

Dai Việt in 1151; the other was over an uprising in Pāṇḍuraṅga in 1155.²⁸ Jaya Harivarman appears to have been a successful ruler and builder and the lack of incursions from the west suggests Tribhuvanāditya quickly lost his appetite for exploits in Champa. Relations between Chams and Khmers were in a quiescent state for a decade. Jaya Harivarman's demise is unrecorded. His successor was Jaya Indravarman IV of Grāmapura, who took the throne in 1167 CE and requested investiture by China.²⁹ Schweyer notes his lineage claim to the throne was downplayed, suggesting his ascent was through military power.³⁰ Perhaps a dozen years after taking the throne in Vijaya, this king attempted what no Cham predecessor had done and crossed the mountains 'in chariots' to attack Angkor (K. 485 Phiméanakas).³¹ Tribhuvanādityavarman was killed and the palace burnt. The inscription does not make clear how long the Cham army stayed in Angkor, but this could have been the moment when the Bánh Ít *nāga*-Buddha was taken and sent back to Vijaya. Jayavarman VII seized the occasion of the chaos and panic this caused to emerge from wherever he was hiding to drive the Chams out and take control of the city. Michael Vickery downplayed the Cham attack and stated that the 'real conquest of Angkor was by Jayavarman VII and his Cham allies.'³² Jayavarman was supported by two Cham princes of great military prowess, who would affirm in later Mý Sôn inscriptions that they led Jayavarman's pacification programme against his internal enemies immediately after he seized power in Angkor (Schweyer in this volume p. 76) And although Jayavarman's Preah Khan inscription says its pools were red with blood after the Angkor battle of 1181-2 CE, the only sign of physical damage during what is usually called the 'sacking of Angkor' are the layers of ash under the site of the wooden palace that B. P. Groslier recorded in his 1953 excavation pits. This suggests the Chams raided and looted Angkor, and made no attempt to occupy it. Claude Jacques speculates that Jaya Indravarman IV may have brought a Khmer prince from Champa to be installed as king in Angkor, but was driven out by the soldier about to be proclaimed king Jayavarman VII.³³ Another piece of evidence that suggests the Chams left shortly after killing Tribhuvanāditya emerges from an epigraphic indication that his body was accorded the full royal funeral rites during which apotheosis was believed to occur. Such a state funeral would certainly not have happened under a Cham occupation and we

can only assume it was conducted after the king was killed and after the Chams left. The Preah Khan stela K. 908 st.36 mentions the erection of an icon of the god Tribhuvanāvarmeśvara ('the lord of Tribhuvanāvarman') in the temple's eastern sanctuary. The icon also gives us Tribhuvanāditya's posthumous title *vrah pāda kamraten ān Śrī Mahāparamanirvāṇapada* ('who has gone to supreme nirvana'), a title only accorded a king of Khmer kings duly interred after a royal funeral.

Jayavarman VII, after seizing power, undertook the biggest building programme recorded in ancient Southeast Asia, in which he constructed more temples than all his predecessors put together. At the centre of the build was the towering Bayon temple with giant Buddha face-towers, at the heart of his new capital Angkor Thom. Inscription K. 1297 confirms an intuition of Philippe Stern that Tribhuvanāditya was the first to erect a face-tower with such Buddhas facing in the four directions at Prasat Stung³⁴ in the key, old Buddhist complex at Preah Khan of Kompong Svay, due east of Angkor.³⁵ Jayavarman adopted it and made it the architectural hallmark of the Bayon style, raising more than 100 such towers in his two biggest monumental complexes – the Bayon and Banteay Chhmar in the west. Jayavarman secured Angkor against further attack with a 3km x 3km rampart eight metres high around the city centre and with the population outside housed in large walled enclosures around Buddhist temples.

But Champa must have torn at his heart. His long military campaign to restore a

Fig. 7 Jayavarman VII (oversize figure upper right) possibly crowning Indrakumara (centre) king of Vijaya in 1190 CE before he leaves with the army (below). (River Books)

