" Rethink Pashtun's Historiography as a Narration of Violence, Displacement and Resistance: Applied History in Waziristan Studies"

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Abstract

This article tried to rethink and reconstruct a critical analysis of Pashtun's historiography as a case study of Waziristan. This study experiment with patterns and perceptions in primary historiographical writings in comparison with the non-local writings which draw a foundational basis for the building of community in contemporary Waziristan. This is a de-ideologized and de-mythologized process of textual understanding of the Pashtun historical knowledge about reclaiming past and its reflection in the psychology of people in present. There is hermeneutical labor in the written documents which are unlearned through textual analysis. The fundamental concern of applying history for understanding the challenges which encountered by community in Waziristan. This article tried to understand the politics of narrative in the construction and reconstruction of historical consciousness and memory formation in Waziristan studies. This analysis is based on selected indigenous and native primary sources critique which produces and reproduces in the last five decades among local writers, researchers, historians and literary critics which explored regional historiographic patterns and perceptions.

Keywords: Pashtun, historiography, Waziristan, narrative, textual consciousness, epistemic violence and applied history.

Introduction:

Practice of doing history in twenty first century about Pashtun's historiography is an important aspect to understand its cultural and political instabilities, disabilities, limitations, and legitimation of historical knowledge. Most of the Pashtun historical writings are literary which make it more interesting due to its extended structure. The application of historical theory is more relevant due to its literary nature. Historical theory in post concepts culture explores multiple problems of how to accommodate literary history, its content and formation. In the case of Pakhtunkhwa, literary representation is never suppressed due to the high legitimacy of

poetical representation in all layers of knowledge production in Pashtu. Pashtun's culture has an excessive poetic sense of representation.

However, this poetic sense of knowledge never compels Pashtun society to rethink about the alternatives of social cosmos of Pashtun history. Pashtun literary genres are almost polyphonic in nature which demands to be understood on its own terms and conditions. Politically divided and culturally united Pashtun are still trying in twenty-first century to define it historical formation of past. This research deals with the construction of past in the historiographic study of Waziristan or how past and present re-enacted in 'Waziristan'.[1] It discusses historical knowledge which produced and reproduced from generation to generation and holds together different narratives about violence, displacement, and resistance in Waziristan. The generational politics of resistance constitute the course of history in Waziristan, which supports a more romantic form of past. The intellectual history of Pakhtunkhwa documented mostly by literary historians, who presented things in poetics forms. In Waziristan, facts and fiction shares boundaries of experience which are pre-determined by grand narratives to remember a wishful past. Through historical theory, one can try to deconstruct these constructions of Waziristan in historiography.[2]

In the words of Hayden White "Lives are made up of contradictions. So, you need a theory of the representation of life lived in contradiction. That would allow you to account for the syntax of real lives."[3] The present study is an attempt to apply historical theory in Pashtun's historiographic trends of Waziristan studies. It endeavors to highlight the historiographical hopes and miseries in the historical narratives about Waziristan. 'Theory of historical work'[4] is helpful in defining and redefining the entire known course of historiography about history in Waziristan from nineteenth, twentieth up to the twenty first century. This period presents a pattern of violence, displacement and resistance for understanding the present two decades political crisis of extremism from 2001-2021 for historical context. The study selects genealogical, oral and documented histories chronicles of native and local writers of Waziristan with comparative analysis of secondary and contextualized sources.

This research tries to explore historiographic patterns and its impacts upon the formation of community in Pashtunkhwa, Waziristan. We live in a very harsh and alarming situation where wars, diseases and climate disaster are very much common. This study maintains that history of remote past cannot shape our present consciousness despite historical

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1 Waziristan is an administrative entity which embedded in the cultural lineage of Waziri tribe. This region was once a part of Loya [Greater] Paktia, an administrative zone of Kingdom of Afghanistan until 1893 but later it came into being as a buffer zone with the implementation of Durand Line treaty of 1893. British as per their official documents, never consider it a part of British India before the British Forward policy which came into being as a result of skirmishes between British authorities in tribal Pakhtunkhwa with the people of Waziristan. In May 2018, historic FATA including South and North Waziristan completely merged into the Islamic Republic of Pakistan.
2 White, "The Politics of Historical Interpretation," in *The Content of the Form*, 72-75.
3 Ewa Domanska and Hans Kellner, "Hayden White: The Image of Self-Presentation," *History and Theory* 24, no. 1 (Spring 1994), 91-100.
4 Hayden White, *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973). p.2.

consciousness,[5] which moves from past ages to present with us like a migrant. Every age is different by the distinction of progress, ideology and evolution; however, our contemporary concerns must uphold those conditions due to which we are still suffering epistemologically. Distant past does not have the potential to solve the present-day problems. However, this study finds an epistemic resistance of how to place our self out of that culture which constituted our very essence of existence. However, this does not bind the fact that analysis of the elements of history, its constitution and how it forms into being is impossible.

This study explores how violence, displacement and resistance in Waziristan is portrayed in chronicles, stories, mode of Emplotment and mode of argumentations which in turns shapes and reshapes Waziristan studies. The politics of Emplotment happen in which different events in history of Waziristan are forward into desired story. The patterns of violence, displacement and resistance have repeatedly happened during the last two hundred years of history of Waziristan. This narration supports cyclical theory of history. However, the spectrum of historical knowledge portrays the literariness of this cyclical proposition of sources which construct its formation.

Contesting Narratives about Waziristan studies: An Image of Wild and Wilderness

Written accounts and genealogical survey in contemporary Waziristan are very important while projecting the community there. Many works about history of Waziristan are available for the last two decades, Waziristan has become a center of discussion within Pakistan, as well as internationally. Most of the research conducted about Waziristan comes under vernacular methodology which tries to explain its socio-political conditions. But it creates more misconceptions about the tribal socio-political structure. Ideological interpretation uses history of Waziristan like a propaganda cannon to infiltrate political cause. Due to the limitation of research period this research selectively studies indigenous native sources and personal genealogical survey to portray a possible historiographic image of Waziristan. Firstly, this research tries to understand the structure of the historical works about Waziristan i.e. British documents present Waziristan as a pre-modern and medieval wild society, whose prime concerns were to rule by fight and live a life of a savage.[6]

The initial confrontation between British authorities and the tribes of Waziristan took place in 1860s. British documents cannot present the first half of nineteenth century Waziristan. However, genealogies highlight the early settlement of tribes in Waziristan during this period. Historiographical representation of Waziristan has multiple layers of figuration, where sometime a reader cannot find the objective of any struggle, to decide whether it is a struggle, for freedom or struggle for booty.[7] The historiographic culture of Waziristan practices different

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5 Historical Consciousness emerged in the West during the Age of Romanticism which enabled common masses to communicate with past systematically through different discipline of social sciences, humanities and arts including performing arts.

6 For details see Hugh Beatties, *Imperial Frontier, Tribe and State in Waziristan during 1849-1883* (Milton Park: Routledge, 2002), 11-40.

7 For details see Liaq Shah Darpakhel, *Waziristan*, 2nd ed. (Lahore: Almatbatul Arbia Press, 1994), 1-903.

brands of ideological hermeneutics, i.e. colonial, nomadic, 'temanitic',[8] nationalistic, ascetic and traumatic.   Secondly, this research tries to understand how events are set out in the historiography of Waziristan to justify the desired causation of historical process. It deconstructs the aims and objectives of researchers who represent Waziristan during contemporary time. Every research project expresses a common figuration of certainty to legitimize its political interest.[9]

Colonial discourse is a distorted political domestication of facts to justify all its authoritarian acts while projecting Waziristan studies. The first British expedition accompanied by Mountstuart Elphinstone, which came into the Kingdom of Afghanistan in 1908 to explore its people, highlights in details the demographic, geographic and cultural behaviors of different tribe including the tribes in Waziristan. This document expresses different modes of Emplotment which present despotic manners and appearances of people of Waziristan. The author himself acknowledges that these all assumptions were based upon travelogues of oral sources. This document without any primary sources assumed the tribes in Waziristan as plunderers and socially masculine in function.[10] The arrangement of these emploted stories fulfills the colonial needs in the regions. These observations were later used to decide the fate of people of Waziristan for implementation of 'FCR'[11]. Thirdly, the documents which present the cultural and political history of these tribes in the post-partition era reflect a transformation of false consciousness. This discourse develops a consciousness of hatred among the people of Waziristan.

Past, in case of Waziristan, is a position which does possess contents but placed in a naiveté form which dictates all arrangements of representation. In contemporary period researchers present analogy of two different temporalities in comparison with Talibanization.[12] The first one projects Talibanization in comparison with the Pashtun political struggle for freedom during pre-partition period in Waziristan and within the rest of tribal areas.[13] While the second one tries to constitute an anti-Mughal Roushaniya movement that emerged from Waziristan, as a possible form of contemporary militant extremism.[14] These politically domesticated misleading assumptions in which facts and reasons both dictated without historization and historical interpretation leads historiography of Waziristan to more suppressive narratives.

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8 Temanism is a native concept to understand human culture and its historical development in terms of materials sources in Waziristan.

9 For details see Liaq Shah Darpakhel, *Waziristan*, 2nd ed. (Lahore: Almatbatul Arbia Press, 1994), 1-903.

10 For details see Mountstuart Elphinstone, *An Account of the Kingdom of the Caubul* (London: Longman Press, 1815), 362-65.

11 FCR stands for Frontier Crimes Regulation, introduced in 1901 as an administrative measurement after which the separation of NWFP from Punjab and its re-division of NWFP and FATA happened. FCR was a collective punishment for the whole tribe if any member of any tribe was found guilty of any crime. This was a comprehensive formula of how to rule the people (Tribes) of FATA (Tribal Pashtunkhwa) without a direct contact or administration.

12 For details see Farhat Taj, *Taliban and Anti-Taliban* (Cambridge: Scholars Publishing, 2011), 1-196.

13 Beatties, *Imperial Frontier, Tribe and State in Waziristan during 1849-1883*.

14 Himayatuulah Yaqubi, "Bayazid Ansari and Roushaniya Movement: A Conservative Cult or A Nationalist Endeavor?" *Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan*, 50, no. 1 (2013): 161-62.

These works do not try to use a historical re-enactment theory to present a better moveable image of the past. Historical works of researchers try to present a distorted image of the past by ideological use to counter the present political crisis in Waziristan. These ideological implementations further misshape cultural awakening and the authenticity of historical knowledge about Waziristan. Fourthly, this study tries to unsettle how the Emplotment of events affects the authority of historical knowledge. The case of cultural values and its evolution in historical documents present a complete polarization regarding the political and cultural image of the tribes of Waziristan. Hugh Beatties explains a state of nature in Waziristan in *Imperial Frontier, Tribe and State in Waziristan during 1849-1883* which reflects that the tribes were in state of anarchy, and the British colonial masters brought peace, once tribal management came into being in late 1870. Beatties's plot is based upon the middle of the story without any need for beginning and end. It has reflection of tragic narration, which projects pre-determined intellectual judgment to present the intention of the community about the process of history in Waziristan.

This representation deliberately ignores the oral traditions of tribal functionaries about war and peace. The discourse of colonial and postcolonial research almost practices the same Emplotment of events and mode of arguments which suppresses the indigenous local narrative. Ghulam Qadir Khan Daur's *Cheegha: The Call from Waziristan, the last Outpost* on the other hand presents a different image about tribal functionary. It presents different codes and customs of *Wazirwali* which included in *Pashtunwali* highlight how to make war, truce and peace are still in practice under the Waziri set of tradition.[15] Many detailed analyses explore *Waziriwali* indigenous law and customs, which are much sophisticated while dealing with the issues and problems of socio-cultural practices.[16] These intellectual trends and perceptions depict objective biases and ideological misshaping of the tribal ethos while representing the community in Waziristan.[17] Fifthly, the pattern and perceptions of intellectual arrangements to portray the histories of Waziristan representation fail to differentiate between political struggle from a tribal plunder or battle booty.[18] The colonial and post-colonial knowledge about Waziristan is not innocent. It clearly expresses its interest and objective for legitimacy and power.

Mizh is a profound terminology which denotes the sociological, anthropological, political and historical consciousness in tribal structure in Waziristan. Etymologically, it defines a sense of living and resolving problems together in the time of crisis. However, the historical process at Waziristan has evolved due to the tribal shifts in the region with the passage of time. Waziri identity as a system of communication and lifestyle has evolved rapidly during the last two hundred years. *Mizh* constitutes a structural analysis of how community in pre-modern and colonial periods in Waziristan came into being.[19] These anthropological explanations and

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15 Ghulam Qadir Khan Daur, *Cheegha: The Call from Waziristan, the last Outpost* (Stockholm: l'Aleph Press, 2014), 54-74.

16 Muheeb Wazir, "Shareek Borjal U Tareekhi Zyar," in *Shareek Borjal Majala* (Wana: Adabi Baheer, 2014), 2.

17 Badam Gul, "Malgaroo Ta Warzam," in *Shareek Borjal Majala* (Wana: Waziristan Adabi Baheer, 2014).

18 See for details Darpakhel, *Waziristan*, 79-179.

19 See for details Evelyn Howel, *Mizh a Monograph on Government's Relations with the Mahsud tribe*, 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), 1-68.

exploration[20] which were mostly colonial in their methodology and function, never try to understand the internal dynamics of Waziristan. These colonial epistemic politics encouraged and legitimized several military expeditions during the colonial period against the community of Waziristan. Applied history calls it the politics of interpretation where justified findings and sources were accumulated to impose a desired narrative upon the identity of a community in the name of past and history.[21]

Sources and Transitions of Public History

The tribal political culture of Waziristan is the constitution of different historical behavior which has transformed and evolved with the passage of time. Genealogical and oral sources present different layers of historical culture in Waziristan. These layers are a vicious circle of interpretation. The present study finds it in romantic Emplotment of early nomadic culture in Waziristan which embodies different concepts of habitat and haunting memories.[22]While understanding the historiographical simulation of Waziristan studies, the movements of transition in historical writings and historical process are the most difficult phases.23 Waziristan has been inhibited by different tribes in different phases of the past, which makes it more difficult to understand how the historical consciousness transforms from one phase into another. However, does the community in Waziristan really possess historical consciousness? Historical works of colonial's officials, professional researchers and indigenous writers and poets portray an image of transition.

Historiographic study of Waziristan highlights that its society never exhibited linear developments in history in which societies transform from one phase into another like from Stone Age into agriculture, etc. However, the history of Waziristan was not stagnant in terms of shifts in behaviors and consciousness. Historical, genealogical, oral or material sources justify four different behaviors which can be found in the historical records of Waziristan. These four layers of human behaviors and consciousness are heroic, tragic, pastoral and critical.[24] The pastoral one is nomadic having multiple layers of tribal system of seasonal migration. These nomadic behaviors with culturalist Emplotment later help these tribes to settle down in the valleys. A sense of inclination toward nature is there in tribes of Waziristan. The erotic behavior with comic Emplotment has several components of polytheist mysticism culture which was once a part of *Pashtunwali*. The erotic movement of Waziristan in twentieth century famously known as '*Lagharr Kunay Tahreek*'[25] is the ultimate reflection of this erotic ancient tribal behavior

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20 Recent researches especially in anthropology express that Pashtun, historically were living according to two different state of nature one was Nang which was despotic in its law and regulation while the other was Qalang land where the chiefdom or Nawabi, Sardari were at practice and were less despotic.

21 Hayden White, "Interpretation in History," *New Literary History* 4, no. 2 (Winter 1973), 281-314.

22 Nisar Wazir, "Nisar Wazir explains History of Wana," interviewed by Danyal Masood. Summer, 2020.

23 For further details see my discussion based on this topic. Masood, Danyal. "Representation of Kalash in Historiographic Narrative: Interpretation and Orientation of Different Versions of Presentism." Journal of https://doi.org/10.62345/jads.2024.13.2.143Asian Development Studies 13, no. 2 (June 2024): 1820-1837. DOI:

24 White, *Methistory*, 133-264.

25 Genealogical and oral sources confirmed *Laghar Kunay Tahreek* [Naked Ass Movement] was a movement for cultural mobilization started in Waziristan in the first phase of twentieth century which ended in late fifties

which has roots in historical past. The acetic behavior has tragic Emplotment which reshaped the modern history of Waziristan during colonial period.

This behavior evolved from different religious and Sufi perceptions regarding the course of history in Waziristan. It introduces high ideals and political will into its Emplotment of histories in Waziristan. However, indigenous Sufis cults and Deobandi Tablighi movement counter each other in the postcolonial time.[26] Both have the tendency of militant idealism in representation while dealing with the histories and studies of Waziristan. These mentioned behaviors evolve in the context of *Wazirwali*, which are the codes and conduct of the people of Waziristan. These codes are asymmetrical in their existence. These asymmetrical *Rewaj* [values] of *Wazirwali* have variations in practice, which depicts different meanings with the passage of time. This *Wazirwali* pattern influences the ascetic traditions of Waziristan which is a combination of Islamic mysticism and tribal polytheism.[27] Historiography of Waziristan highlights that tribes in the region develop and practices a complete set of independent social and political order by lingual, oral, traditional treaties.[28] The engineered terroristic behaviors and consciousness produces traumatic transformation, which deeply changed the content of historiographical representation of Waziristan. This fourth behavior has critical employment which loses all meaning in historical process.

The Structure of Historical Work in Waziristan Studies

Historical studies highlight the construction of historical consciousness in nineteenth century professionalization of history in Europe, which later encouraged the universalization of colonial setup to rule the rest of the world. Historical consciousness in Waziristan is bound and developed to struggle for its own existence. The poetic sense presents continuity in historical consciousness in Waziristan; Mughals are remembered in poetic verses as invaders and plunders. The cognitive ability of poetic experience is embedded in the cultural transformation; however, professionalization of historical work never happened in Waziristan. It is important to explore patterns of historical consciousness in different historical narratives of Waziristan, because narrative begins with the events and runs to the end of the story as if, once the causes are set out, the play goes on by itself. Narration is a cognitive activity where events transform into facts. Historical representation in contemporary Waziristan is a reconstruction attempt of indigenous historians to project a socio-political community they want to present.

Pashtun historical studies of Waziristan considers that historical consciousness emerges within the historical system which depends upon the cultural choices of people.[29] This consciousness then transforms rest of the socio-political order into its own desires and needs. Waziristan practices different kinds of cultural identity and experiences before and after

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in North of Waziristan under the leadership of Muqtada, having members from almost all tribes of Waziristan.

26 Rogh Bad Shah, "Cultural Heritage of Waziristan" Unpublished paper, 2019.

27 Oral sources explain many polytheist traditions which were a part of Wazirwali. Before 1965 a large community of Hindus being a part of Wazir, Dawarr and Mahsud tribes were living in Waziristan which deeply influenced Wazirwali traditions.

28 Arif Masood, *Waziristan from river Kuram to river Gomal* ([DI. Khan?]: Khawar Book Press, n.d.).

29 White, "What is Historical System." In *The Fiction of Narrative*, 126-35.

modernism. Its consciousness revolves around the political structure of tribal system and different schools of religious jurisdiction which originated from south Asia like Barelvi, Tablighi and Deobandi form of interpretations. As stated, *"Waziristan nim Quran na mani"* [Waziristan does not accept half of the Quran][30] and its cultural values originate from the womb of tribal polytheism, which later transformed into more inclusive way of *Pashtunwali.*

Historical documentation embeds these layers of ideological shifts in different ages which constitute and reconstitute the pattern of historical development in Waziristan. Historical consciousness evolves within the specific socio-political tribal structure of Waziristan. However, there is broader difference of opinion upon the dawn of political consciousness among Pashtun as a community. Pashtun, generally as a community, and the people of Waziristan specifically, started their political struggle much earlier in the first half of nineteenth century in the form of resistance against Sikhs, which later turned into a militant tendency against the British before Indian political awakening. People of Waziristan choose its present in the absence of a systematic historical consciousness in which past can be identified objectively.[31] The community in Waziristan translates it into existential threads for its religio-mystical and cultural identity.[32] This identity is a combination of cultural variants and mystical values of Pashtun cosmos. These cultural and mystical memories, their expression and description of tribal lifestyle, are highlighted in the fictivity of oral history.[33]

Historical studies need memory to be settled down under the disciplinary practices, which can make a possible way to communicate with the past to build a historical consciousness which will bridge the re-enactment process of historical work. Memory in historical perspective is more humanistic act, which has all the subjective authority over the burden of historical past. Historical theory tries to remember some memories for building a historical facticity but on other hand, it suggests a theory to forget violent memories.[34] This study explores that memories in the case of Waziristan need to be forgotten. It cannot serve the rest of the community. These memories are legitimate reasons for anti-humanistic existence without responsibility. It can only turn into a therapy if it functions to restore the humanistic self-creation and political freedom of opinion of these deprived narratives of Waziristan and to acknowledge the crimes committed against it.[35]

Disappearance of Historical Meaning and Reconstruction of Memory

A historical record does not restore the image of Waziristan completely to present other sides of it. This incomplete image of Waziristan creates amnesia and disappearances of historical consciousness within a community and for indigenous researchers. This disappearance is caused by romantic and mythical representation as an alternative to give birth to more visible formation of past as an object, as an image and as an idea. This historical disappearance of meaning and

30 Farhat Taj, *Taliban Anti-Taliban* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2011), 1-56.
31 See for details Wali Khan Masood, *Badshah Laparrzat* (D I Khan: Gomal Art Press, 1988), 1-53.
32 Amanullah Khan, "The Pashtun Resistance against the British Raj 1897-1947" Unpublished PhD diss., Quaid-i-Azam University, 2014.
33 Folklore of Waziristan.
34 White, *The Fiction of Narrative*, 320-21.
35 Taj, *Taliban and Anti-Taliban*, 1-56.

reconstruction of memory have several layers in the chronological development of Waziristan studies i.e. *Temani* perspective gives a detailed presentation about the political structure of Waziristan.36 Although *Temani* perspective have roots in the masses which helps different tribes to stands united for political purposes, however, analysis puts this narrative in the politics of interpretation, where content decides the form of this Marxist inspired methodology. Prospectively, *Temani* perspective is a manifesto inquiry, but it is not free of interpretation. It is a hermeneutic attempt to push the boundaries of disappearances in the history of Waziristan.[37]

It neither fulfills professional goals, nor the practical needs of historiography or historical studies in Waziristan. However, *Temani* perspective explores and tries to decolonize the socio-political narrative in the history of Waziristan. *Teemanitic* interpretation is a mode of employment or mode of argument which is an attempt to disclose haunting memories in historical works about Waziristan. It is a clear political domestication to implement an ideological format to present people's history of Waziristan. This *Teemanitic* interpretation explains material factors which are responsible for the process of history in Waziristan. This perspective acknowledges and gives detail analysis that histories of Waziristan have roots and influence of global politics.[38]

Nationalist heroic Emplotment perspective explores the archival disappearances to communicate with the colonial knowledge production about Waziristan. However, exploring colonial Waziristan, historians predetermined different meaning while emploting different sources and argument to make grounds for ethnic nationalist perspective. This perspective strictly emphasizes that all the political consciousness and activism in Waziristan emerged as part of Afghan political legitimacy which started during the first half of nineteenth century because of Sikh-Afghan and Anglo-Afghan political struggle.[39] Nationalist critical Emplotment perspective highlights the indigenous image of Waziristan. It presents a cultured Waziristan in a difficult time when Waziristan was portrayed as a center of violence on social and electronic media. This perspective asserts that the uncertainty within tribal socio-political structure like *Pashtunwali* is responsible for the current situation in Waziristan.40

However, the Emplotment of events and ideas lacks sentiments of religious attachment which are responsible for the political crisis. This perspective seems to project the political crisis of War on Terror on cultural fronts which makes it more contextual. It tries to present all historical events in literary form. The documents of satiric perspective highlight the communal politics at Waziristan. This presents an alternative image of Waziristan which is heterogeneous in its very essence.[41] Culturalist pastoral Emplotment perspective offers an alternative

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36 See for details, Umar Khaitab, *Social Movements in Pakistan: A Study of Teeman Tehreek* (B.A. thesis, Department of Political Science, GCU Lahore, 2020).

37 Rogh Bad Shah Khyal Waziristani, "Arif Masood: Aw da agha Yoon Pasoon," *Pasoon* vol.4 (winter, 2014), 17-29.

38 Masood, *Waziristan.*

39 Bubri Gul Wazir book *Faqir of Ipi* (Peshawar? 2000(?)

40 A. Hurara, "Pakhtunwali, the Manifestation of Women and the Feminist Critique: A Case Study of Peshawar Valley" (MPhil thesis, QAU Islamabad, 2022).

41 Daur, *Cheegha.*

interpretation which emphasizes upon the religio-cultural Pashtun resistance against the British. Researchers in this perspective explored different variables like culture, geography, emotions, gender and religious factors in the wake up of Pashtun political and militant struggle against British colonialism. However, this perspective is insufficient to understand the conditioned consciousness of religio-cultural resistance produces and reproduces in Waziristan.[42] Culturalist perspective portrays the early sentiments of resistance in Waziristan in the context of tribal political structure. This perspective somehow produces an objective report which deals minors details of different events.

This makes more visible the undocumented period of history in Waziristan. However, this reconstruction of Waziristan has epistemic politics and of historical knowledge, which justifies British expedition against Waziristan and signifies that the present political crisis (Talibanization) is the continuity of nineteenth and twentieth century political resistance of tribes.[43] This perspective also uses journalistic jargons of writing about the present Waziristan. It tries to re-enact the present war for terror and fundamentalism with the nineteenth and twentieth century Pashtun resistance in Waziristan.[44] It gives detailed observation about different topics in the historiography of Waziristan which makes it interesting for readers. However, generalization of major ideas in this perspective about the cultural histories of Waziristan totalizes the whole prospective.[45]

It also highlights the rise of religious politics in the post partition Waziristan. This culturalist perspective tries to explain how religious politics shaped the tribal conflict and how *mullah* as community manipulated technology to ensure his position in political sphere in Waziristan. This study explores an affirmative sabotage attempt to reconstruct the present religious politics in Waziristan with the past political resistance during British Colonial period.[46] This perspective uses professional tools to re-enact rest of the story and to fill the cultural disappearances in the historical records of Waziristan. This portrays an image which helps the legitimacy of Muslim nationalism in the militant politics of Waziristan. Further it romanticizes every battle as holy as possible in the course of history in Waziristan. Historiographical narratives projects that these historians have magnified some events more than others, to projects a desired discourse. It has created more haunting situation where author presents his own form of past inspired by his practical past.[47] This narrative reconstructs the political objective and nature of '*Pashtunistan*'[48] movement which shapes most of the second half of twentieth century of Waziristan.

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42 *The Pashtun Resistance against the British Raj (1897-1947)* is an unpublished PhD in 2014

43 Beatties *Imperial Frontier, Tribe and State in Waziristan during 1849-1883*, 1-10.

44 See for details Anwar Hashmi, *Waziristan Operation: Bartanvi Raj Se Amreki Raj Tak* (Lahore: Book Talk Publisher, 2019), 1-50.

45 See for details Muhammad Nawaz Mahsood, *An Analysis and Observation in History of Waziristan* (Islamabad: National Book Foundation, [2010]?

46 See for details Akbar S. Ahmed, *Religion and Politics in Muslim society* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 3-106.

47 Darpakhel, *Waziristan*, 1-903.

48 Pashtunistan movement was a political struggle under the leadership of Faqir of Ipi in Nort Waziristan which later spread in the rest of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa from 1936-1978.

Functionalist tragic Emplotment perspective highlights the early settlement of Indus Civilizations in Waziristan. It explains numismatic sources like the coins of the Parthian and Kushan ruled found in Waziristan. Archeologist professor, Ahmad Hassan Dani discovered a Buddhist site around Spinwam in North Waziristan. These archeological evidences for Ghurghwashti encourages that Pashtuns are the ancient people this region.[49] This perspective largely depends upon the literary and oral sources which explain the historical immigration of tribes of Waziristan from the Ghor area of Afghanistan to Loya Paktia which is a part of greater Paktia and to present region of Waziristan. This immigration developed historical consciousness which defined the strength and authority of tribes in competition with other tribes. This perspective explains in detail the tribal conflict and order, and radically present Pashtunwali the ultimate system of social communication. Tribal orders help to define the course of history in Waziristan. Sufis played an important role in the construction and reconstruction of society in Waziristan.[50]

The two pamphlets '*The Temani Party*' and '*Etahad-E-Qabial*' are rare sources which trace the political consciousness in the late twentieth century in Waziristan. Pamphlets cannot be considered as regular historical works in terms of pastological perspectives, but they deal with the future of any community. The mentioned manifestos deal with what is to be done for the future of Waziristan?[51] This manifesto calls for political determination and new ways of how to explore the unexplored part of Waziristan studies. These two manifestos are the radical reconstruction to haunt the disappearances of narrative in the histories of Waziristan. This disappearance is due to the marginalization of official historical inquiries. This research differs from conventional works about the objective and nature of manifesting the socio-political atmosphere of Waziristan. It calls for reconstruction of the suppressed and disbanding humanity in Waziristan.

This present study explores a broader generalization fabrication and domestication of facts of two different time periods which is a clear manipulation of historical process. The sources about the possible bridging of pasthash the present have political intentions of historians which justify that their temporal and sequential continuity of violence and resistance which creates chaos. The research explores that these historiographical representations have a cyclical order to define a wishful and desired discourse of historical process in Waziristan. Following is Quadruple inspired from Hayden White's *Metahistory 73*.

Trope	Emplotment	Argument	Ideology
Metaphor	Heroic	Islamist	Traditionalist
Metonymy	Tragic	Functionalist	Resistance
Synecdoche	Pastoral	Culturalist	Nomadic
Irony	Critical	Nationalist	Reformist

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49 See for details Abdul Ali Ghurghwashti in *Loy Afghania* (Quetta: Edara Thkikat Publisher, 2015), 1-75.
50 Nisar Wazir "History of Wana" unpublished work, 2020.
51 Temaani Party, *Temaan Constitution and Manifesto* (Peshawar: Shaheen Printing Press, 1975[?])

The Concentration of Methodological Violence in Waziristan Studies

Terror, violence and its rhetorical reflection shapes the historiographic trends and patterns in Waziristan studies. This historiographic emotion unfolds the underline structure which is discussed in the long run of concentrated historical process of Waziristan. A proper representation of these violent traumatic memories is important to understand the possible politics of violence produced in the text which later transferred into the socio-political system in the contemporary two decades of distrust. The historical system which exists in text and in context gives us factious and fictive conditions to understand the nature and function of rhetorical devices, which are at play in the history of Waziristan to support the violence and to extend the concentration of this terror.

Rhetoric as an independent discipline and course of action came to an end in the wake of the rise of literature and history in eighteenth and nineteenth century Europe. Modern school of historiography discourages fictive and imaginary and persuasive discourses for the establishment of new subject history. Rhetoric is mostly in used in the historiography of Waziristan especially, when glorification and magnification of an event or an act is needed. All political resentment in the historiography of Waziristan got united in rhetorical devices. Literary sources constitute different poetical stories, idiomatic expressions and proverbial narration to communicate in the time of resistance.[52] Language is not the only medium which transmits patterns of violence. Architecture also functions like spectacle and can be counted as more transparent compared to the lingual one. These are active and evolving emotions attached with the language in the vernacular architecture of Waziristan.[53]

Shade of Representation in Imagined Mythologies

Pashtun's historiography of Waziristan studies projects a figurative myth that can be anything embedded and discloses itself in unreal representation. However, it takes many layers to unfold and trace the order of historical imagination. The concept of identity in native and local Waziristan studies came into being as imagined stories. These imagined mythologies are the first layer of historiographical representation. These representations are mostly directly concerning the real, not the imaginary. These imagined mythologies are about the formation of tribal order, gender politics, cosmos, cultural heritage, ascetic and erotic experiences and emotions. These mythologies are decorated with literary figuration.[54] Is it representable historically? Conventional historical methodology denies it, however, applied historical theory shows interests in the literariness of these mythologies which are full of literary figuration.

Here mythology works as figurative and tropological speech which translates its invisibility into a literary artifact. A literary artifact is a meaningful speech which includes all the possible material of communication. It can be penetrated genealogically. This research finds different cultural variants at different generational phases. This genealogical order acts like a

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52 For details see Matt M. Matthews, *A Concise History of British Military Operations on the North-West Frontier, 1849-1947* (Kansas: Combat Studies Institute Press, 2010), 1-86.

53 This dictum is famously attributed to Goethe in an article by Theodora Ozien Iboi in title of book, ed. James A. Herrick, *The History and Theory of Rhetoric: An Introduction* (New York: Routledge, 2020). 5-6.

54 White, *Figural Realism*,1-65.

travelogue in which all the dates of a tribe are embodied from its general formal structure of a household to its function in society. Different number of tribal treaties, which show how different tribes settled in different areas and why they migrated from one place into another, are held together in imagined mythological order. These imagined mythologies work systematically like modern discipline of history reinforced and constructed historical consciousness in the West. Applied history deals with these structural forms of imaginary formations as a possible alternative in determination of the real story.

The structure of these narratives concerns different priorities of historians while emploting different material for producing real stories. The native writers engage to translate the emotions and subjective feeling of people and to present them as the ultimate pure, brave, hospitable and valuable in story. The colonial and postcolonial accumulates its narrative upon these imagined mythologies which manifest a narrative of further obscurity and discontinuity of meaningful discourse.Ahistorical shade of Waziristan has developed in the colonial and postcolonial knowledge production. The wild image, which circulated for decades pictorially and semiotically of a Waziristan's tribes or community justifies an 'anti-human community' in ethnic terms. The historiographical shades of representation, either fictive or non-fictive, justify bravery as a sole trend in tribal ethos. However, when research sees across these trends, it finds a shadow of universal humanism, amalgamated with different tendencies of humanness.[55] "Genocide is composite and manifold; it signifies a coordinated plan of different actions aiming at the destruction of the essential foundations of life of a group. Such actions can, but do not necessarily, involve mass killing.

They involve considerations that are cultural, political, social, legal, intellectual, spiritual, economic, biological, physiological, religious, and moral. Such actions involve considerations of health, food, and nourishment; of family life and care of children; and of birth as well as death. Such actions involve consideration of the honor and dignity of peoples, and the future of humanity as a world community. In 1933, Lemkin had focused on what he would later call genocide as an episode or act or event. In 1944, he saw genocide as also a process, a process that may include destructive episodes or acts or events. A key passage on the opening page of chapter nine states: Genocide has two phases: one, destruction of the national pattern of the oppressed group; the other, the imposition of the national pattern of the oppressor. This imposition, in turn, may be made upon the oppressed population, which is allowed to remain, or upon the territory alone, after removal of the population and the colonization of the area by the oppressor's own nationals."56

Chronology of Narrative Displacement and Crisis of Textual Legitimacy

A decomposed and disintegrated documented Waziristan studies reinforces a mechanism of a non-temporal representation in historical writings. The extended colonial narratives assist this displacement of meaning in historical writings. This colonial displacement is more visible in the construction of political policies about this region. The above queries in response deflect the production of visible historical knowledge about Waziristan. These narratives of colonial and

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55 Tappay songs, folklore and cultural stories of Waziristan in oral sources.
56 Dan Stone, *The Historiography of Genocide* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 11.

postcolonial period about Waziristan deteriorate the objectivity of facts, which extracts meaning from the structure of determined text. Thus, it displaces the question of legitimacy in historical works among interpretation. The textual displacement is a systematic violence where different plots, terms, mediums and genres are used for specific political purposes to construct a community for specific goals, like the filtration of historiographical displacement of the community of Waziristan which works in due process of Jihad and Talibanization. The established order systematically influences this textual politics. This historiographical politics of interpretation strengthens grievances of people against the established order and compels them to challenge and develop alternative way for a political solution to overcome political oppression and hardship in the region. While rethinking Pashtun's historiography, different textual displacements in the historical image of Waziristan studies confirm it as an 'illegitimate' region that loses all humanitarian reason to live with the rest of other communities. The question of displacement is humanistic and semiotic at the same time. The unsettled, discontinued and broken chronology of understanding about the historical imagination of Waziristan opens the crisis of legitimacy on textual consciousness.

Illusion and Repression of Text

While dealing with the expression of displacement, the present study highlights a systematic suppression of documents and voices which try to represent 'the real'.[57] The emotions and memories which concern the question of displacement in Waziristan studies are in two different periods: during British colonial period, and after British withdrawal, especially in contemporary two decades of war on terror. Both periods have the same tendency to silence the actual or real. However, the presence of contemporary tech progress strengthens historiological representation and records in the form of videos, audios, poems and print media etc. These things cannot express the silence completely and even sometimes it presents a more fictionalized and fetish form for justification of political victimization.[58]

These print media documents further create an illusion of reality. Things become more ideological in the absence of proper authentic primary sources about what happened in colonial and postcolonial Waziristan causes a cyclical illusion in the narrative representation. However, contemporary historical theory never supports the argument of re-enactment of what happened can recreate anything. Rather it suggests an alternative which is about the truth of survivors. It would be correct that historical studies have several limitations, but the truth of survivors have a moral and aesthetical right to count his/her account as source of experience while dealing with the question of violence, displacement and resistance. These truths which are represented by the victims should be calculated with corresponding truth to justify the truth of all population. These measurements, Emplotment and argumentations replace the silence which is there in the official and un-official sources in the historiography of Waziristan. Applied history suggests that such truth cannot be just an epistemological issue of representation and meaning which

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57 White, "Truth and Circumstance: What (if Anything) Can Properly Be Said about the Holocaust?" in *The Practical Past*, 25-40.

58 See for details, Munawar Hussain and Muhammad Hamid, "Understanding Anti-Americanism and Factors of Anti-American Sentiments in Pakistan," *Pakistan Journal of History and Culture* 43, no. 2 (2022).

makes an echo in the silence and suppression but should be presented in the court of law so that in the future this authoritarian illusion and those who are responsible for silencing the voices of truth, must face consequences.[59]

The Unfulfilled and Unabridged Anatomy of Textual Resistance: Structural Anxieties

The genealogy of historiographical resistance is subjected to make echo in silence, to raise valid question about the forms of violence and to reconstruct a community which absorbs all the traumatic emotions and memories by appealing to truth and reconciliation.[60] However, in the case of Waziristan studies it never heals the community due to structural anxieties which exist throughout the course of histories. Text transcends and communicates a possible meaning about the unabridged structure of a narration. Applied history explores how structure of different narrations exists in the historiographical representation of Waziristan, which affects the meaning of story formation. Selected Pashtun historiographical sources have been consulted as an example of historical narration to understand Waziristan studies.

Arif Masood's *Waziristan* presents a narrative in which he included all the content with proper beginning, middle and end. The author absorbs its subjectivity to the text. Masood traces how tribal consciousness is born out of tribal resistance and transformation of its political geography. His programmed interpretations dissolve in historical '*Teemanism*'[61] which presents a tragic story of history of Waziristan. Layeq Shah's *Waziristan* also has a proper beginning, middle and end but his own voice in the process somehow becomes silent to ensure the value of objectivity. However, Layeq Shah generalizes and sabotages the historical process, the evolution of society and political culture in Waziristan. He uses ideological domestication of evidence to reinforce Muslim nationalism which presents a distorted political consciousness evolving at the tribal level in Waziristan. His historical work bridges present day Waziristan with the retrospective.

His narrative strictly opposes the cultural and political evolution of Waziristan. Layeq Shah's unabridged and unfulfilled narration of Waziristan presents a comic formation in its textual structure. Abdul Qadir's *Cheegha*, function as a cultural autobiography of Waziristan, which presents a subjective experience of sentiments and emotions of a suppressed community during war on terror. Waziristan is infused with hatred, violence, anarchy and ruthless values. Qadir's Waziristan penetrates beyond the propaganda politics and presents his childhood Waziristan, where people used to live according to the true values of Pashtunwali, where rule of tribal order was in practice. These genealogical inquiries act a testimony in bridging the past with present in Waziristan.

Hyperrealism of Catastrophic Historical Hopes

The concept of hyperrealism, in Waziristan studies originates from the sensibility of catastrophic historical hopes that emerge from profound distress of epistemic representation.

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59 White, "Truth and Circumstance" in *The Practical Past*, 25-40.
60 White, "Historical Pluralism and Pan-textualism," in *The Fiction of Narrative*, 223-235.
61 Teemanism is an analysis to understand human culture and its historical development in terms of materials sources in Waziristan.

This epistemic stress in Waziristan studies challenges the traditional narratives of history and emphasizes the fragmented, subjective, and constructed nature of self-proclaim historical reality. It is skeptical towards official and grand narratives and emphasis on plurality, fragmentation, and the deconstruction of domesticated historical truths, provides a fertile ground for exploring the catastrophic hopes. This perspective allows for a nuanced examination of how trauma, as an intensely personal yet collectively experienced phenomenon, shapes and is shaped by historical contexts in Waziristan studies. Catastrophic and traumatic hopes, therefore, can be seen as both a response to and a product of hyperreal conditions, where the distinction between the real and the imagined becomes indistinct in the long historical manifestation of Waziristan. Indigenous historians tried to bridge this episteme.

The interplay between epistemic violence and political hope reveals the complex ways individuals and society in Waziristan navigate their pasts and futures. Epistemic violence disrupts conventional understandings of reality, creating a hyperreal space where the past is continuously reinterpreted, and the future is imagined through the lens of those disruptions. This process involves a constant negotiation between memory and history, where the subjective nature of trauma challenges the objective recounting of historical events in Waziristan studies. In essence, rethink Pashtun historiographic is the rejection of linear, objective history in favor of a more fragmented, interpretative cultural materialist approach. It underscores the idea that our understanding of the past, memory and culture is not fixed but is constantly evolving, shaped by the narratives we construct and deconstruct in our quest to make sense of our experiences.

Hyperrealism is the disability of consciousness to follow and communicate with what happened in the real.[62] The nature of historiography in context of Waziristan presents a hyperreal image of past which are either outdated or deflected from the essential political reality. Textual resistance, which happens in Waziristan studies have ethos and pathos which cannot ensure that reality has an argumentative structure. The outdated rebellious critics of masses to acquire large consolidated political power in the historiography of Waziristan studies cannot absorb and resolve the apolitical behavior in political culture, which disputes its validity in representation.

Critical inquiry can uphold the invisible hopes and emotions in the Pashtun's historiography of Waziristan. Text produced in Waziristan has structural hopes to reconstruct an alternative reality to accommodate the established text.

However, established text has the legitimacy of epistemic violence. Traditional history is very conventional in its discourse and function. It cannot break this vicious circle of structural anxieties in text because all conventional disciplines like history depends upon the sources which are sacred in case of Waziristan, i.e. British colonial documents are still out of public jurisdiction. In such a scenario where the past is not free to be accessed, applied history offers an alternative way and that is very radical. It offered to construct own past and chooses a desired present that would support their political struggle against dominant which is without

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62 See in details Jean Baudrillard, *Simulacra and Simulation* (Michigan: The University of Michigan Press, 1994), 1-86.

hegemony.[63] The uses of past in the historiographic studies of Waziristan produces different perspectives to challenge this constrained 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 the time being these alternative voices in historiography free the voices but forget the crimes which are committed by the 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 in which they participated being members of community having claims of tribal ethos and pathos. They must stand for the crimes committed on the behalf of the community in Waziristan.[64]

Conclusion

The present study uses historical theory perspective to explore the structural and textual formation of history of Waziristan which, in reflection, asserts how to accommodate and re-settle the suppressed narratives of Waziristan into new institutions after the process of merger into Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan. Colonial sources developed a consciousness of hatred for the people of Waziristan. Once partition took place, the people and tribes merged with the newly established state with hopes, but they were treated according to the old colonial system with the least socio-political opportunities. Later, these tribes were used as a gun powder for Afghan Jihad which deteriorated socio-cultural and economic conditions and thus a sense of resistance came into being for demanding its constitutional presence. Traumatic experiences are more real and actual in phenomenological existence as compared to situations which are not traumatic.

In the case of Waziristan studies much of traumatic events and experiences have been denied historically during colonial and post-colonial period (1819-2019). Applied history considers it ahistorical act. Inviting a radical structural hermeneutical middle voice addressing itself to itself as a writing subjectivity 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 Waziristan 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

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63 A Dirk Moses, "Hayden White and the Traumatic Nationalism and the Public Role of History," *History and Theory* 44, no. 3 (October 2005): 311-32.
64 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.

acknowledged in documents should be revisited which opens 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. After every war, violence, displacement and resistance Pashtun's historiography never placed into more secure scientific and cultural footing due to the weakness of institutional historical narrative for possible comprehension the meaning of what happened in the larger ghettos of Waziristan. These narratives bring dysfunctional forms and content in cultural symbols and values which produce and reproduce traumatic and distorted narratives in the historiographical representation of Waziristan.

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