

Mount Śivapāda is a Khmer sanctuary tower called Prasat Neak Buos near the Khmer-Lao-Thai tri-border and on the way to Wat Phu, with its mountain-top natural *liṅga*. Here Sūryavarman had constructed major Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava sanctuaries. It was also on the major road to the Đai Viêt. Despite the size of this expedition, it was turned back by the Viêts. The failure was partly due to the late arrival, months late, of a fleet of 700 ships, which should have attacked in concert with the land army. Maspéro says Cham king Harivarman was dragged into supporting Sūryavarman's fleet.<sup>22</sup> There were more Khmer – led expeditions in the 1130s and in 1138 CE, Sūryavarman's army's next expedition went through the Mụ Giạ pass further north, as Cham territory was closed to him. Again, little was achieved. The lack of victories or territorial gains in all these long-range sorties into the Đai Viêt probably explains why there is virtually nothing in Khmer epigraphy about all these campaigns.

A new Cham king Jaya Indravarman I (r. 1139-45) broke his alliance with the Khmers and sent tribute to the Đai Viêt emperor. Sūryavarman stopped attacking Đai Viêt and focused on negotiating the deal to produce a new deep water port in Vijaya, which soon led to rapid growth in trade and a gradually more visible Khmer influence in architecture and statuary in Champa. Neither Cham nor Khmer inscriptions give a clear picture of how the Khmers established themselves in Vijaya. In 1145 the king's nephew Jaya Harivarman prince Śivānanda returned from years in exile (in several places, including Thăng Long?) and set about reasserting Cham kingship. He came under pressure from Sūryavarman and withdrew with his father to Pāṇḍuraṅga in the south. Sūryavarman in 1148 sent to the south his reputed general *senāpati* Śankara, who was defeated at Rājapura, Pāṇḍuraṅga. Shortly thereafter Jaya Harivarman defeated a second Khmer army at Virapura.<sup>23</sup>

At this critical moment in Khmer-Cham relations in 1149, Sūryavarman II died in unrecorded circumstances. We learn the date of his death for the first time from K. 1297. The cartouche K. 298-2 in Angkor Wat shows he received full state funeral rites and a posthumous deification title.

Tribhuvanāditya at first seemed as much preoccupied with Champa as his late brother Sūryavarman had been, but it did not last long. A Cham inscription says the Khmer king – who in 1150 CE could only have been

Tribhuvanādityavarman – placed the Cham-Khmer prince Harideva on the throne of Vijaya. Jaya Harivarman soon marched up from the south, killed Harideva and crowned himself in Vijaya as *paramarājadhīrāja* ('supreme king of kings').<sup>24</sup> This ended the Khmer control over Vijaya that Sūryavarman had negotiated. In the same year, according to the Viêt annals, Tribhuvanāditya launched the last recorded Khmer attempt at incursion into the Đai Viêt, which had to turn back because of bad weather.

Inside Champa, it seems very likely that a Khmer prince, who would eventually be celebrated as king Jayavarman VII, had befriended the Cham king and earned his military spurs fighting with Jaya Harivarman against Tribhuvanāditya (see Cat. 75 Pedestal with Uroja, *garuḍa* and lion).<sup>25</sup> Jayavarman had a relatively weak claim to the Khmer throne and spent more than 15 years in Champa (c.1148-65), possibly linked with Sūryavarman's deal over the port of Vijaya. His long residence in Vijaya spanned his adult and military education and he became deeply acculturated in Cham life and politics. There may be a sign of his friendship with the Cham king decades later in Jayavarman's Bayon temple, where a Viṣṇu statue just below the central sanctuary bears the name 'Śrī Harivarmesvara'. The name may have been chosen by Jayavarman in memory of his friend.<sup>26</sup> The name is never used in Cambodia and as far as we know appears only once in Champa on a statue at Mý Sơn G. 1 erected by Jaya Harivarman in 1157-58.<sup>27</sup> Jayavarman's animus against Tribhuvanāditya, which is shown in his wife Indradevi's inscription (K. 485) when he was already king in Angkor, which calls him 'a servant (*bhṛtya*) who killed his master (*bhartṛ*)', may relate back to his fighting in Champa on Jaya Harivarman's side against the new king in Angkor. From his later inscriptions it is clear that Jayavarman favoured someone else as the successor to Sūryavarman. His candidate was called Yaśovarman and Coedès called him king Yaśovarman II, as though he was a regular ruling monarch. But we know almost nothing about him. He may have been a contender for the throne who was eliminated by Tribhuvanāditya. Now we know the contents of K.1297 this Yaśovarman fades from the history.

Jayavarman, as a Khmer prince in his early manhood in Champa, presumably assisted Jaya Harivarman in two other victories: one was over an army of mountain minority fighters (*'kirāta'*), who appealed for help and received it from the