Labour i.e. production of material values, is a decisive factor in the development of man, in the emergence and development of consciousness. "Labour created man himself". It is the labour set up that determines the position of man in his immediate social set up. Production sources and relations of man hitherto mark the development of man - his voyage from cave to industry.

"That the landed property, to be dragged completely into the movement of Private property and that becomes commodity; that the rule of proprietor appears as the undistinguished rule of private property, of capital, freed from all political tinctures; that the relationship between the proprietor and worker be reduced to economic relationship of exploiter and exploited; that all personal relationships between the proprietor and his property cease, property becoming merely objective, material wealth, that the marriage of convenience should take the place of marriage of honour with land; and the land should likewise sink to the status of commercial value, like man".

Now, that is where the modern man stands - right in the middle of the ordeal of being a commodity instead of human being. Man's transition from the dream world of gravy feudal values, of apparent
human relations, to the market values of capitalism, is the whole story that can be told as to the development of novel.

Development of novel is well linked up with the development of consciousness of man, as man's consciousness is logical reflection of socio-historical situation, hence the origin of novel can be traced from the development of society. How a human society develops? What are its driving forces? Are the changes in society accidental, or they are dictated by necessity; by objective laws? If the development of society is casually conditioned, what is the chief cause? These are a few natural questions which are relevant both to the development of society and that of novel, as both are interlinked, as it will become quite apparent from this discourse that origin of novel was no incidence but a necessity of changing society. Novel was the only genre that could cater to the needs of Post-Industrial-Revolution Man.

Many ideas about the development of society have been expressed by scholars before Marx. The French materialists of 18th century insisted that man, his views and behaviour are result of the influence of social environment. French bourgeois historians (Guizot, Theiny, Mignet) pointed out the existence of opposite classes and the class struggle in society. The British bourgeois economists (Adam Smith, David Ricardo etc.) tried to find out in economic life, a basis of existence of classes. A big contribution was made by Russians (Belinsky, Herzen, Chernyshevsky etc.). Their
ideas about the people as the makers of the society, the irreconcilability of class interests of the exploited and the exploiter, the class character of philosophy, art, literature and so on, were profound for their time.

Nevertheless, the pre-Marxist sociology was not scientific. What were its failings? To begin with - prior to Marxism, idealism reigned the sphere of sociology. French materialists, having indicated the influence of social environment on man, erroneously regarded this environment as product of human reason - the Idea rules the world - this was the epitome of their views on society. Hegel, although he made valuable contribution to philosophy by his ideas on historical necessity, and although he tried to view the history of mankind dialectically, ultimately arrived at a false conclusion that the society is ruled by the divine will - God rules the world. The context of his rule, the realisation of his plans constitute the world history - sums up the Hegelian philosophy of history.

Another shortcoming in the pre-Marxist sociology also stemmed from the approach to society in an idealist way. Pre-Marxist sociologists, acting on the premise that ideas rule the world, and that these ideas are fathered by outstanding individuals - kings, Scholars etc., arrived at a wrong conclusion that the great men alone make the history. Had it been so, the genre of novel would have been non-existent because novel is said to be the story of the
anguish faced by the modern man, reduced to the position of commodity by the socio-historical situation. The pre-Marxists proved to be incapable of revealing the dialectics of historical process, as, being idealist, they were unable to grasp the unity and interconnection of social life, the real driving force and material source behind historical events, and the novel, of course, is a historical event.

Social Life determines the social consciousness, the sphere of social being encompasses the material life of society, and above all people's productive activity, the economic relations between them and the process of production. In asserting that social being is primary, and the social consciousness is secondary, Marx and Engels acted on the premise that before people can engage in science, art, philosophy etc., they must get food, clothing and shelter, for which they must work and produce material wealth. From this it follows:

"The production of immediate material means of subsistence, and consequently the degree of economic development attained by the given people or during the given epoch, forms the foundation on which the institutions, the legal conceptions, the art, and even ideas on religion, of the people concerned have been evolved, and in the light of which they must, therefore, be explained, instead of vice-versa, as has hitherto been the case".
So it will be a logical deduction that it was the degree of economic development that gave rise to novel and established it as a main source of artistic expression.

"The bourgeoisie, wherever it has got the upper hand, has put up an end to all feudal, patriarchal idyllic relations. It has pitilessly torn asunder the motley feudal ties and bound man to his "natural superiors"; and has left remaining no other nexus between men and man than naked self interest, than callous "cash payment'. It has drowned the most heavenly ecstasies of religious fervour, of chivalrous enthusiasm, of philistine sentimentalism, in the icy waters of egotistical calculations. It has resolved personal worth into exchange value, and in place of number of indefeasible chartered freedoms, has set up that single unconscientable freedom - Free Trade. In one word, for exploitation, veiled by religious and political illusion it has substituted naked, shameless, direct, brutal exploitation."

This is the world of novel, the world of people who live in and outside of the Novel.

Novel is extensive and relates to grass-root life; Novel is said to be a developed form of Epic - an epic of modern times. Novel can be said to be an epic without hero, as the little man in the bourgeois set up is incapable of being a hero. He is alienated from the external world with a shattered belief; and from the internal self with a feeling of nothingness. The change from man as 'care' to 'economic man' is not merely a shift in the perspective, in the first case man is instituted as subject which knows nothing of the dynamics of social context, while in the second case, the same man
is transformed into an object. After coming of capitalism man has an existence only as an element within the system; outside the system he is unreal. With this conflict between man and the social system, individual found himself as an alien, an outsider in the society which is governed by the laws of expediency dictated by the vested interests of the privileged class, who happened to control the sources of production. It is this conflict that found expression in novel as an art form. This conflict led to alienation and feeling of nothingness and gave rise to the tragic fortune of man. Lucien Goldmann holds that tragedy results from refusal to compromise on the part of individual, who is placed in the situation which he cannot escape without compromise. This is a rather narrow definition. The tragedy of modern man is much more complicated and broad-based. He emerges tragic in either way - compromise or not to compromise. If he does not, conflict is too obvious; and if he does, then it is the hidden feeling of guilt and helplessness that makes him tragic. In the first place he is heroic (as is Bishna of Anhoe*) and in the second place he is the 'little man' (as is Bhano in Eho Hamara Jeewna **); he suffers in both places. This can be attributed to the heterogeneous set up, man is living in.

* A Punjabi Novel by Gurdyal Singh

** Bhano is the central character of Eho Hamara Jeewna, A Punjabi Novel written by Dilip Kaur Tiwana.
Goldmann's actual definition of novel as literary form:

"The transposition on the plane of daily life in the individualistic society born for the production for market",
is a definition oriented to social content, which is in contradiction to his earlier views of close textual analysis.

Goldmann's theory of the genesis and fall of novel shows a historicism. The crux of novel is, according to Goldmann, the manner in which a 'problematic' hero tries to make sense of liberal values in a world which frequently denies them. The law slowly disappears from the novel as a result of the changes in capitalism. Cartel capitalism (1880-1914) lessens the importance of hero; crisis capitalism (1918-1936) effectively destroys him; and the consumer capitalism (post 1945) only allows for a portrayal of an alienated hero. This schematism goes wild as it is incapable of showing how reputed writers fit in it. One more lacuna, that Goldmann has, is, that it perceives man only disintegrating in cataloguing of capitalism, never seeing the rebel side of his existence and revolutionary crux of history.

Like Goldmann, Swingewood also works on one sided theory, expounding that in capitalism all progressive world views are outdated, unless they are Marxist; and he argues that good novel must be progressive. This definition rules out many good novels which do not relate to Marxism, e.g., Tolstoy's War and Peace; hence
puts literature in a mechanical process, which Marxism itself has denounced. It would be right to say that Swingewood's perspective is propagandist and is against the creative independence, which nearly all the genuine Marxists have stressed upon, as already discussed in the first chapter.

It is said that novel is an epic of the world which has been abandoned by God. This God is not god, but the homogeneous serenity that man once enjoyed. The homogeneity is life-blood of epic and heterogeneity is attributed to novel. The novel's hero's psycho-analysis is demonic (what Goldmann calls 'degraded'), the objective novel is mature man's knowledge that meaning can never quite penetrate reality, but that without meaning, the reality would disintegrate into nothingness of inessentiality. They define the productive limits of the possibilities of novel - the limits which are drawn from within - and, at the same time, they define historico-philosophical movements at which great novels become possible, and they grow in symbol of essential things that need be said. This view of Lukac's can be said to be key stone as to the origin of left novel.

Anguish, misery and the self that is at the verge of breaking apart, rises to the occasion and turns the system that aims at tearing him into pieces, here man turns rebel, not in individualistic sense of Camus, but in the broader sense of social uprising. He finds meaning out of nothingness, as this 'nothing' has
never actually existed but in his alienated perception of the world. At this juncture unheroic 'little man' turns hero and attains the consciousness of material world; and strives for the serene world that had been his own before the opposite classes came into existence. This meaning finding process is one's journey from particular to general, hence heroism comes to the common man as he discovers that living is meaningful and death is worth. Gorky's 'Mother' can be said to be first in the long series of such novels in the world literature, to be followed by Punjabi fiction, though a confusion of consciousness is still found in Punjabi novels of this blend. The yearning for meaning is there, but sometimes meaning of meaning is lost; or sometimes the mode is at crossroads. Gurdial Singh's Anhoe is an example of first blend, while Jaswant Singh Kanwal's bunch of novels, such as Raat Baki Hai, Sach Noo Phansi, Lahu Di Loa, are the apparent examples of the second blend.

Lukac's puts that the epic world of the Greeks was homogeneous world of literature and even separation between 'I' and 'you' could not disturb this homogeneity. There the man does not stand alone as the sole bearer of substantiality, in the midst of reflexive forms; his relations to others and structure which arise therefrom, are more truly filled with substance because they are more general, more philosophic, closer and more akin to archetype home; the love, the family, the state.

The circle in which the Greeks lived was smaller than ours; that
is, we cannot, as a part of our life, place ourselves inside it. Or rather, the circle whose closed nature was the transcendental essence of their life has, for us, been broken; we cannot breathe in a closed world.

Our world has been becoming infinitely large and each of its corners is richer in gifts and dangers than the world of Greeks, but such wealth cancels out the real meaning - totality - upon which their life was wove. For totality as the formative prime reality of every individual phenomenon, implies that closed within itself can be complete because everything occurs within it, nothing is excluded from it, and nothing points at a higher reality outside it, complete because everything within it ripens to its perfection and, by attaining itself, submits to no limitation. Totality of being is possible where it is already homogeneous before it has been contained by forms, where knowledge is virtue, virtue is happiness, where beauty is the meaning of world made visible. But once this unity is disintegrated, there could be no more spontaneous totality of being.

Novel arose on the corps of 'totality of being', but that change was not sudden. The breaking point was quite enlarged one. The novel had to cross the hurdle of romantic illusion of late 17th and early 18th century in Daniel Diffoe and Sydney etc. The dying echoes, were prolonged even to twentieth century. **Romanticism** was an illusion of totality of being; it seeks escape from contemporary problems by
The novel is, in contrast to romantic attitudes or normative childlikeness epic, the art form of visible maturity. It means that the completeness of novel-world, if seen objectively, is an imperfection; and if subjectively experienced, it amounts to resignation. The danger by which the novel is determined is two folds: either the fragility of world may manifest itself so crudely that it will cancel out the imminence of meaning, which the form demands; or, else the longing of the dissonance, to be resolved, affirmed and absorbed into the work, may lead it to a pre-mature closing of the circle of novel's world, causing the form to disintegrate in separate heterogeneous parts.

The logical deduction from the discussion afore is that the hero of the epic struggles to win, while the hero of the novel struggles to live - a completely naked struggle for survival. This struggle of the novel presents - a nameless hero, a plain man dwarfed by the colossal complexity of real world and trivialities of routine which turn him into a little man, e.g., characters of Gurdial Singh's novels are nameless heroes (with the possible exception of Bishna and Maghi of Anhoe), representing the social set up and not the individual self, which the hero of the epic does. Kanwal's heroes are prototypes of a particular humane. Nevertheless, both the nameless and prototype heroes struggle, with the only difference that the first one struggles to live, while the second one struggles
to change the living conditions. Impact of both is particular: The nameless hero may induce either of the two feelings, one of helplessness which he himself is facing; or of anger towards this helplessness; while the prototype hero himself possesses the anger to part it with reader.

Possibly there is only one novel in Punjabi literature that has epic touch, i.e. Anhoe. In this novel Bishna and Maghi are two 'individuals' up against the whole social set up consciously, and with the obvious self belief of emerging victorious. This confidence turns them into rebels. They represent themselves and no one else. Their death is victory; the victory of individual and not of man; while Jagsir is not an individual, not struggling for himself, he is a nameless person yearning for the authentic values which were once the part of his existence as man. So proper it will be to say, though a bit symbolical, that novel is journey of Bishna to Jagsir, and then Jagsir to a hero who is in a visible range of authentic values and is acquainted with mode of reaching them.

Since world of the epic was total, the canvas of this genre was great, rather the greatest; a sublime. The world of the novel is eccentric, pretending totality, asserting on the strangified reality, but of course representing the historically perceivable totality while today's man struggles as one unit. The hero of the novel is situated in the middle of things as an alienated being who
remains only to be a 'little man'. This alienation results from his shattered belief in the world he is living in, leading him to emotional bankruptcy, and as a result, tending him unable to rise to the level of sublime.

Ultimately one point that develops in concern with the origin of novel is that the era of novel began with the emergence of realism. The illusion of total being was shattered and search of total being started --- this search led man to the great literary genre of today, i.e. novel.

Michel Ziraffa's views can be put up as a prelude to this concept of origin of novel. He holds that:

"Novel's emergence as an art form affirms essentially that there was no society without history, nor history without society. The novel is first art to represent man explicitly as defined historically and socially. In myths, manifestly, man is a social being but his story is only developed by obscure means, by intervention of Gods, heroes or magical events. With the novel society enters history and history enters into society .... the historical development of novel comprises two different tendencies: the novel was born and established itself as genre on account of, and to account for, historical and social phenomena; it attained the status of art where it set itself over against them".
Novel is essentially a middle class cultural product developed in 18th century and coming of age in 19th century. Instead of fictitious adventures and marvels, man living within the framework of society became the central focus. Protrayal of ordinary man's every day bourgeois life constitutes a direct reflection of specific middle class sensibility. Novel is a literary reflection of the basic characteristics of social development of the historical evolution of an industrial age.

Over and above, the social cultural conditions of man, create the possibility of search for a new consciousness new myth for the regeneration of man and creation of humanistic utopias. Between the imagined and real world, one can discern a relationship of tension and antagonistic or a non-antagonistic clash affirming the triumph of the man over what crushes him and trivialises him. Although these expressions do not always correspond to the actual class conflict and class consciousness, yet the dominant class values of capitalist society inform of the origin and development of Novel.

It is for this reason that novel cannot be reduced entirely to economic, political and social conditions in which it emerged as a genre in spite of the fact that it actually departs man's struggle to transcend or transform the given socio-historical world. Dealing with the socio-economic and political conditions, novel attempted to transcend to the mere description and analysis of them by penetrating into the very texture of social life, showing the
diverse shades of nuances of the way individuals experience themselves in society. The reality which novel sought to capture was much more than the conditioned and historical facility for it, focused the human situation not merely from external sociological perspectives but portrayed the ways in which man perceives and comes to term with their condition.

Ralph Fox makes it more clear as Oberoi seems to be carried away by the individualistic anarchism and gets into psycho-analytical phenomenology. Ralph Fox holds that the capitalist system completely differentiated the artist's position, as against the position ever enjoyed by him in past systems, i.e. the capitalism that gave rise to realism and gave it the ultimate shape in the genre of novel, ultimately destroyed the condition that was conducive to realism, hence left the scope for realism to appear only in degenerated or handicapped form in novel. So this is how the strangification of realism is to be understood, and for this the pattern of bourgeois set up and market values that it introduce it, must be perceived historically.

Novel is the epic of modern bourgeois society. This form of art reached its ultimate development in the prime of bourgeois society, and it seems that the anguish of our modern world engulfed it. Henry Fielding in the prelude to Tom Jones described the epic character and role of novel. But no critic will step into saying that the majority of modern novels has the epic touch though
Ulyses, Idol of the King, Henriad etc. exist in the mainstream of fiction.

It can be said to this extent that novel is not only representative production of bourgeois literature, it is also the supreme as well. Novel did not exist before the modern society, which came into being in the Renaissance period. The subject of novel is man. This is an epic of man's struggle against society and nature, and hence, it can take shape only in a society in which the balance between man and society has been destroyed; and in which man is at war with nature and co-human beings. Heer of Waris and Bhano of Dalip Kaur Tiwana are two outstanding characters of Punjabi fiction. But how different they are: Heer is a creature of such a society in which myth and reality have submerged into one being.

Heer at Saica's place knows that her fate is controlled by five peers; but Bhano is not such. She, in the twentieth century, is subject to the fading feudalistic values and incoming capitalist forces. She at Narain's place is at the fork of two values - feudal patriarchalism and capitalist concept of man as commodity.

While describing the revolutionary role of bourgeoisie in destroying the existing feudal values, Marx and Engels have pointed out the real reasons of degeneration of cultural life, thus:

"The bourgeoisie, wherever it has got the upper hand, has put to an end to all feudal, patriarchal, idyllic relations..."
'The bourgeoisie has stripped off its halo every occupation, hitherto honoured and looked up to with reverent awe. It has converted the physician, the lawyer, the priest, the poet, the man of science into its paid wage labourers...

"All fixed, past frozen relations, with their train of ancient and vulnerable prejudices and opinions, are swept away. All new-formed ones become antiquated before they can ossify. All that is solid melts into air, all that is holy is profaned, and man is at last compelled to face with sober senses, his real condition of life and his relation with his kind".

So the man whose work power becomes marketable commodity, loses his aesthetic and moral values, and because market principle determines the same price system for everything, hence art also turns into a market commodity; and is put at par with diametrically opposed things.

Some see that the 19th century artist unsuccessfully waged a war to waver a society, which has imposed such values of life on him, which he never accepted. In this conflict some escape to the imaginative fortress, and decorate it with the silky banner of Art's sake; and some like Gerard La Bruine* commit suicide or behave like Paul Gogan**.

* Gerard La Bruine (1818 - 1855), A young poet of Paris commune.

** Paul Gogan (1848 - 1903), A French artist who exiled himself to Tahity Island to live among the Jungle Folk.
Lucien Goldmann puts the whole thing in much simple words:

"Novel can be characterized as a story of a search for authentic values in a degraded mode, in a degraded society, and that this degradation, in so far as it concerns the hero, is expressed principally through mediation, the reduction of authentic values to the implicit level and their disappearance as manifest realities."

So this becomes established after much of discussion that novel is the greatest presentation of bourgeois society in the field of literature. Novel is a courageous step to rediscover the human being lost in the pell mell of bourgeois set up. It is a heroic struggle for survival by a nameless man.

ORIGIN OF PUNJABI NOVEL

Notwithstanding the often repeated statement that novel came in Punjabi literature as an imitation of western novel the roots of Punjabi novel will have to be traced in the socio-historical situation that gave rise to this genre of literary expression, as it will be too categorical a statement to declare Punjabi novel as an echo of the western novel, and in turn, will reduce the importance of its socio-historical background. Novel came to Punjabi literature
in its natural course as it did in the west, though the situation that gave rise to this particular genre of literature is historically the same but factually it differs.

One view has been generally mooted that the social consciousness of Indian society has been least affected by the socio-economic conditions and it has generally been negligent of its surroundings. But is it so?

"The need of constantly expanding market for its products, chases the bourgeoisie over the whole surface of the globe. It must nestle everywhere, settle everywhere, establish connections everywhere."

"The bourgeoisie has through its exploitation of the world-market given a cosmopolitan character to production and consumption in every country. To the great chagrin of Reactionists, it has drawn from under the feet of industry the national ground on which it stood."

"The bourgeoisie, by the rapid improvement of all instruments of production, by immensely facilitated means of communication, draws all, even the most barbarian-nations into civilization ....it compels all nations, on pain of extinction to adopt the bourgeois mode of production; it compels them to introduce what it calls civilization into their midst, i.e. to become bourgeois themselves."

In this process, the alien rule in India started splitting apart
the feudal values and introduced the bourgeois consciousness, hence the camprador bourgeoisie started taking shape. Certainly the industrialisation and introduction of bourgeois economic relations had to affect the social consciousness of the people of India; and it did. There is no two sayings about the fact that the imperialist rule in India introduced the new economic relations and set on the fast development of capitalism.

"All the civil wars, invasions, conquests, famines, strangely complex, rapid and destructive as the successive action in Hindustan may appear, did not go deeper than its surface. England has broken down the entire framework of Indian society; without any symptoms of reconstitution yet appearing. This loss of his old world, with no gain of new one, imparts a particular type of melancholy to the present misery of the Hindoo; and separates Hindustan, ruled by Britain, from all its ancient traditions, and from the whole of its past history".

Marx further observes:

"They destroyed it by breaking up the native communities, by uprooting the native industry, and by levelling all that was great and elevated in the native society. The historic pages of their rule in India report hardly anything beyond that destruction".

So proper it would be better to say that novel was not introduced
by the colonial masters, but they introduced such a socio-economic system that facilitated the origin of novel. It is because of this very reason that novel came to Bengali first than any other vernacular language, as it was the Bengal that had the first taste of bourgeois culture; and as and when this particular system swept through the Indian sub-continent, the novel came into being as a need of artistic expression in the 'degraded' bourgeois set up as a search of authentic values.

Protagonists of the theory of 'novel as a borrowed genre' produce a very logical puzzle that for once seems impressive, but once you start peeling off the layers of pure logic, what is left is nothing but absurd argumentation. The starting point for these protagonists is that there was no epic in Punjabi. Sikh Gurus did not utilize their depth and consciousness of their creativity for epic; Guru Gobind Singh wrote 'Chandi Di War' with an entirely different motive; Kissa literature cannot be said to the be epic literature as it is short of basic concept, totality of individual; and world of Kissa is not homogeneous as it was that of epic. Now, for these theoraticians, if epic was not there in Punjabi, how can novel be of indigeneric origin, as novel is descendant of epic. In support of this, they quote Lukac's, Watt Goldmann and who not.

The circumstances that gave rise to Punjabi novel can be said to be very conspicuous, as though, the Britishers introduced bourgeois system in India for their self-interest, but cautiously they tried
that market-culture may not surface in Indian society in its wicked state. So it means that at one place they introduced bourgeoisie; and in other place they tried to maintain feelings of feudal morality, chivalrous being, loyalism etc., because, Punjab that was yet to attain nationalist consciousness, could easily put its loyalty at the disposal of colonial rule. Moreover, the imperialists were well aware of the militant character of Punjab. Sikh landlord aristocracy, though it was sorry for the loss of Sikh empire, was completely inactive to regain the previous supremacy. It could be so because the British empire took every step to safeguard the economic interests of the landed aristocracy. So out of pessimism and convenience, this class started slogan raising at the religious front, just to deviate the national uprising. The religious front was alright for imperialist rulers because it could cash upon the religion based rivalry and discrimination.

But this is a historical truth that qualitative change in the base must affect the mass consciousness. It is unhistorical to change the economic structure and to maintain the old culture simultaneously. But at the first taste of bourgeois relations, Punjabi society was stunned, and was at a loss to know as to the reaction to this particular situation. This happened because the bourgeois culture has been transplanted in India from Europe instead of its natural growth in India. So the main thrust of mass awakening was deviated to religious revivalism. Nevertheless, the ground for
The immediate problem that Punjabi society faced at that time was the contradiction between the master culture and colonial culture. As in a medieval society, religion is the consciousness of people, the novel that appeared at the dawn of this literary genre was an effort to safeguard the cultural-religious set up of the society; and not as a desperate struggle of an alienated individual, as was the case in western novel.

At that time three options were open to Punjabi society. One: to withdraw from the controversy as to the supremacy of culture; two, accept the supremacy of master culture; three, to retaliate against the master's culture. The militant character of Punjabi people closed first two options; and the retaliation against the imperial master came first as the glorification of indigenous culture. This glorification found expression in the novel, rather novel had to be adopted in this case as what was being done was a deviated search for authentic values.

So it can be best said that the religious survivalism that first found expression in Punjabi novel was a satanic move. Two reasons inspired this feeling: one, the Sikh landed aristocracy was in full control of aesthetic field and its selfish interests were best served in the well-being of British empire; two, the plane of social consciousness of Punjabi society was so narrow that it was not aware of bourgeois exploitation and was, to some extent, enjoying the good administration provided by the aliens. After a long time the danger of western invaders was over. So in the beginning of
colonial rule the conflict between the colonial masters and the ruled people was lacking. The anguish of slavery was, to some extent, passified by the iron administration of Britishers which gave the routine peace to common man.

So it can be categorically said that because the medieval consciousness of Punjabi people could not perceive the colonial rule in proper way, hence the war against bourgeois set up was started at wrong front, i.e. art and culture; this battle took the shape of religious survivalism; and this religious survivalism in its place gave rise to Punjabi novel. This thing is true only as to the initial Punjabi novel that started with Bhai Veer Singh. The aforementioned chronology can be corroborated with words of S. Man Singh,

"Sundri was written at the time when Panth was being awakened after a long sleep, and there was immense need to re-incarnate the ancient chivalry, religious sanctity and high ideals of this awakening Lion".

Bhai Veer Singh himself expressed his feelings in the same way:

"The purpose of writing is neither selfishness, nor show business. This is a humble effort to renovate the ruined structure of Panth, hence a pious duty. In reconstructing the glory of Panth, this effort is just as low valued as zero in mathematics".

He further writes:
"The present thrust of Panth is towards degeneration, notwithstanding the past glory. It has been stressed in this book, and so is also purpose of writing it, that the Sikh brethren should learn to stand on their feet; and the great ideal and prototype of humanity that was created by Guru Gobind Singh, should remain in fact in its highly sacred form. Khalsa is an independent being of God, enjoying both external and internal harmony, pleasure giving for all, unsurmountable, but does not terrorise others or impose himself".

This trend of religious glorification that actually arose from social and political inferiority complex and struggle for religious survival continued in novels of S.S. Charan Singh Shaheed, Bhai Mohan Singh Vaid and Bhai Amar Singh. Shaheed's Ranjit Kaur, Diler Kaur, Chanchal Murli are three novels that fall in line with Bhai Veer Singh. There is only one difference in the diction of Bhai Veer Singh and Charan Singh Shaheed, as Amarjot Sekhon puts it - Bhai Veer Singh does not wander away much from 'Realistic Possibility', but Shaheed accepts no limitations.

One thing more must be said about the expression of religious-survivalism, that is, the cultural conflict that is presented in such novels is not between Punjabi and British culture, but between Sikh and Muslim culture. The natural question that follows is why the cultural conflict was directed to the culture of a dead empire, when under the British rule, Sikh, Hindu and Muslim cultures had the
same locus standi? Along with this, it is very interesting that novels of Bhai Veer Singh etc., while glorifying the Sikh religion, underline the Hindus for their cowardice and Muslims for their moral degeneration; and hence maintaining a very conspicuous silence about the colonial rule. The logical deduction that follows is that, though unconsciously, the early Punjabi novel was sowing the seeds of communal disharmony, and leaving the colonial lords in their peace. The Sikh landed aristocracy which had just lost the independent status had a psychological hunger for some kind of glory, so that they could romanticise their present status in the face of a new situation; and the only field left for them, was to take shelter in medieval glory of their religion, and in doing so, they could camouflage their present inactivity in the field of national struggle against the colonial masters—a very clear trick on the part of alien rulers, who succeeded in satisfying the ego of Sikh landed aristocracy and the religious glory that could divest the retaliatory thrust of an awakening society.

The disharmonising effect of early novel can be more clearly felt in Bhai Veer Singh's 'Baba Naudh Singh'. It is in this novel that the religious narrowness surfaces when the writer tries to establish the supremacy of Sikh religion over all the vernacular religions. Preachers of Arya Smaj, Islam etc. are so impressed by the generosity of Sikh religion that they convert to it, but interestingly, when Baba Naudh Singh gets into conflict with
Christian missionaries, the issue is settled politically not religiously as it had been the way in early cases. The Bishop provides Baba with a certificate that declares Sikhs to be brave and honourable. "You fight well in our army. We are friends," are the exact words of the certificate. This shows the actual conspiratorial context of early Punjabi novel. But still early Punjabi novel had a very healthy impact on future. Akali movements, waged against imperialist rulers.

One more thing that was added to the religious survivalism by the time of S.S. Charan Singh Shaheed, was language consciousness. In the prelude, named Zaroori Benti to 'Chanchal Murti', Shaheed tries to present a pathetic situation of Punjabi language, which, according to him, was language of sikh Gurus and hence demanded more attention from 'Nation'. True it is that like Bhai Veer Singh, Shaheed also synonymises 'nation' with Sikh Panth only, and social reformation is just renovation of religion. In this synonymising process, the blunder that Shaheed commits, is christening the Punjabi language as Sikh language and in doing so he lays the pretext of partisan behaviour of Hindus towards their own mother tongue. The lingual demarcation made by these writers had far reaching repercussions, and culminated into a political conflict.

Bhai Mohan Singh Vaid's novel 'Kul Shrestan Di Chaal' can only be said to be an extention of same lingual narrowness that got naked expression in Charan Singh Shaheed. But one more thing that got
expressed in Vaid's novels is social reformism, which got even higher vocal expression in novels of Bhai Amar Singh.

One very interesting fact that comes to light in the novels of Bhai Veer Singh, S.S. Charan Singh Shaheed is that Muslim ruling class is shown as cruel towards the Hindu and Sikh women, not touching the socio-economic exploitation by the ruling class. It can be said to be a very tactical move. The early Punjabi novelist presupposes that our ancestors revolted against the Muslim rulers because they committed sacrilege to the honour of Hindu and Sikh women, and did not perceive it as a revolt of exploited against the exploitation. Had these novelists perceived the Sikh struggle against Mughal empire in this context, there would not have been any scope left for these writers to leave the British empire as well as to satisfy the complex of martial superiority, they deviated the whole phenomenon of a great struggle of Sikhs against the Mughals and thus stripped the Sikh religion of its real glory by getting into sex puritanism. British colonialists, in view of the writers, were not sexually degenerated, hence it was unreligious to revolt against the new masters. The thematic centralisation aroused the sex puritanism, camouflaged the class conflict and thus exonerated new colonial masters of their economic exploits. Clearly it comes that the feudal sense of morality was cautiously maintained so that the true consciousness might not take roots and mass-awakening could be delayed as much as possible.
With the turn of the century, the Punjabi novel started shedding off its religious robes and entered the broader horizon of social consciousness by realizing the horrifying nature of imperialist exploitation. Gaddar Party movement had a lot to do with this change. It left an everlasting impact on the soldiers in military cantonements in Punjab, and to some extent affected a part of the students, teachers and intelligentsia. Massacre of Jallianwala Bagh in 1919, murder of Lala Lajpat Rai in 1927, hanging of Bhagat Singh etc., were the incidents to follow, which further tarnished the 'goodie' 'goodie' impression of the British empire. Leaving aside the political implications of such incidents, a cultural change also took place. This change can be called the feeling of coexistence, of which Nanak Singh is of course an exponent, though a few other novels were also written like 'Nawab Khan' by Meer Bakash Minhas, "Shakuntla" by Harbaksh Singh.

This period can be called renaissance period of Punjabi literature, which naturally took shape in rising national consciousness. From here onwards, novel passed on to the masses, who adopted it, developed it and made it a broad spectrum genre of literary expression.

It will not be proper to undermine the importance of early Punjabi novel, in spite of its colonial loyalist blend and deviating tactics. Leaving aside the motives and moves of early Punjabi novel --- it is novel - the great literary genre of modern times which belongs to masses.

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