

Digging in the Archives: Methodological Guidelines on Conrad Schick's Documents at the PEF and the Study of Archaeology

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This article examines the value of 19th-century archival documents for the archaeological study of the Holy Land. This study focuses on unpublished reports and drawings by Conrad Schick, a Jerusalem resident and a self-educated archaeologist, who worked with the Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem as well as the Palestine Exploration Fund starting from 1865 and reported regularly on his activities to London until his death in 1901. These archival documents include, inter alia, reports on excavations undertaken, plans, cross-sections, and maps. By analysing Schick's largely unpublished correspondence, this study develops methodological guidelines for extracting archaeological information from such archival material. It also directs attention to information furnished by Schick's records on a few less-known sites.

1. INTRODUCTION

The archives of the Palestine Exploration Fund (henceforth PEF) in London contain many valuable documents for archaeological research. The PEF was established in 1865 by a group of notable scholars, aristocrats, and religious figures in Britain of the Victorian era. The event that stimulated the establishment of this society was the Ordnance Survey (henceforth OS) of Jerusalem, conducted by Capt. Charles Wilson and his team of Royal Engineers (Wilson 1865). The founders of the new society aimed to conduct investigations of the Holy Land, applying purely scientific methods (Jacobson 2019). The success of the pioneering enterprises of the PEF, notwithstanding financial difficulties, can be partly attributed to the close collaboration with the Royal Engineers who provided the personnel with modern geo-surveying equipment and introduced principles of precise field-documentation in the early expeditions of the PEF (Matskevich 2019: 51–52).

During the 19th century and early 20th century, *the Palestine Exploration Fund's Quarterly Statement (PEFQSt)*, the scholarly journal which was established by the PEF, formed a main venue for publishing reports, news, and studies of explorations in the Holy Land.¹ As a result, the PEF office in London accumulated an enormous

collection of material, such letters, draft reports, drawings, and photographs that were sent by scholars who worked for the PEF, or items requested by the PEF. Much of this material was not published due to various editorial considerations. Among these unpublished documents was much of vital significance for the study of Jerusalem's archaeology contained in the correspondence sent to London by Conrad Schick.

Conrad Schick was a Protestant missionary of German origin, who resided in Jerusalem from 1846 until his death in 1901 (see **Fig. 1**). Several years after arriving in Jerusalem, Schick changed the main sphere of his professional activity. Along with developing his interest in the study of the antiquity of the land of the Bible, over the years he educated himself as an architect and draughtsman, qualifications which allowed him also to carry out the design of many new buildings in the city.² Schick was frequently hired to supervise various development projects by the Ottoman authorities, as well as by Christian institutions and private individuals. His situation gave Schick privileged access to sites (including those below the surface) that were closed to other European scholars. A notable example is provided by his survey of cisterns and topography of the Temple Mount, carried out at the request of the authorities, who commissioned him to construct an accurate model of *Haram al-Sharif* for the Ottoman pavilion at the 1873 World Fair in Vienna



Fig. 1. Conrad Schick and his wife in 1896. Source: Archives of Christ Church, Jerusalem.

(Gibson and Jacobson 1996: 20; Goren and Rubin 1996: 112–13; Goren 1999: 243). Gibson and Jacobson, who analysed the corpus of the present-day available data on the underground cisterns and passages of the Temple Mount compound, appreciated that ‘Schick’s drawings benefit considerably from his architectural knowledge’ (Gibson and Jacobson 1996: 20).

From 1870 onwards, Schick composed reports for the PEF on a regular basis. In a few cases, the PEF Committee hired Schick to conduct small-scale excavations at various sites of their interest, especially in instances when the PEF did not have the necessary financial means to allocate an archaeologist from Britain to the Holy Land for the purpose. Despite their hesitant attitude towards Schick’s qualifications (see below), the PEF engaged Schick due to his ability to obtain data that could not be acquired from other sources, and because of his constant presence in Jerusalem. Even though Schick published papers in other journals (e.g., *ZDPV*, *Das Ausland*) and even a few books, such as *Die Stiftshütte: Der Tempel in Jerusalem und der Tempelplatz der Jetztzeit* (1896), the bibliography of his work demonstrates that the *PEFQSt* was his principal addressee (cf. Goren 1998b). However, many of Schick’s reports remained unpublished; other papers of his were published in shortened and significantly altered form, with their accompanying drawings often omitted by the editors. This fact makes Schick’s dossier in the PEF’s archive all the more valuable for unreported archaeological data on the Holy Land.

In recent years this author had the opportunity to examine the PEF archives. Schick’s manuscripts and correspondence are bounded together in volumes with black covers. Large-dimension drawings are collected and stored in separate large-format folders. The two types of material, manuscripts and drawings, are identified by a unique catalogue item number for each document.³ A list of items with a basic table of contents exists for these documents.⁴ In the past studies, scholars appreciated Schick’s immense contribution by referring to the number of items in the above-mentioned catalogue — 185 documents and over 90 drawings, plans, and sections (cf. Goren 1999: 245). However, in October 2019, the present author discovered numerous uncatalogued items which are stored in boxes, matching years of *Quarterly Statement*. Because these items are assorted, the exact number of Schick’s manuscripts among them could not be established. The present author examined several tens of manuscripts only for the years 1892 to 1895.⁵ If a similar quantity of documents exists for other years, the scope of Schick’s activity has been greatly underestimated.

The purpose of this article is to discuss a few methodological issues developed from analysing part of the corpus of Schick’s material in the PEF. The discussion on methodological challenges and ideas ought to assist future researchers who plan to study archival documents at the PEF. These include unpublished information on a few less-known sites in Jerusalem.

2. EXTRACTING BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION: SCHICK'S LAUNCH WITH THE BRITISH SCHOLARSHIP

Schick established his connection with the PEF through his personal acquaintance with Charles Wilson. The two men met during the field work of the Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem, in 1864–65. Later, Wilson became deeply involved in the new society's (the PEF) works and management. The PEF archives contain a few of the OS of Jerusalem drafts. Those enabled the present author to extract evidence that Schick assisted the expedition in their fieldwork.

One of the sites that attracted Wilson's attention during the survey was the pool near the Tombs of the Kings (Wilson 1865: 76–77, 79). Among the goals of the OS was an assessment of options to improve the water supply to Jerusalem. The above-mentioned pool, which was situated ca 1.2 km north of the Ottoman city walls, described by Wilson as '[it] must have been the largest pool in the neighbourhood of the city' (ibid., 79).⁶ Wilson's team made two small-scale excavations near that pool: the first dig unearthed an ancient tomb; the other excavation was an unsuccessful attempt to find the aqueduct which Wilson assumed conveyed water from this reservoir to the city. Looking into the published Ordnance Survey report, one can find the plan and cross-sections of that tomb (Wilson 1865: pl. XXVI, sketch 7), but surprisingly no visual documentation was enclosed describing the pool itself. However, an archival draft in the PEF Jerusalem-Wilson file contains additional information from the Ordnance Survey regarding this water installation (PEF DA/JER/WIL/18/11). The document shows a few elements on a single page: the pool's plan, its surrounding environment, a plan of the tomb with cross-sections, and a cross-section through a large cistern which was located east of the pool (**Fig. 2**). The draft shows that the pool was fully documented, but, for an unknown reason, only the tomb's plan and sections were published. The scalebar is 'Scale of *English Feet*' (emphasis added). This hints that the document was made by a non-British person who worked with the team. The note below the sketch reveals it was 'measured & drawn by C. Schick, Jerusalem 1865'.

It is not surprising, therefore, that, when in 1891, Schick conducted excavations in the previously discussed pool, his later plan incorporated graphical elements which he had already documented in his unpublished OS plan in 1865 (cf. Schick 1892: pl. 1). Probably, Schick used to keep in his custody also 'personal copies' of sketches that he submitted to the Ordnance Survey, to the PEF, or scholarly journals. When required, he reproduced these sketches for various uses. In 1889, Schick reported in the *PEFQSt* that he has added new features to a plan of Muristan that he had previously submitted to London with C. Conder — in other words, Schick had a copy with him in Jerusalem (Schick 1889: 113). A few of such Schick's 'personal copies' are to be found in the German Protestant Institute of Archaeology (DAI)

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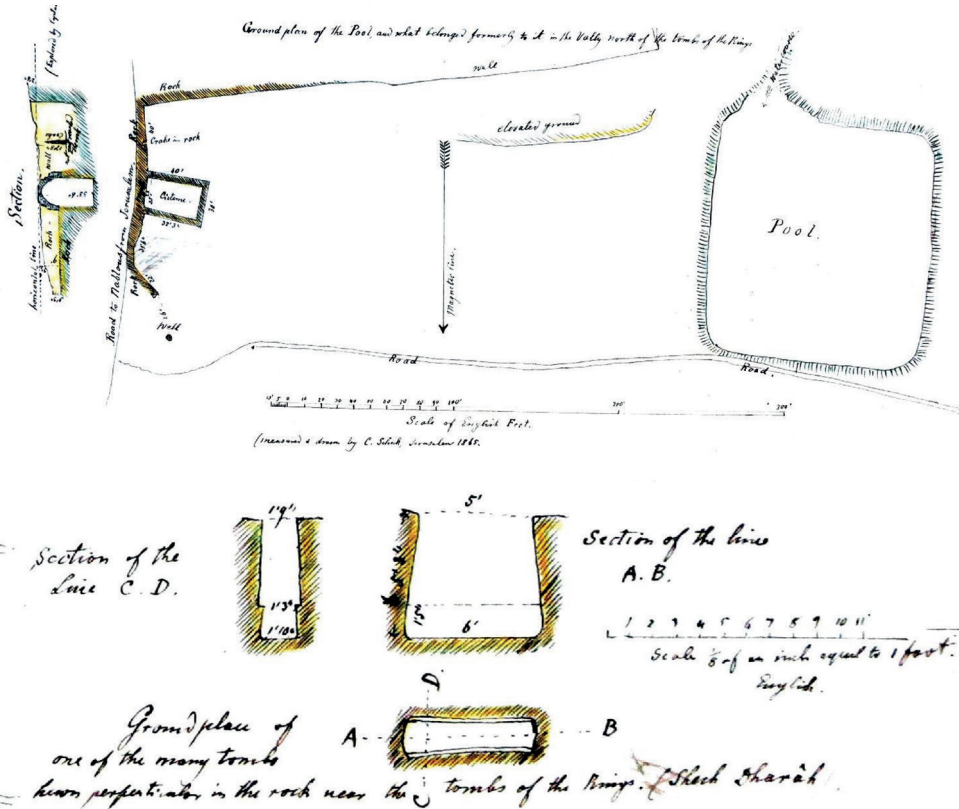


Fig. 2. Schick's plan and sections of the pool near the Tombs of the Kings, made for the Ordnance Survey in 1865. Source: PEF DA/JER/WIL/18/11.

at the Augusta Victoria complex in Jerusalem.⁷ DAI holds also most of Schick's private library, and some books contain comments by their former owner.⁸

Several weeks after the formal establishment of the PEF, the Minute Book recorded a task which was assigned to Schick and the conditions that he had to fulfil for obtaining PEF funding (PEF DA/EC/1, p.12, Minute from the Meeting of 3rd August 1865):

It was Resolved / That the sum of £50 be granted / to further the excavation of the well to the North / West of Jerusalem discovered by Mr. Schick on / the understanding that the results of the / excavation be communicated to the Committee / only and that any objects discovered in the / course of the work be their property.

The water well mentioned in the above document must be the site which was discovered during the OS on the Jaffa road outside Jerusalem, which was recently

discussed by Reich (2019). In his report, Wilson (1865:77) noted that continuing the excavation on this site ‘was left in the hands of Mr. Schick, of Jerusalem’.

These details recover Schick’s first link to the British scholars. He had worked alongside the Ordnance Survey expedition to Jerusalem as a surveyor and a draughtsman, and his responsibilities included making field sketches of various sites that the team looked into. Schick continued to work with the PEF when it commenced its activities, even though his early correspondence in the catalogue of the archive were sent directly to Wilson (PEF DA/SCHICK/2 to DA/SCHICK/15). Over the years, he became a regular source of information for the PEF from Jerusalem and the Holy Land.⁹

3. THE METHODOLOGICAL CHALLENGE PRESENTED BY THE SCHICK MATERIAL

Why did the editors of the *PEFQSt* often refrain from publishing Schick’s material? Previous studies suggested that Schick’s German origin might constitute a factor and that a xenophobic attitude played a role in editorial consideration (e.g., Gibson 2000: 120). Obviously, it is impossible to get into the state of mind of PEF officials in 19th century London. However, this article argues that there were much more objective scientific reasons for censoring some of the Schick’s reports.

A typical archival draft of Schick’s report in the PEF archives is a handwritten letter, on which are marked numerous editorial corrections in red ink (**Fig. 3**). In many cases, a *PEFQSt* editor would strike-through words, and even complete sentences or paragraphs that would be deleted from Schick’s papers. Many formulations were rephrased. The corrected wording would be added in red above the original text. Some reports were not published at all. Others omitted the accompanying pictorial material, such as Schick’s plans and sections. The careful study of Schick’s letters, the editorial corrections, and comparison of these with the final published papers in the *PEFQSt*, as well as internal correspondence of the PEF staff, reveal reasons for the critical approach toward Schick’s work.

Schick’s style of reporting, which would mix his personal experiences with the archaeological information, might have damaged his reputation as a reliable source. An example that illustrates it is Schick’s report on tombs near ‘Jeremiah’s Grotto’ (the present-day Garden Tomb area), dated 20th June 1873 (PEF DA/SCHICK/8):

[...] the bottom of the room I could / not ascertain when not moving the Contents
[sic] (of bones & earth), but as / I don’t like to disturb dead ones, I left it so — [...]

The impression which Schick’s words might have left is of an amateur rather than a professional scholar or a precise surveyor. It is possible that similar personal accounts intertwined with archaeological observations, may have resulted in

1892
 Chief ~~struck~~ ^{marked} marker at the quarry of the
~~so-called~~ ^{so-called} Cotton gratto ^{of Jerusalem}.
 The entrance to this large grotto is furnished with an ~~iron door~~ ^{which on} ~~going~~
 there I found ^{to be} ~~it~~ ^{locked}. Making ~~the~~ ^{an} enquiry for the key at the Municipality,
~~and~~ ^{it was} ~~was~~ ^{the} ~~key~~ ^{key} ~~to be~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{charge} ~~of~~ ^{of}
 the Petroleum, which is stored in a new building outside Damascus gate.
 - as the ~~Executive~~ ^{wished} ~~Committee~~ ^{me} ~~to~~ ^{to} ~~examine~~ ^{examine} the ~~interior~~ ^{interior}
 of the chief marker there, ~~and~~ ^{and} I went with a few men and the necessary thing
 for ~~lighting~~ ^{lighting} ~~up~~ ^{up} the inside ~~again~~ ^{again} there, and ~~have~~ ^{very} ~~very~~ ^{carefully} ~~examined~~ ^{examined} the
 various chief markers. In the first place, I have to say ^{that} I found ~~nothing~~ ^{nothing}
 like those in the ditch at the north west corner of the city of which I report-
 ed in one of my former ^{letters}. Then, in the ~~case~~ ^{case} of the Rock face ~~by~~ ^{by} the many
 visitors ~~who~~ ^{who} ~~had~~ ^{had} ~~often~~ ^{often} ~~touched~~ ^{touched} or ~~making~~ ^{by} ~~fires~~ ^{fires} ~~which~~ ^{has} ~~been~~ ^{been}
~~blacked~~ ^{much} ~~which~~ ^{prevents}
~~to~~ ^{to} ~~see~~ ^{see} every where ~~scarcely~~ ^{scarcely} the chief markers ~~and~~ ^{also} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~rock~~ ^{rock}
~~names~~ ^{names} of the visitors ~~everywhere~~ ^{everywhere} ~~they~~ ^{they} ~~touched~~ ^{touched} ~~with~~ ^{with} ~~their~~ ^{their} ~~hand~~ ^{hand}, ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~broken~~ ^{broken} ~~off~~ ^{off}
~~many~~ ^{many} ~~places~~ ^{places} can be found where the chief markers
~~are~~ ^{are} ~~found~~ ^{found}

Fig. 3. Portion of a typical letter from Schick to the PEF with editorial annotations.
 Source: PEF DA/SCHICK/45.

contempt of his results in London, particularly amongst the military-educated personnel. The most controversial part of Schick's reports would be less his excavation techniques but rather his interpretation of the findings and his often-misleading drawings (see below). Indeed, Schick's statements could have produced a bias against him that might have been in the background when his papers were reviewed in London. But there were also objective causes for the hesitations.

The primary reason for PEF officials' attitude was Schick's vague and ambiguous descriptions. Schick was an extremely talented person. However, he acquired his professional knowledge by teaching himself and without formal higher education in architecture, surveying, or oriental studies. Schick's reports were seen substantially different from the works that the PEF was accustomed to receive from their field staff in those early years. The PEF based its fieldwork on either military personnel or well-trained architects, archaeologists, and scholars. All these would cherish accuracy and precision in their reports. Despite his goodwill, Schick's field descriptions could not meet the high level of accuracy that was already set by the

officers of Royal Engineers, such as Charles Wilson, Charles Warren, and Claude Conder. Furthermore, Schick's relatively weak English language constituted a significant obstacle for understanding his written accounts.

Because Schick was an autodidact, he was not always familiar with the basic conventions of draughtsmanship. This is testified by a letter that he submitted to George Armstrong (the Assistant Secretary of the PEF), on 2 February 1892, in which Schick acknowledged an error in his drawing and explained that it originated from his goodwill (PEF DA/SCHICK/48):¹⁰

[. . .] I am glade [*sic*] to / hear, that you have all my communications / received, but I am sorry, that I have made / in the drawing a mistake — pointing them / South and not North! I will in the future / keep to the rule — I did not know at such / a rule and treated every case on its own / merit — always endeavoring [*sic*] to give it that / the reader way¹¹ properly understand. In this / case I thought it to be natural to point it / South, as one approaches [*sic*] from North \& going Southward/ [...]. / So / I beg humbly for excuse.

Minor breaches of basic conventions might have contributed to the sceptical approach to Schick's work amongst his critics.¹² Nevertheless, it seems that the aforementioned error did not cause any significant damage to Schick's reputation, because in 1892 alone the *PEFQSt* published 17 of his articles!

An excellent example of an ambiguous description is provided by Schick's report on an old mosque near the Damascus Gate. The report, titled 'Scheich Looloo of Jerusalem', starts with the following sentence (or sentences?) (PEF DA/SCHICK/165/1):

If one will go out of the City (Jerusalem) and comes near to the northern Gate / called "Bab el Amud" (also by some, "Damascus gate") he sees on its right hand / a handsome door or gate $\text{p} \dot{\text{o}} \dot{\text{i}} \dot{\text{n}} \dot{\text{i}}$ in the middle of a niche of same size, in which / are stone seats to both sides of the gate opening, on which nearly always some / Moslem people are siting [*sic*]. Leading to the mosque and makam "Sheikh Looloo". a place / venerated by the Moslems.

The report was composed by Schick in 1899, after he has been working with the British explorers already for 34 years and, indeed, he had already improved his English skills. The examination by the present author revealed that Schick's earlier reports are often more ambiguous. The above-quoted report was not published, even though it contains plans of the structure and its surrounding that could be helpful to researchers. It seems that refraining from publishing this report was an editorial decision that would question the essay's clarity, or its potential value for the readers, or possibly both.

Evidently, when it came to describing archaeological features or architectural elements, Schick's unclear wording could cause readers to misunderstand his findings. Therefore, in cases when Schick's results were considered too important to be simply ignored, although the description was unclear, the editors took the liberty of rephrasing Schick's formulation. The editorial rephrasing required deciding between various possible interpretations of Schick's ambiguous text. Contacting Schick in Jerusalem for clarification was almost impossible in a reasonable timeframe (particularly given the modest budget of the PEF) and, what is more, a response from Schick would not necessarily provide sufficient answers. Hence, the editors had to apply common sense in resolving the issues which arose from Schick's unclear descriptions. The importance of studying Schick's original communications for today's research is self-evident. The editorial rewriting of their contents by the *PEFQSt* editors might well have resulted in a final published text with a meaning different to that construed by its original author.¹³

A pertinent example is Schick's report on the conduit under the Muslim Quarter to the subterranean pool beneath the Convent of the Sisters of Zion.¹⁴ The aqueduct was discovered by Schick in 1871 when he was employed supervising engineering work for the Jerusalem's authorities. Schick sent to London the following description on the conduit's style of construction (PEF DA/SCHICK/2; emphasis is as in the original):¹⁵

The bottom of the aqueduct, and nearly throughout partly also the sides, more or / less high is rock, the rest over it masonry and in general arched. [...] / ; in the roof were many skeyholes [*sic*] now blocked / up;

Schick reported his observation in a letter sent directly to Wilson. The latter published the information in a *PEFQSt* article (Wilson 1872) devoted to news from Schick, adding his own analysis of the newly discovered water system. Rephrasing of Schick's description was most probably done by Wilson (1872: 41).¹⁶

According to Mr. Schick, the aqueduct [...] is partly hewn out of the rock, and partly of masonry, the channel being covered by a vault in which numerous openings, now closed by rubbish, were noticed.

Comparing Schick's unpublished letter *vis-à-vis* Wilson's published description reveals that the two do not necessarily correlate. Schick may have meant that the rock-cut part of the conduit was up to almost *full height* of its walls, and above it was the built portion. On the other hand, Wilson's description simply says that there were two parts seen in the aqueduct — the hewn part and the built part, i.e., without defining the proportions of the two parts. Schick's unclear term 'general arched' became Wilson's 'covered by a vault'. However, it is possible that the arches were seen along most of the route (to explain the word 'general') but not

along the entire length of the conduit (perhaps, other parts of it were covered with stone slabs or not covered at all). Schick's term 'skeyholes' (presumably his misspelling of 'skyholes') may denote manholes, thus the simple term 'openings' in Wilson's rewriting is unclear.¹⁷ Furthermore, the 'rubbish' mentioned by Wilson is not found in Schick's report

The comparison leads us to a vital understanding, namely that the edited published texts of Schick's other papers may have been significantly changed during their preparation for publication in London. To learn about Schick's archaeological record, one should also examine his original descriptions. This is crucial because many sites, particularly in Jerusalem, which were excavated or surveyed by Schick, are inaccessible today¹⁸ or have been destroyed since his time. We might arrive at incorrect conclusions if we base our understanding solely on the published versions.

4. UNDERSTANDING SCHICK'S PLANS AND SECTIONS

The archaeological assessment by the present author of the PEF archival documents resolved that the most valuable items of Schick's material, which may significantly contribute to the contemporary study of Jerusalem's archaeology, are his unpublished drawings. These include plans, sections, drawings of artefacts, and maps. Many of the plans are kept in the archives separately from the draft reports discussing them. The *PEF Quarterly Statement* often published Schick's reports without their accompanying plans.¹⁹ Omitting drawings from publications could be a result of financial consideration (high costs involved in reproducing the graphical material, as well as in some cases avoiding publishing preliminary sketches), or due to doubts regarding the accuracy of Schick's drawings, or possibly both.

An affirmative example of the contribution of Schick archival graphical works for present-day archaeological research is his unpublished cross-section through the Pool of Hezekiah and the Greek-Orthodox St. John the Baptist church (**Fig. 4**) (PEF DA/SCHICK/290).²⁰ Schick measured the pool and its surroundings in the course of several occasions during his work as an architect (cf. Schick 1891: 277–78; 1897). The sketch, dated to 1898, seems to summarise his results over the years. The section specifies levels for the pool's bottom measured by Schick. It also allows us to learn how far the bedrock slope descends to the east. The cross-section documents a feature on the eastern side of the pool that was hardly known from other sources: a massive dam, 9.1 m wide. The dam is situated under the houses which were built after Schick had examined the dam on the west side of the Christian Street. The cross-section permits the proposition that the large pool (44 × 94 m) initially functioned as a reservoir for run-off water and that the dam impeded the flow down the valley (Gurevich 2017: 117). Also, Schick's section has permitted the identification of the remaining parts of this dam in a 19th century

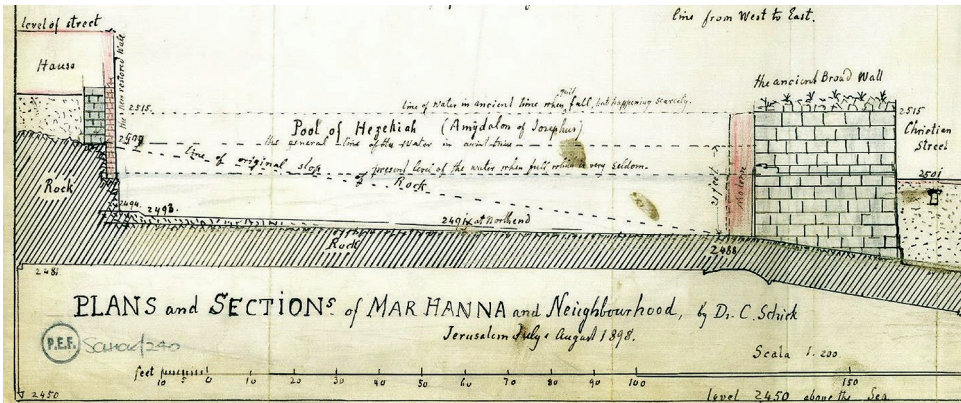


Fig. 4. Schick's cross-section through the Pool of Hezekiah (enlarged from a cross-section covering a bigger area). Source: PEF DA/SCHICK/290.

photograph (Gurevich 2017: 114, fig. 7). The location and direction of this feature suit the course of the Second Wall of Jerusalem from the Late Second Temple period, described by Josephus, as was noted by Kloner (1999).²¹

Notwithstanding the potential contribution of Schick's material, a critical eye should always be applied when examining his graphical work in the archives. In the section of the Pool of Hezekiah, the dam is comprised of ashlar. No matter how much free access Schick received to the area (if any?), Schick could not measure every single stone at the dam. Hence, Schick's section should not be seen as a testimony for the number of stones in each course, nor the number of courses, nor the dimension of every single stone. Indeed, Schick saw and documented a dam; but its texture on his plan demonstrates only that the described element was a masonry-built wall, nothing more. It was not necessary even made of ashlar.

Schick's plan stands in contrast to the comprehensive sections produced by Warren, in which every stone below the surface represents an element which was inspected and measured (cf. Warren 1881: pl. XIII; note the measurements in feet near the stones shown there). The reason for the PEF's discomfort with Schick is clear: it is simply that he did not achieve the standard of precision that they expected.²²

In rare cases, a more severe precaution must be applied to Schick's unpublished drawings. An instance of this is Schick's plan drawn in 1901 a few months before he passed away which shows his examination of the area of the Gihon Spring and the Kidron Valley (**Fig. 5**) (PEF DA/SCHICK/187).²³ This sheet is titled: 'PLAN of the spring & water works with the King's Pool near Siloah, Jerusalem'. A prominent element on this plan is a water pool in the valley, situated southeast of the spring. This is a large trapezoid-shaped reservoir; Schick specifies its length in words on the plan — 270 ft, and its width which varies from 90 (north) to 170

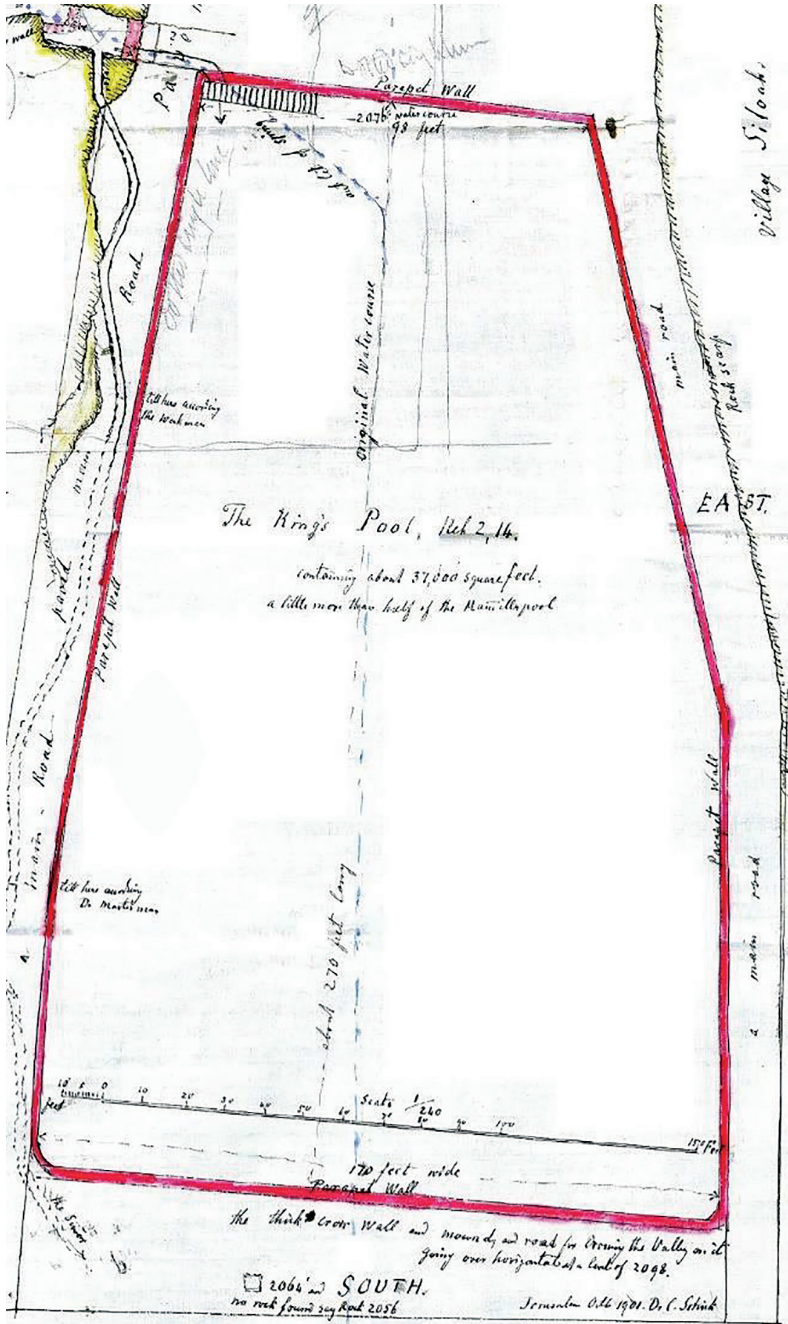


Fig. 5. Schick's plan of the Gihon Spring and the King's Pool (enlarged from a plan covering a bigger area). Source: PEF DA/SCHICK/187.

ft (south). The pool has four ‘parapet’ walls. A staircase is shown at its NW angle. Schick’s explanation, written on the plan, seems conclusive:

The King’s Pool, Neh 2, 14./ containing about 37,000 square feet. / a little more than half of the Mamilla pool.

For present-day research, this plan might be an asset for the study of Jerusalem’s water systems because no other modern archaeologist has surveyed a reservoir at this point. From 1901 till the present, this location went through development and building operations; thus, previously existing ancient remains now cannot be traced.

However, a different archival document by Schick raises serious doubts regarding the validity of that plan of the pool: the cross-section describing the same area (**Fig. 6** and the enlarged area shown in **Fig. 7**) (PEF DA/SCHICK/188). Its title reveals that the pool was, in fact, a hypothetical idea by Schick (emphasis added): ‘SECTION of the Kidron Valley, Jerusalem and of the supposed ancient Pool and the spring Sitti Miryam (Siloah) by “Ain el darratj”’.

The same doubts are confirmed through reading the published *PEFQSt* paper, which included only a schematic map showing a portion of the area.²⁴ The pool there is missing many details which are found on Schick’s original plan, such as its staircase and its wide walls, and the pool is referred as ‘Supposed Pool’ (Schick 1902b: 30). In this *PEFQSt* article, Schick proposed that the pool was constructed by David and Solomon and that its locations ‘is not known, but it probably occupied the width of the valley, leaving only space for a road on each side’ (Schick 1902b: 34).

To sum up, we discovered that the pool was depicted in the unpublished plan, but it was referred as a ‘supposed’ pool only in the unpublished cross-section. The

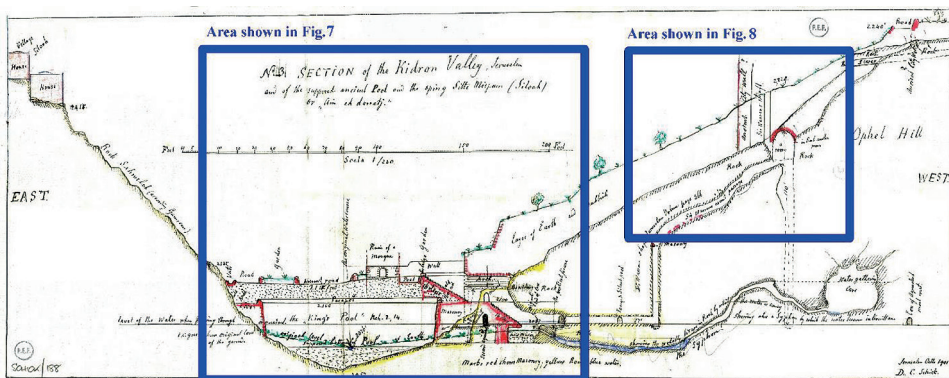


Fig. 6. Schick’s cross-section of the Gihon Spring and the King’s Pool, with locations of Fig. 7 and Fig. 8. Source: PEF DA/SCHICK/188.

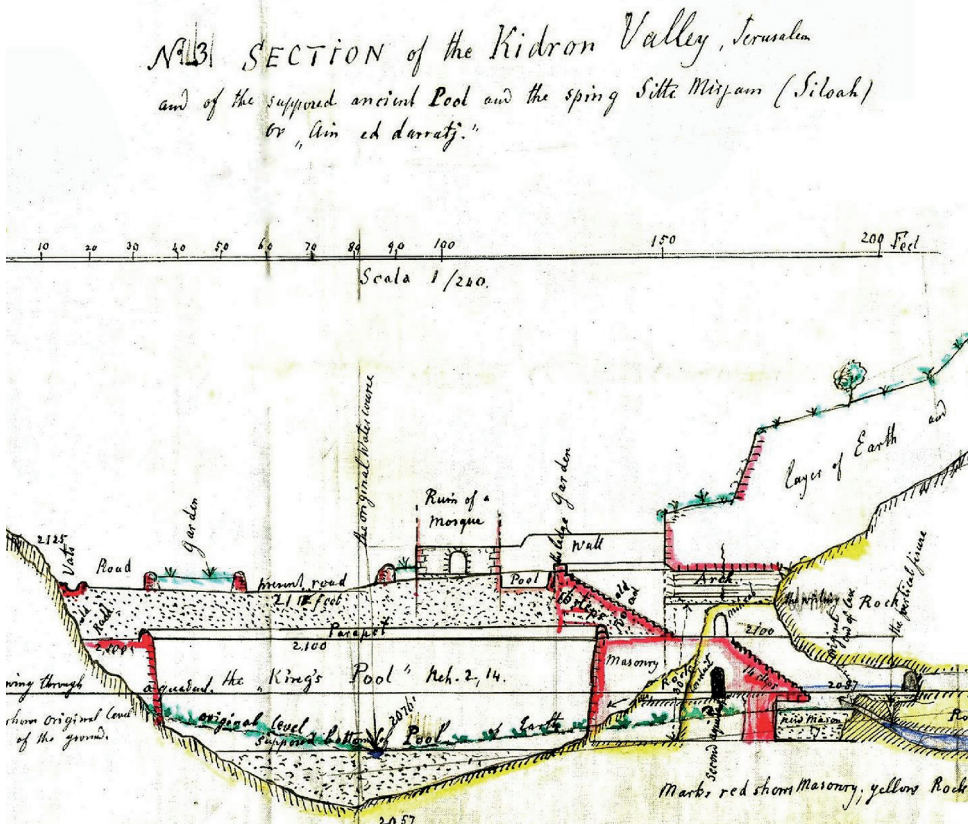


Fig. 7. The Gihon Spring and the King's Pool. Source: enlarged from PEF DA/SCHICK/188

same applies to the schematic published map; and the pool's location is described as unknown in the published paper. Consequently, we should conclude that Schick believed the place had been once a site for a pool, although he had never discovered an actual pool. Schick's unpublished plan (**Fig. 5**), which illustrates his assumption, not the archaeological record, was decisive in this matter.²⁵

Another theory advanced by Schick in the above-mentioned paper (Schick 1902b:34) argued that the ancient city wall must have been on the eastern slope of the City of David hill. Schick postulated that Warren's shaft led to the area inside the city, hence the walls must be found to its east and people could access the ancient tunnel safely. Schick added a presumed location for the wall on the hill's eastern slope — 'ancient City Wall?' (emphasis added; **Fig. 6** and the enlarged area shown in **Fig. 8**). This wall is marked in a short distance to the east from the entrance to 'Sir Warren's shaft'. However, the *PEFQSt* editors deliberately

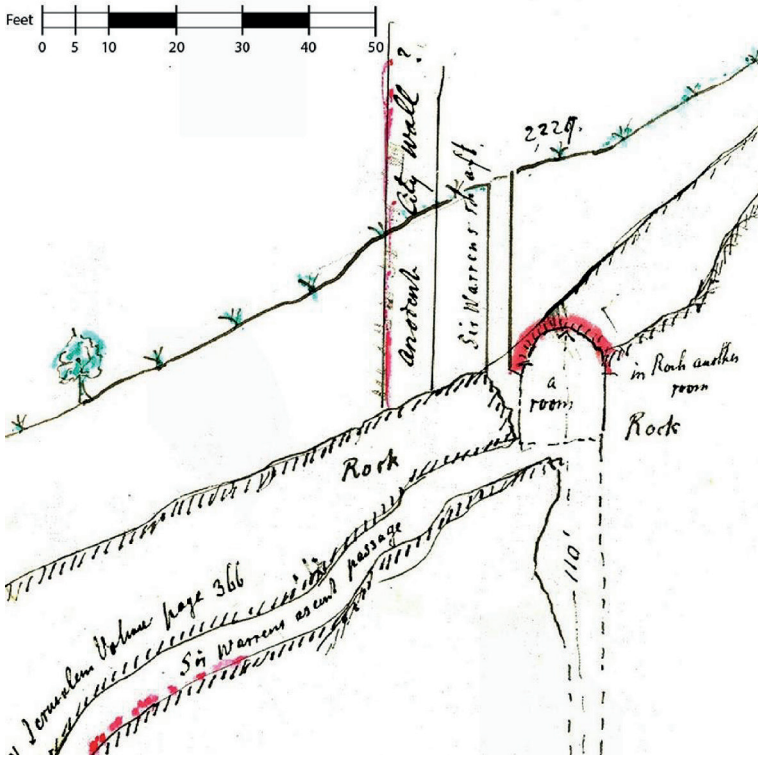


Fig. 8. The city wall on the eastern slope of the City of David hill. Source: enlarged from PEF DA/SCHICK/188.

refrained from publishing this part of Schick's cross-section (see the editorial remark: Schick 1902b: 34 n. 2), despite the fact that Schick took the caution of marking a clear question mark above the wall. This editorial decision turned to be a mistake. We should remember that the location of the eastern wall of the Bronze Age city became a subject of long archaeological debate during the following century. Summarising the history of archaeological research, Reich (2011:44) criticised the *PEFQSt* editorial decision, implying that full publication of Schick's section in 1902 could have advanced the research at that time.

This analysis leads us to another important understanding. To use Schick's unpublished material in researching the archaeological record, we should always check the entire corpus of the available documents and only then draw conclusions.

5. ATTITUDES AT THE PEF TO SCHICK'S WORK

Before Schick's papers were accepted for publication in *PEFQSt*, at least some of his works were sent for checking by the relevant PEF personnel who were familiar

with Jerusalem. Some of the internal correspondence sheds light on hesitations concerning Schick's reports.

In a letter addressed to Dr. T. Chaplin (erstwhile editor of the *PEFQSt*) dated 2 December 1889, Wilson responded to a draft manuscript by Schick which was submitted to him for consultation (PEF DA/SCHICK/23).²⁶

I return Schick's letter and / drawings [?]. I do not much care / myself about these highly speculative / papers, but my taste may differ from / that of most of the readers of the Q.S. / Schick finds a core of masonry / and at once builds a new theory / of the City Walls upon it. If you / print the paper I would certainly / omit the plans and sections [:] / it would be a pure waste of money to lithograph them. [...] / I wish / Schick could be got to dig at / places which would either by / finding or nothing / add to our knowledge of old Jerusalem.

Wilson knew Schick very well from their collaboration in Jerusalem in 1864–5, and also, his request to Schick to make measurements in the city in 1866 (Wilson 1902:39). While Wilson expressed discomfort of Schick's theories, which he had read in the draft report, he did believe that Schick should be sent to conduct further excavations elsewhere for the PEF. In the postscript of his letter he asks Chaplin whether Schick was assigned an excavation for the PEF at that time.

Wilson conveyed his letter to the PEF office via Conder, the former head of the PEF's Survey of Western Palestine expedition, added his comments on the question of that particular paper. Conder composed a separate note with the coat of arms of the OS, bearing the same date as Wilson's letter (PEF DA/SCHICK/24):²⁷

Dear Dr. Chaplin / Sir Charles Wilson / shew[e]d me this letter and / asked me to send it you. / I concur as to the / paper[.] What we must / want from Schick is / definite account of / what he finds. This / has indulged in several / theories, the publications / of which has caused con-/ fusion. If he is to dig / for P.E.F.[,] I think Ophel / & Zion are capital places / for him to work on, but / he claims to discover so / very much on such very / slight foundation.

Conder, who also had worked with Schick just a few years earlier (see below), instructs the PEF office where Schick should focus his excavations in the future on behalf of the PEF in order to obtain useful results. It seems that following this episode, Schick continued to dig from time to time for the PEF with precise instructions from London. Two years later (1891), in his published report regarding the pool near the Tombs of the Kings, he testifies: 'In February last I got an order from the Palestine Exploration Fund Committee to trace the aqueduct from the pool by the north road; when found, a very little excavation will show whether it ran to the Damascus Gate or to the modern St. Stephen's Gate' (Schick 1892: 10).

But the absence of Schick's clarity was a continuous challenge. Wilson and Schick maintained close ties till Schick passed away in December 1901. Shortly after Schick's death, Wilson published an obituary. In addition to his many positive words on the significant contribution of Schick to the PEF and that Schick 'was, as a rule, accurate and painstaking', Wilson mentioned also the greatest shortcoming of Schick's work (Wilson 1902:140): 'In his later drawings and reports he rarely made any distinction between what he had seen and what he assumed to exist. This, more than once, led to errors which he was the first to acknowledge and regret when further research showed that he was wrong'.

Not all the PEF field staff collaborated with Schick. Charles Warren particularly avoided him, as testified by the letter sent by Schick to Wilson on 15 December 1871, over two years after Warren finished his work in Jerusalem (PEF DA/SCHICK/2).²⁸

[...] Your hope, \that/ myself will aßist [*sic*] Captain Stuard [*sic*], will by the Grace / of God not fail, as far as I am able to aßist [*sic*] or my service is wanted & wished? / Captain Warren used my service only in a few and very exceptional cases, so to the most / part I learned by his printed reports only what was going on, of which I felt in some / degree sorry as all his publications, reports, letters & plans could here not be got. So for / example I could till to day [*sic*] buy this lithographs № 11, 14, 15, 16, 17, 24, 34, 39, 40. [...] / Nor take any copy of them, as no one here poßes [*sic*] them. Beging [*sic*] several time for simply / to take a copy off or to pay for — I got the promise but never the papers!

'Captain Stuard' must be Capt. R. W. Stewart who arrived in the Holy Land in November 1871 to lead the PEF's Survey of Western Palestine expedition, but had shortly to return to England after falling ill with malaria. It seems that Wilson recommended to Stewart that he should hire Schick as a local expert. Collaboration with Schick was later carried out by Conder, who used his services in Jerusalem and even consulted him before submitting material to London (Conder 1879: 347–48). For Schick, the Survey of Western Palestine represented a major change in attitude by the PEF after he was mostly ignored by Warren.

6. CONCLUSIONS

Conrad Schick worked with the PEF from its commencement until his death. Despite the hesitant attitude towards his reports, he proved to be a useful asset for that society's activity in the Holy Land and, particularly, in Jerusalem. The *PEFQSt* published about 220 of Schick's reports and notes.²⁹ It is an extraordinary quantity of papers. He was appreciated because of the information he succeeded in obtaining from sites and locations that were beyond the reach of the British scholars. His permanent residence in Jerusalem enabled the PEF to receive frequent

news about archaeological discoveries and documentation of new findings. Also, the PEF would assign him to tasks, *inter alia*, initiating excavations and small surveys. Schick regularly reported to London on his activities.

Schick's published reports went through extensive editing by the PEF personnel in London. His poor English skills and ambiguous descriptions resulted in significant alterations to his texts. In some cases, the editorial work seems to have changed the original meaning of the author (such as in the case of the Northern Aqueduct). Therefore, analysing Schick's archival materials is essential for learning about those unexplored sites today.

Many of Schick's reports were not published by the PEF by editorial choice. Others were shortened or the accompanying drawings were removed. We may suggest various reasons that could have guided the editors, such as low interest in the particular sites or results; financial difficulties in printing long reports with graphical content; doubts regarding the quality of Schick's draughtsmanship; ludicrous personal accounts in Schick's communications which were viewed negatively in relation to the scientific goals of the PEF, or, as highly speculative theories. Nevertheless, reassessment of his unpublished material — applying adequate caution — can shed light on sites which are not accessible to present-day excavators. His graphical material can contribute most among his documentary legacy. To assess Schick's material, we should analyse all his preserved documents dealing with the particular site in question. Schick's draft manuscripts and unpublished works will contribute a great deal to the study of the archaeology in the region.

Schick's case is not unique. Archives of the PEF, as much as other archives of scholarly institutions, contain numerous documents that are valuable for archaeologists. For complex sites such as Jerusalem (which has been explored continuously for more than 150 years), archival inquiry must be a compulsory step for any research project.

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Notes

- 1 The successor of the *PEFQSt* is the peer-reviewed Palestine Exploration Quarterly (*PEQ*) journal.
- 2 For previous studies on Schick's scientific contribution to the explorations of the Holy Land, see: Goren 1998a, Goren 1999: 235–50, Gibson 2000, Reich 2011: 27–32, 39–44, and references therein.
- 3 The pattern of catalogue item identification number for Schick-related documents is 'PEF DA/SCHICK/*', where the asterisk denotes the serial number of the archive item (i.e., PEF DA/SCHICK/1, PEF DA/SCHICK/2 and so on) and 'DA' denotes Document Archive. The pattern applies for manuscripts as well as graphic materials. On the documents is marked a number which follows the pattern 'SCHICK/*' (i.e., SCHICK/1, SCHICK/2 respectively).
- 4 The catalogue was made in 1970 by Stanley Tongue, archivist of Hackney Borough Council in East London, who worked on a project of preservation of PEF's cultural heritage funded by Public Records Office (the National Archives today). Tongue passed away before the project was completed (Felicity Cobbing, personal communication to the author, 3 Nov. 2019).
- 5 Many of these materials are in a bad state of preservation.
- 6 This pool was filled by Jerusalem's city authorities in 1938 and was absent for modern research. Its location was reestablished near the neighborhood Sheikh Jarah in the modern Jerusalem. For the study on this pool see Gurevich 2013; English map with its restored location in Gurevich 2017: 109.
- 7 In August 2019 these documents were kept in a single folder at the DAI. However, DAI has no catalogue for these materials and the documents were not numbered.
- 8 A few other books from Schick's library are located in his former house Beit Tavor in Jerusalem, in custody of the Swedish Theological Institute. I am grateful to Maria Leppäkari for this information.
- 9 According to Gibson, the first formal link between the PEF and Schick did not occur before 1872 (Gibson 2000: 113).
- 10 The emphasis is in the origin. The omitted part was removed by the present author.
- 11 Another possible reading: may.
- 12 On the precision and draughtsmanship standards applied by the Royal Engineers in early PEF work, see Matskevich 2019: 40–42.
- 13 Of course, the same applies to archival materials of other authors whose manuscripts underwent extensive editing.

- 14 This water conduit is also referred by scholars as ‘the Northern Aqueduct’ (Gurevich 2017: 124) or ‘the Hasmonean Aqueduct’ (Bahat 2013: 303–28). Bahat’s suggested dating to the Hasmonean period is doubtful.
- 15 The omitted part was removed by the present author.
- 16 The omitted part was removed by the present author.
- 17 I am grateful to Shimon Gibson for this insight.
- 18 For example, underground cisterns below the Temple Mount, water conduits in the Old City, water pools, ancient remains under the later streets and houses.
- 19 For instance, note the editorial remark in the publication of one of Schick’s last papers: ‘The sections and plans referred to but not reproduced are preserved in the office of the Fund’ (Schick 1902a: 43 n. 1).
- 20 A. Dickie removed some details, added others, redrew Schick’s work as a schematic sketch and appended it to his article on the St. John’s the Baptist church (Dickie 1899: opp. 44). Dickie attributed the sketch he published to Schick (see the text ‘By Dr. C. Schick’ below the title). However, Schick (1902a: 48), in his article a few years later, claimed that the drawing is Dickie’s. Therefore, Dickie sketched a new cross-section based on Schick’s original sketch. Schick probably disliked Dickie’s product but Schick’s original work was never published. On new excavations at the St. John’s Church see: Humbert 2016.
- 21 Schick regarded the element as ‘ancient broad wall’ which resonates with the biblical wall mentioned in Neh. 3:8. He witnessed the wall in 1846, stating that it ‘consisted of very large stones, which were broken up and used as common mason’s stones’ (Schick 1891: 277).
- 22 It is worth noting an unusual example regarding the use of Schick’s plan by C. Warren. Warren published a plan of the eastern half of Muristan in his collection of *Plans, Elevations, Sections, etc.* (Warren 1884: pl. L). However, Warren could not obtain the data represented on the map during his limited excavations in Jerusalem in 1867–1870. In the index attached to his set of plans, the above-mentioned plan is attributed to C. Conder (Warren 1881). However, careful examination of the plan led to the conclusion that it was originally prepared by Schick and redrafted in the PEF office: note the formulation ‘Crusading Work’ which was used by Schick; the handwriting is similar to other plans in Warren 1884. Schick (1889: 113) mentioned that he handed a plan of Muristan to Conder and that it was later ‘used, together with a section of the lie of the rock, by Sir Charles Warren in his great Portfolio of Plates (no. 50)’; cf. Gibson 2016: 49, title of fig. 2.8 there. Schick’s name is not written on the published plan. Warren generally avoided collaboration with Schick as testified by the latter (see herein). For history of excavations in Muristan, see Gibson 2016: 48–53.
- 23 Schick used the terms ‘Siloah Spring’ and ‘Virgin’s Fount’ for the Gihon Spring.
- 24 An editorial note below Schick’s sentence, which mentions that he prepared plans and a section, explains the situation: ‘The plans and sections are preserved in the office. Only those portions which include the Virgin’s Fount are published here’ (Schick 1902b: 30 n. 1).
- 25 It is worth noting that Reich and Shukron (2002: 5) postulated that a reservoir could have existed in Kidron Valley which received water from the MB II water conduit

(Channel II). According to their description, the suggested hypothetical location is in short distance to the south of Schick's location.

26 The term 'Q S'. stands for 'Quarterly Statement'.

27 The proposal that Wilson's letter (PEF DA/SCHICK/23) and Conder's note (PEF DA/SCHICK/24) were submitted to the office together is based on two facts. Firstly, Conder mentions a certain Wilson's letter. Secondly, Conder suggests spots for Schick to dig, which is a direct outcome of Wilson's proposal that Schick should change the locations of his future excavations for the Fund.

28 Note the use of the German symbol ß for the double letter 's' in Schick's letter. The omitted part was removed by the present author.

29 This figure is based on Schick's bibliography composed by Goren (1998b).

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