

Military victories in ancient Greece were regularly commemorated in sanctuaries by votive offerings. These battle memorials were dedicated in sacred space throughout the Greek world, but nowhere in greater numbers than at the Panhellenic shrines of Olympia and Delphi. Whilst these monuments have been studied previously (e.g. Gauer 1968, Jacquemin 1999), the practices of memorialisation at these two sites have not been compared. Furthermore, no attempt has been made to investigate how memorials at these sites could affect the nature of the space in which they stood. This paper shows that the memorialisation of battles against the Persians took place in different ways at Olympia and Delphi, and transformed the nature of the sacred space so that each sanctuary came to have a fundamentally different character: by 450 B.C., Olympia was dominated by Sparta, whilst Delphi was filled with monuments erected by the Athenians for battles against the Persians.

Battle memorials took similar forms at both Olympia and Delphi throughout the archaic period; statues of the patron deity and treasuries dedicated by victorious states can be identified at each sanctuary. Practices of memorialisation began to differ at each site with monuments to the battles of Salamis and Plataia; those victories were commemorated at Olympia only with statues of Zeus dedicated by the Greek alliance, whereas at Delphi, the allied memorials were joined by other monuments dedicated by several individual states: Aegina, Athens, Epidauros, and Karystos.

This divergence in practice is explained by the different qualities and associations of each site. Delphi was linked more closely with the struggle against the Persians than was Olympia: the Athenians had chosen it as the site for their treasury after Marathon, whilst in 480 B.C., the site issued oracles relating to Xerxes' invasion and was itself the subject of a Persian attack. Furthermore, after Sparta's withdrawal from the conflict with Persia in the early 470s B.C., a battle against the Persians was never again commemorated at Olympia; this fact suggests that Sparta now had considerable influence over that supposedly independent Panhellenic site. These factors combined to ensure that Delphi became the space where individual *poleis* could commemorate their roles in repelling the Persians, or rather, to make tendentious claims about their roles. This aspect of memorialisation at Delphi was unprecedented, and was encouraged by the unique physical and monumental topography of Delphi, which was more conducive to interplay between memorials than was the more open site of Olympia. This freedom offered by the sacred space of Delphi did not, however, last for long. The Athenians, who were now the leaders of the ongoing conflict with Persia, were eager to emphasise their primary role in fighting the Persians and were keen to dominate a Panhellenic shrine as the Spartans did Olympia. They, therefore, erected a number of monuments throughout the sanctuary at Delphi during the 470s and 460s B.C. and claimed the sanctuary as their own.

The legacy of the memorialisation of battles fought against Xerxes' forces in 480-479 B.C. was that the sacred space of early classical Olympia and Delphi differed not only from each other, but also from their late archaic precursors. *Poleis* from around the Greek world had previously been able to dedicate battle memorials at Delphi or Olympia as they chose; now, until peace was negotiated with Persia in ca. 449 B.C., Athens and her allies dedicated their monuments at Delphi, whilst Sparta and her allies did so at Olympia. In this way, the growing rivalry between Athens and Sparta both created and sustained new patterns of memorialisation at Delphi and Olympia, practices which, in turn, recreated the space of both sanctuaries.