Remembering Ehud Netzer (1934-2010)

by Barbara Burrell

Ehud Netzer, architect, archaeologist, and the world's foremost expert on the building program of Herod the Great, died of injuries sustained in a fall at his own excavation of Herod's tomb complex at Herodium on October 28, 2010. He was 76 years old.

He was born Ehud Menczel in Jerusalem on Friday May 13, 1934, son of Drs. Puah and Josef S. Menczel, both distinguished educators. He was fourteen years old at the birth of the State of Israel, in 1948. During the War of Independence the family left Jerusalem and moved to Haifa, where he joined a socialist youth movement, Mahanot Ha'olim, whose members were sent to help on kibbutzim. He worked as a shepherd for Kibbutz Hamadia in the Bet She'an valley, and this time spent in walking, observing the landscape, and finding ancient flints along the Jordan river valley led to a lifelong fascination with archaeology.

After army service, Ehud entered Technion, the Israel Institute of Technology in Haifa, in 1954. He studied architecture, and thus began a double career as practicing architect and field archaeologist. As an undergraduate, he spent three of his summer vacations (1956-58) as surveyor for Yigael Yadin's excavation at Hazor, working under the architect Immanuel Dunayevsky, who became his mentor and friend.

He received his BSc in architecture in 1958, and went into the office of David Resnick in Jerusalem from 1959 to 1962. He still made time for archaeological projects, working as architect for Moshe Dothan's excavation at Tiberias, though later in 1962 he took a year abroad in Denmark, where he was employed by a large architectural firm. On his return to Israel in 1963, he went directly to the Ashdod excavations, where he again worked under the direction of Dothan.

In 1963, Yadin, for whom Ehud had worked at Hazor, made him co-architect with Dunayevsky for the new excavations at Masada. Ehud was also put in charge of restoration of the site on behalf of Israel's National Parks Authority, preparing for its opening to the public. It was at Masada that he met his future wife, Dvorah Dove, a student of archaeology and Jewish history at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, who was working on pottery restoration. As they were the first Masada staff to become engaged, Yadin tried to persuade them to be married on the rock itself, but they demurred in favor of a private ceremony, held in Beer Sheba in 1964.

The territories acquired by Israel in the Six-Day War of 1967 led Ehud to focus on reconstructing contemporary as well as ancient sites. Directly after the war, he worked to preserve and present the archaeological sites of Qumran and Hisham's Palace near Jericho. He headed a team of architects creating the master plan for the Jewish Quarter of the Old City of Jerusalem; his account of it in English is in Y. Yadin (ed.), *Jerusalem Revealed* (Jerusalem 1975) 118-121. With Sa'adia Mendel, he also created a master plan for the historic Yemin Moshe district of West Jerusalem, reconstructed the neighborhood of Mishkenot Sha'ananim, and from 1968 to 1972 designed public buildings in Dahab, Faran, and St. Catherine in Sinai, Egypt.

During this time Ehud and Dvorah had four children: Chana (born 1966), Ruti (1967), Yael (1968) and Yosef (1969). In 1970, he designed and built the family a house in the Givat HaMivtar district of Jerusalem; he joked that it was his fifth child. Integrated into the hillside landscape, with a splendid western view, garden terraces, and a driveway paved with discarded potsherds, it was not just a family home, but also a hospitable center for relatives, friends, and colleagues, and a combined workplace, storeroom, and archaeological archive. In order to be with the children while Ehud pursued his many projects, Dvorah sought a career closer to home, and became a clinical social worker at Hadassah Hospital on Mt. Scopus.

After Dunayevsky's death, in 1969 Ehud became architect for the Hebrew University's Institute of Archaeology. From 1970-1972 he served as architect and co-director for Hebrew University teams at excavations of late antique synagogues at Ein Gedi and at

Khirbet Susiya. From here on, as each of his many fields of endeavor is broached, I will include a selection, by no means exhaustive, of his publications on the topic. Where, as often, he published both a Hebrew and an English version, I will cite the one in English.

"The second season of excavations in the synagogue at En-Gedi" (with D. Barag and Y. Porat), in L.I. Levine (ed.) *Ancient synagogues revealed* (Jerusalem 1981) 116-119

"Excavations in the synagogue at Khirbet Susiya" (with S. Gutman and Z. Yeivin), in L.I. Levine (ed.) *Ancient synagogues revealed* (Jerusalem 1981) 123-128.

As his last name was often misspelled and misunderstood, Ehud changed it from Menczel to Netzer (Hebrew "upshoot, scion") in 1972. It was also in that year that he officially began the doctoral program in archaeology at the Hebrew University, though he hardly needed to do any coursework, as he had already been trained by the pioneers of the discipline, and had done advanced fieldwork for years. His dissertation supervised by Yadin, "An Architectural and Archaeological Analysis of Building in the Herodian Period at Herodium and Jericho," was based on his own excavations at those sites, and earned him the PhD in 1978. He then became a senior lecturer at the Institute of Archaeology in 1981, assistant professor in 1991, associate professor in 1998, and full professor in 2000. He became professor emeritus in 2002, retiring from full-time instructional duties. This allowed him more time to enjoy the company of his children and ten grandchildren, though he never stopped excavating, researching and writing.

It is remarkable to number how many major excavations Ehud directed, starting in the 1970s and continuing throughout his life; almost as difficult is calculating how many discoveries he made, especially on sites built by Herod the Great. Perhaps most remarkable is how steadily he published the results of those excavations, not just in professional venues but in those of broader appeal. This is a difficult challenge for any archaeologist, but especially so for one with such an unceasing field program. To lay out his level of involvement in all these projects would take a diagram as complicated as those he designed to illustrate Herod's own project schedule. Therefore his

archaeological sites, along with a selection of his publications (both scholarly and popular) upon each, will be presented here in non-chronological order.

After his intensive work on Yadin's team, Masada remained important in his thoughts and research; his analyses of the core structures of the palatial buildings and the subsequent development of the Northern Palace are still crucial to understanding architecture of Herod's time. As Yadin died in 1964, before he could issue a final report, Ehud and Gideon Foerster joined to prepare and publish the final reports of the excavations, eight volumes of which have now appeared. Ehud's own magisterial report, Masada III: The Yigael Yadin Excavations 1963-1965, The Buildings, Stratigraphy and Architecture (Jerusalem 1991) won the Irene Levi-Sala first prize for professional books, awarded by Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, Beer Sheba. He directed excavation at Masada in 1989 and in 1995-1997, the latter with Guy Stiebel, and also continued to work on the site's development and presentation, serving from 1995 2007 architectural/archeological advisor for the National Parks Authority there.

Some further works on Masada are:

"Reconstruction and preservation of Masada," *Journal of the Association of Engineers and Architects in Israel* 24 (1966) 44-48

"The water supply network of Masada" in D. Amit et al. (eds.) *The aqueducts of ancient Palestine* (Jerusalem 1989) 261-272 (in Hebrew)

"The destruction of Masada," Eretz-Israel 20 (1989) 311-329 (in Hebrew).

"The last days and hours at Masada," BAR 17 (1991) 20-32

"Les palais du roi Herode a Massada," Le monde de la Bible 72 (1992) 3-12

"Masada from foundation to destruction: an architectural history" in G. Hurvitz (ed.), *The Story of Masada, Discoveries from the Excavations* (Provo, Utah 1997) 33-50

"The rebels' archives at Masada," *IEJ* 54 (2004) 218-229

"The new excavations at Masada" (with G. Stiebel), *Ariel* 174 (2006) 22-33 (in Hebrew)

"Answer to an article" of Y. Hirshfeld, "The Northern Palace at Masada: A new interpretation," (with G. Stiebel), *Ariel* 174 (2006) 40-41 (in Hebrew).

As well as being a lifelong resident and architect of Jerusalem, Ehud directed several important excavations in the city. In 1972 he and Sara Ben-Arieh began a dig along the "Third Wall," and in 1977 they worked together again on a project he initiated, investigating an unusual structure in opus reticulatum, a technique he related to Roman workmen involved in Herod's projects. Of course, Herod's activities on the Temple Mount, where the king restored and expanded the Second Temple and made a place for himself in the sacred complex with a magnificent new basilical stoa, were central to his research up to the end of his life (see below). His publications on the city include:

"Excavations along the 'Third Wall' of Jerusalem, 1972-1974" (with S. Ben-Arieh) *IEJ* 24 (1974) 97-107

"Remains of an opus reticulatum building in Jerusalem" (with S. Ben-Arieh) *IEJ* 33, (1983) 163-175

"Herod's family tomb in Jerusalem" BAR 9 (1983) 52-59

"The form and function of courts and gates that surrounded the Second Temple," *Qadmoniot* 33 no. 130 (2005) 97-106 (in Hebrew)

"The planning of the Temple Mount by Herod," *Judea and Samaria Research Studies* 16 (2007) 59-70 (in Hebrew).

A highlight of his career was his identification of the Hasmonean palace complex at Jericho, the first and so far the only proven remains left by the dynasty to which Herod was successor. His excavations at the oasis, carried out over thirteen seasons from 1972 to 1987, revealed palatial pavilions, swimming pools, and the water systems and infrastructure for the royal agricultural estate. He also documented three distinct palace

complexes built by Herod, each more luxurious than the last, culminating in the Third or "opus reticulatum" Palace straddling the Wadi Qelt. In 1976 he extended his excavations to Tell es-Samarat near Jericho, site of Herod's unique spectacle building, which he identified as a combination of hippodrome, theater, and gymnasium. He returned to Jericho for small-scale excavations around the palace complexes from 1994 to 2000, identifying what may be the oldest known synagogue yet discovered in the Holy Land, dating from the Hasmonean period. As already noted, Jericho, along with Herodium, had been the subject of his PhD thesis, and in 2004 he won yet another Irene Levi-Sala first prize for the first two volumes of his final report, The Hasmonean and Herodian Palaces at Jericho, Final Report of the 1973-1987 Excavations, I: Stratigraphy and Architecture (Jerusalem 2001) and II: Stratigraphy and Architecture, with Rachel Laureys-Chachy (Jerusalem 2004). The first volume, together with his Masada final publication, was a prominent factor in his winning the American Schools of Oriental Research Frank Moore Cross Publication Award for the most substantial volume(s) related to ancient Near Eastern and eastern Mediterranean epigraphy, text and/or tradition, in 2002. As well as these works, here is a small selection of his many publications on Jericho:

"The Hasmonean and Herodian winter palaces at Jericho," *Qadmoniot* 7 nos. 25-26 (1974) 28-36 (in Hebrew)

"The winter palaces of the Judean kings at Jericho at the end of the Second Temple Period," *BASOR* 228 (1977) 1-13

"Miqv'aot (ritual baths) of the Second Temple period at Jericho," *Qadmoniot* 11 nos. 42-43 (1978) 54-59 (In Hebrew)

"The Hippodrome that Herod built at Jericho", *Qadmoniot* 13 nos. 51-52 (1980) 104-107 (in Hebrew)

"Ancient ritual baths (miqvaot) in Jericho," Jerusalem Cathedra (Detroit 1982) 106-119 "Water channels and a royal estate from the Late Hellenistic Period in the western plains of Jericho," *Leichtweiss-Institut für Wasserbau der Technischen Universität Braunschweig, Mitteilungen* 82 (1984) 1-12

"The swimming pools of the Hasmonean period at Jericho," *Leichtweiss-Institut für Wasserbau der Technischen Universität Braunschweig Mitteilungen* 89 (1986) 1-12

Die Wasserversorgung des geschichtlichen Jericho und seiner königlichen Anlagen (Gut, Winterpalaste) (with G. Garbrecht), Leichtweiss-Institut für Wasserbau der Technischen Universität Braunschweig, Mitteilungen 115 (1991)

"The Herodian theatre, amphitheatre and hippodrome at Tell es-Samarat in the plain of Jericho", in Y. Eshel (ed.), *Judea and Samaria Research Studies*, Proceedings of the fifth annual meeting 1995 (Kedumim-Ariel 1996) 135-141 (in Hebrew)

"A synagogue from the Hasmonean period recently exposed in the western plain of Jericho," *IEJ* 49 (1999) 203-221

"Jericho, the Jewish cemetery of the Second Temple period," *IAA Reports* 7 (1999) 45-50

"Date winepress' in the royal estate in Jericho," *Judea and Samaria Research Studies* 11 (2002) 69-79 (in Hebrew)

"Water channels and a royal estate of the Late Hellenistic period in Jericho's western plains" (with E. Garbrecht), in D. Amit et al. (eds.), *The Aqueducts of Israel*, JRA Supp. 46 (2002) 367-379

"The synagogues from the Second Temple period according to archaeological finds and in light of the literary sources," in G.C. Bottini et al. (eds.) *One land – many cultures, archaeological studies in honour of S. Loffreda* (Jerusalem 2003) 277-285

"Jericho – A garden city from the Second Temple period," *Judea and Samaria Research Studies* 12 (2003) 77-89 (in Hebrew)

"The contribution of the Hasmoneans and Herod to the development of Jericho," *Judea and Samaria Research Studies* 15 (2006) 73-84 (in Hebrew).

Ehud's extensive work in the Jericho area led him to the mountain peak that dominated the oasis and its plain, site of Cypros, a fortress that Herod had named after his mother. In 1974-75, he and his co-director, Emmanuel Damati, discovered the remains of the Herodian fortress and royal dwelling there; a short report in Hebrew was published in *Qadmoniot* 8 nos. 30-31 (1975) 54-61, as well as the entry "Cypros" in E. Stern (ed.), *The new encyclopedia of archaeological excavations in the Holy Land* (Jerusalem 1993) 1: 315-317.

As he pursued his inquiry into the many sites where Herod had built, Ehud used the literary works of Flavius Josephus, who wrote extensively about Herod, as a sort of prospector's guide. For example, since Josephus (*BJ* 1.404-6; *AJ* 15.363-4) stated that Herod built a temple to Augustus at the Paneion after 20 B.C., Ehud started excavation at Banias. Though he only had two short seasons there in 1977-78, he indeed found walls built in the opus reticulatum style he had associated with Herod's works, and believed that this was the site of the temple to Augustus. He wrote about this in:

"Where was Herod's temple at Banias built," *Qadmoniot* 31 no. 116 (1998) 134-135 (in Hebrew)

"A third candidate: another building at Banias," BAR 29 no. 5 (2003) 25.

Even where he was not able to excavate, he intensively studied the Herodian remains found by others, and wrote about them in such works as these:

"The Augusteum at Samaria-Sebaste - a new outlook," *Eretz-Israel* 19 (1987) 97-105 (in Hebrew)

"Herod the Great's contribution to Nikopolis in the light of his building activity in Judea," *Proceedings of the International Symposium on Nikopolis* (Preveza 1987) 21-128, 437-446.

Perhaps Herod's largest building project was the city of Caesarea and its artificial harbor Sebastos, so it was natural that Ehud began to excavate there in 1975-76, along with Lee I. Levine. His investigations around a rectangular pool cut into the living rock of a promontory, popularly known as "Cleopatra's Baths," revealed it as part of a palatial complex he dubbed the "Promontory Palace," likely Herod's own residence in the city he founded. He published his findings in *Excavations at Caesarea Maritima*, 1975, 1976, 1979 – Final Report (with L.I. Levine), Qedem 21 (Jerusalem 1986). Then in 1990, he returned to the site, bringing in a new team of American students and volunteers led by Kathryn Gleason and myself.

This is where my personal recollections of Ehud begin. At first I was a bit intimidated by his formidable scholarly reputation and his square-jawed, slightly pugilistic aspect. But it did not take long for the truly humane character behind it to be revealed. He had brought in Kathryn as an expert on ancient gardens, and me to run the fieldwork, but he had none of the overweening, controlling instinct that infects some dig directors; he discussed the possibilities, laid out the trenches, and once he saw we knew our business, he left us to our explorations, returning often to see what we had found and to offer help as we needed it. Indeed, in 1992 he stood back and let us take over the excavation permit, making us the only female foreign excavation directors in Israel at that time. We had six field seasons from 1990 to 1996, and Ehud continued to publish his ideas along with ours in the following preliminary reports.

"Uncovering Herod's Seaside Palace" (with B. Burrell and K. Gleason), *BAR* 19 no. 3 (1993) 50-57

"The Promontory Palace" in A. Raban and K. Holum (eds.), *Caesarea Maritima*, *A Retrospective After Two Millennia* (Leiden 1996) 193-207

"The Palace in the Chronology of Urban Development at Caesarea" 36-38 and figs. 3a, 3b in K. Gleason et al., "The Promontory Palace at Caesarea Maritima: preliminary evidence for Herod's *Praetorium*," *JRA* 11 (1998) 23-52.

He visited us, and we him and Dvorah, as frequently as we could, staying at each others' houses, giving talks for each other's universities, and working on the final publication. He and Dvorah took a deep interest in our families, making firm friends among them. He often liked to cook for all of us, especially when there were fresh or home-grown vegetables to work with. He was almost as fascinated by contemporary architecture as he was by ancient buildings, and our dinners were enlivened by the plans and reconstructions he would draw on anything that came to hand; I have a small collection of his work on paper napkins.

Ehud co-directed excavations at Sepphoris in the lower Galilee, from 1985-89 with Eric and Carol Meyers of Duke University, and from 1990-94 with Zeev Weiss for the Hebrew University. As with us at Caesarea, Ehud had no hesitation in giving over subsequent direction of the excavation to Weiss, his collaborator. Archaeological discoveries included a luxurious Roman house and early Byzantine public structures including a synagogue, each decked with outstanding mosaics. During this time (1986-1993) Ehud served as architectural/archeological advisor to the National Parks Authority, and it was largely due to his efforts that Sepphoris was made a national park. His publications about the site include:

"Sepphoris - 'ornament of all Galilee'" (with E.M. Meyers and C.L. Meyers), *Biblical Archaeologist* 49 (1986) 4-19

"Artistry in stone: the mosaics of ancient Sepphoris" (with E.M. Meyers and C.L. Meyers), *Biblical Archaeologist* 50 (1987) 223-231

"A mansion on the Sepphoris acropolis and its splendid mosaic" (with E.M. Meyers and C.L. Meyers), *Qadmoniot* 21 nos. 83-84 (1988) 87-92 (in Hebrew)

"Two Excavation Seasons at Sepphoris" (with Z. Weiss), *Qadmoniot* 24 nos. 95-96 (1991) 113-121 (in Hebrew)

"Byzantine mosaics at Sepphoris: new finds" (with Z. Weiss), IMJ 10 (1992) 75-80

"New mosaic art from Sepphoris" (with Z. Weiss), BAR 18 (1992) 36-43

"New evidence for Late-Roman and Byzantine Sepphoris," (with Z. Weiss), in J.H. Humphrey (ed.), *The Roman and Byzantine Near East: some recent archaeological research*, JRA Suppl. 14 (1995) 162-176

Promise and redemption, a synagogue mosaic from Sepphoris (with Z. Weiss), catalogue for exhibit of the Israel Museum (Jerusalem 1996)

Collaboration on six chapters in R. Martin Nagy et al. (eds.), *Sepphoris in Galilee,* cross currents of culture (Raleigh 1996) 29-37, 81-89

"The Hebrew University Excavations at Zippori" (with Z. Weiss), *Qadmoniot* 30 no. 113 (1997) 2-21

"Architectural development of Sepphoris during the Roman and Byzantine periods" (with Z. Weiss), in D.R. Edwards and C.T. McCollough (eds.), *Archaeology and the Galilee* (Atlanta 1997) 117-130

"The Sepphoris Synagogue: a new look at synagogue art and architecture in the Byzantine period" (with Z. Weiss), in E.M. Meyers (ed.), *Galilee through the centuries, confluence of cultures* (Winona Lake 1999) 199-226

"The architecture of the synagogue" (with Z. Weiss), in Z. Weiss, *The Sepphoris synagogue: deciphering an ancient message through its archaeological and sociohistorical contexts* (Jerusalem 2005) 7-53.

No buildings of Herod's time have yet been found in Sepphoris, but Ehud did not limit his curiosity to the catalogue of Herodian sites. His interest in synagogues was long standing, from his early work at En-Gedi and Khirbet Susiya, to those at Jericho and Sepphoris, and extended as far away as Saranda in Albania, where he co-directed (with Gideon Foerster and Etleva Nalbani) the excavation of a synagogue in 2003, 2004, and 2009. As the following selection shows, his research extended to buildings of far earlier periods and almost every function.

"The principal architectural remains of the Early Bronze Age at 'Ai" (with A. Ben-Tor), *Eretz-Israel* 11 (1973) 1-7 (in Hebrew)

"A cult building in the excavations at Tel Sera" (with E. Oren), *Qadmoniot* 6 no. 22 (1973) 53-56 (in Hebrew)

"Settlements of the Roman period at Qasarweit in northern Sinai" (with E. Oren), *Qadmoniot* 10 no. 40 (1977) 94-107 (in Hebrew)

"On the Israelite fortress at Arad" (with A. Mazar) BASOR 263 (1986) 87-91

"Was the 'Fountain House' at Magdala originally a synagogue?" in A. Kasher et al. (eds.), *Synagogues in Antiquity* (Jerusalem 1987) 165-172 (in Hebrew)

"A Byzantine Monastery at Nuseib 'Uweishira West of Jericho" (with R. Birger), in G. C. Bottini et al. (eds.) *Christian archaeology in the Holy Land - new discoveries* (Jerusalem 1990) 191-200

"Massive Structures: Processes in Construction and Deterioration," and "Domestic Architecture in the Iron Age" in A. Kempinski and R. Reich (eds.), *The architecture of ancient Israel from the prehistoric to the Persian periods, in memory of Immanuel (Munya) Dunayevsky* (Jerusalem 1992) 17-27, 193-201

"Review of the synagogues at Gush Halav and Khirbet Shema," *Eretz Israel* 25 (1996) 450-455 (in Hebrew)

"Mourning enclosure of Tomb H (Goliath Tomb)," in R. Hachlili and A.E. Killebrew,

"A suggestion concerning the ways of use of the Qumran ritual baths," *Qadmoniot* 35 no. 124 (2003) 116-117 (in Hebrew)

"La sinagoga di Saranda" (with G. Foerster, K. Lako, and E. Nalbani), *Archeo* 20 no. 2 (2004) 52-57

"Did any perfume industry exist at 'Ein Feshkha?," IEJ 55 (2005) 97-100.

Always aware that ancient borders were different from ours, when searching for Herod's origins Ehud looked eastward from Masada, across the Dead Sea toward Edom, Moab, and Ammon. As soon as Israel and Jordan opened their borders, he visited Petra as often as he could over a period of two or three years, sometimes with the archaeologists working there, sometimes on his own. His ideas about the roots of Herod's architecture crystallized through these observations, and led to his *Nabatäische Architektur* (with the assistance of J. Gartner and R. Laureys; Mainz am Rhein 2003), a book that packs an enormous amount of architectural synthesis into a small space. As with all his works, it was illustrated with drawings that illuminated his ideas as much as the text, many by Rachel Chachy-Laureys, who became one of his closest collaborators. He was also much struck by the palatial complex of 'Iraq al Amir, near Amman, whose spectacular siting in the midst of an artificial lake could have inspired some aspects of Herod's palaces. He wanted to cooperate with Jordanian archaeologists in its exploration and preservation as a tourist site, and though nothing came of his plan, he wrote these articles about it:

"Hyrcanus the Tobaid's enchanted palace east of the Jordan," *Qadmoniot* 31 no. 116 (1998) 117-122 (in Hebrew)

"Floating in the desert: Jordan's pleasure palace," *Archaeology Odyssey* 2 (1999) 46-55

"Tyros, the 'Floating Palace," in S.G. Wilson and M. Desjardins (eds.), *Text and artifact in the religions of Mediterranean antiquity*, Studies in Christianity and Judaism 9 (2000) 340-453

The capstone of Ehud's career was Herodium, the site of Herod's circular hilltop palace. The subject of his Ph.D. dissertation (along with Jericho), he first excavated there from 1972 to 1986, discovering the huge palatial complex of "Lower Herodium." He revealed the splendors of its baths, a pool big enough for boating, and many other features, but for a long time one building eluded him: Herod's tomb, documented in this location by Josephus (*BJ* 1.670-673; *AJ* 17.196-199). At first he postulated it in a monumental building at the end of a narrow "racecourse" in lower Herodium, but remained

dissatisfied with the lack of solid evidence. He returned to the site for further explorations in 1997-2000, and again from 2005 on. For this last effort, he assembled a team of trusted collaborators: Roi Porat, Yaakov Kalman, and Rachel Laureys-Chachy. Some high points among his many writings on Herodium are:

"Recent Investigations at Lower Herodium," *Qadmoniot* 6 nos. 23-24 (1973) 107-110 (in Hebrew)

Greater Herodium, Qedem Vol. 13 (Jerusalem 1981)

"Searching for Herod's tomb" BAR 9 (1983) 30-51

"Jewish rebels dig strategic tunnel system," BAR 15 (1988) 18-33

"The Byzantine Churches of Herodion," in G. C. Bottini et al. (eds.) *Christian archaeology in the Holy Land - new discoveries* (Jerusalem 1990) 165-176.

"Lower Herodium's large bathhouse" (with Y. Kalman and R. Laureys), *Judea and Samaria Research Studies* 9 (2000) 113-120 (in Hebrew)

"New excavations at Lower Herodium, east of the Monumental Building," (with Y. Kalman and R. Laureys), *Judea and Samaria Research Studies* 10 (2001) 137-142 (in Hebrew)

"New discoveries in the excavations at Lower Herodium," *Qadmoniot* 129 (2005) 30-42

"Herod's Tomb -- finally revealed" (with Y. Kalman, R. Porat, and R. Chachy-Laureys), *Judea and Samaria Research Studies* 17 (2008) 57-67 (in Hebrew)

"Das Ende einer Suche," *AntW* 1 (2008) 8-18

"Two inscriptions from Herodium" (with Y. Kalman, R. Porat, R. Chachy, L. Di Segni, and E. Eshel), *Judea and Samaria Research Studies* 18 (2009) 85–103 (in Hebrew)

"Herod's Tomb and royal theatre on the hill slope at Herodium" (with Y. Kalman, R. Porat, R. Chachy-Laureys), *Qadmoniot* 138 (2009) 104–117 (in Hebrew)

"Bar-Kokhba's Revolt Coins from Herodium" (with R. Porat, Y. Kalman, and R. Chachy), *INJ* 17 (2010) 96-103

"Preliminary report on Herod's mausoleum and theatre with a royal box at Herodium" (with Y. Kalman, R. Porat, and R. Chachy-Laureys), *JRA* 23 (2010) 84-108

"In Search of Herod's Tomb," BAR 37 no. 1 (2011) 36-47

Finally in 2007 the team discovered the site of Herod's tomb, with its shattered sarcophagi, on the northeast slope of the Herodium hill. Ehud at once recognized the same sort of monumental urns that he had seen on tombs in Petra, and saw that the artificial hill that makes such a spectacle of Herodium had been constructed as part of the process of making Herod's burial complex. His announcement made world headlines, and the discovery was the subject of a National Geographic Society TV special, "Herod's Lost Tomb." In 2008, the team also found a small but almost complete theatre not far from the mausoleum, with a royal box decorated with Roman-style frescoes.

On October 25, 2010, after a meeting with his excavation team, Ehud sat on a wooden guard rail, but it lost a screw, causing it to give way. He fell 6 m., and though one of his team members caught hold of him at the end of his fall, he suffered a fractured skull and broken neck. He was rushed to Hadassah Hospital at Ein Karem, where he was able to see his family. He soon lost consciousness, however, and died in hospital three days later. In accordance with his own and his family's wishes, his organs were donated. He is buried outside Jerusalem, at the Kiryat Anavim cemetery.

Ehud's most salient academic legacy is the new understanding of Herod the Great that he gave to us. As noted above, he studied, and where possible excavated, almost every site where Herod built, and today's scholarly "industry" on Herod's building would have had little to stand on without his work. His incessant exploration and research allowed him to calculate the chronology, quantity, and expense of all Herod's projects, and as with the

individual sites, he was diligent in communicating his finds both as lectures and final publications throughout his career. One of his latest books, *Architecture of Herod the Great Builder* (with the assistance of R. Laureys-Chachy; Tübingen 2006, revised paperback Grand Rapids 2008) was a matchless summary of two careers, Herod's and his own.

Other synthetic analyses include:

"Herod's building projects: state necessity or personal need?" *The Jerusalem Cathedra* (1981) 48-61, 73-80

"The Herodian triclinia: a prototype for the Galilean-type synagogue," in L.I. Levine (ed.), *Ancient Synagogues Revealed* (Jerusalem 1981) 49-52

"Architecture in Palaestina prior to and during the days of Herod the Great," *Akten des XIII. internationalen Kongresses für klassische Archäologie, Berlin 1988* (Mainz am Rhein 1990) 37-50

"Jericho und Herodium: verschwenderisches Leben in den Tagen der Hasmonäer und Herodes' des Grossen," *Judaica* 45 (1989) 21-44

"The Hasmonean Palaces in Eretz-Israel" in A. Biran and Y. Aviram (eds.), *Biblical archaeology today*, 1990: Proceedings of the second international congress on Biblical archaeology, Jerusalem, June-July 1990, (Jerusalem 1993) 126-136

"The Hasmonean Palaces in Palaestina" in W. Hoepfner and G. Brands (eds.), Basileia: die Paläste der Hellenistischen Könige. Internationales Symposion in Berlin vom 16.12.1992 bis 20.12.1992 (Mainz 1996) 203-208

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At the time of his death he was preparing the manuscript for his twelfth book, on a subject he had been thinking about for many years: the Temple Mount in Jerusalem. Though his study was primarily architectural, he also integrated the textual evidence of Josephus, the Mishnah, Talmud, and other writings, in order to reconstruct the complex more accurately than ever before. It is hoped that this will soon to be published. A volume celebrating his life is also in process of being edited by Oren Gutfeld and Judit Gartner.

We will remember Ehud as a consummate architect/archaeologist, applying a keen architect's eye to ancient remains, and an archaeologist's appreciation to more recent buildings. He was as ready to listen to others' arguments as to present his own, and willing - occasionally - to concede, if the finds did not bear out his ideas. His generosity as teacher and colleague was overwhelming: he brought a new generation of archaeologists onto his own projects, gave them full credit in all collaboration, and when they were ready, put those projects wholly in their hands, so that he could be freer to

study the whole as they revealed the parts. His chief criterion was that they carry on the

work, because his focus was always on the work. He was not distressed to see antiquities

go abroad, so long as they landed in the hands of those who would publish the knowledge

that came from them. He hardly tolerated those who stood upon their dignity, fine points

of ethics, or scholarly pecking order; he wanted the facts discovered, and to go on from

there.

This was written with the help of Dvorah Netzer, Kathryn Gleason, Rachel Laureys-

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