

Textile Trade and Hinterland Settlements of the Lower Kaveri Valley on the Coromandel Coast of India from 13th to 20th Century CE

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ABSTRACT

The textile industry became one of the important economic activities on the Coromandel coast from the Late Medieval Period. Several ports became active on the Coromandel coast as a result of the urbanization contributed by long-distance trade and colonialism. The Lower Kaveri Delta region on the Coromandel Coast had many ports and was connected hinterland settlements. The settlements show evidence of textile production at many of these sites, and settlements of weaver communities are present in this area even today. The settlement of Nangur excavated by the author in 2019 produced evidence of textile weavers in archaeological as well as ethnographic contexts. Thirumullaivayil was one of the important ports of the region that connected with Nangur and other craft settlements in Sirkazhi region. This paper focuses on the textile trade on the later medieval and colonial periods and the hinterland settlements that connected with the ports of Lower Kaveri valley.

Keywords: Coromandel Coast; Textile Trade; Colonial Trade; Nangur; Kaikkolar

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INTRODUCTION

Textile is one among the important artefacts produced by humans as part of their adaptation to the environmental conditions as well as cultural practices to express and mediate social and cultural relationships, status and identities. People began to modify, weave and use animal skins, hair and secretions, leaves, plant fibre and various other materials into textiles depending upon the environmental and cultural contexts from the very early time in history. The Sangam Tamil texts, dateable to the early centuries of the Common Era, mention about the various types of clothes produced and used by the people and the cultivation of cotton in South India (e.g. *Purananuru* 274) and archaeological and/or textual sources are available for the production of textile in India from the Harappan times. Textile fragments made of cotton have been excavated at the site of Kodumanal in

Early Historic context (Rajan 1994) and terracotta spindle whorls, used in the weaving process, have been unearthed at many archaeological sites of Tamil Nadu. *Arthasastra*, a text on statecraft datable to the Mauryan period, ca. 4th-3rd century BCE, speaks about the clothes from the region of Madurai (Book II, Chapter 2 Section 29). The Greco-Roman text of *Periplus Marei Erythrea* of 1st century BCE refers to a cloth variety called *argartic* (Casson 1989), which has been identified with the clothes produced from the region of Trichy-Thanjavur or Madurai. Thus, a very strong tradition of textile production has been recorded in South India from the beginning of the Common Era. From the medieval period, 13th century CE textile became an important commodity of trade and the emergence of colonial maritime powers from the 16th century in fact boosted the textile trade in the global context. The Coromandel coast in the southeast corner of India in fact played an active role in the maritime trade from the 13th century. This paper presents the context of textile production and trade on the Coromandel coast, mainly in the Lower Kaveri Valley in the late medieval and modern periods and the associated hinterland trade networks.

PREVIOUS RESEARCH

Textile industry has been an important subject of research with regard to late medieval and colonial history of South India. Vijaya Ramasamy (1985), Om Prakash (2009), Radhika Seshan (2012) and Jayaseela Stephen (2014) among others have undertaken research on the textile production and trade in the Coromandel coast in the medieval and colonial periods. Author's research in the Lower Kaveri valley seeks to understand the settlement patterns consisting of hinterland settlements, ports and trade networks and maritime interactions. The focus here in this paper is on the weaver communities, ports and the hinterland network of textile trade in the Lower Kaveri valley.

THE PORTS AND NETWORKS OF SOUTH COROMANDEL

The coastal ports of any region cannot be seen in isolation, and they should be seen as part of coastal, hinterland and foreland networks and landscapes. The Coromandel coast covers the hinterland and coastal areas from Point Calimere (Kodiyakkarai) near Sri Lanka on the Bay of Bengal, to the southern part of Andhra Pradesh. The coastal trade networks of the Coromandel could be divided into northern and southern Coromandel sectors. In the south Coromandel network, Kaveripumpattinam was active in the early historic period; Nagapattinam was a predominant port with Bay of Bengal and Southeast Asian and East Asia connections mainly in the medieval period; the ports of Parangipettai (Porto Nova), Tirumullaivasal, Tarangampadi, Karaikkal, Nagapattinam and Kodiyakkarai were the important ports during Vijayanagara and/or colonial periods.



Figure 1: Ports of the Coromandel Coast 1. Pulicat, 2. Madras, 3. Maylapore, 4. Kovalam, 5. Sadurangapattinam, 6. Vasavasamudram, 7. Marakkanam, 8. Arikamedu, 9. Cuddalore, 10. Parangipettai, 11. Thirumullaivasal, 12. Tarangampadi, 13. Kaveripumpattinam, 14. Nagapattinam, 15. Kodiyakkaram, 16. Adirampattinam, 17. Manamelkudi, 18. Tondi, 19. Devipattinam, 20. Azhagankulam, 21. Marakkayarpattinam, 22. Periyapattinam, 23. Kilakkarai, 24. Kayalpattinam/Korkai, 25. Virapandiyanpattinam, 26. Kulasekaranpattinam, 27. Kanniyakumari, 28. Kollam, 29. Pattanam, 30. Kodungallur

Porto Nova or Parangipettai near Chidambaram was known as Krishnaboopalanpattinam. It was also known as Mohammed Bander among the Islamic settlers, and it was a centre of textile trade where Muslim Marakkayar traders operated. This port was a bone of contention among the colonial powers and the Nayaks, Bijapur Sultans and Marathas. The Nayaks of Gingee gave the right to trade at this port to Dutch in 1610. The Nayaks demanded 1500 *pardos* (a currency of Portuguese Goa) as

import-export duty for this port. When the Sultan of Bijapur extended his control over this port the Muslim traders began to actively trade from here. This port town had a mint of the Nawabs of Arcot and it had catered to a vast hinterland area from Trichy to Pondicherry (Stephen 2014: 465). Jayamkondam, an important weaving centre, north of the river Kaveri was supported by this port.

Devikottai near the mouth of the river Kollidam became an important fortification of this region in the colonial period (Hemingway 1906). Thirumullaivayil near Sirkazhi is another important port to the south of Kollidam river, and it had connectivity with Nagapattinam. While Porto Nova catered to the northern flank of the Kaveri valley as well as the Udaiyarpalayam region, the access to Nagapattinam was also through the coastal and overland networks.

Tarangampadi was the port of the Danish settlers. It has Masilamaninathar temple and an inscription from this town mentions about Karaiyar community of fisherfolk. It was known as Kulasekaranpattinam (SII 4: 399) and also as Sadanganpadi in the inscriptions and was under the control of the Nayaka rulers (SII 4, 401). An inscription from a temple at Tarangampadi refers to Sampan Suvanthiram (Jayakumar 2001: 107), which appears to be a type of trading or navigational right for the certain type of ships. Tarangampadi was an active centre for colonial trade activities under the Danish and Karaikal was under the French dominion.

Nagore, north of Nagapattinam, was another important port and a centre of boat building, and this settlement had a large Islamic population, which actively traded with Southeast Asia. Muslims from the Lower Kaveri valley were known as the Chulias in Southeast Asia. It has a shrine of Sufi saint. The Leiden Copper plate of Rajaraja I dateable to 11th century CE refers to an officer called Turukkan Ahmad and it appears that a settlement of Islamic traders might have come up here after the ninth century CE, although the connections could be even older (Selvakumar 2019). The Marakkayar traders were active from the port of Nagore, and they faced stiff competition in trade from the European traders, and faced the attack of the Portuguese. The port of Pasai in Sumatra had direct trade contacts with Nagore. The Marakkayar traders settled in Malacca and in 18th century about 1000 families are reported to have settled there (Stephen 2014: 90) and they also settled in Singapore in large numbers and were involved in business activities.

Nagapattinam perhaps emerged as an important port during the time of Pallavas and it attained peak of activities during the Chola period when Sri Vijaya connection was very strong. Due to its prominent position in the Kaveri valley, it continued to serve as an important port. Nagapattinam became the centre of the Dutch and then it came under the control of the British in 1781.

All these ports were intensely associated with the textile and the intensity of textile trade and the importance of these ports encouraged the settlements of craftpersons in the hinterland areas of these ports from the late medieval period.

THE MERCHANT GUILDS OF SOUTH INDIA

While the ports of this region were the loci of mercantile activities, the merchant guilds were active in the maritime trade of this region from the medieval period. The merchant guilds had actively established in South Asia, Southeast Asia and Sri Lanka (Karashima 2002). Mercantile activities in

South India expanded from 8th century CE with the development of state formation and agrarian expansion. The merchant guilds of the medieval period known as *tisaiyayirattu ainurruvar* and *nanadesis* were very active and the growth of *nagarams*, into urban centres and the trade routes in the early medieval period are well documented (Hall 1984; Karashima 2002). The settlements associated with *nagarams* of the medieval period developed into important craft centres during the colonial period. The merchant guilds contributed voluntarily for the welfare activities in the religious centres (Table 1). Numerous commodities were traded by these merchant guilds which were in a very dominant position till the advent of the 14th century, when the early medieval mercantile network seems to have disintegrated and a new trading system emerged. Perhaps the arrival of Islamic rule and the merchant networks contributed to the new trading system.

Name of the Site	Date	Cotton	Cotton Raw	Cotton Yarn	Cotton Blanket	Cotton Kiladai	Putavai	Silk Clothe	Silk yarn
Kollapuram	1136	*							
Miraj	1143	*							
Kamarasavalli	1263						*		
Tirupalanam	12 th C					*	*		
Sinnamanur	1275						*		
Sarkar Periyapalayam	1289			*					
Piranmalai	13 th C		*	*				*	
Virinjipuram	13 th C	*		*			*	*	
Belur	1304			*	*			*	*
Mudigonda	1323								*
Samalpuram	1332								
Danayakkankottai	1346								
Tuvarangurichi	14 th C		*						
Taramangalam	15 th C		*					*	*

Table 1. Textile related commodities discussed in the Inscriptions of Pattanappagudi (Shanmugam 2002)

CRAFT AND COMMODITY PRODUCTION

Craft and commodity production took active growth in medieval south India from the eleventh century supported by the development of temples, brahmin and agrarian elites. The craftpersons called *kammalars* and *Kaikkolar* weavers became an important segment in the late medieval society (Table 2).

WEAVERS AND CLOTHES MERCHANTS IN THE INSCRIPTIONS

The medieval inscriptions refer to textile weavers and textile weaving in this region. A brick structure excavated at Uraiyr has been interpreted as dyeing vat (Raman 1988). Textile production was one of the important craft activities in the medieval times and it appears that textile production received a fillip with the impact of pluralist religious contexts that emerged from the fourteenth

century. The foreign travellers to India do write in a complaining note about the poorly attired people in South India. Perhaps people preferred to wear very limited clothes, because of the very hot and humid climate. Increased use of textile is found from the post tenth century and this could be understood from the paintings of 10th century and those of 17-18th centuries; the clothes called *pudavai* are very common in the paintings of the later context.

The medieval inscriptions have several references to textile industry. Uraiyur in medieval context is identified with the textile merchants from the medieval times. Tiruchennampundi located on the trade route from Tiruchirappalli to Kaveripumpattinam has evidence of textile merchants in 9th century CE (TI 2014). Another site in the trade route at Tillaisthanam mentions about Kaikkolar, in an inscription dateable to 10th Century (TI 97/2014). Tiruvelvikkudy located at Kallanai-Pumpuhar highway refers to a Kaikkolar in an inscription (TI 2004. 48/1997). An inscription from Tiruppugalur mentions about the Kaikkolar (NI, 299/1978). Presence of textile centres in the later context is attested by the inscriptions of Vijaya Nagara and also in the colonial documents and the ethnographic information.

Sl. No.	Name of the Village	Year	Information	Reference
1	Tiruvannamalai	1285	Temple functionaries along with Kaikkolars involved in the sale of land.	Subbarayalu and Rajavelu 2014: 8
2	Kanchipuram	1365	Sale of plots of the temple to Kaikkolars	Subbarayalu and Rajavelu 2014: 16
3	Varakurpattinam	1369	Taxes on Kaikkolar who settled at Varakurpattinam. <i>Vacalpanam</i> , perkadamai and nulayam = 4 <i>panam</i>	Subbarayalu and Rajavelu 2014: 29
4	Tirupparkadal	1369	Sale of house plots in the presence of Kaikkolamudalis	Subbarayalu and Rajavelu 2014: 33
5	Somandarkudi	1372	Remission of 50 percent of tax on Cetti, Vaniyar and Kaikkolar	Subbarayalu and Rajavelu 2014:44
6	Tirupparkadal	1372	Mentions about Kaikkolamudali	Subbarayalu and Rajavelu 2014: 29
7	Tirukalukkunram	1374	Kaikkolar confiscate property of a temple functionary who had stolen temple property	Subbarayalu and Rajavelu 2014: 29
8	Tiruppullani	1374	One <i>panam</i> for Kaikkolar and others for temple renovations and 9for service	Subbarayalu and Rajavelu 2014: 57
9	Tirukalukkunram	1374	Levy on Kaikkolars. 70 <i>Panam</i> as <i>kattukuttagai</i> per annum on clothes taken	Subbarayalu and Rajavelu 2014: 60

			to Pattanam and for the commodities brought back.	
10	Tirupanangadu	1383	Sale of house sites to Kaikkolas, Kaikkola Mudalis and Devaradiyar for 150 <i>panam</i> to meet the demand of sula vari for repairing the local tank	Subbarayalu and Rajavelu 2014: 87
11	Olakkur	1389	Weavers who ran away because they could not pay the taxes can resettle. Kaikkolar had to pay 4 <i>panam</i> as rent and one <i>panam</i> per tari as tax	Subbarayalu and Rajavelu 2014: 127
12	Madampakkam	1394	Permits Kaikkolars to exchange house sites	Subbarayalu and Rajavelu 2014: 137
13	Tirukkalar	1394	Temple administration activity of Kaikkolamudalis	Subbarayalu and Rajavelu 2014: 138
14	Pulipparakoyil	1403	Tax of 2.5 <i>panam</i> per person and 2.5 <i>panam</i> per tari for residing in the temple plots	Subbarayalu and Rajavelu 2014: 155
15	Achchutamangalam	1404	Privileges to Kaikkolars in the temple	Subbarayalu and Rajavelu 2014: 157
16	Kiranur	1405	Temple administration related activities by Kaikkolamudalis	Subbarayalu and Rajavelu 2014:160
17	Kulattur	1405	For one <i>tari</i> 12 <i>Panam</i> . Refers to Kacavarkam	Subbarayalu and Rajavelu 2014: 160
18	Tirukkalukkunram	1406	Gift of taxes on <i>Kasayavargam</i> including Kaikkolars to the temple	Subbarayalu and Rajavelu 2014: 169
19	Pulipparakoyil	1418	Concessional rate of 3 <i>panam</i> and from 9.5. and then charging only 6.5 <i>panam</i> as taxes for kaikkolars and others who had deserted the village due to heavy taxation	Subbarayalu and Rajavelu 2014: 201
20	Tiruvannamalai	1418	No need to observe the right hand and left hand divisions within Tiruvannamalai and the Kaikkolars were given privilege of the use of palanquins, <i>camaram</i> and conch	Subbarayalu and Rajavelu 2014: 202
21	Irampakkam	1461	In the Pumiswara Nayanar street Kaikolar would pay $\frac{1}{4}$ <i>panam</i> per tari. It appears to be concessional rate.	Subbarayalu and Rajavelu 2014: 342

Table 2: Inscriptions referring to Kaikkolar weavers

SOCIAL DIMENSIONS OF TEXTILE PRODUCTION

Textile production in South India is associated mainly with the community of weavers. The frequency of references to textile weavers in the inscription increases in the post-11th century. At least four communities associated with textile weaving could be identified in the Lower Kaveri valley and they are Tamil speaking Kaikkolar, Saurashtra Gujarati speaking Pattunulkarars and Kannada speaking Devanga chettis and the Telugu speaking Pattasalins or Saliyars. Various other communities were also involved in textile weaving in this period.

KAIKKOLARS

Kaikkolar community of textile producers are distributed in many parts of South India. They are referred to in the Chola inscriptions extensively and they were employed in the Chola army as well. The term Kaikkolar perhaps derives from the fact that the weavers held a rod in the hand as part of the weaving process. The concentration of Kaikkolars are found in the Tondaimandalam. In the Lower Kaveri Valley, they are found in Thanjavur-Kumbakonam-Mayiladuturai-Kaveripumpattinam-Nagapattinam area as revealed by the enquiries made to the people of this community in 2019 on their social network. The network is found in the corridor from Kumbakonam, Mayiladuturai, Kaveripumpattinam and Sirkazhi region. Weavers are found at Tillayadi near Tarangampadi and a few other settlements near Nagapattinam.



Figure 2: Hinterland Settlements of the Lower Kaveri Valley. 1. Poro Novo 2. Tirumullaivayil, 3. Tirunelveli 4. Kaveripumpattinam, 5. Karaikkal, 6. Nagore, 7. Nagapattinam, 8. Tiruchirapalli, 9. Tiruchennampundi, 10. Pullamangai, 11. Kumbakonam, 12. Tirubhuvanam, 13. Nangur.

SILK WEAVERS/PATTUNULKARARS FROM SAURASHTRA

The migration of Pattunulkarars from the Saurashtra region of Gujarat region is an interesting phenomenon associated with the textile history of the Coromandel coast. Why did these communities migrate to the Tamil region? It is reported that the Nayaka and Maratha rulers invited them to Tamil region; however, there could be other reasons, for example, the maritime dynamics of the trade and the opening of the Coromandel coast to the markets of South, east and West Asia in the medieval times. While one cluster of silk weaver settlements is in the Vaigai Valley with a concentration around Madurai region, another concentration of the weavers is found along the trade routes connecting the middle and lower Kaveri delta. The silk weavers are found at many sites from Pullamangai down to Tirubhuvanam. The towns of Kumbakonam, Darasuram and Tribhuvanam has several people from this community. These communities have contributed to the contemporary silk industry of Kumbakonam region, even today.

DEVANGA CHETTIYARS

Devanga Chettiyars are Kannada speaking communities and they are distributed in many parts of Tamil Nadu from Salem region down to Aruppukottai near Madurai. This community is found in the Kaveri delta and as far as Tillayadi near Tarangampadi. They were involved in silk weaving occupation.

PADMASALINS/PATTASALINS

The Telugu speaking weavers, known as Pattusalalyars, are found widely distributed in Tamil Nadu and a few of them still retain their traditional occupation. They are found in Thanjavur in the Lower Kaveri valley and also in the region of Jeyamkondam north of the river Kaveri.

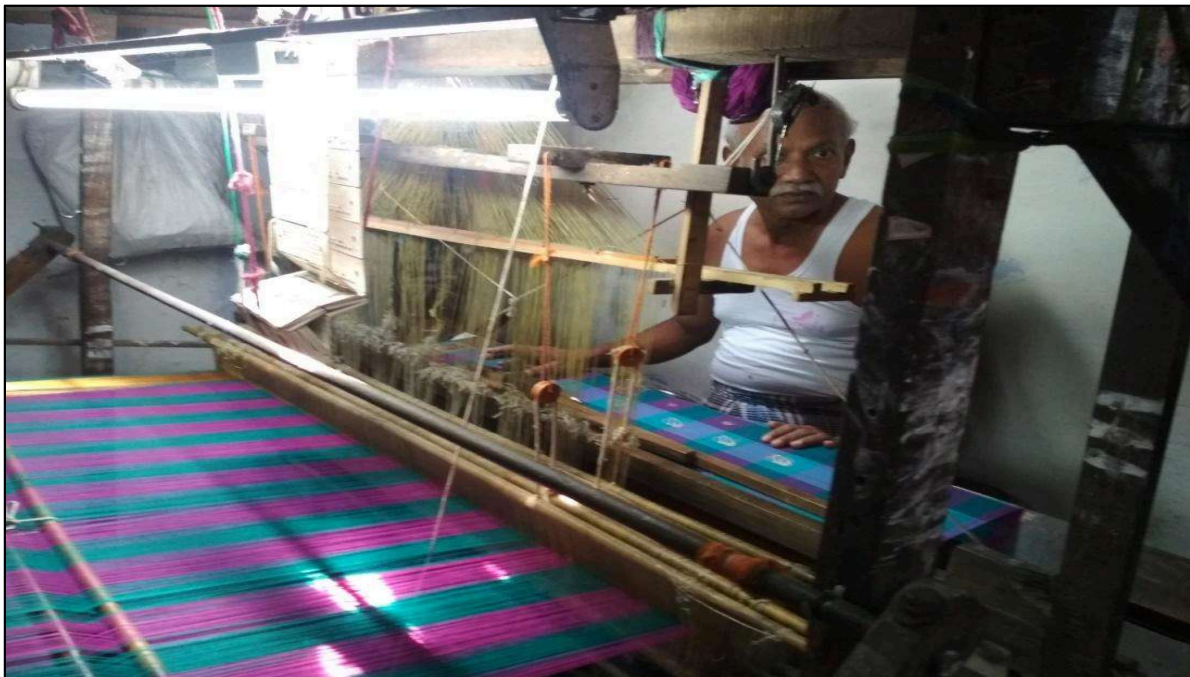


Figure 3: Weaver at Work in Jayamkondam

WEAVERS QUARTERS AT NANGUR

While documentary evidences are numerous for the presence of weavers at many settlements, the living populations of the weavers do offer clues to the history of textile trade. The community members remember about their active involvement in textile production till the twentieth century. Nangur located in Nagapattinam district of the Lower Kaveri valley is one old settlement with evidence of occupation extending back to the Iron Age. At Nangur there is a weavers quarter near the temple of Semponaranga. Archaeological excavation was conducted at the quarters of the weavers, who recall about the existence of weaving activities from the 16th to 20th century. A brick-built tank perhaps associated with weaving was found in the backyard of the street. The textile woven from this village was exported through the port of Tirumullaivayil. Interestingly an inscription from Tiruvengadu near Nangur refers to a Kaikkolar during the Chola times. Some of the weavers from the area are from the vicinity of Kaveripumpattinam, where they have their family deity of Angalaparameswari. Leslie Orr (2000) records the involvement of some of weaver communities in the temple related activities from the Later Chola times. It appears that this community became socially mobile in the hierarchy due to the economic importance of textile production in the Later context.

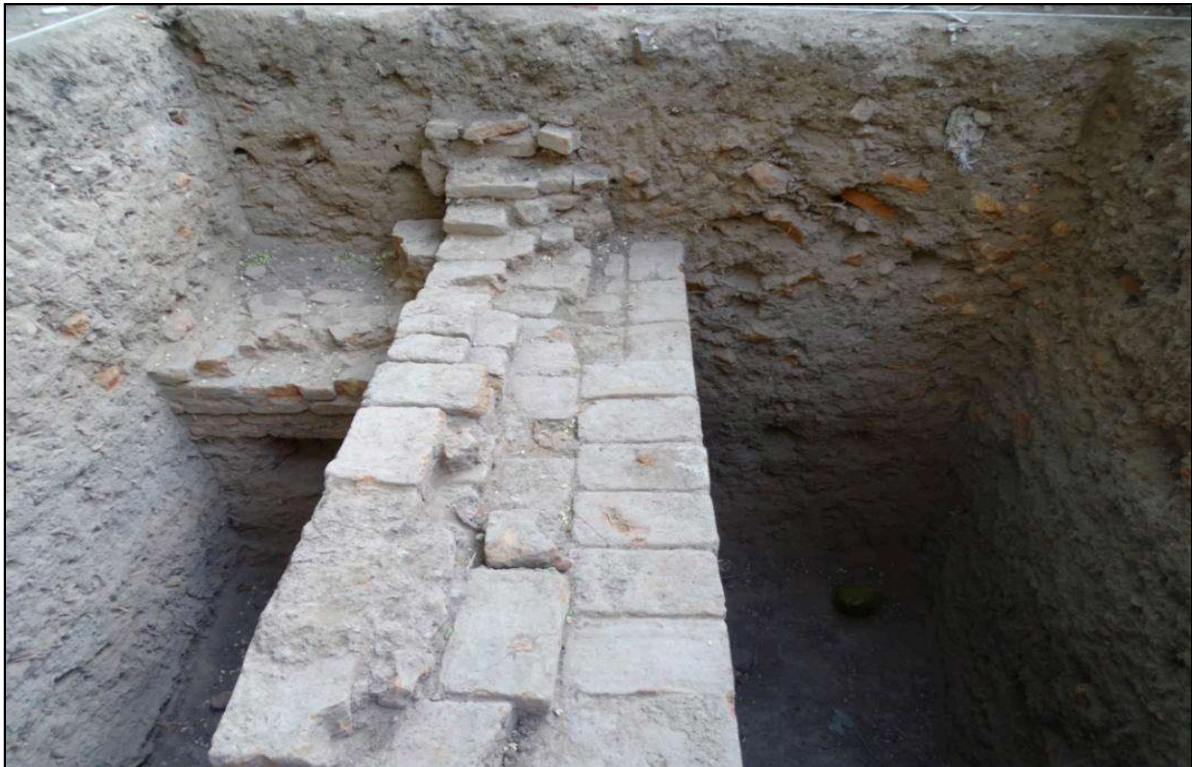


Figure 4: Brick structure at the Weavers Quarters, Nangur



Figure 5: Brick structure at the Weavers Quarters, Nangur

TEXTILE TRADE IN THE COLONIAL PERIOD

The textile trade in the colonial period was in a very extensive and unprecedented scale. During this period, the Coromandel coast became a hotspot for textile trade and there existed stiff competition in textile trade (Om Prakash 2009). The Portuguese, Danish, Dutch, French and the British powers established their centres and utilized the existing textile production centres to support the global market that was opened up due to colonial domination. While the precolonial trade mainly focused on the Asian market, the colonial trade in fact boosted the trade and led to the opening of this region to the global market as far as the Pacific to the Atlantic. The Portuguese and the Dutch sought to control their monopoly over southeast Asia and Malakka was conquered by the Dutch in 1641 CE.

While the trade was mainly from the ports of Nagapattinam, the Dutch had their residencies at Thirumullaivayil and Adirampattinam to collect the textiles from the local market (Stephen 2014). While one may imagine that the trade was mainly in the hinterlands of the ports, the coastal stretches also played an important role. We have evidence of Anandarangam Pillai, who was the *dvibhasi* of the French government, acquiring clothes from Porto Nova, and also from Sikazhi region (Stephen 2014: 72-74). The importance of Thirumullaivayil textile trade is attested by the presence of Devikottai fort which was under the Marathas became a target of attack of the English and the fort appears to have been built during the time of the Marathas. Porto Novo was famous for blue clothes and it became an attraction of the colonial traders. The clothes were transported from this port to Madras by the English. The textile trade seems to have received fillip from the late sixteenth century as revealed by the various sources (Fig.6-7).

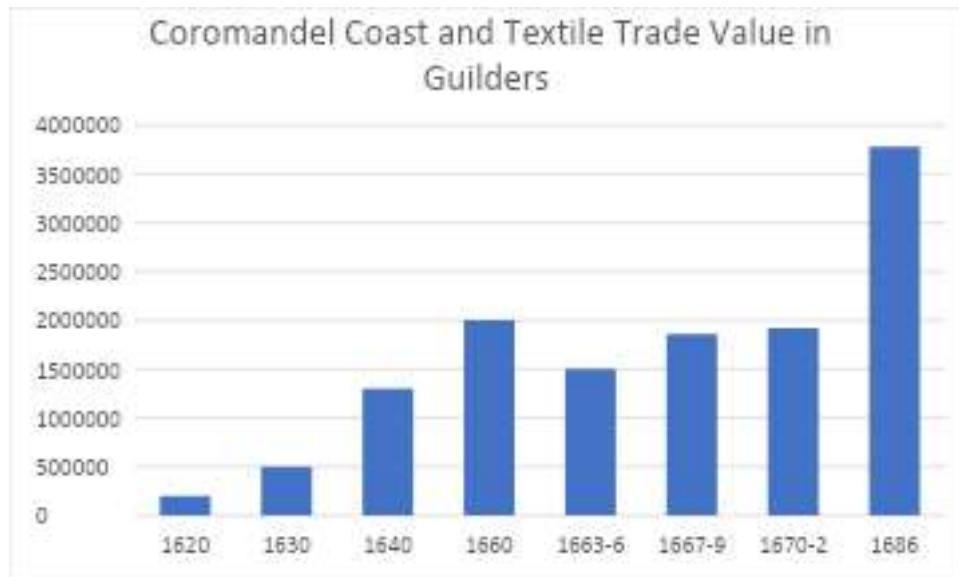


Figure 6: Volume of Textile Export from the Coromandel Coast (Mukund 1999)



Figure 7: Textile Export from Madras to London 1678-85 (Data Source: Chaudhari 1978)

The growth in the volume of textile trade reveals about the boom in textile trade. Perhaps the growth in the settlements of the craftpersons could be attributed to the volume of textile trade which was boosted by the demand in Southeast Asia and in many areas of the Indian Ocean, Europe and beyond. It appears that there existed rivalry to control the trade and the ports. Marathas seem to have destroyed the cotton fields in this period (Stephen 2014: 72). The boom in textile trade had cascading effects on the society and economy. As a result of the growth in trade the cost of materials

of textile also went up (Stephen 2014: 468). Stephen says that no reason for difference in prices in the same year can be deduced. However, it could be because of the value of the coined money, or the quality of the cotton and also the way the prices existed according to the local demand and the lack of business intelligence among the sellers of cotton. Textile production continued even as late as twentieth century through the use of handlooms and the goods were traded within the country. However, nowadays the textile production is almost disappeared with the arrival of power looms and the handlooms are very minimally active.

IMPORTANCE OF THE KAVERI VALLEY

While the distribution of weavers is found in almost all the regions of Tamil Nadu, a major concentration is seen in the Lower Kaveri valley mainly in the area from Uraiyur to Kaveripumpattinam. The reasons for this concentration could be attributed the development of urban centres in this region from the early Chola times. The local market for textiles as part of the royal, elite demand and the overseas market supported by the trade routes connecting with the ports of Porto Novo, Sirkazhi-Tirumullaivayil-Kaverippumpattinam and Nagapattinam might have induced the movement of craftpersons in this region.

The craftpersons cannot be seen merely as “craftgroups,” but as a community people involving in multiple activities and seeking a positive ideological milieu. The preference of the weavers for this region appears to be due to their possible involvement in agrarian production as well as in weaving, besides their involvement in religious activities. The weavers perhaps choose the cultural life and the markets and the temple centered lifeways of this region besides its pleasant weather conditions, well-watered fertile lands and better law and order conditions.

DISCUSSIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

The survey presented above reveals that internal developments provided the congenial condition for the development of crafts from the 9th century CE. The maritime trade induced by the colonial powers opened-up the market of the Coromandel to the global context. The colonial powers utilized the locally available system to their advantage in the trade. Through the policial control of the ports and by organising the local craftpersons through the middlemen the colonial powers could generate wealth. This processes also assisted the craftpersons. However, the famines did affect the textile production. The arrival of colonial powers boosted the mercantile capitalism and more than the producers, traders and middlemen earned enomous wealth. The local traders, businessmen too benefited because of these activities.

The population density of this region increased from about the 13th century CE, partly due to the migration of people from northern part of the peninsular India. Several weaver communities migrated from northern part of Tamil Nadu, mainly to the Coromandel coast and from other parts of South India and Deccan from the 13th century. The concentration of the Kaikkolar community in the agrarian catchment area of the Kaveri delta is an indication of their movement into this region from the northern part of Tamil Nadu. The silk weavers or *Pattunulkarars* migrated from Saurashtra and other communities from Andhra and Karnataka. Why did these communities migrate? While the

demand for textiles associated with the movement of new royalty of the Nayaks and Marathas could be cited as one reason, the development of maritime trade was another factor leading to the growth of textile weavers in this area. The markets and the trade routes and the ports perhaps decided the activities of the traders and encouraged them to settle in the Lower Kaveri valley. The corridor of the Lower Kaveri valley linking the towns of Kumbakonam down to Chidambaram-Sirkazhi and Kaveripumpattinam has a higher concentration of the weaver settlements. The craftsmen who also involved in social and religious activities and they preferred the secured context of the temple towns of the Lower Kaveri valley.

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