**General introduction**

Eck, Werner. “The Bar Kokhba Revolt: The Roman Point of View.” *Journal of Roman Studies* 89 (1999): 76–89.

A comprehensive look at the Roman fighting forces and the intensity of Jewish resistance. The author claims that suppression of the Bar Kokhba Revolt demanded a supreme effort on the part of the Roman Empire.

Eck, Werner. *Rom herausfordern: Bar Kochba im Kampf gegen das Imperium Romanum. Das Bild des Bar Kochba-Aufstandes im Spiegel der neuen epigraphischen Überlieferung*. Rom: Unione internazionale degli istituti di archeologia, storia e storia dell’arte, 2007.

The Bar Kokhba Revolt from the Romans’ point of view in light of epigraphic evidence. The book is based on a series of lectures at The British School at Rome in 2006.

Eck, Werner. Judäa—Syria Palästina. *Die Auseinandersetzung einer Provinz mit römischer Politik und Kultur*. Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism 157. Tübingen, Germany: Mohr Siebeck 2014.

Twenty-four articles dealing with epigraphic findings relating to the Roman government in the interim between the Great Revolt and Bar Kokhba Revolt. The articles were updated for publication in the book.

Eshel, Hanan and Zissu, Boaz. *The Bar Kokhba Revolt: The Archaeological Evidence*. צפונותעבר ספריית דודJerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi Press and @, 2015. H

A popular work on the Bar Kokhba Revolt based on archeological evidence. Strong emphasis is given to the refuge caves and the wealth of archaeological discoveries in the Judean Desert.

Eshel, Hanan and Zissu, Boaz, eds. *New Studies on the Bar Kokhba Revolt*. Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 2001.H

Fifteen articles based on a 2001 conference that dealt mainly with archaeological and numismatic discoveries as well as updated commentaries on older findings. At the end of the anthology is a list of studies on the subject that were published between 1984 and 2000.

Gichon, Mordechai. *A Star Came Out of Jacob: Bar Kokhba and his Time*. Ben Shemen: @@, 2016. H

This book is offers an overview of the author’s decades-long archaeological research on the Bar Kokhba Revolt. The book describes the stages of the revolt, especially its military aspects, such as the Jewish rebels’ fighting methods.

Horbury, William. *Jewish War under Trajan and Hadrian*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014.

Horbury’s book offers a sweeping view of events in the Bar Kokhba Revolt, which the author sees as a continuation of the Jewish Revolt against Constantius Gallus (115-117). The author claims that both revolts are expressions of the strength of the Jewish public’s messianic anticipation following the Great Revolt. This phenomenon is compared with the rise of Christianity and Christian messianic ideology.

Mor, Menahem. *The Bar-Kochba Revolt its Extent and Effect*. Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi Press, 1991.H

Menahem Mor offers a detailed survey of archaeological and literary sources on the Bar Kokhba Revolt. The book is distinguished by the author’s systematic posing of questions relating to facts and interpretations of the revolt. The author takes a minimalist approach to the intensity and scope of the revolt.

Mor, Menahem. *The Second Jewish Revolt: The Bar Kokhba War, 132-136 CE*. Brill Reference Library of Judaism 50. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2016.

This is an updated English translation from the Hebrew of Mor’s 1991 book. The book discusses archaeological artifacts that were uncovered since the author’s 1991 work and the latest scientific approaches. Nevertheless, his minimalist conclusions remain unchanged.

Oppenheimer, Aharon, ed. *The Bar-Kokhva Revolt*. Jerusalem: The Zalman Shazar Center, 1980.H

The book is a collection of nineteen studies by scholars over the course of fifty years, dealing with various facets of the revolt and findings pertaining to it.

Rappaport, Uriel and Oppenheimer, Aharon, eds. *The Bar Kokhba Revolt: New Studies*. Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi Press, 1984.H

Fifteen studies on various aspects of the Great Revolt. Many of them focus on the implications of the revolt in both the Jewish and the Christian religious-cultural world.

Schäfer, Peter, ed. *The Bar Kokhba War Reconsidered: New Perspectives on the Second Jewish Revolt Against Rome*. Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum 100. Tübingen, Germany: Mohr Siebeck, 2003.

Fifteen articles that reevaluate archaeological findings from the Bar Kokhba Revolt. This places a focus on interpreting the archaeological findings to understand the extent and intensity of the revolt.

Weikert, Christopher. *Von Jerusalem zu Aelia Capitolina. Die römische Politik gegenüber den Juden von Vespasian bis Hadrian*. Hypomnemata: Untersuchungen zur Antike und zu ihrem Nachleben 200. Göttingen, Germany: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2016.

The book examines Roman policy toward the Jews during three revolts, the main thesis being that the Romans did not display undue ‘hatred of the Jews’. Rather, their actions against the Jewish population were responses to anti-Roman activity.

**Literary sources on the history of the revolt**

Baker, Renan. “Epiphanius, on Weights and Measures §14: Hadrian’s Journey to the East and the Rebuilding of Jerusalem*.” Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 182 (2012): 157–167.

A philological discussion on Epiphanius’ account of Hadrian’s tour of the East. The author states that Hadrian made only one visit and that this was during 128 and 130, at which time he decided to establish Aelia Capitolina. It was this decision that triggered the Bar Kokhba Revolt.

Bauckham, Richard, J. “Jews and Jewish Christians in the Land of Israel at the Time of the Bar Kochba War, With Special Reference to the Apocalypse of Peter.” In *Tolerance and Intolerance in Early Judaism and Christianity*. Edited by Graha N. Stanto and Guy G. Stroumsa,228–238. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

This article examines the Apocalypse of Peter in light of the Bar Kokhba Revolt. According to the author, the manuscript presents a Christian alternative to the Jewish messianic concept that supported the Bar Kokhba Revolt. In the author’s opinion, the final break between Judaism and Christianity was the result of the Jewish Christians’ refusal to participate in the revolt.

Di Segni, Leah. “Epiphanius and the Date of the Foundation of Aelia Capitolina.” *Liber Annuus* 64 (2014): 441–451.

In this article, Di Segni rejects the claims of Baker 2012. In her view, Hadrian’s establishment of Aelia Capitolina in 117 correlates with the archaeological findings. Eliav, Yaron Z. “Hadrians Actions in the Jerusalem Temple Mount according to Cassius Dio and Xiphilini Manus.” *Jewish Studies Quarterly* 4 (1997): 125–144.

In this article, Eliav claims that the Temple Mount stood beyond the borders of Aelia Capitolina and in effect remained abandoned. A philological discussion of Cassius Dio’s description leads the author to conclude that no pagan temple stood on the Temple Mount.

Isaac, Benjamin H. “Cassius Dio on the Revolt of Bar Kokhba”, In *The Near East Under Roman Rule: Selected Papers*. By Benjamin H. Isaac, 211–219. Mnemosyne: Supplements 177. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 1998. [=*Scripta Classica Israelica* 7 (1983/84): 68–76]. See Isaac’s article in Hebbrew: “The Revolt of Bar Kokhba as described by Cassius Dio and Other Revolts Against Greek and Latin Literature.” In Rappaport and Oppenheimer, 106–112].

Isaac presents a detailed analysis of Cassius Dio’s description of the Bar Kokhba Revolt. This analysis leads to the insight that the revolt was unique because the Romans regarded it as a war between Hadrian and the Jewish people. Dio’s credibility is reaffirmed by the archaeological findings that testify to the intensity of the revolt.

Novenson, Matthew V. “Why Does R. Akiba Acclaim Bar Kokhba as a Messiah?” *Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period* 40 (2009): 551–572.

A detailed, thorough study of the Talmudic tradition regarding Rabbi Akiba, who saw Bar Kokhba as the messiah. The author rejects the historic veracity of this tradition. In his opinion, the sages created the tradition in a later period in order to portray themselves, anachronistically, as national leaders during the revolt.

Schäfer, Peter. *Der Bar Kokhba Aufstand: Studien zum Zweiten Jüdischen Krieg Gegen Rom*, Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1981.

Schäfer offers a thorough analysis of the revolt especially in light of the Talmudic sources. The author denies the sources of almost any historic value.

Schäfer, Peter. “Bar Kokhba and the Rabbis.” In Schäfer, Peter, ed. *The Bar Kokhba War Reconsidered: New Perspectives on the Second Jewish Revolt Against Rome*. Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum 100. Tübingen, Germany: Mohr Siebeck,2003, 1–22.

Schäfer reiterates and hones his claim that the Talmudic sources on the Bar Kokhba Revolt, including Rabbi Akiba’s supporting of Bar Kokhba, are devoid of any historical value.

Sperber, Daniel. “On Nailed Sandal.” *Sinai* 61 (1967): 69-73.

A study of the term “nailed sandal” as it pertains to the Roman army during the Bar Kokhba Revolt.

Stern, Menahem, ed. and trans. *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism*. 3 vols. Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1974–1984.

A comprehensive anthology of references to Judaism, Jews, and Eretz Israel in non-Christian Greek-Latin literature of the 5th century BCE – 6th century CE

Yeivin, Samuel Jerusalem: Bialik Institute. *The Bar Kokhba War*, 1957 2nd edition (in Hebrew).

The first monograph on the Bar Kokhba Revolt. A survey and in-depth discussion on the sources available during its writing (1952). The study includes numismatic evidence and literary sources, excluding the Bar Kokhba letters which were unearthed a decade later. Its main relevance today lies in its expression of the Zionist-national approach to research shortly after the founding of the state of Israel

**Archaeological sources**

Eshel, Hanan, Amit, David. *Refuge Caves of the Bar Kokhba Revolt Period*. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1998 (in Hebrew).

The collection includes sixteen articles dealing with refuge caves and artifacts in the Judean Desert and Jerusalem environs.

Eshel, Hanan, Porat Roi. *Refuge Caves of the Bar Kokhba Revolt Period: Second Collection*. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2009 (in Hebrew).

This collection includes thirty-seven articles on the discoveries in the refuge caves in Judean Desert and Western Judea since the publication of the authors’ previous study (Eshel & Amit 1998).

Kloner Amos, Tepper, Yigal, eds. *The Hiding Complexes in the Judean Shephelah*, Tel Aviv: ha-Ḥevrah la-Ḥaḳirat Erets-Yisra‘el ṿa-‘ati‘koteha, 1987 (in Hebrew).

A geographic survey and detailed look at hiding complexes in the Judean foothills. The rebels used these complexes in the war against Rome.

Kloner, Amos, Zissu, Boaz. "The Geographical Distribution of Hiding Complexes and Refuge Caves during the Bar Kokhba Revolt—Some New Insights,” *In the Highland’s Depth, Ephraim Range and Binyamin Research Studies* 4 (2014): 57–68 (in Hebrew).

An update on the geographic distribution of hiding complexes and refuge caves in light of the revolt’s expansion north to the Kana Stream (five kilometers south of Nablus), and west as far as today’s Metropolitan Tel Aviv.

Shivtiel, Yinon*. Rock Shelters and Hiding Complexes in the Galilee during the Early Roman Period*, Tel Aviv, Hakibbutz Hameuchad, 2014 (in Hebrew).

In this book, Shivtiel sums up everything known about the hiding complexes in the Galilee and concludes that since some of them were in use during the Bar Kokhba Revolt, it can be said that the Galilee was involved in the revolt. Nevertheless, many scholars contend Shivtiel’s conclusion as none of the complexes contains irrefutable evidence that they were linked to the revolt.

Guy D. Stiebel. "Military Equipment from the Bar Kokhba Period from the Refuge Caves," In Eshel, Hanan, Porat Roi. *Refuge Caves of the Bar Kokhba Revolt Period: Second Collection*. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2009, 309-338 (Hebrew)

A survey of the Jewish rebels’ and Roman army’s weapons in the Bar Kokhba Revolt. The article includes an itemized catalogue of the weapons and their discovery sites.

**Numismatics**

Adler, Yonathan. “Temple Willow-Branch Ritual Depicted on Bar Kokhba Denarius,” *Israel Numismatic Journal* 16 (2007–2008): 131–35.

An analysis of the jug and willow branch pattern as depicted on Bar Kokhba coins which, according to the author, represent the water ritual (the jug). The willow branch was held while circumambulating the altar in the ritual celebration of the Feast of Tabernacles.

Amit David, Bijovsky, Gabriel. “A Numismatic Update on the Northwestern Border of the Territory Controlled by Bar Kokhba Rebels.” *Israel Numismatic Research* 2 (2007): 133–136.

A report on two Bar Kokhba coins found at Khirbet Zikhrin and Khirbet al-Burnat adjacent to Antipatris. The artifacts extend the areas under rebel control further to the north and west from what was known until the article’s publication and joins the data on the expanded boundaries of the revolt.

Goldstein, Paul. “Bar Kokhba’s Trumpet Coins of the Second Revolt.” *The Shekel* 36 (2003): 24–28.

An analysis of the trumpet motif on Bar Kokhba coins as an expression of Bar Kokhba’s messianism.

Hendin, David A. “Jewish Coinage of the Two Wars: Aims and Meaning.” In Judaea and Rome in Coins, 65 BCE to 135 CE, Papers Presented at the International Conference Hosted by Spink, 13th–14th September 2010, edited by David Jacobson, and Nikos Kokkinos, 123–144. London: Spink & Son Limited, 2012.

A comparative survey of coins from the Great Revolt and Bar Kokhba Revolt with Jewish coinage from other periods. The author concludes that minting of the coins was intended as a declaration of Jewish national sovereignty for both Jewish and Roman consumption.

Meshorer, Yaʻaḳov. *A Treasury of Jewish Coins from the Persian Period to Bar Kokhba*. Jerusalem: Yad ben-Zvi Press, 2001.

A catalogue with accompanying explanations of Jewish coins from the Persian period to the Bar Kokhba Revolt. A basic textbook for understanding Jewish numismatic findings in the ancient period and their importance in reconstructing the past.

Mildenberg, Leo. The coinage of the Bar Kokhba War. Aarau: Verlag Sauerländer, 1984

A detailed survey and catalogue of numismatic findings. Based on the coinage the author limits the boundary of the revolt to Judea and notes the efficient administration that was available to Bar Kokhba. The author also discusses the causes of the revolt and claims that the main trigger was the ban on male circumcision.

Newman, Hillel. “The Star of Bar Kokhba”, In Eshel, Hanan and Zissu, Boaz, eds. *New Studies on the Bar Kokhba Revolt*. Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 2001, 95–99 (in Hebrew).

Newman states that the appearance of a comet in January 132 contributed to Jewish messianic expectation which identified Simon Bar Kosba as the biblical ‘kokhav’ (‘star’) of Balam’s prophecy (Num. 24:17).

Newman, Hillel. "Stars of the Messiah", In Kister, Menahem. Newman, Hillel I. Segal, Michael and Clements, Ruth A. eds. *Tradition, Transmission, and Transformation from Second Temple Literature through Judaism and Christianity in Late Antiquity*. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2015, 272-303

Newman’s 2001 expanded English publication elaborates on the star as a messianic symbol.

Patrich, Joseph. “The Golden Vine, The Sanctuary Portal, and his Depiction on the Bar-Kokhba Coins.” *Jewish Art* 19–20 (1993/4): 56–61

The author notes that the vine branch motif on Bar Kokhba coins recalls the golden vine that was entwined around the pillars at the entrance to the Second Temple sanctuary.

Tendler, Avrohom S. “The Temple Cult Types on the Bar Kokhba Coinage.” *New Studies on Jerusalem* 18 (2012): 285–316 (Hebrew).

According to Tendler, the coins that the rebels minted signify Jewish pilgrimages to Jerusalem. Depiction of the pilgrimage was designed to rekindle the memory of the Temple and remind the Jews of the goals and reason for the war.

Zissu, Boaz, Eshel, Hanan. “The Geographical Distribution of Coins from the Bar Kokhba War”, *Israel Numismatic Journal* 14 (2000–2002): 157–167.

A comprehensive survey of all the sites where Bar Kokhba coins were found up to the time of the article’s publication (2002). Based on these evidences, the author estimates that the revolt spread throughout all of Judea.

Zissu, Boaz, Ganor, Amir. “A Lead Weight of Bar Kokhba’s Administration.” *Israel Exploration Journal* 56 (2006): 178–182.

A description of lead weights in use during the revolt provide evidence of Bar Kokhba’s administration.

**Epigraphy**

Avner, R. Greenwald, R. Ecker A. and H.M. Cotton, "A New Old Monumental Inscription from Jerusalem in Honor of The Emperor Hadrian," *New Studies in the Archaeology of Jerusalem and its Region* 8 (2015), pp. 96-101 (Hebrew).

The second half of a monumental inscription that was unearthed around a century ago. The completion of the inscription enables the full reading which shows that it was made in honor of Hadrian’s visit to Jerusalem in 130. Since the inscription mentions only of the Tenth Legion and nothing of Colonia Aelia Capitolina, a few scholars assume that the pagan city was erected only after the revolt.

Benoit, Pierre, Milik, J. T. de Vaux, Roland. *Les grottes de Murabbaʻât*. DJD II, Oxford, 1961.

An early 1950s collection of scrolls and papyri from the Wadi Muraba’at Caves. The documentary material includes letters sent by Bar Kokhba, bills of sale, and so forth, as well as Biblical scrolls. Yardeni republished the Hebrew and Aramaic documents in Yardeni 2000. The standard form of reference to the material is: P. Mur.

Bar-Asher Siegal, Elitzur A. "Linguistics and Philology in the Study of the Epigraphic Finds from the Judean Desert: The State of the Art and Reflections on Future Studies". Lĕšonénu 78 (2016): 247-268

A critique of Mor 2015 and Wise 2015.

Bowersock, Glen Warren. “The Tel Shalem Arch and P. Nahal Hever / Seiyal 8.” In Bar Kokhba War Reconsidered, 171–180.

Bowersock rejects Eck’s suggestion that the Tel Shalem inscription was made in 136 to commemorate the great victory over Bar Kokhba. Instead, the inscription should be dated to 130, which would place it two years before the revolt erupted.

Cotton, Hannah M. “The Archive of Salome Komaise Daughter of Levi: Another Archive from the ‘Cave of Letters’.” *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 105 (1995: (171–208.

All six documents from the archive of Salome Komaise, daughter of Levi. The Greek text is accompanied by an English translation and comprehensive philological discussion.

Cotton, Hannah M.2001. “Documentary Texts from the Judaean Desert: A Matter of Nomenclature.” *SCI* 20: 113–119.

A survey of the research on economic and legal documents and letters discovered in the Judean Desert and the systems of referencing them.

Cotton. H. M. and Yardeni, A. *Aramaic, Hebrew, and Greek Documentary Texts from Nahal Hever and Other Sites, with an Appendix Containing Alleged Qumran Texts*. DJD XXVII (The Seiyâl Collection II), Oxford, 1997

Over seventy legal documents that were likely found by Bedouins probably in unauthorized digs in the Hever and Tze’elim Streams and that reached the antiquities market. Included in the hoard are bills of sale, personal documents, and a letter sent to Bar Kokhba. The standard abbreviated form of reference is: XHev/Se.

Czajkowski, Kimberley. *The Relationship between Roman and Local Law in the Babatha and Salome Komaise Archives*. Brill: Leiden 2007

An inquiry into the relationship between Roman law and local law in the provinces based on a legal analysis of the Babatha and Salome Komaise Archives.

Czajkowski, Kimberley. *Localized Law: The Babatha and Salome Komaise Archives*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017

In this book, Czajkowski claims that the documents in the Babatha and Salome Komaise Archives cannot by analyzed and comprehended by a single legal system, be it Jewish, Roman or other. Instead, the author suggests that the documents should be seen as the product of the provincial legal culture that included local traditions, Jewish customs, and fragmentary knowledge of Roman law.

Eck, Werner. "Hadrian, the Bar Kokhba Revolt, and the Epigraphic Transmission.” In *Bar Kokhba War Reconsidered*, 153–170.

A survey of epigraphic evidence of the Bar Kokhba Revolt up to the publication of the article (2001). Eck reiterates his basic view of the intensity of the revolt (Eck 1999).

Eck, Werner. "The Impact of the Bar Kokhba Revolt on Rome: Another Military Diploma from AD 160 from Syria Palaestina.” *Michmanim* 23 (2011): 7–22 (in Hebrew).

A description and analysis of a Roman diploma that confirms and substantiates Eck’s claim regarding the powerful military force that Rome employed in crushing the revolt.

Eck, Werner, Foerster, Gideon. “Ein Triumphbogen für Hadrian im Tal von Beth Shean bei Tel Shalem.” *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 12 (1999): 294–313.

An updated look at the inscription on the victory arch that stood in Tel Shalem. According to the authors, the monumental inscription is a testament to the importance Hadrian placed on quelling the revolt. The size of the inscription also indicates the intensity of the revolt and the enormous resources that the Romans expended in suppressing it.

Eck, Werner. Pangerl, Andreas. “Syria unter Domitian und Hadrian: Neue Diplome für die Auxiliartruppen der Provinz”, *Chiron* 36 (2006): 205–247.

A description and analysis of the Roman diploma that confirms and substantiates Eck’s claim regarding the prodigious military force that Rome exercised in crushing the revolt.

Eshel, Esther. Eshel, Hanan and Yardeni, Ada. " A Document from 'Year Four of the Destruction of the House of Israel' in Which a Widow Declared that She Received All Her Rights". *Cathedra* 132 (2009): 5-24

A papyrus written approximately four years after the revolt’s collapse refers to it as the ‘destruction of the House of Israel’. The papyrus and a comprehensive textual and historical analysis appear in the article.

Eshel Hanan. “Why did Babatha flee to the Cave of Letters?”, In *New Studies on the Bar Kokhba Revolt*, 105–109 (in Hebrew).

According to Eshel’s reconstruction of events, Babatha fled to the Scroll Cave because her partner, Elazar Ben Shmuel, was one of the commanders of the revolt in Ein Gedi. After the revolt’s demise Ben Shmuel too sought refuge in the cave next to Ein Gedi.

Esler, Philip. *Babatha’s Orchard: The Yadin Papyri and an Ancient Jewish Family Tale Retold*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017

The author looks at four of the earliest documents from the Babatha Archive dated from 94 and 99 CE. The documents refer to Nabatean aristocracy and a wealthy Jew named Shimon (Babatha’s father). Basing his reconstruction on these documents Esler pieces together the fascinating tale of a real-estate scam over a date orchard in the city of Maoza on the eastern shore of the Dead Sea.

Friedman, Mordechai Akiva. “Babatha’s Ketuba: Some Preliminary Observations.” *Israel Exploration Journal* 46 (1996): 55–76.

The Babatha Archive also contains a ketuba, an affidavit of a husband’s marriage obligations to his wife. Friedman’s article presents a painstaking analysis of the ketuba against the background of Jewish religious law in the second century CE and in light of ancient ketubot found in the Cairo Geniza. The Babatha Ketuba is a key source of information for understanding Jewish religious law on marriage obligations.

Goodman, Martin. “Babatha’s Story.” *Journal of Roman Studies* 81 (1991): 169–175.

This review article of Lewis and Yadin (1989) reconstructs different areas of the Jewish life in the early second century CE as reflected in the Babatha Archive.

Ilan, Tal. “Premarital Cohabitation in Ancient Judea: The Evidence of the Babatha Archive and the Mishnah (Ketubot 1.4)”, *Harvard Theological Review* 86 (1993): 247–264.

A discussion of Salome Komais’ marriage contract (P. Yadin 37) from which the author draws the conclusion that it was customary in Judea for a couple to cohabit prior to the official marriage ceremony.

Isaac, Benjamin H. “The Babatha Archive: A Review Article.” In *The Near East Under Roman Rule, Selected Papers*, by Benjamin H., Isaac, 158–181. Leiden: Brill, 1998.

Following the publication of the Babatha Archive (Lewis and Yadin 1989), the author suggests a reconstruction of the Roman administrative structure as it relates to various features in the provinces of Arabia and Judea.

Lewis, Naphtali, Yadin, Yigal, and Greenfield, Jonas C. eds. *The Documents from the Bar Kokhba Period in the Cave of Letters: Greek Papyri*, Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society 1989.

This collection includes twenty-six documents in Greek from the Babatha Archive, as well as three documents in Aramaic and six in Nabatean that appear in Yadin et al. 2002. Yadin found the documents in the Cave of Letters in the Hever Stream. Their standard form of reference is: P. Babatha, based on the name of the archive, or P. Yadin based on its discoverer.

Mor, Menahem. “What Does Tel Shalem Have to Do with the Bar Kokhba Revolt?.” *Scripta Judaica Cracoviensia* 11 (2013): 76–96.

Mor, based on Bowersock 2003, claims that the Tel Shalem Ketuba should be dated to 130 CE. The inscription and the gate that it adorned were erected by the Sixth (Ferrata) Legion in honor of Hadrian’s journey to the region. Hence the inscription and its size bear no testimony to the intensity of the revolt or to Rome’s effort to liquidate it since the inscription was made prior to the revolt.

Mor, Uri. *Judean Hebrew: The Language of the Hebrew Documents from Judea between the First and the Second Revolts*. Jerusalem 2015

A comprehensive study of Ancient Hebrew. The author presents Hebrew grammar in an in-depth analysis of the entire body of non-biblical Hebrew documents written between the Great Revolt and Bar Kokhba Revolt. He reconstructs the status of ‘Judaite Hebrew’, as he terms it, in the development of the Hebrew language.

Wise, Michael Owen. *Language and Literacy in Roman Judaea. A Study of the Bar Kokhba Documents*, New Haven 2015

This book examines the literacy among the rural Jewish elite in the interim between the two revolts. Based on an analysis of the literature of the period, the author found that although Aramaic was the common language of the people, an effort was made to use Hebrew, especially in legal documents. Greek was used only by city dwellers.

Yadin, Yigael. *Bar-Kokhba: The rediscovery of the legendary hero of the last Jewish revolt against Imperial Rome*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1971.

A fascinating account of the excavations and discoveries in the Hever Stream. This readable introduction and guide to the history of archaeological digs also reconstructs the Bar Kokhba Revolt and life in Judea in the second century based on archaeological evidence.

Yadin, Yigael, Greenfield, Jonas C., Yardeni, Ada, Levine, Baruch, eds. *The Documents from the Bar-Kokhba period in the Cave of Letters: Hebrew, Aramaic and Nabatean-Aramaic Papyri, and Greek Papyri*. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society; Hebrew University of Jerusalem: Shrine of the Book, 2002.

Twenty-eight letters and documents in Hebrew, Aramaic and Nabatean-Aramaic from the Cave of Letters in the Hever Stream. Among them are nine non-Greek documents from the Babatha Archive, economic records, and twelve letters sent by Bar Kokhba. The standard form of reference is: P. Yadin.

Yardeni, Ada. *'Nahal Se'elim' Documents*. Jerusalem: Ben Gurion University of the Negev Press and The Israel Exploration Society, 1995

Nearly forty legal documents from the Se’elim and Hever Streams. Translation and commentary in Hebrew. All of the documents were later published in Cotton & Yardeni 1997.

Yardeni, Ada. *Textbook of Aramaic, Hebrew and Nabathean Documentary Texts from the Judean Desert and Related Materia*l. Jerusalem: The Ben-Zion Dinur Center for Research in Jewish History, 2000.

Volume 1 is a revised publication of all the Hebrew, Aramaic and Aramaic-Nabatean documents discovered in the Judean Desert. The documents appear in facsimile drawing (to facilitate reading). For epigraphic comparison, a selection of fourth century scrolls, papyri and ostraca from the Judean Desert area has been added. The volume also contains articles on the development of Nabatean and Jewish writing [Hebrew block letters used in beginning of the Second Temple period]. Volume 2 is an English translation of all the documents and bills, as well as a translation of the paleographic articles. The volume includes a detailed concordance of all the documents.

**Causes of the outbreak of the revolt**

Applebaum, Shimon. 1978. "Judaea as a Roman Province: The Countryside as a Political and Economic Factors." ANRW II 8:355-396.

The paper deals with the agrarian conditions in Judea after the Great Revolt. The author states that the Romans adhered to a policy of land expropriation that created harsh economic conditions for the Jewish agrarian public that formed the vast majority of the Jewish population in Judea. It was this economic destitution that spurred the Jewish population to rebel against Rome (the Bar Kokhba Revolt) a second time.

Deines, Roland. “How Long? God’s Revealed Schedule for Salvation and the Outbreak of Bar Kokhba Revolt.” In Judaism in Crisis, Crisis as a Catalyst in Jewish Cultural History, edited by Armin, Lange K.F. Diethard Römheld, Matthias Weingold, 201–234. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 2011 [= Acts of God in History: Studies Towards Recovering a Theological Historiography, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013, 191–225].

The author claims that one of the major causes of the outbreak of the Bar Kokhba Revolt was the reckoning of the End of Days, the time of deliverance and the restoration of the Temple. This would occur in the seventh decade following the Great Revolt.

Eshel, Hanan. “ ‘Bethar was Captured and the City Was Plowed’. Jerusalem, Aelia Capitolina and the Bar Kokhba Revolt.” Eretz Israel 28 (2007): 21–28 (in Hebrew).

Eshel reconsiders the reasons for the Bar Kokhba Revolt in light of numismatic findings (Eshel & Zissu 2000-2002) and concludes that the establishment of Aelia Capitolina triggered the revolt. Nevertheless, based on evidence in the Mishna (Ta’anit 4:6) the author suggests that the construction of pagan temples in Jerusalem was delayed until after the revolt was crushed.

Eshel H. and Zissu B. 2000–2002. Coins from the el-Jai Cave in Nahal Mikhmash (Wadi Suweinit). INJ 14:168–175.

This is a report that juxtaposes Bar Kokhba coins with coins from the Al-Jai Cave depicting the establishment of Aelia Capitolina. Al-Jai was a refuge cave in the eastern foothills of northern Judea approximately two kilometers east of the modern-day Jewish settlement of Geva-Binyamin (roughly ten kilometers north of Jerusalem). Eshel and Zissu conclude that the inauguration of Aelia Capitolina seems to have preceded the Bar Kokhba Revolt and was its cause.

Herr, Moshe David. "The Causes of the Bar-Kokhba War." *Zion* 43 (1978): 1–11 (Hebrew)

A look at the literary findings related to the revolt and the archaeological findings in Herr’s day. The author claims that the edict banning circumcision was the cause of the revolt.

Oppenheimer, Aharon. “The Ban on Circumcision as a Cause of the Revolt: A Reconsideration.” In Bar Kokhba War Reconsidered, 55–69. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003

Oppenheimer states that the ban on circumcision was the consequence of the Bar Kokhba Revolt and that the reason for the revolt was the establishment of Aelia Capitolina on the ruins of Jerusalem.

Rabello, Alfredo Mordechai. “The Ban on Circumcision as a Cause of the Bar Kokhba’s Rebellion.” *Israel Law Review* 29 (1995): 176–214.

Rabello claims that the prohibition on circumcision was strictly enforced by Hadrian within the framework of *lex cornelia de sicariis et veneficis*, which included, inter alia, castration and Jewish circumcision. According to the author it was this prohibition that triggered the revolt.

Sheppard, Anthony. " The Letter of Barnabas and the Jerusalem Temple". JSJ 48 (2017): 531-550

Barnabas Letter 16:3-4 mentions a rumor that the Romans who destroyed the Temple were in the process of rebuilding it. Sheppard suggests that the rumor dates to the period of Hadrian’s rule and, to be more specific, to the years preceding the Bar Kokhba Revolt. The author further speculates that Hadrian’s efforts to establish Aelia Capitolina generated a wave of unsubstantiated rumors in the greater Jewish and Christian publics.

Weksler-Bdolah, Shlomit. "The foundation of Aelia Capitolina in light of new excavations along the Eastern Cardo. “Israel Exploration Journal 64,1 (2014) 38-62

Weksler-Bdolah’s excavations in the eastern cardo indicate that construction began in the third decade of the second century, that is, 15 years before the Bar Kokhba Revolt. The author draws the conclusion that the planning and building of Aelia Capitolina commenced prior to the revolt and were its main causes.

Solomon, Avi, “Reconsidering the Historical Sources of the Bar-Kokhba Revolt in Light of Recent Excavations Along the Eastern Cardo of Jerusalem,” New Studies on Jerusalem 20 (2014): 257–276 (in Hebrew).

The discoveries in the eastern cardo show that its construction began in the year 118. These findings together with the literary accounts of Cassius Dio and others indicate that the reason for the revolt was the people’s hope that Hadrian was rebuilding of the Temple. When they realized that he was erecting a pagan city, they revolted.

Bar-Natan, Rachel and Deborah A. Sklar-Parnes. "A Jewish Settlement in Orine between the Two Revolts". *New Studies in the Archaeology of Jerusalem and its Region* 1 (2007): 57–64 (Hebrew).

Archaeological evidence of a Jewish settlement near Jerusalem testifies to the continuity of Jewish settlement in Judea, which ceased with the outbreak of the revolt.

Mach, Michael F. "From Sunset to Dawn: Transformations in Ancient Jewish Messianism". Te'uda 26 (2014): 307-359

A sweeping survey of the evolution of the messianic idea from the end of the Second Temple period to the beginning of the Muslim conquest. The author states that the failure of the Bar Kokhba Revolt, which was linked to messianic expectation, led to the disappearance of messianic ideas in Tannaitic literature (second century sages who were active in Jewish society) and especially in the Mishna.

Shahar, Yuval. "Rabbi Akiba and the Destruction of the Temple: The Establishment of the Fats Days". Zion 68 (2003): 145-165.

The author claims that Rabbi Akiba instituted ta’aniyot [fast days], especially the Ninth of Ab, to keep alive the memory of the destruction of the First and Second Temples and by doing so to enshrine the expectation of its rebuilding. According to Shahar, this is another example of Akiba’s struggle to hasten redemption, in addition to his support of the Bar Kokhba Revolt.

Ben Shahar, Meir. "The Ninth of Av: Chronology and Ideology in Fixing the Dates of the First and the Second Destructions in Rabbinic Literature". Zion 81 (2016): 5-30 (Hebrew)

The article focuses on the preservation of the loss of the Temple in Jewish collective memory on the Ninth of Ab. It also discusses Rabbi Akiba’s proclamation of four fast days in memory of the destruction. According to the author, Rabbi Akiba determined these days as religious imperatives for attaining final redemption.

**The figure of Bar Kokhba**

Ben-Shalom, Israel. “The Support of the Sages for the Bar-Kokhva Revolt.” Cathedra 29 (1983): 13–28 (in Hebrew).

After the destruction of the Temple the leadership of the sages in Yavne advanced the radical-Pharisee ideology of freedom from servitude to Rome and the swift rebuilding of the Temple. In this spirit Bar Kokhba won the support of the sages and the general public.

Choi, Junghwa. Jewish Leadership in Roman Palestine from 70 CE. to 135 CE, Leiden, Brill 2013.

According to the author, due to the vacuum that was created in Judea after the Great Revolt, the Jews came under different leadership patterns. At some stage the Bar Kokhba-led messianic option became the dominant pattern.

Evans, Craig. “Was Simon Ben Kosiba Recognizes as Messiah?”, In Craig Evans, Jesus and His Contemporaries, Comparative Studies, Leiden 1995, 183–211.

Craig claims that the archaeological and literary sources prove that Rabbi Akiba and the rebels perceived Bar Kokhba as the messiah.

Goodblatt, David. “The Title ‘Nasi’ and the Ideological Background of the Second Revolt.” The Bar Kokhba Revolt: A New Approach, 113–132 (in Hebrew).

The author states that the title ‘nasi’ has a decidedly priestly connotation. Furthermore, the numismatic and literary evidence suggests that the Bar Kokhba Revolt was directly influenced, or at least nourished, by priestly inspiration. Goodblatt, however, contends that there is no evidence of sage leadership in the Bar Kokhba Revolt, as the Talmudic accounts are devoid of historical veracity.

Habas (Rubin), Ephrat. “Bar Kokhba and Perception of Nesi Israel as Messiah.” Judea and Samaria Research Studies 17 (2008): 135–144.

Habas-Rubin argues that the title ‘Nasi Israel’ is unique. Based on additional appearances of this title and its parallels in epigraphic findings from the revolt and the Dead Sea Scrolls, she claims that Bar Kokhba was seen as an eschatological judge.

Hacham, Noah. “Rabban Simeon ben Gamliel in Beitar.” Tarbiz 74 (2005): 547–563 (in Hebrew).

Analysis of the Talmudic sources on the Bar Kokhba Revolt. After examining the Talmudic story of Rabban Simeon ben Gamliel and the damage to the beit midrash of the beit hanasi (PT Ta’an. 4:6 69a; BT Git. 58a), the author concludes that Land of Israel sources (PT) are historically accurate, but the Babylonian Talmud is a processed tendentious text.

Oppenheimer, Aharon. “Bar Kokhba’s Messianism.” In Messianism and Eschatology. A Collection of Essays, edited by Zvi Baras, 153–165. Jerusalem: Zalman Shazar Center, 1983, (in Hebrew).

According to Oppenheimer, Bar Kokhba was not viewed as an eschatological messiah destined to usher in redemption. The title ‘nasi’ shows that he was regarded as a political and military leader. Also, Rabbi Akiba’s declaration of Bar Kokhba as ‘the messiah’ was not out of the ordinary among pragmatic - as opposed to eschatological - national leaders.

Oppenheimer, Aharon. "Sabbatheiligung im Bar-Kochba-Aufstand.” In Between Rome and Babylon, 292–302 [= “The Keeping of the Sabbath during the Bar Kokhba Uprising.” In Jews and Judaism in the Second Temple, Mishna and Talmud Period, edited by Aharon Oppenheimer, Isaiah Gafni, Menahem Stern, 226–234. Jerusalem: Yad Ben Zvi, 1993. (in Hebrew)].

A discussion on Talmudic and epigraphical sources that prove that Sabbath observance was widespread among Jews. The Bar Kokhba Letters reveal that Bar Kokhba and his fighters kept the Sabbath scrupulously during the revolt.

Oppenheimer, Aharon. “Bar Kokhba and the Observance of Mitzvot.” In Between Rome and Babylon, 283–291 [= “Bar Kokhva and the Practice of Jewish Law.” In Bar Kokhva Revolt—New Approach, 140–146 (in Hebrew)].

The Bar Kokhba Letters reflect the strict observance of the commandments among the fighters and the inception of a logistical mechanism that, for example, enabled the observance of the four species mitzva. Seen in this light, Bar Kokhba may be said to have pursued the efforts of the sages of Yavne to make mitzva observance the framework for preserving Jewish nationalism.

Reinhartz, Adele. “Rabbinic Perceptions of Simeon bar Kosiba.” Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period 20 (1989): 171–194.

An examination of the Talmudic sources on Bar Kokhba suggests that the sages may have had different views of Bar Kokhba.

Schäfer, Peter. “R. Aqiva und Bar Kokhba.” In Studien zur Geschichte und Theologie des rabbinischen Judentums, edited by Peter Schäfer, 65–121. Leiden: Brill, 1978

In this expanded article Schäfer asserts that Talmudic sources dealing with the ties between Rabbi Akiba and Bar Kokhba lack historical validity.

Witulski, Thomas. “Der Titel *Nāśî*‘ bei Ezechiel, in den qumranischen Schriften und bei Bar Kokhba – ein Beitrag zur ideologischen Einordnung des Bar Kokhba-Aufstandes.” Liber Annuus 60 (2010): 189–234.

A reappraised discussion of the title ‘nasi’ in the artifacts from the Bar Kokhba period. According to the author the title was developed from the term ‘nasi’ that appears in the Book of Ezekiel without any connection to the Qumran tradition.

Boaz Zissu and Erasmus Gass. "The Identification of Biblical Achzib at Khirbet ʿĒn el-Kizbe in the Judean Shephelah, and the Origins of Shimon Bar Kokhba." Aren M. Maeir, Jodi Magness and Lawrence Schiffman (eds.) *‘Go Out and Study the Land’ (Judges 18:2): Archaeological, Historical and Textual Studies in Honor of Hanan Eshel*. Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 148. Leiden: Brill, 2012. 377-426

The authors propose identifying the biblical city of Achzib in the Judean foothills with Khirbet ‘En el-Kizbe, as the birth place of Bar Kokhba whom the Talmud refers to as Bar Koziba and his letters refer to as Bar Kosba.

Oppenheimer, Aharon, “Betar als Zentrum vor dem Bar-Kochba-Aufstand”, Aharon Oppenheimer, Between Rome and Babylon; Studies in Jewish Leadership and Society, edited by Nili Oppenheimer, 303–319. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005[= In Netiʽ ot LeDavid: Jubilee Volume for David Weiss Halivni, edited by Yakob Elman, et al., XV–XXIX. Jerusalem, Orhot Press, 2004, (in Hebrew)]

The city of Betar was settled in the Second Temple period and fortified after the destruction of the Temple. The leading Jewish institutions and beit hanasi moved there after the Jewish Revolt against Gallus (115-117). Bar Kokhba may have set up his headquarters there before the revolt. As the Romans advanced, he retreated to the city where the Jewish leadership was concentrated.

**In the course of the fighting**

Amar and Sukenik. " "Kakhal vesaraq" - evidence of cosmetics used by women and found in Judean Desert Cave of Letters from the Bar-Kokhba revolt". Jerusalem and Eretz-Israel – A Journal for Land of Israel Studies and Archaeology 10-11 (2018): 179-192

Evidence of cosmetics in the Letters Cave and its use by women. The artifacts bear witness to the lifestyle in Jewish high society.

Daniel Boyarin. Dying for God: Martyrdom and the Making of Christianity and Judaism. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999

Boyarin claims that *Kiddush Ha-shem*in Judaism and its parallel, martyrdom, in Christianity were created in opposition to each other in order to forge a distinction and separation between the two publics. Although this cultural phenomenon occurred in the mid-third century it was linked to the Bar Kokhba Revolt.

Dar, Simeon, “The Function of the Underground Complexes During the Bar- Kokhba Revolt,” In the Highland’s Depth, Ephraim Range and Binyamin Research Studies 5 (2015): 111–122 (in Hebrew).

The hiding complexes were Bar Kokhba’s chief military device in guerilla warfare. The author states that they were used as bases for attacking the Romans in daring offensives that forced the Roman army to concentrate massive forces in order to liquidate them.

Eck, Werner. “Der Bar Kochba-Aufstandes der Jahre 132–136 und seine Folgen fur die provinz Judaea/Syria Palaestina.” In Iudaea Socia-Iudaea Capta, atti del convegno internazionale Cividale del Fruiuli, 22–24 settembre 2011, edited by Gianpaolo Urso, 249–265. Pisa: ETS, 2012.

A look at the administrative and political implications of the Bar Kokhba Revolt. Following the revolt, the country became a typical Roman province. The Jews realized the futility of taking up arms against Rome and accepted Roman rule as a fact.

Eshel, Hanan. "The Dates used during the Bar Kokhba Revolt”, In Bar Kokhba War Reconsidered, 93–105

Eshel dates the years of the Bar Kokhba Revolt as beginning in the summer of 132 when Bar Kokhba seized the government on the first of the month of Tishrei (at the latest). This date appears on the rebels’ coins, in the Bar Kokhba Letters, and on bills written by Jews in areas under Bar Kokhba’s rule.

Gichon, Mordechai. "Bar Kohkba's Estimate of his Chances on the Eve of his Revolt against Rome", REMA: Revue des études militaires anciennes 2 (2007): 113-132.

The author claims that Bar Kokhba rebelled after making an estimate of the political and military situation. According to this estimate Hadrian would avoid military clashes and seek a compromise. Thus, Bar Kokhba believed that an armed uprising would provide the Jews with greater leverage in political negotiations with the Romans.

Herr, Moshe David. “Persecutions and Martyrdom in Hadrian Days.” Scripta Hierosolymitana 23 (1972): 85–125.

Herr argues that the goal of Hadrian’s activity was anti-Jewish, therefore the Jews and the Romans perceived the revolt as a struggle between Judaism and the belief in one god, and the pagan culture of Rome; while the Jews saw resistance to Rome as a form of martyrdom.

Herr, Moshe David. "Realistic Political Messianism and Cosmic Eschatological Messianism in the Teachings of the Sages.” Tarbiz 54 (1985): 331–346 (in Hebrew).

A survey of the messianic and redemptive concepts in Judaism from the time of the Second Temple to the Muslim conquest. The Bar Kokhba Revolt was the last time political messianism applied military force. Redemption would be the political freedom gained from a successful armed uprising. The revolt’s failure terminated the belief in this concept.

Herr, Moshe David. "The Identity of the Jewish People Before and After the Destruction of the Second Temple: Continuity or Change". Jewish Identities in Antiquity; Studies in Memory of Menahem Stern. Edited by Lee I. Levine and Daniel R. Schwartz. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009. 211-236

The author asks the question: which was the watershed event in Jewish history, the Great Revolt or the Bar Kokhba Revolt? Herr examines a list of socio-cultural parameters and reaches the conclusion that the results of Bar Kokhba Revolt were of far greater consequence for Jewish society in Eretz Israel and the Diaspora.

Herr, Moshe David. "The Identity of the People of Israel during Second Temple Times and after Its Destruction — Continuity or Change? Trends in the Study of Jewish History of the Late Second Temple, Mishnah, and Talmud Periods". Cathedra 137 (2010): 27-62

Herr’s expanded Hebrew version (2009) contains many new elements.

Irshai, Oded. “Constantine and the Jews: The Prohibition Against Entering Jerusalem: History and Historiography.” Zion 65 (1995): 129–178 (in Hebrew).

A detailed discussion on the sources relating to the renewal of the ban on Jews from entering the Temple Mount. The author claims that Constantine never enacted such a ban.

Kanael, Baruch. “Notes on the Dates used during the Bar Kokhba Revolt.” Israel. Exploration Journal 21 (1971): 39–46.

Based on numismatic and epigraphic discoveries, Kanael found that the dating in Judea during the revolt began in the month of Nisan 132 after Bar Kokhba seized control of Jerusalem. See also Eshel 2003.

Keppie, Lawrence. J.F. “The History and Disappearance of the Legion XXII Deiotariana”, In Greece and Rome in Eretz Israel, Collected Essays, Edited by Aryeh Kasher, Uriel, Rappaport, Gideon, Fuks, 54–61. Jerusalem: Yad Ben Zvi, 1990.

A discussion on the assumption that the XXII Legion incurred heavy losses and ceased to exist after the Bar Kokhba Revolt. Keppie supports this view but admits the difficulty in proving it.

Leibner, Uzi. "Excavations at Khirbet Wadi Hamam (Lower Galilee): the synagogue and the settlement", Journal of Roman Archaeology 23 (2011): 220-237

A description of the findings from the Khirbat Wadi Hamam excavations, which include a synagogue that was hastily abandoned during the Bar Kokhba Revolt. The director of the excavation, Uzi Leibner, believes that the unplanned departure could prove that parts of the Galilee were also casualties of the fighting.

Leibner, Uzi, and Bijowsky, Gabriela. “Two Hoards from Khirbat Wadi Hamam and the Scope of the Bar Kokhba Revolt.” Israel Numismatic Research (2013): 109–134.

A detailed description of the two hoards that were found in Khirbet Wadi Hamam, one in the synagogue and the other in an adjacent building. The hoards testify to an abrupt departure from a settlement that Leibner and Bijowsky link to the Bar Kokhba Revolt. The site may have been damaged by the Roman army during or after the revolt, but the authors do not claim that the entire Galilee or part of it was under rebel control.

Pearson, Brook W.R. “Dry Bones in the Judean Desert: The Messiah of Ephraim, Ezekiel 37, and the Post Revolutionary Followers of Bar Kokhba.” Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period 29 (1998): 192–201.

An analysis of the remnants of bones of Jews who perished in the Judean Desert refuge caves reveals that they were buried shortly after their death. The author suggests that the manner of their burial recalls Ezekiel’s vision of the dried bones (Ezek. 37), a messianic image that accompanied Bar Kokhba’s supporters during and after the revolt.

Safrai, Zeev. “The Bar Kokhva revolt and Its Effect on Settlement.” Bar Kokhba Revolt—A New Approach, 182–214 (in Hebrew).

A survey of Jewish settlements in Eretz Israel after the Bar Kokhba Revolt. The author found that the only the settlements in the centers of the revolt (northern Judea and the Jerusalem and Yavne areas) were destroyed, whereas other parts of Judea suffered only minor damage. Jewish settlements in the Galilee remained basically intact, but the revolt apparently spelled the end of Jewish settlement in Transjordan.

Schwartz, Joshua. “Judea in the Wake of the Bar Kokhva Revolt.” Bar Kokhba Revolt—A New Approach, 215–223 (in Hebrew).

The revolt brought destruction to most of the Jewish settlements in Judea.

Shivtiel, Yinon. "The Uniqueness and Distribution of 'Concealment Complexes' in the Galilee: Update and Re-evaluation", Cathedra 142 (2012): 7-26 [Hebrew]

A survey of different types of refuge caves in the Galilee. Shivtiel dates some of the caves to the Great Revolt and others to the Bar Kokhba Revolt. However, questions remain regarding their use.

Stemberger, Gunter. “Verfolgung der jüdischen Religion unter Hadrian: Zwischen Wirklichkeit und Martyrologis.” Scripta Classica Israelica 33 (2014): 255–268.

A discussion on the phenomenon of martyrdom and its connection with the Bar Kokhba Revolt.

Ussishkin, David. "Archaeological Soundings at Betar, Bar-Kochba's Last Stronghold", in: *Tel Aviv. Journal of the Institute of Archaeology of Tel Aviv University* 20 (1993): 66-97

A summary of the archaeological findings in Betar during Ussishkin’s excavations and earlier excavations.

Zissu B., and Kloner A., 2014, Rock-Cut Hiding Complexes from the Roman Period in Israel, Der Erdstall, Beitraege zur Erforschung kuenstlicher Hoehlen 40, pp. 96-119

A survey of refuge cave distribution and cave architecture.

Zissu, Boaz, Porat Roi, Langford Boaz and Frumkin Amos. “Archaeological remains of the Bar Kokhba Revolt in the Te’omim Cave (Mŭghâret Umm et Tûeimîn), Western Jerusalem Hills.” Journal of Jewish Studies 62 (2011): 262–283.

The uniqueness of the Te’omim Cave as a refuge cave in western Judea. Surviving rebels and their families sought refuge in these caves. Nearly all the caves of this type were discovered in eastern Judea, particularly in the Judean Desert. Archeologists in the Te’omim Cave found bones, weapons and a large hoard of coins.

Zlotnik, Yehoshua. “Coin Finds and Questions of the Conquest of Jerusalem by Bar Kokhba.” Israel Numismatic Research 3 (2008): 137–146.

Numismatic discoveries in Jerusalem of Bar Kokhba and Aelia Capitolina coins indicate, according to the author, that the rebels gained control of Jerusalem. Most scholars, it should be noted, reject this conclusion.

Raphael Feldman, “The Bar Kokhba Revolt – a New Chronology, Half Heroes – The Flight of the Scribes” (2017), pp. 930-951.

Feldman tries to affirm the sages’ writing that the Bar Kokhba Revolt broke out fifty-two years after the Great Revolt (PT, Ta’a. 4:6, 69a) in the year 125. He proves this by analyzing literary, papyrological and numismatic sources connected with the revolt.

Porat, Roi, Kalman, Yakov, Chachy, Rachel. “ ‘The Camp that sits at Herodis . . .’:Mount Herodium as a Guerilla—Warfare Center during the Bar Kokhba Revolt,” New Studies in the Archaeology of Jerusalem and Its Region 9 (2015): 256–298 (in Hebrew).

The fortification and tunnel complex at Herodion are considered to have been offensive structures because of their camouflaged openings at the base of the slope. According to scholarly opinion, the fortress was planned and served as the center of regional guerilla fighting. Bar Kokhba’s men sallied out from it on raids against Roman forces deployed in eastern Judea. The authors speculate that Bar Kokhba himself may have stayed in Herodion for a time.

Eshel, Hanan. “A Silver Cup Decorated with Homo-Erotic Scenes Discovered in Beitar in 1906.” Jerusalem and Eretz Israel 8–9 (2013): 233–240 (in Hebrew).

The Betar excavations in 1906 unearthed a first century silver cup decorated with homo-erotic scenes. The cup is known as the ‘Warren Cup’ in honor of Edward Perry Warren who purchased and donated it to the British Museum. Eshel claims that the cup may have belonged to Hadrian or one of his senior officers in the war. After the cup fell into the rebels’ hands, they hid it in Betar with the intention of selling it.

Lieberman, Saul. “The Martyrs of Caesarea,” *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves* 7 (1939–44): 395–446

Lieberman’s description of the religious edicts that affected the Jews in Eretz Israel after the Bar Kokhba Revolt is based on a philological analysis of Talmudic sources and Christian sources that deal with the religious persecution of the Christians in the early fourth century. The author revised his article using additional sources, see Lieberman 1975.

Lieberman, Saul. “Persecution of Jewish Religion.” In Salo Baron Jubilee Volume, For his Eightieth Birthday, edited by Hyman, Arthur, 214–234. New York: American Accademy for Jewish Studies, 1975 (in Hebrew).

A revised and expanded edition of Lieberman 1944.