscent of bricks and arches which form the façade of the Mustansiriya *madrassa* in Baghdad (built in 1227 C.E.). Built for the Abbasid rulers with the four-*iwān* plan characteristic of a law school (each hall for the Hanafi, Hanbali, Shafi‘i, and Maliki *madahabs*) with a central area for communal prayer, this complex

near the Tigris was converted during the Ottoman period to a customhouse (Myers 1959, 291), then used during the early twentieth century as a warehouse for military uniforms.

Construction of a mausoleum in Adhamiya and reconstruction of the Mustansiriya connected the Hashemite family with Abbasid predecessors in a single, extended chronology. When the mausoleum was being constructed, it was described “as the most beautiful building then existing in Baghdad” (*Muslim Review* 1926, 23). Subsequent critics credit its beauty to its geometric brickwork, acknowledging “a strong Persian influence [with] decorative patterns based on octagons, six- and eight-pointed stars” (*UNESCO Courier* 1981, 74). The expanses of expert brickwork of the mausoleum in Adhamiya reinforce the connection between the Hashemites and Abbasids.

The third influence reflects Iraq’s recently discovered ancient past, and the twentieth-century emergence of scientific archaeology (Hartnell *et al.* 2020). The Hashemite family’s emergence as Iraq’s royal family, and initial plans for a mausoleum in Adhamiya, coincided with excavations of an ancient *ziggurat* near Ur-Nammu during 1921-1931. As Cooper finalized plans for the Adhamiya project, rival teams of archaeologists were carrying out excavations Muntafiq governorate in southern Iraq (currently known as Dhi Qar governorate), and the Royal Mausoleum’s expanse of expert brickwork, massive walls, and dominant horizontal lines are evocative of the Royal Cemetery at Ur.

At Ur, the *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft*, *Deutsche Orient Gesellschaft*, and *Deutsche Archäologische Institute* identified a “large temple of the Uruk period, with columns decorated characteristically with cone mosaics” in Nasiriyah (al-Asil 1957, 4, 7). There, too, Sir Leonard Woolley found a “royal cemetery” thirty kilometers away from Syed Kheel village (Siry 2005, 303, n. 45). As Great Britain, France, and Italy permitted Germany to annex the Sudetenland, excavations by rival teams of archaeologists prompted the Hashemite state to extend its administrative regulations (while the Arabic name of nation-state *al-‘Irāq* does not necessarily derive from Uruk, this misunderstanding remains in wide currency).

Woolley’s discovery of sixteen tombs with rich items (at what he called a “royal cemetery”) featured a solid gold bull’s head that adorned Queen Puabi’s (Shub-Ad) harp from Early Dynastic III period (ca. 2600-2500 B.C.; Bogdanos 2005, 478, n. 7). As the bull’s-head-harp from Queen Puabi’s tomb and other

gold items emerged from excavations at Ur, these were sent to the British Museum for repair and restoration.

In Iraq (as in Egypt, more on this later) nationalist political leaders intensely scrutinized the divisions and destinations of these precious objects (Millerman 2015, 49, 54, 71). Such scrutiny justified *both* international participation in sustained archaeological excavations, *and* local authorities' administrative development. King Fayṣal I established the government's Department for Archaeology and founded an Iraq Museum (Melman 2020). The Antiquities Law's Article 28 specified that "antiquities which having been exported from Iraq and are reimported into Iraq, shall be exempt from import duty on production of certification of the Director of Antiquities that the articles have been previously exported from Iraq"; and "casts and models of antiquities representing such articles that have been exported from Iraq shall be exempted from payment of duty when imported into Iraq, on certificate for the Director of Antiquities that the original article of antiquity was exported from Iraq" (Compilation of Proclamations 1930, 32).

British trade publications suggest an enthusiasm for Mesopotamian crafts at precisely the same time that Cooper was finalizing plans for the Royal Mausoleum. Among these journals and magazines, *Brick and Clay Record* addressed the brickmaking techniques of ancient Mesopotamia (62, 1923, 334). Dating from the first years of the kingdom of Iraq, *Architectural Monographs on Tiles and Tilework* referred to a dome and "metallic lustre tiles brought from Baghdad" (1924, 10), bringing bricks and tiles into a semantic "Baghdad" at the same time that Cooper's design found expression.

Trade publications suggest Cooper (as his fellow architects) followed Woolley's excavations as they incorporated hitherto-unused materials into their works. This indicates a wider range of strategies to build a "sense of place" into the mausoleum complex for the Hashemite family in Baghdad than the "Iraq is artificial" narrative would suggest.

Materials and Methods

Newsreel films from the first years of the Hashemite kingdom record Prince 'Abd al-lah (who served as Regent after the death of King Ghazi I) reviewing troops before the mausoleum in Adhamiya (1941), where he also received his paternal uncle King of Jordan Abdullah I bin Al-Hussein (1941, as well). Before the mausoleum, with senior statesmen and diplomats, the Regent likewise received the salute of Iraqi Army's fourth Brigade as they left for

Palestine (1948). Acknowledging the forms of visual evidence which the newsreel films provide, the mausoleum featured on Iraq's 2-*fil*s stamp (1941), as well as the 4-*fil*s stamp (1948). The daily *Iraq Times* reported "members of the new Cabinet on the day it was formed [paid their respects at] the Royal Mausoleum which they visited after meeting His Royal Highness the Regent, at the Royal Bilat" (6 February 1953), and it remained a symbol of the monarchy through the deaths of the state's two founders, through the ascension of Ghazi's son as King Fayṣal II.

Given practical restrictions on researchers' access to government documents in Iraq's National Archives, the current project depends on published materials, which are widely available in research libraries in the United States, as well as items of ephemera which circulate among specialists and collectors. Postage stamps confirm the ideological significance of the Royal Mausoleum. Trade publications help ascertain how Cooper was viewed at the time he served the monarchy as its official architect, and how specific building materials were understood to contribute to an emerging aesthetic for Iraq. Moreover, postcards document the site in Adhamiya at different points in time.

Beyond superficial similarities to Frogmore, to the Mustansiriya, and to a "royal cemetery" elsewhere in Iraq, what were the sources of the enduring ideological significance of Cooper's Royal Mausoleum? Arguably, the aesthetic influence of the discovery of these items connected Hashemite state-building to other forms of Ottoman internationalism and Arab nationalism. Expanding on a superficial identification of Cooper's international network of aesthetic references (Frogmore, Mustansiriya, British excavations at the "royal cemetery" of Ur), postcards indicate the introduction of a new element into the compound after foundations were laid for the mausoleum complex.

Apparently, King Ghazi I ordered a *sabil khaneh* (a public fountain, endowed to supply pedestrians with drinking water) be built at the right side of the Mausoleum's main entrance. Let us recall that the Hashemite family spent the twentieth century's first decade in an eighteenth-century home, currently known as "the *Şerifler Yalısı*" in suburban Emirgan. An extended discussion of the Hashemite family's connection with the eighteenth century Ottoman architecture offers an opportunity to test the "artificial Iraq" hypothesis, suggesting a continuity of governance through the nineteenth-century *tanzimāt* into a twentieth century era of nation-states.

Fevzi Beyzade Mehmet bey, chief palace scribe for the treasury, built this fountain during 1782-1785. Clad in wooden clapboard, this split-level structure with a boathouse directly on the Bosphorus appears modest. It was renovated in the mid-nineteenth century. After Fayşal bin Hussein bin Ali al-Hashemi was elected to represent Jeddah in the Ottoman Parliament, the Hashemite family purchased it, using it as a residence until at least 1947 (Tarihi Kentler Birliđi).

This research is a supplementation of that of Ian Jackson who consults official correspondence and architects' floorplans (2016). In such homes, the *selamlık* (public area or reception rooms, which the men of the family used) was architecturally distinct from the *haremlık* (private area, where the women and children of the family mingled with servants). Following renovations, the *Şerifler Yalısı's selamlık* was entered through a marble-paved corridor with plenty of light. To the right of the corridor, a covered suspension bridge-corridor built on wooden poles passed into the *haremlık* (Tarihi Kentler Birliđi).

Within the *Şerifler Yalısı* (where the Hashemite family lived after Fayşal bin Hussein bin Ali al-Hashemi was elected to represent Jeddah in the Ottoman Parliament), the entrance opens to a large interior hall consisting of three large alcoves around a marble-paved central space, and commanding a view of the Bosphorus. This remarkable space with its deep visual reference to the Ottoman capital is centered on a marble fountain at its center, with a Venetian glass chandelier (colorful, with a theme of ivy and roses) hanging in the center of the ceiling directly above the fountain. The garden complements the architecture, with an outdoor marble pool lined precisely with the windows between the dining room and the fountain hall (Tarihi Kentler Birliđi).

King Ghazi I of Iraq spent his childhood in the *Şerifler Yalısı*, within which a door to the left of the fountain hall leads to the *haremlık* with its main room and its stove. Here, the carved wooden decoration on the ceiling and walls represents outstanding examples of the eighteenth century Ottoman-Baroque style. The door's inner panel resembles an embroidered closet cover; when closed, the door disappears, leaving a wall with a fireplace in the middle and embroideries on both sides (Tarihi Kentler Birliđi).

In Ottoman Istanbul, in the same period as the extraordinary woodwork inside the *haremlık* of the *Şerifler Yalısı*, a prominent type of construction during the early eighteenth century was the *sabil khaneh*. The *sabil* of Ahmed III between Topkapı Palace and the Hagia Sophia serves as an elaborate surviving example which King Ghazi undoubtedly knew, an example of what

Shirine Hamadeh calls “a central feature of visual and literary representations of Istanbul” (2002, 123). In Hamadeh’s description, the *sabil* “turned into the most lavish of public monuments and became a predominant obsession among an expanding number of rich patrons” (2002, 123).

Although Cooper’s Royal Mausoleum cannot (strictly speaking) be considered an “Ottoman architecture,” recognition of this connection between the mausoleum in Baghdad and the *Şerifler Yalısı*, as well as minor buildings of the former Ottoman capital secures a place for Hashemite Iraq on the continuum of post-Ottoman spaces (Bishop 2015, Bishop 2020). It also has a role for Egypt’s jurist ‘Abd al-Razzāq al-Sanhūrī in developing Iraq’s laws, which have already been identified (Vogel 2000, Kamali 2008, Marcinkowski 2009). In addition, the Egyptian singer Umm Kulthum performed for the Hashemite family in 1932, and her weekly concerts continued to be broadcast over Radio Baghdad for decades (Lohman 2012).

In Iraqi cinemas, newsreel bulletins served as a key component uniting the communications strategies of Iraq’s Hashemite monarchy with those of Egypt’s khedives, ruling as a “royal family” under the terms of that country’s 1925 constitution, and the Hashemite family’s personal connections extended to Egypt as well. Prince ‘Abd al-llah (who served as Regent), attended Victoria College in Alexandria. His first wife was Melek *khanum*, grandniece of Amin Yehia Pasha, a wealthy landowner who founded Alexandria’s Chamber of Commerce (Haag 2008, 35). Called “Princess Melek ‘Abd al-llah” during the marriage, Iraq’s Regent’s first wife was connected to Egypt’s royal house through her father Salah al-Din Fauzi *bey*.

Individual newsreel films include Reuters and British Pathé newsreels “The Sphinx Revealed” (1926), “Late Zaghul Pasha” (1927), “Announcement of Death of King Fuad of Egypt” (1936), “Funeral of King Fuad” (1936), “Pilgrims Leave Cairo for Mecca” (1937), “Moulid El-Nabi Ceremony in Cairo” (1938), “Arab Delegates Arrive” (1939), “Arab Armies in Egypt” (1940), “Arab Horsemen” (1940), “Cairo’s Annual Mahmal Ceremony” (1940), “Soldiers Explore Cairo” (1942), “Foreign Secretary and Generals Meet in Cairo” (1943), “United Nations Parade Through Cairo” (1943), “Holy Carpet Leaves Cairo for Mecca” (1946), and “Schoolwork at the Pyramids” (1949). While documentation is lacking as to whether any specific newsreel was screened in Iraq, Baghdad cinemas regularly screened Pathé and Reuters newsreels (Bishop 2013).

Such newsreels offer evidence that audiences in both jurisdictions shared a common aesthetic. Opening with the Abdin Palace, the British Pathé “Funeral of King Fuad” provides a tour of Cairo’s monuments, from Abdin to his burial place in the al-Rifa’i mosque. Within the mosque, King Fuad’s sarcophagus exemplifies a variation of the Mamluk revival or neo-Ottoman architectural style. Its final and the placement of calligraphy evoke the Fatimid-era shrine of Abu Mansur ibn Qasta (1140), within the mosque of Suleyman Pasha al-Khadim (1528), inside the citadel of Salah ad-Din (*qala’ a Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn*, original construction 1176-1183).

Results

Naji Al-Asil’s administrative history in *Recent Archaeological Activity in Iraq* (1957) tied specific excavations to the Hashemite’s legal regime protecting archaeological discoveries for a newly established nation, additional texts indicating the extent to which UK and US archaeologists working in Iraq spent earlier, formative periods of their careers in Egypt (Budge 1920; Candler 1919; Roux 1964). In short, the archaeological community that excavated at Ur at the founding of an independent Iraq, did so with experiences from excavations in Aswan and Luxor during Egypt’s Khedival government and into that country’s monarchy.

As a group, archaeologists’ fieldnotes index Woolley’s work before he arrived in Iraq. Beyond the Ottoman *sabil*, these draw attention to Egypt’s past for putative models for Cooper’s mausoleum. While these are not certainly the sole or unique influences on the Hashemite family mausoleum, *The Archaeological Survey of Nubia/ Report for 1907-1908*; Randall-MacIver and Woolley 1909, Woolley 1910; and Randall-MacIver and Woolley 1911 collectively document a network of aesthetic associations for the architecture of Hashemite Iraq, which exceeds a simple London-Baghdad axis. As a supplementation for other historians’ contributions regarding the political environment in Baghdad for Cooper’s mausoleum, the secular nature of Hashemite governance draws attention to the political environment in which Woolley carried out his early work in Egypt.

In particular, Christina Riggs’ *Ancient Egyptian Magic* (2020) refers to the mummy of Ramses II, unwrapped in the presence of the *Khedive* Tewfiq, thereby connecting independent modern rulers of Egypt with their Paranoiac predecessors. Donald Malcolm Reid’s *Whose Pharaohs?* (2003) also refers to “royalist propaganda” in Zaki Fahmy’s poem tying his successor King Fuad I to “the glory of the early Pharaohs.” In Cairo, the al-Rifa’i mosque serves as

final resting place for members of Egypt's royal family. Built at the suggestion of Hoşyar Kadın (fifth wife of the Ottoman *Sultan* Mahmud II), her son Egypt's *Khedive* Isma'il Pasha, Sultan Hussein Kamel, her grandson who ruled Egypt as King Fuad I, and his son King Farouk are all buried in it, with her. *Khedive* Tawfik and his wife Emina Ilhamy are buried separately in *Qubbat Afandina* (1894).

The architect of the Rifa'i mosque, Max Herz (born Herz Miksa) studied at Budapest Technical University and at Vienna's Technical College. As Egypt's Minister of Public Works, Ali Mubarak (1823-1893) oversaw Mahmoud al Falaky's master plan for Cairo's modernization. As Minister of Islamic Endowments, he implemented that plan, which included overseeing the realization of the design of Dimitrius Fabricius Pasha for *Qubbat Afandina* in a Neo-Mamluk style. A "borrowed nostalgia" inspired by a view of Fustat or 'Amr ibn al 'As's mosque may have inspired the head of the *Waqf* Ministry's Technical Office Julius Franz Pasha, instructing Max Herz Pasha as conservator of mosques in Cairo (Bishop 2004).

Reconstruction of the Rifa'i became Herz Pasha's responsibility. He chose stones matching the neighboring mosque-madrassa of Sultan Hassan (built 1356-1363) to face the al-Rifa'i khedival burial mosque. With their round shafts, a pavilion supported by eight stone columns, and finial bulbs, the minarets of the al-Rifa'i mosque are reminiscent of the single minaret of the fourteenth-century Aqsunqur mosque (with its distinctive round shaft, a pavilion supported by eight slender columns, and a single finial bulb). Unlike Cooper's design for the Royal Mausoleum in Baghdad, Herz's al-Rifa'i mosque has a prayer hall, and the successful completion of its construction was marked by a communal prayer (1912).

Discussion

Iraq's government Development Board awarded Cooper commissions for a Parliament Building (1951-1957) and a Royal Palace (1956-1957, currently known as the "Republican Palace), indicating his success in creating a distinctive aesthetic for the monarchy. While modern Iraq is increasingly described as an "artificial" nation-state, this discussion of the architecture of the Royal Mausoleum in Baghdad puts such a generalization to test by identifying a series of visual referents for J. Brian Cooper's Royal Mausoleum inside and outside Iraq. In Iraq, the turquoise blue luster tiles of the

mausoleum's domes connected the new construction with a recently-reconstructed "royal cemetery" at Ur, as well as its walls' yellow brick with the Mustansiriya *madrassa*.

Further, this article identifies design influences on the Royal Mausoleum in Baghdad from outside Iraq. These include Great Britain's Royal Burial Ground at Frogmore, under construction at the same time as the Mausoleum, a *sabil khaneh* which evokes the eighteenth century *sabil* of Ahmed III in Istanbul, and Max Herz's al-Rifa'i mosque (1912) in Cairo. Just as Laila Kamal Marei connects the al-Rifa'i Mosque to Cairo's Mamluk heritage as one of "a number of new buildings made to 'simulate older Arab ones'" (2013), Cooper's Royal Mausoleum connects, indirectly, the Mustansiriya and "royal cemetery" at Ur.

Acknowledgments

I express gratitude to Dr. Shannon Duffy, Texas State University, Department of History, convener of the Swinney Faculty Writing group; and Dr. Nabil Al-Tikriti, Department of History and American Studies, University of Mary Washington. The remaining errors are my own.

References

- Budge, E. A. 1920. Wallis. *By Nile and Tigris: A Narrative of Journeys in Egypt and Mesopotamia on Behalf of the British Museum Between the Years 1886 and 1913*. London: J. Murray.
- Candler, Edmund. 1919. *Long Road to Baghdad*. London: Cassell and Company.
- Candler, Edmund. 1926. *Youth and The East: An Unconventional Autobiography*. Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons.
- Randall-MacIver, David and C. Leonard Woolley. 1909. *Areika: With A Chapter on Meroitic Inscriptions*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Randall-MacIver, David and C. Leonard Woolley. 1911. *Buhen*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum.
- Wilkins, Louisa J. 1909. *By Desert Ways to Baghdad*. London: T. F. Unwin.
- Woolley, C. Leonard. 1928. *The Sumerians*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Woolley, Charles Leonard. 1910. *Eckley B. Coxe Junior Expedition to Nubia*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum.
- Al-Asil, Naji. 1957. *Recent Archaeological Activity in Iraq*. Baghdad: Government Press.
- Abu El-Haj, Nadia. 2008. *Facts on the Ground: Archaeological Practice and Territorial Self-Fashioning in Israeli Society*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Abu Zaid, Adnan. 2007. "Graves of the Rulers of Iraq." *Elaph* (2 January).
- Allawi, Ali A. 2008. *Faysal I of Iraq*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Anonymous. 2001. "The Royal Cemetery in Baghdad; an Architectural Style that Combines Civilization, Environment, and Awe as Well." *Assharq al-Awsat*, 8297 (16 August).
- Association of Collegiate Schools of Architecture. 1990. *Text and Context in Architectural Education: Proceedings of the ACSA Southeastern Regional Meeting: Held at the School of Architecture, University of Puerto Rico, October 16-18, 1988*.
- Bishop, Elizabeth. 2004. "Living with 'Ali Mubarak Pasha: State and Civil Society in Egypt." In *Living in Historic. Cairo: Past and Present in an Islamic City*, Farhad Daftary, Elizabeth Fernea, et al., editors. Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press.

- Bishop, Elizabeth. 2013. "Politics of Cinema in Hashemite Iraq," *Oriente Moderno*, 93 (1): 101-126.
- Bishop, Elizabeth. 2015. "Proxy Battle of the Cold War: Taxation in Hashemite Iraq," *Studia Historica Gedanensia*, (6): 227-252.
- Bishop, Elizabeth. 2020. "Ghosts of Empire in Egypt: The Turkish Ambassador's Revenge," *Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée*, 148; special issue *Fantômes d'Empire: persistances et revendications d'ottomanité(s) dans les espaces post-ottomans*. Aline Schlaepfer, Philippe Bourmaud, Iyas Hassan, eds.
- Bogdanos, Matthew. 2005. "The Casualties of War: The Truth about the Iraq Museum." *American Journal of Archaeology*, 109 (July).
- Catherwood, Christopher. 2004. *Churchill's Folly: How Winston Churchill Created Modern Iraq*. New York: Carroll & Graf.
- Dawisha, Adeed. 2016. *Arab Nationalism in the Twentieth Century: From Triumph to Despair*. Princeton: Princeton University.
- Dodge, Toby. 2003. *Inventing Iraq: The Failure of Nation Building and a History Denied*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Haag, Michael. 2008. *Vintage Alexandria: Photographs of the City, 1860-1960*. Cairo: American University in Cairo Press.
- Hamadeh, Shirine. 2002. "Splash and Spectacle: The Obsession with Fountains in Eighteenth-Century Istanbul." *Muqarnas: An Annual on the Visual Cultures of the Islamic World* XIX.
- Hanson, Todd. 2016. *Archaeology of the Cold War*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida.
- Hartnell, Tobin, Yalda Razmahang, Mohammed Dler, and Adam Azad Tawfeeq. 2020. "Assessing Cultural Heritage in Post-Conflict Iraq," 25th Conference on Cultural Heritage and New Technologies (November 4-6). Vienna, Austria.
- Isenstadt, Sandy and Kishwar Rizvi, eds. 2011. *Modernism and the Middle East: Architecture and Politics in the Twentieth Century*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- Jackson, Ian. 2016. "Architecture of the British Mandate in Iraq," *Journal of Architecture*, 21 (3).
- Kamali, Mohammad Hashim. 2008. *Shari'ah Law: An Introduction*. London: Oneworld.
- Khadduri, Majid. 1960. *Independent Iraq: A Study in Iraqi Politics Since 1932*. New York: Oxford University Press.

- Levine, Neil. 2016. *The Urbanism of Frank Lloyd Wright*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Lohman, Laura. 2010. *Umm Kulthum: Artistic Agency and the Shaping of an Arab Legend, 1967–2007*. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press.
- Mackey, Sandra. 2002. *The Reckoning: Iraq and the Legacy of Saddam Hussein*. New York: W. W. Norton.
- Makdisi, Ussama. 2019. *Age of Coexistence: The Ecumenical Frame and the Making of the Modern Arab World*. Berkeley: University of California.
- Marcinkowski, Christopher. 2009. *The Islamic World and the West: Managing Religious and Cultural Identities in the Age of Globalisation*. Berlin: LIT Verlag.
- Marei, Laila Kamal. 2013. “The Revival of Mamluk Architecture in the 19th and 20th Centuries.” MA thesis, The American University in Cairo.
- Melman, Billie. 2020. *Empires of Antiquities: Modernity and the Rediscovery of the Ancient Near East*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Millerman, Alison J. 2015. “The Spinning Of Ur: How Sir Leonard Woolley, James R. Ogden, And The British Museum Interpreted And Represented The Past To Generate Funding For The Excavation Of Ur In The 1920s And 1930s.” PhD diss., University of Manchester.
- Mullin, David. 2011. *Places in Between: The Archaeology of Social, Cultural and Geographical Borders and Borderlands*. Oxford: Oxbow.
- Nakash, Yitzhak. 1994. *The Shi'is of Iraq*. Princeton: Princeton University.
- Reid, Donald Malcolm. 2003. *Whose Pharaohs? Archaeology, Museums, and Egyptian National Identity from Napoleon to World War I*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Riggs, Christina. 2020. *Ancient Egyptian Magic*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Roux, Georges. 1964. *Ancient Iraq*. Harmondsworth, U.K.: Pelican Books.
- Salama, Ashraf and Marwa El-Ashmouni. 2020. *Architectural Excellence in Islamic Societies*. London: Taylor and Francis.
- Shmuelevitz, Aryeh and Asher Susser. 1995. *The Hashemites in the Modern Arab World Essays in Honour of the late Professor Uriel Dann*. London: Frank Cass.

Siry, Joseph. 2005. "Wright's Baghdad Opera House and Gammage Auditorium: In Search of Regional Modernity," *The Art Bulletin*, 87 (2).

Tarih Kentler Birliđi. Şerifler Yalısı. Website:
<https://www.tarihkentlerbirliđi.org/hakkimizda/tkb-merkezi-serifler-yalisi/>

Tripathi, Deepak. 2013. *Imperial Designs: War, Humiliation & the Making of History*. Lincoln, Nebraska: Potomac Books.

Vogel, Frank. 2000. *Islamic Law and Legal System: Studies of Saudi Arabia*. Leiden: Brill.

Watenpaugh, Heghnar. 2007. "An Uneasy Historiography." *Muqarnas: An Annual on the Visual Cultures of the Islamic World* XIV.