

# The ‘Francis and Vickers’ Chronology: A Bibliography

compiled by

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In the early 1980s Francis and Vickers challenged the conventional dating of Archaic Greek archaeology. The late David Francis was a specialist in Persian-Greek relations and Michael Vickers (now Professor of Archaeology, University of Oxford) was then Assistant Keeper of Antiquities at the Ashmolean Museum. In the course of their research, they also challenged the accepted dates for Late and Middle Geometric, providing some inspiration for our early work (see [Studies in Ancient Chronology](#)). But while Francis and Vickers raised many of the necessary questions, we felt that their model overshot the mark. Others, notably Boardman and Cook, believed that little or no revision at all was needed. In *Centuries of Darkness* (1991, 96-98, 359, n. 11, 372, n. 65) we briefly sketched out a ‘middle road’ between the conventional and the Francis and Vickers’ positions (now developed in a series of articles – see James 2003, 2004, 2005a, 2005b, 2006 in [The Continuing Debate](#)). For example, with respect to Greek pottery normally dated c. 600 BC, we suggested a reduction of 30-40 years, compared to the 70-80 years offered by the F. & V. revision. This is more moderate, for good reasons – we feel it satisfies better the dating evidence provided by Greek historical sources (notably Herodotus), while contexts with Aegean pottery in the Levant (though their dates may also need revision) can be dated within certain parameters, providing controlling evidence.

For those who wish to follow the debate in more detail we offer a bibliography of Francis and Vickers’ articles on Archaic chronology, together with the critiques that followed.

- (01) 1981. F. & V., “Leagros Kalos”, *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 207, 97-136.
- (02) 1982. F. & V., “Kaloi, Ostraka and the Wells of Athens”, *American Journal of Archaeology* 86, 264.
- (03) 1982. F. & V., “Review of B. S. Ridgway, ‘Archaic Style in Greek Sculpture’”, *Burlington Magazine* 124, 41-42.
- (04) 1983. F. & V., “Signa Prisca Artis: Eretria and Siphnos”, *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 103, 49-67.
- (05) 1984. F. & V., “Green Goddess: Gifts to Lindos from Amasis of Egypt”, *American Journal of Archaeology* 88, 68-69.
- (06) 1984. F. & V., “Amasis and Lindos”, *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 31, 119-130.
- (07) 1984. F. & V., “Review of F. Brommer, ‘Theseus’”, *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 104, 268-269.

- (08) 1984. V., "Hallstatt and Early La Tène Chronology in Central, South and East Europe", *Antiquity* 58, 208-211.
- (09) 1985. V., "Correction: Hallstatt DI site at Villingen", *Antiquity* 59, 124.
- (10) 1985. V., "Persepolis, Vitruvius and the Erechtheum Caryatids: The Iconography of Medism and Servitude", *Revue Archéologique*, 3-28.
- (11) 1985. V., "Early Greek Coinage, a Reassessment", *Numismatic Chronicle* 145, 1-44.
- (12) 1985. F. & V., "Greek Geometric Pottery at Hama", *Levant* 17, 131-138.
- (13) 1986. V., "Review of P. C. Bols, 'Antike Bronzetechnik'", *Classical Review* 36, 284-286.
- (14) 1986. V., "Review of J. Boardman, 'Greek Sculpture' & 'The Parthenon'", *Joint Association of Classical Teachers* 5, 36-37.
- (15) 1986. V., "Persépolis, Athènes et Sybaris: Questions de Monnayage et de Chronologie", *Revue des Études Grecques* 99, 239-270.
- (16) 1987. V., "Dates, Methods and Icons", in C. Bérard (ed.), *Actes du Colloqué: Images et Sociétés en Grèce Ancienne*, 19-25.
- (17) 1988. F. & V., "The Agora Revisited: Athenian Chronology c. 500-450 BC", *Annual of the British School at Athens* 83, 143-167.
- (18) 1990. V., "Athenian Symposia after the Persian Wars", in O. Murray (ed.), *Symptica: Proceedings of the Deipnosophistae Symposium 1984* (Oxford: Clarendon Press), 105-121.
- (19) 1990. F., *Image and Idea in Fifth Century Greece: Art and Literature after the Persian Wars* (London: Routledge).
- (20) 1995. V., "Anomalous Amounts of Athenian Tribute, the Standards Decree, and Fifth Century Chronology", *Laverna* 6, 41-48.
- (21) 1996. V., "Fifth Century Chronology and the Coinage Decree", *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 116, 171-174.
- (22) 1996. D. Gill & V., "Bochoris the Wise and Absolute Chronology", *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Roemische Abteilung*, 103, 1-9.

**Items Announced (not seen in print by the compiler):**

- (a) V., *This Other Herakles* (see no. 1, p. 125, n. 3).
- (b) V., "Oenoe, or a Tomb with a View", *Classical Quarterly* 32 (see no. 1, p. 125, n. 16).
- (c) F. & V., "New Wine from Old Smyrna" (see no. 1, p. 125, n. 16; no. 6, p. 129, n. 44; no. 11, p. 19, n. 149).

- (d) V., “The Role of Darius the Great in the Construction of the Artemisium at Ephesus”, in M. J. Price (ed.), *Proceedings of the British Museum Colloquium: The Archaic Temple of Artemis* (see no. 10, p. 8, n. 34).
- (e) V., “Heracles Lacedaemonius” (see no. 11, p. 14, n. 105).

**Main Criticism:**

- (i) 1984. J. Boardman, “Signae Tabulae Priscae Artis”, *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 104, 161-163.
- (ii) 1985. J. M. Cook, “On the Date of Alyattes’ Sack of Smyrna”, *Annual of the British School at Athens* 80, 25-28.
- (iii) 1986. I. F. Canciani, “Considerazioni sulla cronologia della ceramica attica dal tardo arcaismo allo stile severo”, in E. Böhr & W. Martini (eds.), *Studien zur Mythologie und Vasenmalerei: Festschrift K. Schauenburg* (Mainz am Rhein: P. von Zabern), 59-64.
- (iv) 1987. M. Robertson, “The State of Attic Vase-Painting in the Mid-Sixth Century B.C.”, in *Papers on the Amasis Painter and his World* (Malibu: Paul Getty Museum), 14-18.
- (v) 1988. J. Boardman, “Dates and Doubts”, *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 423-425.
- (vi) 1988. M. C. Root, “Evidence from Persepolis for the Dating of Persian and Archaic Greek Coinage”, *Numismatic Chronicle* 148, 1-12.
- (vii) 1988. P. Amandry, “À Propos de Monuments de Delphes: Questions de Chronologie (I)”, *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 112, 591-610.
- (viii) 1989. R. M. Cook, “The Francis-Vickers Chronology”, *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 109, 164-170.
- (ix) 1993. W. A. P. Childs, “Herodotos, Archaic Chronology, and the Temple of Apollo at Delphi”, *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 108, 399-441.
- (x) 1993. Shear, T. L. Jr., “The Persian Destruction of Athens: Evidence from Agora Deposits”, *Hesperia* 62, 383-482.
- (xi) 1997. R. M. Cook, *Greek Painted Pottery*, new ed. (London: Routledge), introduction.
- (xii) 1998. R. M. Cook & P. Dupont, *East Greek Pottery*, new ed. (London: Routledge), introduction.
- (xiii) 1999. D. Ridgway, “The Rehabilitation of Bocchoris: Notes and Queries from Italy”, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 85, 143-152.

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