



Fig. 8 Tháp Mâm Garuda. (River Books)



Fig. 9 Garuda (3 m) Preah Khan, Angkor.

Fig. 10 Bánh Ít images moved to Hà Nội. (Boisselier 1963 fig 2)

Khmer-friendly monarch to the throne of Vijaya was eventually successful, but it lasted from 1190-1203 CE. We learn of this from two unusually factual and historical inscriptions – one a Khmer inscription in Banteay Chhmar and a Cham inscription from Mỹ Sơn. The main Banteay Chhmar inscription K.227 is local rather than royal because it is written in Old Khmer, not Sanskrit. It names Srindrakumara (prince Indra), who Claude Jacques sees as the same person as the ‘prince In’ of the contemporary Cham inscription C.92B at Mỹ Sơn. The Khmer inscription says the Chams rose against Khmer rule in Vijaya in 1190 CE and Jayavarman assembled an army, evidently at Banteay Chhmar, and sent it over the mountains to Champa. A Banteay Chhmar gallery relief perhaps shows Indra being consecrated king of Vijaya by Jayavarman before leaving with the assembled army below them.

K.227 gives only a brief summary of the Khmer incursion then focuses on the Khmer army’s return after installing Indra as king in Vijaya. When the Chams rose against him Indra was almost killed in his retreat in an ambush when two of the prince’s generals sacrificed themselves to save him.³⁶ K. 227 was erected in Banteay Chhmar to celebrate the apotheosis of these two generals. The Khmer army had been led into Champa by a Cham prince named Vidyanāndana, who after installing Indra in Vijaya went south to become the ruler of Pāṇḍuraṅga and a vassal of Indra in Vijaya. With Indra’s return to Cambodia, Vidyanāndana turned against his patron Jayavarman in Angkor and declared himself king of Vijaya and Pāṇḍuraṅga, as recorded in the Mỹ Sơn inscription C. 9B. Vidyanāndana defeated a Khmer army sent against him in 1194 and in celebration erected a temple to the Esoteric Buddhist deity Heruka (equivalent to Jayavarman’s Hevajra in Angkor). His rule was eventually broken by another

Khmer army sent in 1203 when he was forced to flee Vijaya with his court and army in a fleet. He sought refuge in the Đai Việt but this was refused so his fleet took to the ocean and disappeared from history.

In the years 1203-c.20, after driving out Vidyanāndana, the Khmers ruled Vijaya and left a cultural imprint on Cham temple art and statuary, especially in the Tháp Mâm style, as is attested in this catalogue. The Hưng Thạnh/Tháp Đôi (‘Twin Towers’) in the city of Quy Nhơn, or Dương Long (‘Ivory towers’) bear Khmer elements. The reliefs of dancers from Hưng Thạnh Towers (Cat. 72) and two high reliefs of dancers from Tháp Mâm (Cat. 82, 83) have many Khmer counterparts in the temples of Jayavarman VII. The dancing figures are intercessors of tantrism. (Schweyer p. 77). Giant Garuda’s of Preah Khan temple in Angkor were perhaps the model for the telamon Garuda’s of the Tháp Mâm pedestal with *garuḍa* (cat. 75).

After Jayavarman’s death in c. 1220 CE, his weaker successor soon withdrew from Vijaya. John Whitmore in this volume shows how this was the moment when the new ruler of *nagara* Champa, Jaya Paramesvaravarman, completely displaced the Thu Bồn valley as the political centre of the realm, making Vijaya long triumphant (1225-1375).

The Khmers, when they ruled Vijaya, did not return the Bánh Ít Buddha to its original sanctuary somewhere in Angkor, or east of Angkor, where Tribhuvanāditya built a string of sanctuaries. But it did return to Cambodia 700 years later after French archaeologists moved the Bánh Ít images first to the museum in Hà Nội. (William Southworth told me he recognised the floor slabs of the basement storeroom in the Hà Nội museum in the photograph published by Boisselier). This is confirmed by the inventory records in Phnom Penh, which say bronze statue Ga 3296 (then E/I 10.125) from the Tours d’argent, Binh Định was received from the EFEO Museum in Hà Nội on 10 January 1955.³⁷ It had presumably been sent the previous month in the days before Hồ Chí Minh established his government in January 1955, following the Geneva accords. Sending this fine gilt bronze nāga-Buddha – without its damaged right knee – back to Cambodia effectively detached it from its fascinating history with the Chams.

