

The Twilight of the Padishah: Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin and the Dissolution of the Ottoman Empire (1918–1922)

1. Introduction: The Inheritance of Ashes

The ascension of Mehmed VI Vahideddin to the throne of the Ottoman Empire on July 4, 1918, was not a coronation in the traditional sense; it was the assumption of a funeral watch over a dying state. The thirty-sixth and final Sultan of the House of Osman girded the Sword of Osman at a moment of supreme existential crisis. The Great War, which the Empire had entered with imperial ambitions four years prior, had transformed into a catastrophe of biblical proportions. The collapse of the Bulgarian front had left the capital, Constantinople (Istanbul), dangerously exposed to the Allied advance; the Arab provinces were effectively lost to the British and Arab Revolt; and the Anatolian heartland was decimated by famine, disease, and the ceaseless demand for blood.

Vahideddin, a man of 57 who had spent nearly his entire life in the secluded luxury of the palace "cage," was acutely aware of the precariousness of his position. Upon his accession, he remarked to a confidant with chilling prescience, "I did not sit on the feather cushion of the throne; on the contrary, I sat on the ashes from the fire".¹ This report offers an exhaustive analysis of this terminal period of Ottoman history (1918–1922), dissecting the era into two distinct but inseparable narratives.

The first half of this inquiry focuses on the sovereign himself—his psychological formation under the shadow of his brother Abdulhamid II, his desperate political strategy of Anglophilia, his fratricidal conflict with the Turkish National Movement, and his tragic, humiliating exile. Vahideddin emerges not merely as the "traitor" of republican historiography or the "victim" of revisionism, but as a paralyzed figure trapped between the terrified instinct for dynastic preservation and the tectonic shifts of modern nationalism.

The second half shifts the lens to the Empire he nominally ruled—a state existing in a "twilight zone" of legal ambiguity under Allied occupation. This section analyzes the socio-economic collapse driven by hyperinflation, the demographic upheaval caused by waves of Muslim and White Russian refugees, the public health catastrophe of the Spanish Flu, and the brutal civil war that raged in the hinterlands. It was in this crucible of suffering that the cosmopolitan imperial fabric of Istanbul unraveled, giving way to the harder, sharper reality of the Turkish

Part I: The Sovereign in Shadows — Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin

2. The Caged Prince: Biography, Psychology, and Intellectual Formation

2.1 Early Life: Orphanhood and the "Golden Cage"

Born on January 14, 1861, within the opulent confines of the Dolmabahçe Palace, Mehmed Vahideddin was the youngest son of Sultan Abdülmecid I.¹ His entry into the imperial line was marked by immediate and profound loss. He lost his mother, Gülüstü Kadınefendi, when he was merely three months old, and his father, the Sultan, passed away only a month later.¹ This double tragedy at the dawn of his life defined his psychological development, fostering a deep-seated sense of vulnerability, isolation, and melancholy that would characterize his later political decision-making.

Raised in the palace harem by stepmothers and tutors, Vahideddin spent the vast majority of his life in the *kafes* (cage), the traditional confinement for Ottoman princes designed to prevent sedition. Unlike European heirs who were groomed with military commissions and administrative governorships, Vahideddin lived in a gilded stasis. However, he was far from intellectually idle. He received a rigorous, albeit traditional, education. He attended the Fatih Madrasa and took private, often secret, lessons in Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*), theology, and Persian literature.¹ This theological training was not superficial; he acquired a scholar's understanding of the *Sharia*, which would later influence his reliance on *fatwas* (religious decrees) as a primary political weapon against the secularizing Nationalists.

2.2 The Shadow of Abdulhamid II

The most significant influence on Vahideddin's worldview was his older half-brother, Sultan Abdulhamid II (r. 1876–1909). While other princes were kept at arm's length, Vahideddin was considered Abdulhamid's closest brother and confidant.³ From this privileged vantage point, he observed Abdulhamid's style of rule—autocratic, paranoid, centralized, and deeply

distrustful of constitutionalists.

This proximity instilled in Vahideddin a pathological hatred for the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP), the "Young Turk" faction that eventually deposed Abdulhamid II. He viewed the CUP not merely as political rivals, but as the architects of the Empire's destruction and usurpers of the House of Osman's legitimate authority.¹ This anti-CUP stance became the cornerstone of his political identity; upon ascending the throne, his primary domestic goal was the purge of Unionist elements, a fixation that often blinded him to the larger threat of Allied partition.

2.3 Personality, Family, and Private Life

Contrary to the caricature of a detached decadent, Vahideddin was a man of refinement and specific intellectual pursuits. He was a skilled calligrapher and a musician who played the *kanun* (a zither-like instrument). He composed music in the classical Ottoman tradition, his works often expressing a longing for a lost past—a sentiment that would become literally true during his exile.⁴ Those within his inner circle described him as an "optimistic and patient person" and a "kind family man," a sharp contrast to the "serious and formal" and often dour demeanor he presented to the public.⁴

His personal life reflected a search for companionship and perhaps an attempt to secure the succession in a dynasty plagued by mortality. He married five times, a high number even for the standards of the late Ottoman court, with several marriages occurring late in his life.

Table 1: Consorts and Issue of Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin

Consort Name	Marriage Date	Status	Children	Notes
Nazikeda Kadın	1885	Senior Consort	Münire Fenire, Fatma Ulviye	Remained his principal wife until death. ³
Inşirah Hanım	1905	Consort	None	Divorced in 1909. ³
Müveddet Kadın	1911	Consort	Mehmed Ertuğrul	Mother of the heir who accompanied him into exile. ³
Nevvare Hanım	1918	Consort	None	Married upon his accession; divorced 1924. ³
Nevzad Hanım	1921	Consort	None	Married during the crisis of the civil war. ³

Source: Aggregated from biographical records.³

2.4 The Yildiz Fire: A Window into the Sultan's Soul

A telling anecdote from 1919 illustrates Vahideddin's fatalistic temperament. During the month of Ramadan, a fire broke out in the Yildiz Palace, engulfing the Sultan's apartment. As servants panicked and the flames threatened to consume the imperial residence, Vahideddin put on his overcoat over his nightgown and stood in the garden, watching the blaze with an eerie calm. When a servant began to weep for the loss of the palace, the Sultan admonished him, saying, "I'm worried about my nation burning. My own house..."¹ This incident reveals a man deeply resigned to catastrophe, viewing his personal losses as secondary to the inevitable dissolution of his realm, yet seemingly paralyzed to stop the fire consuming the nation itself.

3. The Accession and the Anglophile Strategy (1918–1919)

3.1 Ascending to the Throne of Ashes

Vahideddin became the heir apparent (*Veliaht*) only in 1916, at the advanced age of 55, following the suicide of his cousin, Crown Prince Yusuf Izzeddin.⁴ His ascension on July 4, 1918, following the death of Sultan Mehmed V Reşad, placed him at the helm of a ship that was already sinking.

His immediate political objective was twofold: to extricate the Empire from the disastrous war and to destroy the CUP leadership (Enver, Talat, and Cemal Pashas). He dissolved the parliament, which was dominated by CUP members, and sought to restore the authority of the palace, which had been reduced to a figurehead status under his predecessor.¹

3.2 The 1917 Visit to Germany: The Roots of the Kemal-Vahideddin Rift

Crucial to understanding the later conflict between the Sultan and the Republic is the relationship between Vahideddin and Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk). In 1917, while still Crown Prince, Vahideddin undertook an official visit to Germany and Austria. He was accompanied by Mustafa Kemal Pasha as his aide-de-camp.¹

During this trip, the two men engaged in long, private discussions. At this stage, they shared a common ground: both were critical of Enver Pasha's management of the war and the dangerous over-reliance on the German alliance. Vahideddin was impressed by Mustafa Kemal's strategic acumen. However, this familiarity bred contempt. Mustafa Kemal saw in Vahideddin a man of intelligence but weak will, terrified of the Allied powers. Vahideddin saw

in Kemal a dangerously ambitious officer, a "Jacobin" in the mold of the hated Young Turks. This shared history meant that their later rupture was not just political, but deeply personal.¹

3.3 The Anglophile Delusion

The central pillar of Sultan Vahideddin's foreign policy was an unwavering, almost desperate, reliance on Great Britain. He was described by contemporaries and historians as an "ardent Anglophile".³ His political logic was rooted in 19th-century diplomacy, where Britain had traditionally been the guarantor of the Ottoman Empire's territorial integrity against Russian expansionism.

Vahideddin failed to grasp that the geopolitical landscape had fundamentally shifted. Britain had entered secret agreements (Sykes-Picot) to partition the Empire and had promised Ottoman territories to Italy and Greece. Despite this, Vahideddin believed that if he fully cooperated with the Allies, punished the "war criminals" (CUP), and suppressed any resistance that might provoke the British, the victors would be lenient at the peace table. "I hope the noble English nation and government... will help us to achieve our rights," he famously stated, a sentiment that revealed a catastrophic naivety regarding imperial realpolitik.¹

3.4 The Armistice of Mudros and the Loss of Sovereignty

The signing of the Armistice of Mudros on October 30, 1918, was the first test of this policy of appeasement. The terms were devastating: total demobilization of the army, surrender of all garrisons, and Allied control of strategic points.⁸ Article 7 of the Armistice, which allowed the Allies to occupy any strategic point in the event of a threat to security, became the legal pretext for the occupation of Istanbul and the Greek invasion of Anatolia.⁸

When the Allied fleet anchored in the Bosphorus on November 13, 1918, Vahideddin watched from the Dolmabahçe Palace as the guns of the British battleships trained on his residence. He chose to remain, believing his physical presence was required to maintain the continuity of the state. In reality, he had become a hostage. His decision to dissolve the parliament and rule by decree, while intended to consolidate power, effectively isolated him from the populace and forced him into a tighter embrace with the British High Commission.¹

4. The Struggle for Legitimacy: The Sultan vs. The Nation (1919–1922)

4.1 The Appointment of Mustafa Kemal and the Rupture

The relationship between Sultan Vahideddin and the Turkish National Movement is the defining conflict of his reign. In May 1919, the Sultan approved Mustafa Kemal's assignment as the Inspector of the 9th Army Troops in Anatolia. Historians debate the intent: did he send Kemal to start a resistance, or merely to pacify the region as the British demanded? The consensus suggests a mix of incompetence and desperation; Vahideddin likely hoped Kemal would stabilize the region to prevent further Allied incursions, not ignite a revolution that would threaten the throne.¹

As Mustafa Kemal organized the resistance in Samsun, Amasya, and Sivas, declaring that "the independence of the nation will be saved by the determination of the nation," the Sultan grew alarmed. The British pressured the Sultan to recall Kemal, threatening to occupy more territory if the "rebels" were not subdued. Vahideddin, fearing the extinction of the dynasty, succumbed to this pressure, dismissing Kemal and eventually signing his death warrant in absentia.

4.2 The War of Fatwas: Spiritual Warfare

The conflict escalated from political disagreement to spiritual warfare. In April 1920, under intense British pressure, the Sultan's government unleashed its most potent traditional weapon: the *fatwa*. The Sheikh ul-Islam, Dürriyade Abdullah Bey, issued a religious decree declaring the Nationalists to be "infidels" (*kuffar*) and "bandits" whose execution was a religious duty incumbent upon all true Muslims.⁹

This was a catastrophic error. By branding the patriots fighting against the Greek invasion as enemies of Islam, Vahideddin delegitimized his own office. The Ankara government responded with a counter-fatwa signed by the Mufti of Ankara and dozens of Anatolian clerics, declaring the Sultan a captive of the infidel British and asserting that saving the Caliphate required liberating the Sultan from his captors.¹⁰ This destroyed the Sultan's moral authority in the heartland.

4.3 The Caliphate Army (*Kuva-yi Inzibatiye*)

To enforce the fatwa, the Sultan authorized the creation of the *Kuva-yi Inzibatiye* (Forces of Order), also known as the "Caliphate Army".¹² Equipped and funded by the British, this force was tasked with destroying the Nationalist forces near Izmit and Düzce.

The spectacle of the Caliph's army fighting against Turkish irregulars who were resisting foreign occupation was a propaganda disaster. The Caliphate Army was poorly led and lacked morale; its soldiers, realizing they were fighting their brethren to serve British interests, deserted in droves. The force was defeated in June 1920, and many of its remnants defected

to the Nationalists.¹² This military failure marked the end of the Sultan's ability to project hard power.

4.4 The Civil War: Anzavur and the Internal Front

While the Nationalists fought the Greeks in the West, a vicious civil war raged internally. The Sultan's government supported various revolts against Ankara. The most significant was the **Anzavur Uprising** (1919–1920) in the Marmara region.¹⁵

Ahmed Anzavur was not merely a bandit; he was a former Ottoman governor and a Circassian loyalist who believed that the Nationalists were secular usurpers destroying the faith. Fighting under the banner of the Sultan, Anzavur's forces ambushed Nationalist detachments and executed their officers. In Düzce and Bolu, revolts broke out under the slogan "The Caliph is being held captive".¹⁶ These uprisings were fratricidal, pitting neighbor against neighbor, and forced the National Assembly to divert crucial troops from the Greek front to suppress them. The blood spilled in these internal conflicts stained Vahideddin's legacy permanently.

4.5 The Treaty of Sèvres: The Point of No Return

The final blow to the Sultan's legitimacy was the Treaty of Sèvres, signed on August 10, 1920.¹⁷ The treaty formalized the partition of the Empire, leaving only a rump Turkish state in northern Anatolia while ceding vast territories to Greece, Armenia, Britain, France, and Italy.¹⁹

Although Vahideddin did not sign the treaty personally—it was signed by his representatives, including Mehmed Hadi Pasha—he did not actively oppose it. He viewed it as a bitter pill that had to be swallowed to save Istanbul and the dynasty.³ The Grand National Assembly in Ankara declared the treaty null and void and the signatories traitors. Vahideddin's tacit acceptance of Sèvres severed the last emotional ties between the monarch and his people. He was now seen not as the "Shadow of God on Earth," but as an impediment to national survival.

5. The Fall: Abolition, Abdication, and Exile

5.1 The Triumph of Ankara and the Abolition of the Sultanate

By late 1922, the tide had turned irreversibly. The Turkish National Forces defeated the Greek army, liberated Izmir, and advanced toward Istanbul. The Armistice of Mudanya (October 1922) recognized the Ankara government as the sole legitimate representative of Turkey.

On November 1, 1922, the Grand National Assembly voted to abolish the Sultanate.²⁰ This revolutionary act separated the Sultanate (political power) from the Caliphate (religious authority). Vahideddin was stripped of his temporal power, leaving him only as the Caliph—a position the Assembly intended to fill with a more pliable candidate.

5.2 The Lynching of Ali Kemal and the Decision to Flee

The atmosphere in Istanbul turned violent. The lynching of Ali Kemal in November 1922 served as a terrifying warning to the Palace. Ali Kemal, a former Minister of Interior and journalist, was the most vocal critic of the Nationalists, known for his vitriolic attacks in the newspaper *Peyam-ı Sabah*.⁶ He was the intellectual face of the collaborationist elite and the great-grandfather of future British Prime Minister Boris Johnson.²² Abducted from a barber shop in Istanbul, Ali Kemal was taken to Izmit and handed over to a mob orchestrated by General Nureddin Pasha. He was stoned and beaten to death, his body hanged with a placard labeled "Artin Kemal" (an Armenian name used as a slur).⁶ This brutality signaled to Vahideddin that no mercy would be shown to the old regime. Fearing a similar fate, he decided to flee.

5.3 The Flight on HMS Malaya

On the morning of November 17, 1922, Vahideddin was smuggled out of the Dolmabahçe Palace in an ambulance driven by British guards.⁷ He boarded the British battleship *HMS Malaya* with his young son, Prince Mehmed Ertuğrul, and a small retinue. The image of the Ottoman Sultan fleeing his capital aboard the warship of a foreign occupier was the ultimate symbol of his reign's failure.

5.4 Exile and Death in San Remo

Vahideddin's exile was marked by humiliation, poverty, and bitterness. After a brief stay in Malta, he settled in San Remo, Italy.⁷ He lived in the Villa Magnolia, a shadow of his former palaces. He refused to abdicate the Caliphate, maintaining his legitimacy and even issuing a manifesto (the San Remo Manifesto) attempting to justify his actions as necessary to save his people from destruction.⁷

Financially, the former Sultan was destitute. British support evaporated once he was of no political use. He was swindled by opportunists and burdened by the needs of his entourage. When he died of a heart attack on May 16, 1926, the depth of his fall was revealed in a macabre final twist: Italian creditors placed a lien on his coffin due to unpaid grocery and household debts.²³ The body of the last Ottoman Sultan lay unburied for a month until his daughter, Sabiha Sultan, could raise the funds to release it. He was buried in the Tekkiye

Mosque in Damascus, ending his journey in the lands of the empire his ancestors had conquered.¹

Part II: The Empire in Agony — The Ottoman State and Society (1918–1922)

6. The Legal and Administrative Twilight Zone

6.1 The "De Facto" Occupation of Istanbul

While the Sultan struggled in his palace, the Ottoman capital entered a surreal legal limbo. Following the Armistice of Mudros, Istanbul was not officially annexed, but it was under "de facto" military occupation. The city was partitioned into zones of influence: the British controlled Pera (Galata) and the affluent European quarters; the French occupied Stamboul (the historic peninsula); and the Italians held Scutari (Üsküdar) on the Asian side.²⁵

The administration of the city became a nightmare of overlapping jurisdictions. The Allied High Commissioners—Admiral Calthorpe and later Admiral Webb for the British—held the real power, controlling the police, the ports, and the censorship bureau.⁸ The Ottoman government ostensibly ruled but could not move a soldier or censor a newspaper without Allied permission. The presence of colonial troops—Senegalese soldiers of the French army and Sikh regiments of the British—patrolling the streets of the Caliph's capital was a daily psychological trauma for the Muslim population.²⁶

6.2 Administrative Paralysis and "Dual Power"

By 1920, the Empire was effectively split into two competing states, creating a condition of "dual power." In Istanbul, the Sultan's government (the Sublime Porte) continued to appoint governors, issue decrees, and print money. In Ankara, the Grand National Assembly (GNAT) established a parallel administration, collecting taxes, conscripting soldiers, and conducting foreign relations.²⁸

This split created chaos for the bureaucracy. Civil servants in the provinces were often caught between conflicting orders: Istanbul demanded the arrest of Nationalists, while Ankara demanded the arrest of Istanbul's agents. Gradually, the loyalty of the state apparatus shifted

from the decaying center to the vibrant periphery. By 1921, the Istanbul government’s writ barely extended beyond the city walls, and even within the capital, the underground *Karakol* society smuggled arms and men to Anatolia right under the noses of the British.²⁶

7. Socio-Economic Collapse: A Society on the Brink

7.1 Hyperinflation and the Cost of Living Crisis

The economic devastation of the Ottoman Empire during the Vahideddin era was absolute. The war had destroyed the empire's productive capacity, and the loss of territory severed Istanbul from its agricultural hinterlands. The result was hyperinflation that pulverized the middle class.

Table 2: Cost of Living Index in Istanbul (1914–1920)

Year	Cost of Living Index (Base 1914=100)	Bread Price Increase (Relative to 1914)	Purchasing Power Decline (Civil Servants)
1914	100	1x	0%
1918 (Oct)	1,500	15x	-60%
1919	1,850	18x	-70%
1920	2,200	22x	-80%

Source: Derived from Public Debt Index and Consular Reports.²⁹ Between 1914 and 1920, the cost of vital necessities in Istanbul increased by approximately **2,200%**.³⁰ In contrast, civil servant salaries increased by only about 50% in the same period. This meant that government officials—the backbone of the Ottoman state—lost up to 80% of their purchasing power.²⁹ The price of bread, the staple of the diet, skyrocketed. Coal shortages were so severe that in the harsh winters of 1919 and 1921, residents burned furniture and floorboards to stay warm. Electricity and tram services were frequently suspended due to lack of fuel.²⁷

7.2 The Refugee Crisis: A City of Strangers

Istanbul during this period was transformed into a "city of refugees," overwhelmed by desperate waves of humanity.

1. **Muslim Refugees (*Muhacir*):** Hundreds of thousands of Muslims fled the Balkans, the lost Arab provinces, and Russian-occupied eastern Anatolia. They arrived in Istanbul destitute, living in mosque courtyards and makeshift camps. They were the visible

victims of the Empire's collapse, fueling anti-Christian sentiment and nationalist fervor.²¹

2. **White Russians:** Following the Bolshevik victory in the Russian Civil War, the defeated White Army under General Wrangel fled to Istanbul in 1920. Approximately 150,000 to 200,000 Russians flooded the city.³²

7.3 Cultural Transformation and the "White Russian" Effect

The arrival of the White Russians had a profound and surreal cultural impact on the occupied city. While the Muslim population in Stamboul starved, the Pera district (Beyoğlu) glittered with a desperate, decadent nightlife.

Russian aristocrats, now penniless, sold family heirlooms on the streets. Former countesses worked as waitresses or sold flowers (the origin of the *Çiçek Pasajı* or Flower Passage).³² They introduced new cultural elements:

- **Nightlife:** They opened cabarets, patisseries, and gambling dens, introducing jazz and vodka to the Ottoman capital.
- **Fashion and Language:** The word *karasho* (Russian for "good") entered the local slang. Russian women, often seen as more liberated, influenced fashion with shorter hemlines and mixed-gender socializing.³⁴
- **Beaches:** The concept of mixed-gender swimming was popularized by the Russians at Florya, challenging the conservative gender norms of the Muslim population.³⁴

This cultural explosion created a stark inequality. The sight of Allied officers partying with Russian refugees in Pera while the Turkish population mourned their losses in the old city deepened the social rift and fueled the moral outrage of the Islamist and Nationalist segments of society.

8. Public Health Catastrophe: The Spanish Flu

Compounding the misery was the global influenza pandemic (Spanish Flu). Istanbul, as a transit hub for troops and refugees, was hit hard. The virus arrived in the summer of 1918 and ravaged the population through 1920.

Table 3: Spanish Flu Mortality Trends in Istanbul

Age Group	Mortality Impact	Notes
15–45 Years	Highest	The virus disproportionately killed young, healthy adults, decimating the workforce and military-age population. ³⁵
> 65 Years	Moderate	Older populations showed some immunity, likely from the

		1889 "Russian Flu". ³⁵
Children	High	Malnutrition exacerbated mortality rates among orphans and refugee children. ³⁵

The health infrastructure, already strained by the war, collapsed. Hospitals were overwhelmed, and the municipality ceased keeping accurate death records because "influenza was not a reportable illness" initially.³⁷ The pandemic acted as a silent accelerant to the social breakdown, killing tens of thousands who had survived the bullets of the war.

9. Conclusion: The End of an Era

The reign of Mehmed VI Vahideddin (1918–1922) was the funeral procession of the Ottoman Empire. It was a period defined by a tragic duality. On one side was the Sultan—a man of the old world, learned in *fiqh* but ignorant of mass politics, paralyzed by the trauma of his upbringing and the overwhelming force of the victors. His strategy of survival through submission was not born of malice, but of a desperate, outdated dynastic logic that failed to comprehend the rise of the nation-state. He bet everything on the British, and when the British lost interest, he lost everything: his throne, his country, and his dignity.

On the other side was the Empire itself—a dying organism teeming with new, violent life. The streets of Istanbul during these four years witnessed the death of the cosmopolitan imperial ideal and the painful birth of a Turkish national identity. It was forged in the fires of the cost-of-living crisis, the Spanish Flu, the refugee camps, and the shame of foreign occupation.

The Empire did not end with a bang on the battlefield, but with the quiet departure of a British battleship carrying a destitute old man who had "sat on ashes." Behind him, he left a city and a people who had moved on, trading the shadowy legitimacy of the Caliphate for the hard, secular reality of the Republic. The Vahideddin era serves as a potent historical lesson on the fragility of legitimacy when a ruler becomes detached from the collective will of his people during a time of existential crisis.

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