

In fifth-century Athens, practice and ritual identified the Akropolis not only as the city's most important sanctuary, but also as the primary location for individual and corporate commemorative monuments. In contrast, patterns of activity made the contemporary Agora into multi-use public space: the location of magistrates and the *boule*, the market, the racetrack, and monuments celebrating the Tyrannicides and Athenian military victories. These memorials focused on the Athenians as a corporate group, a strategy of commemoration which reflected and further constructed the Agora as multi-use space. As I shall argue, this pattern of memorialisation changed dramatically between 410 and 390 B.C. when new patterns of remembering shifted the focus from the corporate group which used the space in a multitude of different ways to the democratic citizen. Part of the democrats' larger project of responding to and commemorating success against the oligarchs, the Agora's construction as space for the democratic citizen was further reinforced by new civic structures built at this time. This important revolution in the Agora and the role of commemoration in creating it, however, have been passed over both by scholars who discuss the Agora and treat it as perpetually the civic heart of Athens, and by scholars working on memorialisation who concentrate either on individual monuments or on the Akropolis and ignore the important role of memorialisation in (re)constructing the space of the Agora at the end of the fifth century.

Before 411, commemoration in the Agora centred on the statues of the Tyrannicides by Kritios and Nesiotes and the Stoa Poikile. These two monuments celebrated the heroic, but exceptional, individuals whose deed set the standard for all Athenians and the victories won over the Persians and the Spartans and their allies by the Athenians as a corporate group. In contrast, after 411, the focus shifted to the individual citizen. The earliest evidence for this change is the decree and oath of Demophantos which mandated how Athenians were to act if the democracy was overthrown again: they were to become the slayers of oligarchs and tyrants (Andok. 1.96-98). Individually, Athenian citizens swore the oath in the Agora in 410/9 and subsequently remembered swearing it when reading the document on its inscribed *stèle* in front of the Bouleuterion. Citizens individually, not collectively, read the laws now newly inscribed on *stelai* in the Agora (*IG I³* 104, 236-237; Lambert frs. 1-12). Between 403 and 390, additional inscriptions honoured for the first time the deeds of specific, named citizens (*SEG XXVIII* 45-46; Rhodes and Osborne 11; Dem. 20.69-70). Together, these inscribed documents shifted the focus of memorialisation from the Athenians as a group to the democratic citizen celebrated in these monuments which perpetually memorialised the overthrow of tyranny and the restoration of democracy. Reading these documents served both to remember and to (re)create the Agora as the space of the democratic citizen.

The connections between this particular space and the citizen were reinforced by the construction of buildings closely associated with democracy: the New Bouleuterion, the wings of the Stoa Basileios, and the city's first dedicated court structures. Housing the *boule*, the *basileus*, and the courts, these structures were devoted to the activities of citizens. Their behaviour complemented the new patterns of memorialisation and further constructed the Agora as the space of the citizen. Here, citizens' deeds and the democracy itself were displayed and commemorated. These new monuments played a critical role both in remaking the Agora and in creating memories of specific behaviour: the proper ways for citizens to act. By these decisions, the Athenians completely changed the nature of the square and created the Agora as the civic space well-known to modern scholarship.