



Sources, Nature and Narrative of Pashtun Public History: Historiographic Freedom and Responsibility

Danyal Masood¹

¹ MPhil Scholar, Department of History, Quaid-I-Azam University, Islamabad, Pakistan
Email: danyalmasood8@gmail.com

Abstract

This article is an experiment with micro perspective about understanding of Pashtun public history in the presence of historiographic freedom and responsibility through applied history. The implication of historical theory in contemporary culture of concepts after cultural turn has deeply affected the climate of modernist historiography which demands objectivity in building meanings and rethinking memories.

The question of modernist objective historical methodology perplexed the results in terms of interpretations and selection of sources. This analysis explored cultural subjectivity in the domain of public discourse through application and re-enactment of Pashtun public historiography as fundamental fabric of understanding. This paper is a minimal piece for understanding which can address issues and challenges in the practices of Pashtun public history in the presence of traditional objectivist historiography. Through the application of public perspective in historical studies can make knowledge of the past more relevant to the challenges we face today.

Keywords

Historical Theory, Pashtun Public History, Cultural Subjectivity, Shaz-waak Discourse.

Introduction

Contemporary period of historical writings from 1945 to the present emphasized to rethink and redefine the course of historical writings to resolve the problems which led the world once to extreme crisis of violence, immigration and resistance in twentieth century. A lot of work has been done from different perspectives to understand the actual situation and to find a way forward. Meanwhile grand narrative, universal truth, totalization and speculative ideas were challenged. Research saw a total rejection of theoretical work of objective modernism which started from Renaissance in the western world.

Intellectual milieu deeply impacted culture, politics and administration as well as the intelligentsia. The intellectual minority of public history tried to explore the unexplored portion of culture, peripheries, local and other narrative which became the center of discussion. This research is an attempt to analysis the phenomenon of epistemological crisis with respect to public representation and meaning in the Pashtun public historical experience.

Historical theory remained stigmatized for a long time in the community of scholars. The interesting part is the politics of public concept in culture of historical studies which demands that history is not just a collection and arrangements of arrival facts even if these facts are valid, the historians need something to add in the process of doing history. That is a structure which makes these facts intelligible. The structure of the objective past is dictating the philosophical and conceptual understanding of history.

These differences ignore some very important themes in the intellectual history like the narrative discourse, literary interpretation of history, theory of historical work and relation of memory

with public sentiments and historical consciousness in doing history. Historians and scholars are afraid of public perspectives and questions on the authority of historical sources and epistemology. However, one of the most important novelists for philosophy of History Herman Hesse in his novel *The Glass Bead Game* narrated that:

“Whenever you became a teacher, scholar or musician have respect for meaning but don’t imagine that it can be taught. Once upon a time the philosophers of history ruined half of the world history with their efforts to teach such meaning. (Hesse, 1970)”

The first approach to public or public history was made by an American professor, Robert Kelly, in 1970 presented in Santa Barbara, California. Some Marxists in the 1960s and 1970s historians made the public agenda a topic of discussion. The first regular International Conference of Public historians was held in Rusk, Oxford, entitled the public use of the past in 2000 CE (Tosh, 2014). There is a very subtle difference in public history and people’s history. In people’s history, political thought and political consciousness are linked to dynamic and organic political ideology, in which ideology and official archives have a clear authority, while in public history, a strong sources of connection build with public spaces like monuments, museums, memories and traditions like folk culture, oral, beliefs and cultural values. Such an opinion is not final, but the people’s history deals with political landscape. The subject of history was not always soured by the public, but mostly because of the politics of the national era. In people history the nature and evolution of organization, ideology and movement have been an important factor. In the perspective of South Asian historiography Dr. Mubarak Ali introduced influential scholarship in public history, whose writings have given multidimensional perspective to this approach (Ali, 2014). In such a situation, Marxist and subaltern historians, Gaytri Chakravorty Spivak, Ranajit Guha and Lal Khan’s writings on public and people’s history are a significant development (Khan, 2009). In Pashtunkhwa, writings on public history have come out mostly from literary historians which primarily explored the public domains from the perspective of regional histories through oral sources and figurative language although these approaches have many problems with the application of concepts of public history. However, many professional historians and literary historians of people and political perspective in twentieth century and contemporary time have contributed in interpretations and representations to Pashtun public historiography like Sayed Wiqar Ali Shah Kaka khel, Mohammad Hassan Kakar (1927-2014), Sultan-e-Rum, Fazal Ur Rahim Marwat, Sayed Bahadar Zafar Shah Kakakhel, Zaitoon Bano (1938-2021), Muntazir Betani, Rahmat Shah Sail, Abdul Bari Jahani, Abdul Hai Habibi (1910-1984), Abdul Rauf Benawa (1913-1987), Gul Bacha Ulfat (1909-1977), Qiamuddin khadim (1901-1979), Sadiqullah Reshteen, Ghulam Muhammad Ghoobar, Quadratullah Ahddad Farhad, Himayatullah Yaqubi, Salman Bangash and Hanif Khalil.

“... history is not the prerogative of the historian ... It is, rather, a social form of knowledge; the work in a given instance, of a thousand different hands ... (Kean & Ashton, 2009).”

Based on analytical and empirical criticism, historiography is considered an important subject of inquiry in the social and literary humanities. Making history a social science is also a part of this reformation, whether it can really be recognized as a social science with reference to the structure and structure of history or not? Since it is understood after cultural turn in twentieth century that the past and history are not the same thing but rather many references to the past, perspectives, interpretations and theories with deals people and public memories. The search for answers to all these questions about history formally begins in the twentieth century. History as a discourse reinforced the development of scientific modernity. It should be remembered that the philosophy of history and the philosophy of historiography are two different concepts and ideas. One is the story of the development of human civilization, society and culture while the other is the history of writings and narrative which deals re-formation and reconstruction of historical knowledge and concepts. This present study is an experiment with the evolution and implications of historical discourse about the Pashtun public historical writings. In historiography, the subjective freedom of the historian includes the selection and interpretation of references. The element of responsibility in historiography has been derived from the application and implications of social humanities.

This historiographic responsibility emerges because of treating the text and references of past directly a manifestation of public and society which embedded and in relationship within a

community's memory. In such a case, the responsibility of the historian increases in several respects, which are linked to the overall social identity and the political question of citizenship rights. Thomas Cauvin rearticulated a public historian statement of Patricia Mooney Melvin which puts it, "All historians should remember that they are citizens as well as scholars and they possess some responsibility to the larger civic community (Cauvin, 2016)."

Pre-modern and modernist perspective of imperial and colonial history first disputed the historical consciousness of Pashtun public as ahistorical and second encounter the position of public references as unreliable opinion so that political and social representation remained unquestioned. In Mughal and British era chronicles, the Pashtun public was associated with barbarism era, ignorance and deprived the community of all its political and cultural rights. Pashtun of the imperial and colonial era has suffered severed epistemic violence.

Historiographical discourse has been under the shadow of different trends and ideologies from ancient times to modern times. However, the discussion of public history sphere and theory goes from Robert L. Kelley (Cauvin, 2016), who emphasized upon the public use of past and its interpretations. It includes theoretical contribution of Ludmilla Jordanova, professionalization of public history by connection with social responsibility of Denise D. Meringolo and making relevance history of oral history of Ronald Grele.

Anti-Anthropocentric Challenges in Contemporary Culture of Concepts: Historiographic Shifts

The thought of modernity penetrated historiography itself. In the 20th century historians severely criticized the traditional modernist structure of theory and structure of historical studies. According to the traditional modernist perspective, history is taken in three senses, past, narrative and action. The basis of historical inquiry based on historical truth, historical fact, historical knowledge, historical meaning, historical forces, historical explanation and historical context. Foucauldian discourse analysis highlighted that the powerful decide what should and should not be said and which point of view is acceptable. It's not enough to just tell the truth, it's also necessary to be inside the truth.¹

Both traditional and progressive historians have kept conservatism out of the reader's eyes, because then the narrative sources of these historians are in jeopardy. In such a case, the modernist also believes that what is possible to say changes from one period to another.

The use of nationalist ideology in traditional Pashtun's historiography in the 20th century did not give significant results to historical knowledge, however, introduced different genres in which archeology, antiquity and anthropology gave a new shape to the journey of historiography, from the inside of which one can found the importance of ancient cultural heritage and its relations with present. This new thought in twentieth century in Pashtun writings introduced an intellectual movement of modernism. This specific Pashtun intellectual modernism raised questions about the specific truth of Metahistory. Once Nietzsche disproved the reality of the past, thus questions raised on the fundamental principles of history. Is it still usable? This position was taken in response. That is only possible if this historical knowledge is recognized as art and humanities. However, the traditional historians were not ready for the alternative about past and history. From here a new beginning in shape of structuralism, phenomenology, existentialism and structural criticism started to explore the human memories and emotions in historical process which does not destroy its previous philosophical presence. Historiographic knowledge was declared to be the search for, recognition, and identification of the chief truth of text. Postmodernity raised most questions on these topics. A blunt point of view of postmodernism is that the structure of language constructs the content of reality.

The object of historiography was a similar ladder which was climbed to claim the basis of authority. Postmodernism denied objectivity, Nietzsche narrated that I don't know anything that involves objectivity, *only interpretations* exist (Bunta, 2022). Questions on the subject directly arise from the basic principles of historical scholarship. Lacan went a step further and said that the world of words constructs the world of meaning (Lacan, 1957-1958, p. 12). Thus, structuralist thinkers reinforced history a sub-branch of linguistics and humanities. Hayden White a cultural historian and philosopher of historiography pushed history in the cradle of literature and public memory. Earlier, there were debates about this perspective of history, like Giambattista Vico narrated historical studies a philosophy of arts and poetics history (Vico, 1948, pp. 218-247). Croce and Collingwood had a clear position regarding history that it is a part of literature, but still they considered the responsibility of searching for truth and reality regarding objective history. For a good moral, Collingwood used to emphasize the age of good stories and also said that only historians can understand and reach the past.

“...the only clue to what man can do is what man has done. The value of history, then, is that it teaches us what man has done and thus what man is (Collingwood, 1946, p. 10).”

Historical narrative, perspective, intellectual overlapping, in such a way, most of the text comes out in the form of mixed reach and contradictions on other sciences. If you want to know someone’s ancestry, refer to the ethnology of anthropology, it must be done. If you want to give arguments, you must look at logic. It is also a misconception that an historical knowledge is universal. But despite such lofty claims of historiography, what remains is a narrative which itself is subject to many objections and controversies. It is not enough. I would say it is bad taste of history that it is concerned with the story but does not pay much attention to the plot. According to Aristotle’s Poetics, the plot in a narrative is not the same as the story (Aristotle, 1987, chap. 6). A wide group of historians insists that the structure of history and science is same. The nature of events and thoughts that are happening in a particular time and place can only be understood if they are seen from within the same time and place. Marx’s theory of historical materialism made the thought of history scientific. This is possible only if an individual Count Marxism as pure sciences. What kind of knowledge do you hold as a science? Foucault broadly articulated in *The Order of Things* and *The Archeology of Knowledge* that discourse of science shapes and is shaped by historical, social and political background.

Reality, Truth and Justice in Pushtun Historiography: Challenges for Public Historians

“I always speak the truth. Not the whole truth, because there’s no way, to say it all. Saying it all is literally impossible: words fail. Yet it is through this very impossibility that the truth holds onto the real (Lacan, 1981, p. 3).” Three words reality, truth and justice have always been of fundamental importance in historical study. These words have always attracted revolutionary, experimental, materialist and realist historians. Perhaps, in fact, a writer’s line of work. Much of it is critical labor, that is, the labor of sifting, construing, charging, and testing is as critical as it is creative. It is important to clarify the creative work in in the historical humanities.

To better understand criticism, it is important to clarify the relationship between creation and criticism so that critical traditions and styles can be better identified. The basic elements of creativity and criticism are different. As all historical documents in form or another creative. Thus, it is synthetic and analytic ability. To illustrate the boundaries between the two we refer to Rolfe Arnold Scott James. He says that one is a speaker (author) and the other is a listener (reader) (Scott-James, 1928, p. 375). The speaker adopts a certain style, and the listener adopts his words and tone of voice takes into account. Nevertheless, there is a close relationship between creativity and criticism. But the critic carefully examines a reflection of the subjective state.

According to Eliot, the purpose of criticism is to interpret works of art. Thus, T.S Eliot defines criticism as the art of framing interpretations and proofreading works of art and providing meaning. Both the creator and the critic describe the phenomena of nature in a particular time and place. The creator brings this to the fore and the critic tries to understand this text in the context of the same language and time (Text) as a text in time and place.ⁱⁱ An example of this can be found in Albert Cameo’s novel *The Outsider*, where this sentence by Cameo separates the two “The hero of my novel is condemned because he does not play the game (Weingarten, 2024).”

In the second half of nineteenth century, under the scholarship of Leopold von Ranke, history was included in the curriculum as a subject during German unification for the construction of nationalism. Now this history was introduced as a scientific technique rather than a story of past. Ranke excluded, if not rejected, all literary texts from the discourse of history. The purpose of history writing was to find the facts. Prussia (Germany) By uniting the broken society, the discussion of the character of the nation became the responsibility of historiography. Remnants of German nationalism was rediscovered through the discourse of history.

The origin of Pashtun historiography as a political narrative also took place in the struggle for historical justification and political foothold against the Mughal Empire in the 15th and 17th century. Two Pashtun writers of the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb’s era plotted history from a completely different perspective against Mughal historiography. While Rehman Baba was known for his mystical style of writing, he was also a strong critic of Aurangzeb. Rehman’s historical context is also important because his life was spent in a public and humanistic perspective of Pashtun society. Rahman recalls the Mughal period of Aurang as a period of turmoil in Pashtun society. Rahman’s

unprecedented use of structure and metaphors is seen when describing public trends. Rahman's criticized so political piousness of Aurangzeb (Raz, n.d.).

Aurangzeb Hum Yu Bacha Wah Chi Topi Ei Wah Pe Sar means Aurangzeb was also a Mughal emperor who wore a hat. This cap has been presented by Rahman which mislead the people of South Asia and Pakhtunkhwa in the name of Islam. Peshawar of the Mughal era has been likened to hell by Rehman. Rehman Baba said that due to the policies of the cruel Mughal rulers' grave, fire and Peshawar are seen as one. One aspect of this background, however, offers a somewhat comparative perspective by seeing Rahman Baba's name as an important part of public memory in Pashtun history. Since we are talking about Pashtun historiography and its entire philosophy, Rahman name is necessary in many respects. One reason is that the humanist thought of Rahman and the global humanist thinkers of his time clearly overlapped. The second, in Rahman's thinking, does not represent a specific class, but rather a wider one scale offers an alternative to historical repression.

The public traditions of this era are more or less folklore stories and songs, tappa and more. Another important writer from that time is Khushal Khan, whose poem *History of Delhi* contains many references to Pashtun historical consciousness, political and legal significance. But despite this, Khushal Khan has a rejection of public and humanist representation. He clearly has anti-humanist public sentiments in his poetry. Here his anti-humanism stands in the background of epistemic environment in which the knowledge and power functions together.

Pashtun narrates history in the guise of political instability and existential crisis, which the imaginary Pashtun Pakhtunkhwa constantly presents as its own. He clearly presents the motivation and political legitimacy of the Pashtun elite to use representative politics against Mughal power (Khushal Khan, 2001). Roushaniya movement or Pashtun renaissance, the popular resistance politicizing movement of the time, is viewed with suspicion. Why does he come up with such a narrative? A very important use of political theory can be seen in Khushal's philosophical historiography. Instead of popular legitimacy, he brings to the fore the degenerate Pashtun royal politics that were the glory of the semi-urban Pashtun princes and sultans of Kandahar, Peshawar, Delhi and Bengal. It is also important to clarify here this discussion is not meant to be present him as an opposition to the semi-tribal nationalism of Pashtun pre-modernity. Traditional Pashtun historiography and revisionist Pashtun historiography is still suffering from the dilemma of who is Khushal Baba. Pashtun revisionist historians on the one hand opposed Khushal's political persuasion as anti-Pashtun while on the other hand, they presented the same Khushal narrative against the political movement of Roushaniya (Khan & Himayat Ullah, 2020). This discourse suffered the worst form of epistemic manipulation. This article tried to reconnect public trends of Pashtun historiography with the political episteme. Pashtun historiography is suffering from the worst form of critical and epistemic crisis.

Sources of Pashtun Public History: The Preserved Public Past

The re-examination of the sources, nature and narrative formation in the background of Pashtun public history with historiographic freedom and responsibility from the discourse of the text to the discourse of historical plurality can be the solution to this academic crisis. The subject of public history is developing new sources for itself in today's era, in which memory and the formation of private family narratives and the cultural aspect of Pashtun emotions play a very important role. Traditional Pashtun historiography has been writing as antithetical to Pashtun women and public authority, although Pashtun folklore is incomplete without the role of Pashtun women. The burden of historicity that has been placed on the Pashtun historians, the public, and from which the human consciousness is suppressed, can be liberated through the exploration of Pashtun public history. It will reinforce freedom of consciousness and can shed the occupying narrative of the domesticated past that is political in its existence which can explore new alternatives in public and intellectual debates.

The discourse of historiography has been very different from that of Western humanist appreciation similar to the humanist thought of ancient Greco Rome, which differs in nature from the Eastern humanist approach. Western humanism centers human-based epistemology, while Eastern humanist thought focuses on moral standards (White, 1973, pp. 25-30). It examines the development of historical culture in Western historians such as Giambattista Vico, Edward Gibbon, Benedetto Croce, Leopold Von Ranck, Collingwood, Friedrich Hegel, Karl Marx, Arnold J. Toynbee and Eric Hobsbawm believes that we demonstrate and confirm our existence through stories. These stories acknowledge and affirm that we are shaped less by our ancestors and more by the era we live in.

From the study of historiography, Pashtun history is divided into several types. One thing that is clear is that all these divisions are not built in the perspective of the past but of the manifestation of present narrative. Since Pashtun has narrated its existence in the historiographical literature, Pashtun poets connect the past, through reconstruction model which is the historical past.

Thus, in historiography, the formation of the narrative begins in poetic public. Many Pashtun poets of the 20th century including Ghani Khan, Hamza Baba and Ajmal Khattak are worth mentioning. These poets have used the past in a very skillful way. From a constructionist perspective in which each is engaged in a specific past-tracing process to tell the story of past as it is. Ghani Khan's consciousness shows a brief protest against objectivity, but it eventually becomes disillusioned with the objectivity of the past.

Rehman Shah Sail a poet from north Pashtunkhwa played an important role in building a poetic representation of Pashtun public discourse. His use of figurative speeches in his five decades of poetic duration introduced innovative understanding of humanism, common Pashtun people and love of homeland in perspective of Pashtun public history. His writings like *Da Lumbu pa Soori*, *De Chinaroono Na Lambay Wowatay*, *Za De Khazaan De Panay Panay Sara Worzhabdam*, and *Dard Che De Sareeko Sangay Wosparalay* have deeply influenced many generations of writers in Pakhtunkhwa.

The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were the era of introduction of multiple new disciplines in the West. All these subjects, including social, literary, science, were promoted for the formation of the civic state and the running of its institutions. The disintegration of this humanist perspective became reluctant in the first half of the twentieth century. From here the modern mind made took a new leap. Modern Pashtun historiography was influenced by these trends in the twentieth century. Pashtun historians tried to connect the Pashtun identity with political prism. This period too, like its predecessors, was largely spent in the pursuit of political self-determination which projected Pashtun historiography in the guise of nationalism. In this early Pashtun modern era of historiography, ideology absorbed everything. These emerged in the background of Pashtun political movements against British imperialism in the 20th century. This ideological formulated history, however, did not give a clear opportunity to Pashtun public movements to democratize its society on all fronts. This trend, under the theory of historical materialism, allowed only those events that justified the political importance of the ruling political class of Pashtun society. The history built on political elite did not even examine the political and social conditions of the subordinate stratification and classes of the Pashtun society. The narrative adopted by the Pashtun nationalist historiography from all historical sources gives us the manifestation of Pashtun Wali (Shah, 1999).

In Pashtun literary historiography, common Pashtun women are depicted in the literary writings of Zaitoon Bano popularly known as *Moor Bibi*. Although traditional history has not paid attention to this aspect. Bano's writings have discussed the Pashtun *Shaz-waak* psychology very clearly. In *Maat Las* (broken hands) *Zanzeroonna*, (Chains) *Zhwandi Ghamoona* (living sorrow) *Mat Bangari* (broken Bangles) and *Shogadli Gul*, Bano has reflected the Pashtun male supremacy and women's worst situations due to gender-based discrimination in in Pashtun society (Bano, n.d.). In traditional modernist objective historiography, due to the literary trends and influence in her writings, *Moor Bibi* did not get that recognition. Bano's writings undoubtedly have literary tendencies but are in no way detached from the basic sources of history. The discussion of the extent to which literary genres can represent reality is the main concern of this article. General Pashtun history Therefore, there are many questions hidden in Bano's writings which can be useful for creating *Shaz-waak* (sisterhood and Women self-determination) discourse. While Pashtun history includes decades of political instability, society has a long history of gender, clan and quota-bund (Lower classes excluded from landlord ownership) inter-Quam and Qabeela class consciousness amongst Pashtuns. These sections reveal the position of Pashtun public within society.

Management and Interpretations of Pashtun Public Archives, Museum and Oral Heritage: Public Remembrance and Lack of Historical Relevance

Many regional and tribal differences in the Pashtun semi-tribal society could not be accessed by modernist objective historical studies. However, applied history helps to understand the results of past on present due to which the cause-and-effect perspective and its trends can form part of scholarly debates. Pashtun society is a multi-identity society, but traditional history has always confined it to a specific language, relegating to the background all its public tendencies that differ from the dominant

viewpoint. In southern Pakhtunkhwa many indigenous groups of different cultural patterns like Hindus were not only settled specifically in North Waziristan but lived according to the prevailing principles of Pashtun Wali (Daur, 2014).

Pakhtunkhwa has historically been the home of civilizations. They have been domesticating and forming basic principles of life since ancient time. There are twenty thousand archeological sites in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.ⁱⁱⁱ One of the many Pashtun writings in contemporary time unwilling to embrace the cultural heritage of the pre-Islamic Pakhtunkhwa which can give a new perspective to the flow of history from past to present. In all the discoveries of the Orientalists, there was no attempt to establish the relationship between the past and the present of Pashtun. Rather, these Orientalists have always associated these civilizations with ancient Indo-Aryan and Indo-European. It is so ironic in history that the people in Pakhtunkhwa land were associated with giants and barbarians. Ironically, many contemporary Pashtun historians deny the connection of Pashtun society with these pre-Islamic civilizations. Peshawar Valley and Kandahar valley dominant Pashtun ethnic have been the residence of these civilizations mentioned in all experts references of civilizations (Habib, 2002, p. 4). The seventeenth century Khushal Khan writings mentioned these pre-Islamic Pashtuns in Khyber regions. Coins, artifacts, temples and petrography indicates this ancient period. The present-day Gandhara which consisted of Peshawar, Kabul and Taxila is filled with these remains. Hinduism was founded in north Pakhtunkhwa whose roots are not only in the Vedas but scattered throughout Northern Pakhtunkhwa.

The study of Vedic and Gandhara civilization is of great importance in Pashtun historiographic trends. If one agrees with the argument of the Pashtun revisionist historian that the Gandhara Buddhist civilization is not ethnically connected with the present-day Pashtuns and that the Pashtuns arrived here in later times, then this argument indirectly supports the Pashtun nationalist theory of ethnicity in which the Pashtuns are an ethnic pure unit of genetics. It should be noted that the revisionist Pashtun historians have objects about the civic presence of Pashtuns which disconnects the present from its past civilizations

The history of Pashtun immigrations begun by Western historians, in which Robert Nichols *A History of Pashtun Migration, 1775–2006* played an important role, which can be traced back and begins with the historic Pashtun genocide by Mirza Ulugh Baig the ruler of Kabul from 1460-1501 CE and exile from Kabul of the northern Pashtun Yousafzai tribe in Kabul (Yaqubi, 2015, p. xvii). The structure of the history of civilizations is very broad and multi-cultural. It leaves its traces more than its ethnic and genetic legacies in its cultural transformations, from language to many other values. Pashtun revisionist historians unsuccessful to historicize these values and re-enact them. These public traditions become a permanent part of Pashtun culture. There is linguistic and archeological presence to the Gandhara civilization in the current Pashtun dresses and Pashtun language.

The irony of Pashtun public heritage is that no researcher has seen the Gandhara civilization in the context of the Pashtuns, nor do they consider this civilization as the heritage of the inhabitants of this land. All the treatises that are written on the Gandhara civilization present this ancient period in the background of North India Vedic and Buddhist traditions. This is tantamount to historical murder of Gandhara's cultural heritage. Pashtuns are acquitted of all their rights and all historical processes are turned upside down by disconnecting Pashtun public from historical past. This historical oppression is well known in the modern European colonial era. The history of the whole world was written around the axis of Europe. History, according to Hayden White, is like plastic that no longer needs genetics. You choose your own past, just like you choose your cultural relationships. This is the most important point of freedom and responsibility of historiography.

This discussion examines the discourses of history in archaeology, cultural studies and the tourism industry. Obviously, in archeology the narrative linking the past with the present is an important and necessary element, but it is usually left out of the discussion. Archeology without historical discourse is like a naked king who has apparently issued an order to his subjects in the court wearing royal robes on their bare bodies, but the fact that the king is naked and is revealed by the spontaneous laughter of a child (Grant & Woods, 2002, p. 88). Archeological knowledge production without historical methods about Pakhtunkhwa becomes the discourse of stones and bones.

The ancient historical period Greco-Bactrian (256-120 BC) in ancient Pakhtunkhwa have great significance for historical and civilization studies. This part of the world has experienced the cradle of human evolution through civilizations from ancient to modern. Pashtun have multiple

theories of its own historic existence. Practice of doing history in twenty first century about Pashtun's historiography is an important aspect to understand its cultural and historical knowledge. Most of the Pashtun historical writings are literary which make it more interesting due to its extended structure. Pashtun traced back its origins from five thousand years ancient period, but unfortunately never explored professionally and scientifically.

Ahmad Hassan Dani studied the ancient civilizations of South and Central Asia. Although Dani's studies cannot explicitly focus its influence upon the public Pashtuns. Archeologist Abdul Samad's analysis on *The Emergence of Hinduism in Gandhara* presents unique representation and manifestation regarding the use of archeology while connecting with past and present in which linguistic and cultural patterns of ancient still in practice in contemporary time yet lacks to address how these ancient cultural transformations influenced the identity of contemporary Pashtun public. A Hellenistic expert W. W. Tarn's *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, explored insight into the Hellenistic impact on south Asia. However, it primarily focusses on the broader Greco-Bactrian context without specific influences on the Pashtun public and society. Michael Iliakis' review of *Greek Mercenary Revolts in Bactria* is an analysis of socio-political dynamics, yet again it does not offer an analysis to the Pashtun context. Burzine Waghmar's study *Between Hind and Hellas: the Bactrian Bridgehead: In Indo-Hellenic Cultural Transactions* highlights cross-cultural exchanges. However, unexplored Pashtun history in ancient world. Kristina Junker's work *On the Greek-Mediterranean influences on the local pottery production in Bactria during the Hellenistic Period* deconstructs and represent the 'Greekness' of local ceramics, of artistic syncretism but not address its influence upon the Pashtuns. Marc Mendoza Sanahuja's manual to *Graeco-Bactrian Historiography and Archaeology: A Brief guide* presents an overview but does not represent the Pashtun in ancient world. Frank L. Holt's *Alexander the Great and Bactria: The Formation of a Greek Frontier in Central Asia* investigation of Hellenistic military campaigns nonetheless connect these to Pashtun history. Rachel Mairs' edited volume on *The Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek World* covers different scholarly exploration but lacks discussion about its impact upon Pashtun representation. Laurianne Martinez-Sève's "Afghan-Bactria" explored different archeological dynamics and its influence upon Afghan and Pashtun. Meanwhile, Stein and Richard Payne's work, *The Limits of Empire in Ancient Afghanistan: Rule and Resistance from 600 BCE-600 CE* examines the complexities of imperial rule and local resistance.

The debate of Pashtun public history in which class division, struggle and the associated class consciousness is not part of academic research. However, Pashtun progressive literary writers, including Noor Muhammad Tarkai, Ajmal Khattak, Sulaiman Layeq, Rehmat Shah Sail and Salim Raz literary genres revealed this conflicts, but as a whole it is beyond the pages of historiography. The evolution of public consciousness in Pashtunkhwa is in many respects outside of discourse of historical consciousness. In Pashtunkhwa since traditional western feudalism system does not exist, but nevertheless the segment between landed aristocracy been part from medieval to present time. *Qotaband* class of Northern Pakhtunkhwa and *Teeman* quasi-tribal class of Southern Pakhtunkhwa despite its tribal structure having class-conscious similarities in respect of class struggle and material conditions. This question is more about civil rights and political activism than historical Text.

Since the Pashtunkhwa society has been dependent on natural factors, the environmental history connected with it ends with public history. The politics of environmental conservation have been a major intellectual focus of Western discourse since World War II specifically after ecological turn,^{iv} however the history of the Pakhtunkhwa has been filled with many environmental movements that sought to prevent the rampant deforestation and preservation of plants through Asher movements. Anthropologists have divided the Pashtun society into Nang and Qalang but have unilaterally ignored the Pashtun public trends associated with this division. By this division they only Pashtuns wanted to define the centers of political power, kinship and cultural norms which led to focus on static aspects in society which marginalized public narratives in public spaces of oral and memories (Barth, 1965).

Recognizing the dynamic, fluid and evolving public narrative can provide more inclusive historical analysis of Pashtun public understanding. Pashtun traditional history ignores other identities like Kohistani, Swati, Torwali, Gujar nomads and Chitrali among the Pakhtunkhwa or assimilated them with Pashtun identity, which negates their separate identity and active historicity within it. All these identities are crucial to the historical context of Pashtun identity. In Khushal's seventeenth century poetry, these identities are described as non-Pashtuns after which they could not contribute to history writing.

In the absence of significance cultural amalgamation of ancient world to the contemporary public history of Pashtun have greatly contribute to world of cultural heritage. Further, it can better help in the preservation of multiple sites in Pakhtunkhwa which are at the verge of decay. The destruction of one of the greatest historical and monumental Buddha statue 174 feet in Bamiyan region of Afghanistan back in 2001, and the demolition of another significant statue of Gandhara Civilization in Mardan, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa in 2020 reflect a complete disjointedness and discontinuity of public Pashtun from past which are in larger debate a loss of global heritage.

Nature of Pashtun Public Historiography: Genealogy of Private and Family History

Anthropologists and sociologists have presented the history of the family in Pashtun public history in a completely different perspective (Grima, 2005). In general, anthropologists consider the family as a social unit in which the roles of family members are defined. In such a case, their historicity remains incomplete. Many researches on the role of women in Pashtun society reflect the performance of women in the Pashtun Wali and Pashtun family system and the associated dominant male society. Anthropological and sociological studies partially stop working because of the absence of historical discourse on the historical evolution of these dominant male Pashtun society. Despite this, the evolution of Pashtun public history of family and family history remains silent in narrative.

In the Pashtun public history, the family is considered an important source from which many stories are connected, which can further reveal the history of dominant Pashtun male society. Unspoken voices in Pashtun family history offer valuable insights for historians, presenting distinct living contexts that serve as source and windows into the past, which is existing beyond the scope of mainstream objective historical knowledge. Preserving the family traditions that are extinct in today's Pashtun society and practices can re-enact the historic past with practical past. A proposed course project of the late Dr. Farheen Altaf, a professor of history and civilization studies at Bahau-Din-Zakaria University, Multan began with work on family history, in which the family history of Southern Pakhtunkhwa, when traced back five generations, revealed that earlier people had cultural names such as *Sandara Bibi Gul Makai, Nataki, Gul Bibi* and *Zar Sanga* which were replaced later due to later religio-political reinforcement of Jihadi and media culture. In many family memorials, cultural customs were celebrated according to each season, which can date back to antiquity and the Middle Ages.

Since Pashtun historiography is very close to literature and poetic in its style and structure, its foundations are very popular. Literary theory can be very useful to understand this part of history. A large part of folklore literature is now included in the popularization of Pashtun historiography. In this folkloric literature, *Tapa, Matal* and *Misal* is worth mentioning. *Tapa* is a literary genre, but it has recorded in itself a very deep memory of the public past. *Tapa* describes every aspect of Pashtun public history. The type of genre that linguists discussed such as Qalandar Momand and Dawar Khan Dawar have explained it from many cultural aspects. But what has not been noticed is the importance transformation of time and concepts from past to present in terms of historical knowledge. In addition to public sources, *Tapa* has taken concepts of historical existence across different temporalities. This temporal transformation keeps the reader with him at any contemporary time. *Tapa* has many layers of memories that transcend time and past narrative to make it relevance contemporary. One of the reasons for this may be that the Pashtun society has been entangled in a certain complexity for a long time and social values remain the same in Pashtun society, because it has been in the politics of resistance for a very long time, often presents direct events rather than metaphors and stimulate its memory. *K Pa Maiwand k Shaheed Nashwe, Grana lalia Be Nangi la de Satma*. In these verses of *Tapa* there is a political determination to fight from the front in the second Anglo-Afghan war (1878-1880 CE).

A major source of Pashtun public knowledge is the part of Pashtun women's memory that is hidden in *Tapa*. Through these genres, Pashtun women embody a long history of their solidarity and resistance but are usually left out of the narrative as they fail to measure up to the modern parameters of historiography. The question is why all these references were not used by Pashtun women for their political identity. And why do Pashtuns dominate male politics? Left at the mercy of dominate male narrative?

Since the Pashtun society has been suffering from political instability for a long time, the common people have gone abroad to find opportunities to earn a living and thus presented all these references in a generally understandable way, which made many public memories out of the official

history. Pashtun political history has always been spent in creating a narrative in the wake of peace and war, however, the cultural and social movements of Pashtunkhwa have not got a chance in history writings. These movements, whether it is the Tribal Unity Movement, the Temani Movement, the Naturalist Movement of Waziristan (Masood, 2024), the Environmental Asher movements and *Deh Khwandu Jirga*, are all out of traditional objective historiography.

Traumatic Past as Pashtun Public History: Narrative of Violent Memories from Near Past

Pashtun have a history of voluntary and involuntary immigration from ancient to modern time across the global world. Researchers of social humanities considers Pashtun immigration as an inherent and integral part of its culture and history. However, there are multiple factors and reasons which pushed Pashtun to face migration for almost known one millennium (Nichols, 2008).

Pashtun traders and Sufi saints played a major role in socio-political expansion and development of Indo-Turk Afghan civilization in south Asia. Pashtun have assimilated and integrated with those societies where they lived historically. They adopted local culture like Urdu, Punjabi, Bengali, Hindi in Hindustan and Persian. These cultural and social transformation also witnessed and projected the greater sense of Pashtun integration and assimilation in the different part of the world. The history of modern Pashtun is the history of political turmoil, repeated governmental collapses and external invasions which causes violence, displacement and resistance over the course of history. These events also emergence of turbulent and traumatic civil society in modern world. Pashtun civil wars of political succession forced one of the largest human migrations in modern history.

This trouble history has a series of historical traumatic memories which happens due to war, conflict, political subjugation and gendered reinforcement. This historical trauma became part of public memory which is reflected in personal and collective responses of civil society. Pashtun literature have represented it in poetic narratives. However, these historical traumas some time deeply embodied in psychology of human experience. Writing is the one way to represent historical trauma as public narratives. Pashto has a system and culture of remembrance which has been practiced for hundreds of years in which they preserved the values of identity. Pashtun culture of remembrance have its social elements which represent through Pashtunwali, doing Pashto etc.

This historical trauma needs to be understood in the background of public memories (Moses, 2005). It can provide a theory of psychological relief for post-traumatic Pashtun society. Doing history can heal us and liberate us from the painful experiences of past through historical catharsis and deconstruction of public memories in the existing narrative.

Pashtun history has been subject to constant political instability from medieval to modern times. In this state of instability, the Pashtun society is full of traumatic past which is the future part of their public policies. Apart from the story of the distant past, the current forty-year of Jihadi history has been marred by violent incidents that have become a permanent part of the society's consciousness in Pashtun public history. This date is related to internal and external war from 1979 to 2021. These forty years of history have enveloped every member of Pashtun history, literature, politics and society in its traumatic memory. The traumatic past that continues in which the consciousness of every section of Pashtun has been torn apart by psychological conflict.

This political conflict has given birth to civil rights movements which are playing a very important role in the development of public discourse. The question of public historiography is very important in these trends. Since the objectivity of sources is considered important in traditional objective historiography, violence against them has become an academic challenge for historians in the narrative of events. If we review the past 20 years from 2001 to 2021, there will be many events in the public history of Pashtun that either went into the background or became a part of public memory in poetic and political discourse due to not confirming their authority and reliability. Thus, it became a slogan and became part of resistance politics in the present time. The main problem of traditional historiography is that it locates these forty years of trauma and war either within Pashtun society or else it destroys its scholarly quality by disputing this memory. In this case, the arrangement of references and sources in historiography and interpretations, they are absolved of historical responsibility.

The historian certainly has the freedom in selection of writings, but this freedom is tantamount to completely darkening the future of Pashtun society by overriding the current Pashtun public history. This freedom is linked with civil rights in which the society examines its past deeds and considers its future. However, Michel Rolph Trouillot (1949-2012) once offers a very different

insight into the meaning and use of historicity. “The ways in which what happened and what is said to have happened are and are not the same may itself be historical (Trouillot, 2015, p. 4).” In the long course of historical writings history as discipline experienced meaninglessness and an absurd historiography of modernism and tried to transform that into a meaningful genre of writing. The disciplinary crisis within the discipline history still exists.

Possibilities in Neo-Public History

The present study tried to implicate historical theory to explore the structural formation of historical history writings which, in reflection, asserts how to accommodate and re-settle the suppressed narratives of Pashtun public historiography. Colonial sources developed a consciousness of hatred for the people of Pakhtunkhwa. Once partition of 1947 took place, the people and tribes merged with newly established state with historiographic hopes to reinvestigate its past, but this never happened. Later, these regional historical understanding manipulated for Afghan Jihad which deteriorated socio-cultural and economic conditions and thus a sense of resistance came into being for demanding its constitutional rights. Traumatic experiences are more real and actual in phenomenological existence as compared to situations which are not traumatic. In case of Pashtun public history much of traumatic events and experiences have been denied historically during colonial and post-colonial period (1819-2019). Historical perspective considers it ahistorical act. Inviting a radical structural hermeneutical middle voice addressing itself to itself as a writing subjectivity which will unsettle the imposed meaning of lying and denying experiences based upon epistemic violence. The subject will resume inside the action to authorize the sources of violence and would decide how to proceed into the future from assume displace past. The suppression of real events in the historiography of Pakhtunkhwa produces an idealist desire to secure the legitimacy of destruction and construction of historical meaning. Historical theory offers that militant tendency as a memory which contains all miseries needs to be studied according to a secure and correct sense of historical inquiry. First the crimes acknowledged in the documents should be revisited which open the supposed narrative which imposed upon the real in imaginary understanding. Second, these militant events which produce a chronological order to legitimate the violence must be treated as an error of history. Third, the denied, irrevocable, naïve ahistorical and discredited past should be reconstituted to make a sense of history. Pashtun public historiography of violence, displacement and resistance was never placed into more secure scientific footing due to the weakness of institutional historical narrative for possible comprehension the meaning of what happened in the larger ghettos of Pakhtunkhwa. These narratives bring dysfunctional forms and content in cultural symbols and values which produce and reproduce different narratives in the historiographical representation of Pakhtunkhwa.

The two hundred years from 1819 to 1919 unsettledness in the histories of Pakhtunkhwa causes violence, displacement and resistance. This produces different groups and communities to challenge this constrain situation by Employing an epistemic choice to reconstruct a past which is free in access and free in interpretation. However, in such historiographical revolt, the authority and flexibility of sources is important. The existing literature cannot free the community from the historic guilt of a terrorist community. This political domestication produces a subalternity in the voices where the unspoken spoke for themselves. For time being these alternative voices in historiography free the voices but forget the crimes which are committed by this community willingly and unwillingly. The forgotten acts of crimes will give an opportunity which would produce irresponsible behavior in the community for the coming decades. The tragedy of this whole historical will to determine the facts on one hand frees them from the burden of imposed acts of history and on other hand it will blur the miseries for which they are responsible being members of community having claims of tribal ethos and pathos.^v

The Implication of historical theory in post-concepts culture illustrates the dynamic and evolving nature of historical scholarship. Postmodernism has challenged traditional notions of historical knowledge, leading to a more inclusive and critical approach to understanding the past

Conclusion

Public discourse of history rejected domesticated objective sources and centrality of meaning. Historians equated it with breaking history (text), but it was intended to fill the empty dead concept of traditional history. The past as history only exists when narrated.

The scripts of the present are not fixed in the past but lived in the reconstruction of history. Traditional historians emphasized upon historical meaning also insist that they are representative of

real objective history. Only they can confirm the facticity of sources and their interpretations. These historians are stuck on the assumption that the past should be presented as it is. The facts are sealed history is a type of argumentative narrative. This narrative of history is further divided into parts and becomes the deconstructionist split into constructionist, re-constructivist, empiricist and positivist.

Existing Pashtun traditional history is the same reconstruction that insist on the fact that the past has its own narrative. However, these historians build it from selected and defined facts and assumptions. In the eyes of these gentlemen, it is only necessary to remove the veil from the past, where the rest comes into existence automatically.

There is no truth hidden in history, but in the narrative of its presentist construction. Historians reconstruct truth and facts within texts. Traditional historians deceive a distinction between language and reality which drastically affects the meaning of factive and fictive representation. Keith Jenkins, a radical historian of postmodernism with publication of small booklet *Re-thinking History*, 1991 completely changed the modernist narrative of history and revealed traditional history and process of reconstruction. He used to say that there is no need for these traditional historiographers “We Can Forget History” stories. Our world is better without ridiculous historical stories. He also maintained that we need to build a new morality. It should be constructed so that there is no reference to the past, but the narrative relates to the continuous change. There are also historians believe that history teaches us lessons for the times to come. But the real point is that these lessons are also created in the narrative of the present. The fear and burden of the past is the propaganda of traditional historians.

The past has no structural text of its own but hides in the interpretive text of the present and makes the perspective of past. The difference between appearance and reality is an epistemic challenge for the traditionalist historians. Imperial and colonial powers like Mughal and the British narratives portrayed Pashtuns through the lens of the noble savage or as inherently rebellious turned terrorist. These representations twisted the perception of reality, which producing a disjunction between the Pashtun’s historical identity and how it is portrayed in colonial historiography. The past does not exist automatically but is presented by scratching multiple sources and references. Historical context will have to approach to the public relevance of past and composition anew, otherwise the old claim will prove true that many texts do not cure. They only mummify human pains to preserve for future.

References

- Abdul Samad & Sohail Asghar Khan. (2024, June 8). *Pakhtunkhwa’s multi-million dollar religious tourism potential* [Video]. KHANCAST. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2g1o9NFyZ5g&t=4067s>
- Al-Jabbaru-l ‘Utbi, A. N. M. (2021). *Tarikh Yamini*. National Library of India. Internet Archive.
- Akbar Shah, A. (n.d.). *Da Azadi Pa Talash*. Peshawar: Danish Khparwandana Tolana.
- Ali, M. (2004). *History and intellectuals*. Lahore: Fiction House.
- Ali, M. (1998). *History and philosophy of history*. Lahore: Fiction House.
- Ali, M. (2014). *Tareekh aur Awam*. Lahore: Fiction House.
- Bano, Z. (2015, February). *Zwandi Ghamona* Da Shago Mazal. Khyber Pakhtunkhwa: Institution of Culture.
- Bano, Z. (2015, February). *Da Shago Mazal*. Khyber Pakhtunkhwa: Institution of Culture.
- Batani, M. (1974). *Penzza Harfona, Dyarlas Awazona*.
- Hadad, Q. F. (1992). *Da Mili Tareekh Falsafaa Aw Pashtunwali*. Virginia, USA.
- Yaqubi, H. U. (2013). Bayazid Ansari and Roushaniya movement: A conservative cult or a nationalist endeavor? *Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan*, 50(1), 161–162.
- Hurara, A. (2022). *Pakhtunwali, the manifestation of women and the feminist critique: A case study of Peshawar Valley* (MPhil thesis). Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad.
- Kakar, M. H. (2011). *Pashton, Afghan, Afghanistan*. Afghanistan Cultural Society, Danish Publisher.
- Khan, K. (2001). A history of Delhi. In S. R. Rasa (Ed.), *Armaghan Khushal* (pp. [page numbers]). Peshawar: University Book Agency.
- Khan, L. (2009). *Pakistan’s other story: The 1968-9 revolution*. New Delhi: Aakar Books.
- Masood, D. (2024). Rethink Pashtun’s historiography as a narration of violence, displacement, and resistance: Applied history in Waziristan studies. *Shnakhat*, 3(3), 235–254. <https://shnakhat.com/index.php/shnakhat/article/view/346>

- Shafique Bhatti, M. (2016). Postmodern discourse and the nature of historical thinking. In *British historiography of South Asia: Aspects of early imperial patterns and perceptions* (pp. 1-16). Islamabad: NHCR Publications.
- Raz, S. (n.d.). Progressive trends in Pashto literature. In *Pohana Book* (p. 391).
- Raz, S. (n.d.). *Rehman Ik Fikri Mutalia*. University Book Agency, Peshawar.
- Samad, A. (2020, August 8). *The emergence of Hinduism in Gandhara*. Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications.
- Shah, S. W. A. (1999). *Nationalism, Muslim politics in the North-West Frontier Province (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) 1937-1947*. Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research.
- Teemani Party. (1975?). *Teeman constitution and manifesto*. Peshawar: Shaheen Printing Press.
- Yaqubi, H. U. (2015). *Mughal-Afghan relations in South Asia: History and developments*. Islamabad: NHCR.

Secondary Sources for Historical Methodology

- Aristotle. (1987). *Poetics* (R. Janko, Trans.). Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing.
- Barth, F. (1965). *Political leadership among Swat Pathans*. London: University of London, The Athlone Press.
- Barthes, R. (1967). The death of the author. *The American Journal Aspen*, (5-6).
- Breslin, C. F. (1973). Idea and process in the historiography of logic. *The Review of Metaphysics*, 26(4), 643-669.
- Bruner, J. (1987). Life as narrative. *Social Research*, 54(1), 11-32.
- Bruner, J. (1987). Life as narrative. *Social Research*, 54(1), 11-32.
- Bunta, A. (2022). Nietzsche's critique of objectivity and its 'tools'. In A. Johnston, B. Nedoh, & A. Zupančič (Eds.), *Objective fictions: Philosophy, psychoanalysis, Marxism* (pp. xxx-xxx). Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Camus, A. (1946). *The outsider* (S. Gilbert, Trans.). New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Carson, R. (1962). *Silent spring* (1st ed.). Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin.
- Cauvin, T. (2016). *Public history: A textbook of practice*. New York: Routledge.
- Cohen, G. A. (2008). *Rescuing justice and equality*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Collingwood, R. G. (1946). *The idea of history*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Collingwood, R. G. (2010). *Philosophy of history*. In *The idea of history* (pp. 27-78). Rawalpindi: Bilal and Company Publishers.
- Dani, A. H. (1993). *New light on Central Asia*. Peshawar: Sang-e-Meel Publications.
- Domanska, E., & Kellner, H. (1994). Hayden White: The image of self-presentation. *Diacritics*, 24(1), 91-100.
- Durant, W. (1953). *The pleasures of philosophy*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Farrokh, K. (2022). History of Afghanistan in the pre-Islamic era (2): Greco-Bactrians, Sakas, and Parthians. *Persian Heritage*, 105, 20-22.
- Fischer, D. H. (1970). *Historians' fallacies: Toward a logic of historical thought*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Foucault, M. (2002). *The order of things*. London: Routledge Classics.
- Foucault, M. (2011). *The courage of truth: The government of self and others II; Lectures at the Collège de France, 1983-1984* (G. Burchell, Trans.). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Foucault, M. (2011). *The courage of truth: The government of self and others II; Lectures at the Collège de France, 1983-1984* (G. Burchell, Trans.). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Geertz, C. (2000). *The interpretation of cultures* (1st ed.). New York: Perseus Press.
- Gordon, H. S. (1991). *The history and philosophy of social science*.
- Grant, T., & Woods, A. (2002). *Reason in revolt: Dialectical philosophy and modern science* (Vol. 1). New York: Algora Publishing.
- Grima, B. (2005). *The performance of emotion among Paxtun women* (2nd ed.). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Habib, I. (2002). *A people's history of India 2: The Indus civilization, including other Copper Age cultures and history of language change till c. 1500 BC*. Aligarh: Aligarh Historians Society.
- Heidegger, M. (1989). *The end of philosophy and the principle of reason*. New York: Harper and Row.
- Hesse, H. (1970). *The glass bead game* (10th ed.). New York: Bantam Edition.

- Jenkins, K. (1991). *Re-thinking history*. London: Routledge.
- Jenkins, K. (1995). *What is history?* London: Routledge.
- Koufou, A. (2007). The ironic poetics of late modernity in Hayden White. Interview by A. Koufou. Retrieved from <http://elnarrativista.blogspot.com/2007/01/hayden-white-ironic-poetics-of-late.html>
- Kudrya, I. G. (n.d.). Historiosophy: Between eschatology, messianism and poetry. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.36059/978-966-397-111-7/46-66>
- Lacan, J. (1957). *Formations of the unconscious: The seminar of Jacques Lacan, Book V, 1957-1958*.
- Moses, A. D. (2005). The public relevance of historical studies: A rejoinder to Hayden White. *History and Theory*, 44(3), 311-332.
- Munslow, A. (2012). *A history of history*. London: Routledge.
- Nichols, R. (2008). *A history of Pashtun migration, 1775-2006*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Nietzsche, F. (2001). *The gay science*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Peirce, C. S. (1877-1878). Illustrations of the logic of science. *Popular Science Monthly*.
- Sanahuja, M. M. (2020). Graeco-Bactrian historiography and archaeology: A brief guide. *Karanos: Bulletin of Ancient Macedonian Studies*, 3, 131-156.
- Scott-James, R. A. (1928). *The making of literature: Some principles of criticism examined in the light of ancient and modern theory*. London: Martin Secker.
- Spivak, G. C. (2003). *The death of discipline* (1st ed.). New York: Columbia University Press.
- Stein, G. J., & Payne, R. (Eds.). (2014). *The limits of empire in ancient Afghanistan: Rule and resistance in the Hindu Kush, circa 600 BCE–650 CE*. Chicago: The Oriental Institute, The University of Chicago.
- The Review of Metaphysics. (1973). *The Review of Metaphysics*, 26(4), 643-669. Philosophy Education Society Inc.
- Tosh, J. (2014). Public history, civic engagement and the historical profession in Britain. *History*, 99(2), 191-212.
- Trouillot, M. R. (2015). *Silencing the past: Power and production of history*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Vico, G. (1948). *The new science of Giambattista Vico* (T. G. Bergin & M. H. Fisch, Trans., pp. 218-247). Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Weingarten, C. (2024, February 4). *Book review: 'The outsider' by Albert Camus*. Opinion Editor.
- White, H. (1973). *The Greco-Roman traditions*. New York: Harper and Row.
- White, H. (1978). *Tropics of discourse: Essays in cultural criticism*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- White, H. (1987). *The content of the form: Narrative discourse and historical representation*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- White, H. (2007). *The fiction of narrative: Essays on history, literature, and theory, 1957-2007*.
- White, H. (2010). *The fiction of narration* (1st ed.). Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University.

Endnotes

- ⁱ This idea is particularly explored in “*The History of Sexuality, Volume 1: An Introduction*” (1976), where Foucault argues that truth is not external to power but is produced within specific power relations.
- ⁱⁱ T.S. Eliot discusses the idea that criticism is a creative and meaning-making activity in his essay “The Function of Criticism,” which is part of the collection “*Selected Essays, 1917-1932*”.
- ⁱⁱⁱ Abdul Samad and Sohail Asghar Khan, “Pakhtunkhwa’s Multi-Million Dollar Religious Tourism Potential,” *KHANCAST*, June 8, 2024, YouTube video. URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2g1o9NFyZ5g&t=4067s>
- ^{iv} See for details Rachel Carson, *Silent Spring*, 1st edn (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1962), which sparks broader concepts of sustainable interaction with environment.
- ^v The citizens of Federal Republic of Germany have learned over the decades that their future depends on taking a conscious stand on the criminal past of their own community. Habermas, *Time of Transition*, 169.