

EHUD NETZER
(May 13,1934–October 28, 2010)

by **Barbara Burrell**

Ehud Netzer, architect, archaeologist, and the foremost expert on the building program of Herod the Great, died at the age of 76 of injuries sustained in a fall at his own excavation of Herod's tomb complex at Herodium.

He was born Ehud Menczel in Jerusalem, son of Drs. Puah and Josef S. Menczel, both distinguished educators. He was 14 years old at the birth of the State of Israel. During the War of Independence the family moved to Haifa, where he joined a socialist youth movement, Mahanot Ha'olim, whose members were sent to help on kibbutzim. As a shepherd for Kibbutz Hamadia in the Bet She'an valley, his time spent walking, observing the landscape, and finding ancient flints led to a lifelong fascination with archaeology. After army service, in 1954 he entered the Israel Institute of Technology (Technion) in Haifa, where he studied architecture, but even as an undergraduate he spent three summers (1956-58) working as surveyor for Y. Yadin's excavation at Hazor under the architect Immanuel Dunayevsky, who became his mentor and friend. Thus he began his double career as architect and archaeologist. Upon graduation he went into the office of David Resnick in Jerusalem from 1959 to 1962 but still made time for archaeological projects, working as architect for M. Dothan's excavation at Tiberias. After a year in Denmark working as an architect, he went to the Ashdod excavations, again under Dothan. In October 1963, Yadin chose him as co-architect with Dunayevsky for the new excavations at Masada. Ehud was also put in charge of restoration of the site on behalf of the National Parks Authority. At Masada he met his future wife, Dvora Dove, a student of archaeology and Jewish history at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, who was working on pottery restoration; they married in Beer Sheba in 1964.

The territories acquired by Israel in 1967 led Ehud to focus on reconstructing both contemporary and 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.¹ With Sa'adia Mendel, he made a master plan for the historic Yemin Moshe district of West Jerusalem, reconstructed the neighborhood of Mishkenot Sha'ananim, and (1968-72) designed public buildings in Dahab, Faran, and St. Catherine's in Sinai. In 1970, he designed and built his family a house in the Givat HaMivtar district. Integrated into the hillside landscape, with a splendid western view, garden terraces, and a driveway paved with discarded potsherds, it was both a hospitable center for family and friends and a workplace/storeroom/archive.

After Dunayevsky's death, in 1969 Ehud became architect for the Hebrew University's Institute of Archaeology. From 1970 to 1972 he served as architect and co-director for Hebrew University excavations of synagogues at Ein Gedi and at Khirbet Susiya.²

As his last name was often misspelled and misunderstood, Ehud changed it from Menczel to Netzer (Hebrew "upshoot, scion") in 1972. In that year he began the doctoral program in archaeology at the Hebrew University; he hardly needed to do coursework, as he had been trained by the pioneers of the discipline and had done advanced fieldwork for years. His dissertation (Ph.D. 1978),³ supervised by Yadin, was based on his own excavations at Herodium and Jericho. He became senior lecturer at the Institute of Archaeology in 1981, rising to full professor in 2000. Becoming professor emeritus in 2002 gave him more time to enjoy the company of his 4 children and 10 grandchildren, though he never stopped excavating, research and writing.

1 His account of it is to be found in Y. Yadin (ed.), *Jerusalem revealed* (Jerusalem 1975) 118-21.

2 From here on I will include a mere selection of his publications on different topics; where 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) 116-19; "Excavations in the synagogue at Khirbet Susiya" (with S. Gutman and Z. Yeivin) *ibid.* 123-28.

3 *An architectural and archaeological analysis of building in the Herodian period at Herodium and Jericho.*

Calculating how many major excavations Ehud directed is almost as difficult as calculating how many discoveries he made, especially on sites built by Herod the Great. It is also remarkable how steadily he published the results of those excavations, not only in professional venues but in ones of broader appeal — a difficult challenge for any archaeologist, but especially for one with such an incessant field program. To lay out his level of involvement in all these projects would take a diagram as complicated as those he devised to illustrate Herod's building projects. His archaeological sites, along with a selection of his publications (both scholarly and popular) on each, will be presented below in non-chronological order.

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 display architecture of Herod's time. Since Yadin died in 1984 before issuing a final report, Ehud and Gideon Foerster joined to prepare and publish the final reports of the excavations; eight have now appeared. Ehud's own magisterial *Masada* III⁴ won the Irene Levi-Sala first prize for professional books, awarded by Ben-Gurion University of the Negev. He directed excavation at Masada in 1989 and 1995-97, the latter with Guy Stiebel, and continued to work on the site's development and presentation, serving from 1995 to 2007 as architectural/archeological advisor for the National Parks Authority.

A lifelong resident and architect of Jerusalem, Ehud directed several excavations in the city. In 1972 he and Sara Ben-Arieh began a dig along the "Third Wall", and in 1977 they worked together to investigate an unusual structure in *opus reticulatum*, a technique he related to Roman workmen involved in Herod's projects. 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 new basilical stoa, were always central to his research (see below).⁵

A significant discovery 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 (1972-87) 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 one 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 a unique building for spectacles which he identified as a combination of hippodrome, theater and gymnasium. In 1994-2000 he returned to Jericho for small-scale excavations around the palace complexes, identifying what may be the oldest synagogue yet discovered in the Holy Land, dating from the Hasmonean period. In 2004 he won yet another Irene Levi-Sala first prize for the first two volumes of his Jericho final report.⁶ Volume I, together with his Masada final publication, was a chief factor in his win-

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- 4 *Masada* III. *The Yigael Yadin excavations 1963-1965. The buildings, stratigraphy and architecture* (Jerusalem 1991), with review by J. Patrich at *JRA* 6 (1993) 473 ff. Also: "Reconstruction and preservation of Masada," *J. Assoc. Engineers & Architects in Israel* 24 (1966) 44-48; "The water supply network of Masada" in D. Amit *et al.* (ed.), *The aqueducts of ancient Palestine* (Jerusalem 1989) 261-72 [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, UT 1997) 33-50; "The rebels' archives at Masada," *IEJ* 54 (2004) 218-29; "The new excavations at Masada" (with G. Stiebel), *Ariel* 174 (2006) 22-33 [Hebrew]; "Answer to an article" of Y. Hirshfeld, "The Northern Palace at Masada: a new interpretation," (with G. Stiebel), *Ariel* 174 (2006) 40-41 [Hebrew].
- 5 "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) 163-75; "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 [Hebrew]; "The planning of the Temple Mount by Herod," *Judea and Samaria Research Studies* 16 (2007) 59-70 [Hebrew].
- 6 *The Hasmonean and Herodian palaces at Jericho, final report of the 1973-1987 excavations, I: Stratigraphy and architecture* (Jerusalem 2001), with review by M. Fischer at *JRA* 16 (2003) 659 ff., and II: *Stratigraphy and Architecture*, with R. Laureys-Chachy (Jerusalem 2004). Also: "The Hasmonean and Herodian winter palaces at Jericho," *Qadmoniot* 7 nos. 25-26 (1974) 28-36 [Hebrew]; "The winter palaces of the Judean kings at Jericho at the end of the Second Temple period," *BASOR* 228 (1977) 1-13; "The

ning the Frank Moore Cross Publication Award from ASOR for the most substantial volumes related to Near Eastern and E Mediterranean epigraphy, text and/or tradition, in 2002. Ehud's extensive work around Jericho led him to the mountain peak that dominated the oasis and its plain — Cypros, a fortress that Herod named after his mother; in 1974-75, he and Emmanuel Damati discovered the remains of the Herodian fortress and royal dwelling there.⁷

As he pursued his research into the many sites where Herod built, Ehud used the literary works of Flavius Josephus as a sort of prospector's guide. For example, since Josephus (*BJ* 1.404-6; *AJ* 15.363-64) stated that Herod built a temple to Augustus at the Paneion after 20 B.C., Ehud began excavation at Banias. In only two short seasons there (1977-78) he found walls built in the *opus reticulatum* style he had associated with Herod's works, positing that this was the site of the temple to Augustus.⁸ Even where he was not able to excavate, he intensively studied Herodian remains found by others.⁹

Perhaps Herod's largest building project was Caesarea and its artificial harbor Sebastos. Thus it was natural that Ehud began to excavate there in 1975-76 with Lee 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 dubbed the "Promontory Palace", probably Herod's own residence in the city he founded.¹⁰ 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 little intimidated by his scholarly reputation and square-jawed, slightly pugilistic aspect, but it did not take long for his truly humane character to be revealed. He had none of the overweening, controlling instinct of some directors; he discussed the possibilities with us, laid out the trenches and left us to our explorations, returning often to see what we had found and offer help as needed. In 1992 he let us take over the excavation permit, making us the only female foreign excavation directors in Israel at that time, but continued to publish his ideas along with ours in the preliminary reports.¹¹ We made mutual visits as often we could, working on the final publication and giving

hippodrome that Herod built at Jericho," *Qadmoniot* 13 nos. 51-52 (1980) 104-7 [Hebrew]; "Ancient ritual baths (*miquaot*) in Jericho," *Jerusalem Cathedral* (Detroit 1982) 106-19; "Water channels and a royal estate from the Late Hellenistic period in the western plains of Jericho," *Leichtweiss-Institut für Wasserbau der T. U. Braunschweig*, *Mitt.* 82 (1984) 1-12; "The swimming pools of the Hasmonean period at Jericho," *Leichtweiss-Institut für Wasserbau der T. U. Braunschweig*, *Mitt.* 89 (1986) 1-12; *Die Wasserversorgung des geschichtlichen Jericho und seiner königlichen Anlagen (Gut, Winterpalaste)* (with G. Garbrecht), *Leichtweiss-Institut für Wasserbau der T. U. Braunschweig*, *Mitt.* 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, 5th meeting 1995* (Kedumim-Ariel 1996) 135-41 [Hebrew]; "A synagogue from the Hasmonean period recently exposed in the western plain of Jericho," *IEJ* 49 (1999) 203-21; "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 [Hebrew]; "Water channels and a royal estate of the Late Hellenistic period in Jericho's western plains" (with G. Garbrecht), in D. Amit *et al.* (edd.), *The aqueducts of Israel* (JRA Suppl. 46, 2002) 367-79; "The synagogues from the Second Temple period according to archaeological finds and in light of the literary sources," in G. C. Bottini *et al.* (edd.), *One land — many cultures: archaeological studies in honour of S. Loffreda* (Jerusalem 2003) 277-85; "Jericho — a garden city from the Second Temple period," *Judea and Samaria Research Studies* 12 (2003) 77-89 [Hebrew]; "The contribution of the Hasmoneans and Herod to the development of Jericho," *ibid.* 15 (2006) 73-84 [Hebrew].

7 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.), *NEAEHL* 1 (1993) 315-17.

8 "Where was Herod's temple at Banias built," *Qadmoniot* 31 no. 116 (1998) 134-35 [Hebrew]; "A third candidate: another building at Banias," *BAR* 29.5 (2003) 25.

9 "The Augusteum at Samaria-Sebaste: a new outlook," *Eretz-Israel* 19 (1987) 97-105 [Hebrew]; "Herod the Great's contribution to Nikopolis in the light of his building activity in Judea," *Proc. Int. Symposium on Nikopolis* (Preveza 1987) 121-28 and 437-46.

10 *Excavations at Caesarea Maritima, 1975, 1976, 1979 — final report* (with L. I. Levine) (Qedem 21, 1986).

11 "Uncovering Herod's seaside palace" (with B. Burrell and K. Gleason), *BAR* 19.3 (1993) 50-57; "The promontory palace" in A. Raban and K. Holum (edd.), *Caesarea Maritima: a retrospective after two millennia* (Leiden 1996) 193-207; "The Palace in the chronology of urban development at Caesarea" 36-

talks at each other's universities. He and Dvorah took a deep interest in our families, and we in theirs. He 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 by ancient buildings, and our dinners were enlivened by the plans and reconstructions he would draw on paper napkins.

Ehud co-directed excavations at Sepphoris in the Lower Galilee with Eric and Carol Meyers (1985-89), and with Zeev Weiss (1990-94). Again he had no hesitation in handing over subsequent direction of the excavation to Weiss, his collaborator. Discoveries included a luxurious Roman house and Early Byzantine public structures including a synagogue, each bedecked with outstanding mosaics.¹² He served (1986-93) as advisor to the National Parks Authority, and it was largely due to his efforts that Sepphoris was made a national park.

No buildings of Herod's day have yet been found at Sepphoris, but Ehud never limited his curiosity to Herodian sites. His interest in synagogues started at En-Gedi and Khirbet Susiya, went on to those at Jericho and Sepphoris, and extended to Saranda (Albania), where he co-directed (with Foerster and Etleva Nalbani) the excavation of a synagogue in 2003, 2004, and 2009. Indeed, his research extended to buildings of far earlier periods and almost every function.¹³

Always aware that ancient borders were different from today's, when searching for Herod's origins Ehud looked eastward from Masada, across the Dead Sea toward Edom, Moab and

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- 38 and figs. 3a-b in K. Gleason *et al.*, "The Promontory Palace at Caesarea Maritima: preliminary evidence for Herod's *praetorium*," *JRA* 11 (1998) 23-52. See also "Caesarea's Promontory Palace," in *Caesarea treasures I* (Jerusalem 2011) 217-28 [Hebrew].
- 12 "Sepphoris — 'ornament of all Galilee'," (with E. M. and C. L. Meyers), *Biblical Archaeologist* 49 (1986) 4-19; "Artistry in stone: the mosaics of ancient Sepphoris" (with E. M. and C. L. Meyers), *ibid.* 50 (1987) 223-31; "A mansion on the Sepphoris acropolis and its splendid mosaic" (with E. M. and C. L. Meyers), *Qadmoniot* 21 nos. 83-84 (1988) 87-92 [Hebrew]; "Two excavation seasons at Sepphoris" (with Z. Weiss), *Qadmoniot* 24 nos. 95-96 (1991) 113-21 [Hebrew]; "Byzantine mosaics at Sepphoris: new finds" (with Z. Weiss), *Israel Mus. J.* 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) 162-76; *Promise and redemption, a synagogue mosaic from Sepphoris* (with Z. Weiss) (exh. cat. Israel Museum; Jerusalem 1996); collaboration on 6 chapters in R. Martin Nagy *et al.* (edd.), *Sepphoris in Galilee, cross currents of culture* (Raleigh, NC 1996) 29-37 and 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 (edd.), *Archaeology and the Galilee* (Atlanta, GA 1997) 117-30; "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, IN 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 socio-historical contexts* (Jerusalem 2005) 7-53.
- 13 "The principal architectural remains of the Early Bronze Age at 'Ai'" (with A. Ben-Tor), *Eretz-Israel* 11 (1973) 1-7 [Hebrew]; "A cult building in the excavations at Tel Sera" (with E. Oren), *Qadmoniot* 6 no. 22 (1973) 53-56 [Hebrew]; "Settlements of the Roman period at Qasarweit in northern Sinai" (with E. Oren), *Qadmoniot* 10 no. 40 (1977) 94-107 [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.* (edd.), *Synagogues in antiquity* (Jerusalem 1987) 165-72 [Hebrew]; "A Byzantine monastery at Nuseib 'Uweishira west of Jericho" (with R. Birger), in G. C. Bottini *et al.* (edd.), *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 (edd.), *The architecture of ancient Israel from the prehistoric to the Persian periods, in memory of Immanuel (Munya) Dunayevsky* (Jerusalem 1992) 17-27 and 193-201; "Review of the synagogues at Gush Halav and Khirbet Shema," *Eretz Israel* 25 (1996) 450-55 [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) 116-17 [Hebrew]; "La sinagoga di Saranda" (with G. Foerster, K. Lako and E. Nalbani), *Archeo* 20.2 (2004) 52-57; "Did any perfume industry exist at 'Ein Feshkha?'" *IEJ* 55 (2005) 97-100.

Ammon. As soon as Israel and Jordan opened their borders, he visited Petra as often as he could, sometimes with the archaeologists working there, sometimes with his own team members. His ideas about the roots of Herod's architecture crystallized through these visits, leading to his *Nabatäische Architektur*,¹⁴ a book that packs an enormous amount of architectural synthesis into a small space. As with all his works, it was illustrated with drawings (many by Rachel Chachy-Laureys, who became one of his closest collaborators) that illuminated his ideas as much as did the text. He was also much struck by the palatial complex of 'Iraq al Amir, whose spectacular siting in the midst of an artificial lake could have inspired some aspects of Herod's palaces. He hoped to cooperate with Jordanian archaeologists in its exploration and preservation as a tourist site; though nothing came of his plans, he wrote articles about it.¹⁵

The capstone of his career was Herodium, the site of Herod's circular hilltop palace, already (with Jericho) the subject of his Ph.D. dissertation. He first excavated there in 1972-86, discovering the huge palatial complex of "Lower Herodium". Despite the splendors of its baths, a pool big enough for boating, and many other features, one building eluded him: Herod's tomb, attested here by Josephus (*Bellj* 1.670-73; *Antj* 17.196-99). At first he postulated it in a monumental building at the end of a narrow 'racecourse' in Lower Herodium, but he remained dissatisfied with the lack of solid evidence. He returned to the site in 1997-2000 and again from 2005 on, assembling for the last effort a team of trusted collaborators: Chachy-Laureys, Yaakov Kalman, and Roi Porat.¹⁶ In 2007 the team discovered the site of Herod's tomb with shattered sarcophagi on the hill's NE slope. Ehud at once recognized the same sort of monumental urns that he had seen on tombs in Petra, and saw how the artificial hill that makes Herodium such a spectacle had been constructed as part of the process of making the burial complex. The discovery made headlines and was the subject of a National Geographic Society TV special, "Herod's Lost Tomb". In 2008, the team found a small but almost intact theater not far from the mausoleum, its royal box decorated with stucco and paintings.

On October 25, 2010, after a meeting with the excavation team, Ehud sat on a wooden guard rail that lost a screw and gave way. He fell 6 m into the *cavea* of the theater. Although 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.

14 With the assistance of J. Gärtner and R. Laureys (Mainz 2003); review by J. McKenzie at *JRA* 17 (2004) 559 ff.

15 "Hyrchanus the Tobaid's enchanted palace east of the Jordan," *Qadmoniot* 31 no. 116 (1998) 117-22 [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 (edd.), *Text and artifact in the religions of Mediterranean antiquity* (Studies in Christianity and Judaism 9, 2000) 340-53.

16 "Recent investigations at Lower Herodium," *Qadmoniot* 6 nos. 23-24 (1973) 107-10 [Hebrew]; *Greater Herodium* (Qedem 13, 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 Herodium," in Bottini *et al.* (supra n.13) 165-76; "Lower Herodium's large bathhouse" (with Y. Kalman and R. Laureys), *Judea and Samaria Research Studies* 9 (2000) 113-20 [Hebrew]; "New excavations at Lower Herodium, east of the monumental building," (with Y. Kalman and R. Laureys), *ibid.* 10 (2001) 137-42 [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 [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 [Hebrew]; "Herod's tomb and royal theatre on the hill slope at Herodium" (with Y. Kalman, R. Porat and R. Chachy-Laureys), *Qadmoniot* 138 (2009) 104-17 [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* 37.1 (2011) 36-47.

Ehud's greatest academic legacy is the new understanding of Herod the Great he has given us. He studied, and where possible excavated, almost every site where Herod built. 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 work out the chronology, logistics and costs of all Herod's projects. He was diligent in communicating his findings throughout his career. One of his last books, *The architecture of Herod, the great builder*,¹⁷ was a matchless summary of two careers: Herod's, and Ehud's own.¹⁸ He was preparing the manuscript for his twelfth book: on the Temple Mount in Jerusalem. Though primarily an architectural study, it also integrates textual evidence (Josephus, the Mishnah, the Talmud) in order to reconstruct the complex more accurately than ever before. It is hoped that this work will soon be published, while a volume celebrating his life is now being edited by O. Gutfeld and J. Gärtner.

We remember Ehud as a consummate architect/archaeologist, applying an architect's eye to the remains of antiquity and an archaeologist's appreciation to the built environment. He was as ready to listen to the arguments of others as to present his own, and (occasionally) willing 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 then placed those projects wholly in their hands. His criterion was that they carry on the work, because his own 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 derived from them. He hardly tolerated those who stood on their dignity, a scholarly 'pecking order' or finer points of ethics; he just wanted the facts discovered, and to go on learning from there.

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- 17 With the assistance of R. Laureys-Chachy (Tübingen 2006, revd. paperback Grand Rapids, MI 2008); reviewed by K. G. Holum at *JRA* 22 (2009) 519 ff.
- 18 Other synthetic analyses include: "Herod's building projects: state necessity or personal need?" *Jerusalem Cathedra* (1981) 48-61 and 73-80; "The Herodian triclinia: a prototype for the Galilean-type synagogue," in Levine (supra n.2) 49-52; "Architecture in Palaestina prior to and during the days of Herod the Great," *Akten XIII. int. Kongresses für klassische Archäologie, Berlin 1988* (Mainz 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 (edd.), *Biblical archaeology today, 1990: Proc. 2nd int. congress on Biblical archaeology, Jerusalem, 1990* (Jerusalem 1993) 126-36; "The Hasmonean palaces in Palaestina," in W. Hoepfner and G. Brands (edd.), *Basileia: die Paläste der Hellenistischen Könige. Symposium Berlin 1992* (Mainz 1996) 203-8; "The palaces built by Herod — a research update," in K. Fittchen and G. Foerster (edd.), *Judaea and the Greco-Roman world in the time of Herod in the light of archaeological evidence* (Göttingen 1996) 27-54; "Herod the builder" (review article, with B. Burrell), *JRA* 12 (1999) 705-15; *Die Paläste der Hasmonäer und Herodes' des Grossen* (Mainz 1999), reviewed by M. Fischer at *JRA* 16 (2003) 659 ff.; "The cities in Herod the Great's realm," in U. Dirschedl (ed.), *Die Stadt als Grossbaustelle, von der Antike bis zur Neuzeit: Kongress 2001* (Berlin 2003) 74-81; "The synagogues of the Second Temple period and their impact on the later ones," in Y. Eshel et al. (edd.), *And let them make me a sanctuary: synagogues from ancient times to the present day* (Ariel 2004) 9-24 [Hebrew]; "Was King Herod indeed a megalomaniac? In light of Kasher and Witztum's new book, *King Herod: a persecuted persecutor* (2007)," in Z. Weiss et al. (edd.), *"Follow the wise": studies in Jewish history and culture in honor of Lee I. Levine* (Winona Lake, IN 2010) 81-91 [Hebrew].