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Cultural Profile of the River Mahanadi— Lifeline of Odisha

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Abstract

River Mahanadi is the largest river of Odisha. The literal meaning of Mahanadi is large size river. The originating place of Mahanadi, which is called as holy Ganga in Chhatisgarh and Odisha is located near the Ashram of Maharshi Shrangi. Many literature and epigraphic records of ancient and classical literature have been given graphic and ornamental descriptions about river Mahanadi. Out of them Kosalananda Kavyam of Gangadhar Mishra, Sonepur Gunadarsha, Suvarnapura Rajavamsanucaritam are foremost. It is also referred to in ancient literature like the Mahabharata, Brhat Samhita and Kapila Samhita and in the inscriptions of the Somavamsis, the Bhanjas, the Telegu-Chodas and the Gangas. As the author said in the above the river Mahanadi has originated from Amarakantak hill of Chhatisgarh and flowing through the Raipur, Bilaspur ,Sambalpur,Sonepur and Cuttack ,Dusapalla regions of Odisha covering a journey of five hundred miles from source to the sea.

In ancient and medieval time, the main trade-route for commerce was the river Mahanadi. A number of trade-centres has been developed along this great river. It was for the sacredness of the place as well as locational and commercial importance that the places like Sambalpur, Sonepur and Cuttack were chosen as capitals of different dynasties under different period. The river has been a blessing for above towns. These towns have been become temple-studded and pilgrimage centre due to this mega river Mahanadi To sum up, the great river's subscription towards the History, Society, Culture, Economy, Religion and most importantly farming is inestimable. Thus the river Mahanadi has become the veritable mother of Odisha by nurturing and nourishing for the people of Odisha.

Key Words: Kosalananda Kavya, Sonepur Gunadarsha, Suvarnapura Rajavamsanucaritam, Trade – routes, Pilgrimage centre, Forts and fortification

Bharatavarsha is a land of rivers. The landscape is criss-crossed with rivers which are the veritable lifelines of India. A large numbers of rivers like the Ganga, the Yamuna, the Sarasvati, the Godavari, the Sindhu, the Bramhaputra, the Krishna, the Kaveri, and the Mahanadi etc have earned immortal fame as

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sacred geographical entities. From daily rituals to festive occasions a hymn is chanted by the people and

the priest which goes as follows,

Gang-eti Yamune-ca-eva Godavari Sarasvati.

Narmade Sindhu Kaveri jalesmin Sanniddhim kuru. 1

Though the Mahanadi has not mentioned in this above hymn yet it has earned undying fame since

time immemorial. Both in literature and epigraphic records of ancient and classical literature it has

been given graphic and ornamental description. The settlements, townships, centres of trade and

commerce, places of pilgrimage and importantly, royal headquarters had grown above banks. Lands

have been irrigated ,boats have ferried, lines of communications, both up and down the stream, went

on round the year. Thus Mahanadi has become the veritable mother of Odisha by nurturing and

nourishing, for the people of Odisha.

In fact, it has been the lifeline of Odisha.

The Mahanadi is the largest river of Odisha. It is referred to in ancient literature like the

Mahabharata, Brhat Samhita and Kapila Samhita and in the inscriptions of the Somavamsis, the

Bhanjas, and the Telegu-Codas and the Gangas. The river Mahanadi takes its origin from the

Amarakantaka hill of Chhatisgarh and flowing through the Raipur and Bilaspur districts of

Chhatisgarh enters Odisha near Pujharipali. Then it runs into the present Hirakud reservoir located

about 18 kms to the north of Sambalpur. Before the construction of this Dam, the river was very

terrific because of the masses of rocks and huge boulders. From Sambalpur, the river takes a wide

curve and flows due south till it reaches Sonepur. Thereafter, it flows on the border of Sonepur-

Boud, Dasapalla and Cuttack areas. It covers a journey of five hundred miles from source to the sea.

Trade and Trade-routes above the Mahanadi

The history of Odisha's riparian activities goes back to the early times. The Jatakas, the Greek and

the Roman, the early literature as well as a host of archaeological discoveries in India all go to prove

that long before the birth of Christ, the Odias have acquired a fair knowledge of the art of navigation.

There were ports and harbours all along the coastline.

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The route highway of commerce was the Mahanadi, along which navigation was continual between

Raipur and Cuttack. Wheat, gram, rice, lac etc came down by road and river from Chhatisgarh to



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Sambalpur and with the produce of the district, were transported down-stream to Cuttack in the Autumn months while the river was in spate or having a flow of water. From the coast European goods, coconut and salt were brought up by road or river. According to the report of the settlement officer (Sambalpur) Mr. J.B. Fuller², "Even as late as 1874 the only trade route of any importance had been the river Mahanadi and a cart track from Ganjam via Sonepur and Binka." The river Mahanadi was formerly the main outlet for the trade of the district, and boat transport is still carried on as far as Sonpur; but since the opening of the land-route and railway, river-borne trade with Cuttack has greatly diminished; Boats can also ascend the Mahanadi as far as Arang in the Raipur, but this route is not much used, the bed of the river being rocky and broken by rapids in portions of its course. In flood time boats took five days to reach Cuttack from Sambalpur, while the journey to Sonepur lasted one day and to Binka six hours. The duration of the return journey is much longer. In July and November it took laden boats twenty-five days and twenty-one days respectively to reach Sambalpur from Cuttack six and five days from Sonepur and five and four days respectively from Binka.

The boats mostly used were *Dongas, Kuslis, Potwas* and *Chaps. Kuslis* and *Dongas* were used for passenger traffic. When a *Kusli* manned by four men, was engaged by a merchant, he had to pay the wages of six men, the extra wages were being made over to the owner. The rates were:- to Dhama 12 *annas*, to Binka and Turum Re.1-4, to Sonepur Re.1-12, to Boud Re.3 and to Cuttack Re.5 per boatman. The steersmen got 8 *annas* each extra per stage.³ They were the pilots who know the rocks and currents in their particular length of the river and did not go beyond it. The Sambalpur steersmen went up to Baghra and down Dhama. It can not be denied that the river-system of the Mahanadi has been playing a very vital role in shaping the history of Odisha, especially Sonepur, Sambalpur, Cuttack, Boudh etc. The rivers in general and the Mahanadi in particular have been life-line in so far as they helped in transporting merchandise to and from coastal Odisha and Raipur region. A number of trade and commercial centres developed along the downstream of the Mahanadi like Boudh, Dasapalla, Kantilo and Cuttack. That is why Suvarnapura and Murasima (another capital of Somavamsis on the bank of the Songad river flowing by Deogaon of Bolangir district) have been called *Pattana* (commercial township) in some of the epigraphic records.

The Kosalananda Kavyam also describes "the commercial metropolis Suvarnnapura as the beautiful gem of the earth." (dhara-manih-caru-Suvarnnapattanam)⁴

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The Somavamsis (according to sources) kings came to Odisha from Sripura (present Sirpur on the

bank of Mahanadi in Mahasamund district of Chhatisgarh). After crossing the ancient route which

ran through Raipur, Bilaspur, Khariar, Titlagarh, Tusra, Tarbha and Sonepur, they proceeded towards

east and then took to southward turn. Thereafter taking a north-eastern turn moved along the bank of

the Tel they occupied Bargarh and then Bolangir. It is known from the recently discovered Ruchida (

Sambalpur University) and the Mahakosala Historical Society's (Kiserkela) copper plate inscriptions

of Mahabhavaguptarajadeva dated years 8 and 11 respectively. 5 S.P.Das thinks that there existed a

regular route from Sripur of Chhatisgarh to Cuttack on the bank of the mouth of Mahanadi via-

Chandrapur-Sambalpur-Binka-Sonepur.

In the days of the Bhonslas of Nagpur the line of communication between Nagpur and Cuttack ran

through Tharsa, Tarora, Lanj, Maro, Ratanpur, Sarangarh, Sonepur. Boudh, Kantilo and Banki etc. In 1745

Raghuji Bhonla entered into Odisha, sidetracking Sambalpur on the left, by adopting the route passing

through Raipur, Borsambar, Sonepur and Badmul. S.C. Mallick⁶ in his Bibidha Siksha has referred to

four main roads passing through Suvarnnapura. One was the Jagannatha Sadak (road) which ran from

Chhatisgarh to Cuttack passing through Sambalpur, Sonepur, Boudh along the right bank of the

Mahanadi. It has been so named because the pilgrims from Chhatisgarh walked on the road to reach Puri

for Darsan of Lord Jagannath. The famous British archaeologist J.D.M. Beglar visited Sonepur 1875-

76 on this road. The second road was running to Ghumsar from Sonepur through Dahya and Boudh.

The third road to Kalahandi passed through Rampur and Dungripali. The fourth road to Rairakhol ran

along the left bank of the Mahanadi through Birmaharajpur and Subalaya and linked Sonepur with

Cuttack via Angul. This road has been in use till present time.

The location of Suvarnnapura or Sonepur has been described as 'geographically significant and

commercial stategic' in the British official records. It was for the reason that Col. Harcourt,

Commissioner of Cuttack Division was against handing over Sonepur-Boudh region to the Marathas of

Nagpur in 1804. His suggestion was the retention of the two states, could give the government a hold

over "All navigational ports of the Mahanadi, and the cotton goods of Chhatisgarh could be transported

to Cuttack", for Sonepur is "the gateway to the coastal districts of Odisha."

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pavami) and Suvarnnapura like Varanasi."

Capitals and Places of Pilgrimage above the Mahanadi

The Mahanadi has been a blessing to Sambalpur, Suvarnapura ,Boudh and Cuttack. Suvarnapura is situated on the confluence of the Mahanadi and its tributary the Tel. The principal river Mahanadi flows through the central part of the present district from north to south. The Mahanadi, as the *Kosalananda Kavyam* puts it, "flows with garlands of high waves and the sound of full throated music "and "agitated by the curling waves pouring on the tall dark and elephantine rocks" in the description of the unpublished "Suvarnapura-rajavamsanucaritam" by Gopinath Panigrahi. This is referred to with beautiful descriptions in two of Somavamsis inscriptions where as Telegu-Coda inscription refers to the whirlpool in the river called Lanka Vartaka at Suvarnapura. The Mahanadi has been compared with Ganga in Sonepur. Damodar Mishra (author of Svarnapura Gunadarsha) informs us that the name of the Mahanadi occurs in the twenty-fourth position among the list of the rivers, which begins from the Godavari as number one, the Ganga as the second and the Revati in the third place etc. The Mahanadi has become "the purifier of the world like the river-goddess Ganga in the Kali-Yuga (Kalau-Ganga-jagat-

It was for the sacredness of the place as well as locational and commercial importance that the places like Sambalpur, Sonepur, Bargarh were chosen as the headquarters of a kingdom at different times. The selection of the place ,importantly,was made according to the principles laid down in *Vastu Sastras*. The two important works *Mayamata* and *Manasara* prescribe that the site of the capital should be located at the north east corner (*Ishana*) of a river.

The capitals of the *Somavamsis* were set up at various places on the bank of the river Mahanadi. Vinitapura and Yayatinagara were also situated on its bank as described in the epigraphic records in beautiful verses. They have been described like Suvarnnapura, in allusion to the Mahanadi as "*Mahanaditunga-taranga-bhanga*"......etc which may be translated into English as " where the fatigue of the women enjoying conjugal caresses with ardent attachment is removed by the breezes surcharged with the particles of water sent up by the breaking and swelling of the high waves of the Mahanadi"(Patna Charter, year 28 of Yayati I Mahasivagupta). Thus the Mahanadi was the principal arterial line which has been vibrating the various strands of life of the place since time immemorial.



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The ornate description (*varnaka*) attained its apogee in the *Kosalananda Kavyam* of 17th century A.D. wherein the poet has described the river; As a garland bedecked by agitated waves served by elephant – like huge rock masses and vibrated by the sound of the musical flowing water.

Uttunga-taranga-nikurumva-manojna-dhara
Tungopala –vraja-matangaja-yuthasara (i)
Nishana-nihsvana-kaladhvaniramburaseh
Vandha –Prasunita-matam-ripurunnatanam
Chitrotpala –kalita-tunga-taranga-hara
Sangita-gita lava-purita-kantha-mala (i)
Sarvanginira-paripurita-kantibhara
Pathonidhim-patim=upaiti mudaiva bala (ii)

(Sonepur Edition, XV. vrs. 17-18)

Further addressing the king (Ramadeva, the founder king of the Cauhana dynasty of Patana) the river sings;

"The land of Kosala has come to greet you, oh Lord of Kosala, with the garland of liquid waves rising due to Malaya wind (in the Chitrotpala) which runs towards the sea, like a beloved, running ecstatically towards her lover."

tarala-tara-taranga-vrta-samjata-hara jalanidhi-nija-dharah-chitta-hrt-kantibhara (i) malajaya-jaladhara-karabara-mudara surabhi-bhi-upayati-preyase-kosaleyam (ii)

(XV, verse 19)

However, the king addresses, the rive and invokes her for providing him peace and purity while encamping on her bank as;

Chitrotpala-kalita-vichi-kadamba-lole
Kadamba-yuga-kamala-karakanta-madhye(i)
Ambhoja-raji-patiputri-payogabhire
Turnam –punihitava-tira-nishantinammam.

(ibid, verse.24)

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According to tradition, Sambalpur was at an early period under the rule of the Cauhana dynasty. In succeeding reigns the family extended their influence over the surrounding territories, including the bulk undevided Sambalpur district and the adjoining areas. Balarama Deva, who is regarded as the founder of the Sambalpur Raj, first established at a place in the Bargarh which he called Nuagarh, i.e., the new fort. Again he made a big fort there as his power grew and named it as *Badagarh*. Thence, he moved to Chaurpur, a village lying opposite to Sambalpur on the Southern bank of the river Mahanadi. After some years he shifted to Sumelpur, the modern Sambalpur and built a fort there on the bank river Mahanadi, the remains of which is existed till now. Under king Baliar Singh, Sambalpur became a strong citadel of Cauhana whose suzerainty was acknowledged by the chiefs of the eighteen Garjats. The Queen dowager of Holy land Puri, bestowed him the high title of "Hirakhand Chhatrapati Maharaj" i.e., the great lord of the country of diamonds. In succeeding years many kings ruled and left their indelible imprint in this area in the field of administration, society ,religion, art and architecture etc. The peaceful co-existence of several diverse sects, the royal patronage and the electric attitude of the generous king caused the construction of religious shrines in large number distributed throughout the areas wherever they migrated in western region of Odisha. The undevided Sambalpur district ,Sonepur ,Pattana region became temple towns and pilgrimage centres. Sambalpur -Bargarh region became popular for its Astasambhus (eight Saiva shrines). Those are Bimalesvar temple at Huma (Sambalpur), Kedarnath temple at Ambabhona (Bargarh), Baidyanath temple at Deogaon (Bargarh), Balunkesvar temple at Gaisama (Bargarh), Mandhata Baba temple at Manesvar (Sambalpur), Swapnesvar temple at Sorna (Bargarh), Visveswar temple at Saranda (Bargarh), Nilakanthesvar temple at Nilji (Bhatli, Bargarh).

These temple, though small in height, are great artistic beauty and each of these with picturesque background.

The Cauhana rulers followed a policy of religious toleration and extended their patronage to all forms of Hinduism such as *Saivism, Vaisnavism* and *Saktism*. Not only that they accepted the local gods and goddess as their tutelary deities. Accordingly they patronised and built temples in honour of these Gods and Goddesses. The headquarter of modern Sambalpur district has more than one hundred religious shrines of Cauhana period. That is why it has regarded by the people as "*Mandira-Malini-Sambalpur*." Prominent among those is the temple of Goddess Samalesvari. The deity occupies a pivotal position in the religious life of the people of Sambalpur. This temple has built during the time of Balarama Deva and also established the town of Sambalpur after the name of the presiding deity. The temple of Patanesvari is

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also equally important in the town of Sambalpur as well Patanagarh of Bolangir district. Goddess

Patanesvari was the tutelary deity of Patanagarh.

Art and architecture of the Visnuite shrines of Sambalpur town a class by themselves in so far as some

of these differ in style from those of the coastal zone of Odisha which are built strictly according to

canons of temple-making and iconography as enshrined in what is called Silpa-Sastra as well as those of

other temple-towns like Sonepur, Barpali and Patanagarh of Western region of Odisha.

Different manifestation of Lord Visnu or Narayana are found in the temples. Those are Jagannatha-

Subhadra-Balabhadra Trinity or, only Jagannatha called Dadhivamana (of Kamsari pada) Patitapavana

(e.g. Dhingra pada), Rama-Laksmana-Sita of the Ramjee temple of Kamali Bazar and Raghunatha

temple of Bhatra, Varaha mandira popularly known as Beriha Gudi of Jhadua pada, a miniature temple,

containing Ananta Mahaprabhu,i.e., Anantasayi or Lord Visnu reclining on the serpent Ananta in a huge

pond of Rani Matha of Bhatra and another gigantic temple called *Anantasayya* at Kamali Bazar and, last

but not the least, are the Radha-Krsna temples or images which abound in Sambalpur town in different

names, forms and shrines.

There are a number of temples known by different names where Radha-Krsna images are worshipped.

One such is Gopalji where Radha and Krsna are worshipped in a shrine and Jagannatha in another

complex, is a landmark in the gamut of such temples. It is located in Kamali Bazar, so called in popular

parlance, after the name of the then Deputy Commissioner A.B. Cumberlege of Sambalpur (1864-66)

who is said to have set up a weekly market (bazaar) above the Mahanadi's left bank. Two more Gopalji

temples exist-one at Dhanupali and the other at Khetrajpur.

The Sonepur region became a properly defined political unit in the middle part of 14th Century A.D.

when a kingdom was established by the Cauhanas. It was a part of Kosala during the Somavamsis,

Telegu-Codas and the Kalachuri times (cir.A.D.850-1114) and of the Ganga dominion in 13th Century

A.D. of the Bhanjas in 14th -17th Century A.D.

It was annexed to the Cauhana kingdom of Sambalpur in later half of 17th Century A.D. The

Kosalananda Kavyam of the later part of the 17th Century A.D. is the first known source to give a

charming description of the location as follows;



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"If Kosala is an elephant;
Sambalpur is its stomach, Patana
its back, Chandrapur (in Chhatisgarh)
its heart, river Hasti in Sakti (in Chhatisgarh)
its trunk, Baghanadi (of Buddha) and Haridra
river (of Phulbani Kandhamal) its hind legs,
Svarnnapura (a variant of Suvarnnapura)
Its forelegs dotted with patches of sand and
stretches of water"9

Suvarnnapura or Sonepur has earned the fame of the most sacred places (*Punyatama*) as it is situated on the confluence of two rivers-the *Mahanadi* and the *Tel*. The joining of the *Mahanadi* and the Tel has been compared with the meeting of the *Ganga* and the *Yamuna* respectively. Thus the place has become a holy place, a place of pilgrimage. The tradition of the place as a land of eight *Sivas* and eight *Candis* (Mother Goddess). Of them mention may be made of Ramesvara and Suvarnna Meru *Siva* temple. The Ramesvara Siva temple, situated at the meeting place of Chitrotpala and *Tel* has been described in *Suvarnnapura Gunadarsa* as

"Purvasyam –dishi-Chitrotpalaya-Tailopagayah-Sangamastane-Maheshanam-Rameshvarasya-Punyapithm-akarsayati-jananam-chetah".

Among the goddesses, *Bhagavati*, *Stambhesvari* and *Lankesvari* who may be assigned to ancient time. A large number of *Siva* temples continued to exist in the time of the composition of the *Kosalananda Kavya* of Pandit Gangadhar Mishra which describes Suvarnnapura as 'just like Varanasi surrounded by (temples) of *Sivas* (*Saksat-Varanasi-Utkam-Paritaih-Sa-Sivaih-Sivaih*).

The Bhanjas (8th Century A.D.) and the *Somavamsis* (cir.850-1069) who ruled over Suvarnnapua were *Saivas*. They took the title of *Paramamahesvara* (great devotee of Mahesvara or Lord *Siva*). They extended patronage to Saivism as well as other religions. The Telegu-Codas were also *Saivas* as

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revealed from their inscriptions addressing Vaidyanath Siva as their principal deity. As the information revealed from the solitary *Stambhesvari* stone inscription of the *Ganga* ruler Virabhanudeva (1268 A.D) also paid respect to the same God. The *Somavamsis* had respect and patronage for other religious cults as

well. In fact, they were respectful to Vaisnavism.

It appears that Suvarnnapura came under the hegemony of the *Cauhanas* who had established their rule in the middle of the 14th Century A.D. at *Patanagada*. Gangadhar Mishra of *Kosalananda Kavyam* informs us that Suvarnnapura was one of the eighteen *gadas* (forts) under the Cauhana ruler. The third ruler of Sambalpur kingdom Balabhadradeva defeated Siddhabhanja of Boudh ,occupied Suvarnnapura and annexed it into the *Cauhana* kingdom of Sambalpur in or about 1625 A.D. The fourth ruler Madhukaradeva made Suvarnnapura a separate kingdom and Madana Gopala, his second son was made the king in the middle part of 17th Century A.D. The dynasty continued to rule till the merger of the state

in the province of Odisha on 1st January 1948.

The Cauhanas of Suvarnnapura were Visnuites. They adopted Cakra (discus) symbol as their royal emblem. They are credited with the erection of eight Visnu temples i.e., Gopalji, Dadhivamana, Gopinatha, Vrindavana Vihari ,Ramji, Jagannatha, Nrsimha and Satyanarayana. These are extant, architecturally majestic and have some of the fine images on the walls. They were greatly devoted to the worship of Visnu in different forms. Vamsigopala Deva of Sonepur lineage was a great Vaisnava renuncient. He set up the Gopalji Matha and a temple for the Lord at Sonepur in or about 1650 A.D..Lord Visnu is worshipped here ,as an inscription in the temple informs us, in the form of Gopala (Gopala rupi Hari) down to the end of Cauhanas reign. Many Siva temples were also built during this time under the Cauhanas. The Asta-Sambhu Siva temples of Sonepur are credited to them. Those are ,Suvarnnameru, Ramesvara, Paschima Somanatha(Bhisma Bhairava), Siddhesvara, Lokanatha, Gokarnesvara, Rudranatha and Balunkesvara. Two notable Siva temples of Chandrasekhara and the Panchayatana Siva temples Sonepur have been constructed at later times. Rituals and various festivals have been celebrated in those temples since the foundation of their rule.

Last but the least is the prevalence of the cult of *Nrsimha* (the man-lion form of Lord Visnu) which like the *Stambhesvari* cult, has close associations with the cult of *Jagannatha* in the western region of Odisha from as early as 8th Century A.D. Queen Vasata, the mother of the *Panduvamsi* king Balarjuna of Sripura (cir.750-800 A.D.) has invoked Lord *Nrsimha* in the first three verses of her Sirpur Lakshman temple



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inscription (Mahasamund District, Chhatisgarh adjacent to the border of West Odisha). She has paid her salutation to the Lord as "Om Namah Purusottamaya" and described Him as

"Bearing the jaws like a beautiful conch and the tongue like a sword, With the face burning like the discus and with the eyebrows (as if carrying) the mace, this form of Visnu born for devouring, like sins, the demons presented the appearance of the God of death....."

(Verse-3)

The *Nrsimha* cult had attained its acme in the 'Triad' of Jagannatha. Simultaneously it started spreading throughout the length and breadth of West Odisha. The most famous Nrsimha temple of Lord Nrsimhanatha of Bargarh district was constructed on 14th March 1413 A.D. by Vaijala Deva, the ruler of Patana on the *Gandhamardana* hill for *Bidal Narasimhanatha* (the feline form) who has also become famous as *Marjara-Kesari* (Cat-Lion Deity).One other important temple known as Gundicha was erected at Suvarnnapura in 19th Century A.D. for the Lord. It is popularly known so after the name of the patronqueen Gundicha Devi . The Laksmi-Nrsimha form of Nrsimha is being worshipped here.

What WW Hunter¹⁰ the famous historian says of Odisha in general:

Every town is filled with temples, and every hamlet has its shrine. In going up the Mahanadi I noticed that each rocky islet on a wooden crag that rose from its banks was crowned, not as upon the Rhine by the castle of a noble, but by a temple to some god. Even foreigners feel that they are treading on hallowed ground, and the villagers still tell how the image-breaking Muhammadans retired abashed before the sanctity of Odisha. "This country is no fit subject for conquest, or for scheme of human ambition".

Thus the Mahanadi's contribution to the making of History and culture, trade and commerce, society and culture and importantly agriculture is inestimable. Mahanadi has network of its tributaries which has a spread over the length and breadth of Odisha. Each of them in its own way has also made significant contribution. Probably, for all those as a token of gratitude.

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- 4. Dr. D.B. Mishra., *Cultural Heritage of Suvarnapura*, District Council of Culture, Suvarnapura, 2010,p.36.
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- 6. Ibid.,p.38.
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- 9. Dr. D.B. Mishra., Cultural Heritage of Suvarnapura, p.11
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