Footnotes for the rest of the text (without English versions)

Chapter 7

1. Ze'ev Safrai and Avi Saguy, eds., *Bein samkhut l’autonomi b’misirat Yisrael* [*Between Authority and Autonomy in Jewish Tradition]* (Tel Aviv: United Kibbutz Press, 1997).
2. Shulamit Eliash, “*Hayakasim bein harabanut hareisit l’eretz Yisrael v’hashilton hamandatori* (1936-1945)” *[“The Relationship between Israel’s Chief Rabbinate and the Mandatory Government* (1936-1945)”] (PhD diss., Bar Ilan University, 1979), 70-80 [in Hebrew].
3. Fishman, *Between Religion and Ideology*.
4. It should be noted that the issue of the status of the rabbis in the Mizrahi and Hapoel HaMizrahi movements was raised in their meetings immediately following the establishment of the state, but the focus was on the chief rabbinate. Here we will focus on the specific context of the rabbinic organization Hever HaRabbanim.
5. Tchorsh, “Opening Remarks,” *Institute for Research on Religious Zionism,* PM, 645.
6. “B’ma’arachot Torah v’medina,” [In the Systems of Torah and State], *Shvilin* 1 (1962): 50.
7. Rabbi S. B. Orbach, “Tafkidah shel harabbanut,” ['The Role of the Rabbinate,”] *Shvilin* 6-7 (1964): 152.
8. Yehuda Gor, “Shluhuto shel Hever HaRabbanim,” [“The Mission of the Rabbinic Association,” *Shvilin* 6-7 (1964): 167.
9. “Yeud v’shlihut,” [“Destiny and Mission,”], *Shvilin* 6-7 (1964): 126.
10. Zebuloni, “There are no protectors for the honor of the rabbinate,” 6.
11. “Hamafdal telekh l’parshra: Tikreh l’harhiv et tinuat hahitnadvut,” [“The National Religious Party Compromises: It Will Call for the Expansion of the Volunteer Movement,”] *Al Hamishmar,* November 19, 1971,16 [In Hebrew].
12. “Polmus al giyus habanot hadatiyot,” [“Polemic on the recruitment of religious girls,”] *Haaretz,* December 12, 1961, 6. The discussion covered, among other things, writings in the Religious Kibbutz Movement’s publication *Amudim*. The Religious Kibbutz Movement opposed the appointment of a rabbi for the kibbutzim. This was criticized by the leaders of the Hever HaRabbanim, who wanted to appoint their own rabbi for the religious kibbutzim affiliated with Hapoel HaMizrahi. See for example: Avraham Tirosh, “Hakibbutz hadati: Ainenu zikukim l’rav miktzoi,” [“The Religious Kibbutz: We Don't Need a Professional Rabbi,” *Maariv* September 9, 1968, 12.
13. “Hakibbutz hadati meshiv l’Hever HaRabbanim,” [The Religious Kibbutz Movement Responds to the Hever HaRabbanim,”] *HaTzofeh*, November 24, 1964, 2.
14. Letters to the editor, *HaTzofeh*, November 30, 1964, 2.
15. Letters to the editor, *HaTzofeh*, December 28, 1964, 2.
16. “Ma’amadim v’kavodam shel harabbanim b’tinuah,” [“Status and Honor of the Rabbis in the Movement,”] *Shvilin* 21-22, (1969): 5.
17. ibid.
18. “Birkat doktor Z. Warhaftig, sar hadatot,” [“Blessing of Dr. Z. Warhaftig, Minister of Religions,”] *Shvilin* 21-22, (1969): 208.
19. Asher Cohen, “Halakha v’medina, da'at Torah v’politica: Zikut gomlin bein manhigut datit v’politit b’miflagot hadatiot,” [“Halakha and State, Da’at Torah and Politics: Interrelationships between Religious and Political Leadership in the Religious Parties,” in *Two Sides of the Bridge*, 440-441. The issue of Shabbat was also at the center of Leibovich’s polemic. See Cohen, *The Tallit and the Flag*, chapter seven.
20. “Rav K. P. Tchorsh yoshev rosh Hever HaRabbanim: Tza’ado shel hanasi hifgin klapei hutz kesher ha’uma im hashabbat,” [“Rabbi K. P. Tchorsh, Chairman of the Rabbinical Association: The President's move showed the outside world our nation's connection to Shabbat,”] *HaTzofe* (February 1, 1965): 2.
21. See Zerach Warhaftig, *Hukah le-Yisrael: Dat u-Medina [Constitution for Israel, Religion and State],* (Jerusalem: Masilot, 1998) 262-280; Eliezer Don-Yehiya, *Hapolitika shel hahisdara: Yishuv sikhsukhim b’nosei dat b’Yisrael* [*The Politics of Settlement: Conflict Resolution on Religious Issues in Israel*], (Jerusalem: Florsheimer Institute for Policy Studies, 1997) 47-48. On the issue of Shabbat before the establishment of the state: Rivka Rinsky, “Bayot Hashabbat b’yishuv haYehudi b’aretz v’b’mosdot hahanhaga hatzionit v’hayeshvut b’shanot 1920s v’1930s” [“The Problems of Shabbat in the Jewish Yishuv in Israel and the Leadership of Zionist and Yishuv Institutions in the 1920s and 1930s”] (MA diss. Bar Ilan University, 1980).
22. Warhaftig, A Constitution for Israel, 265.
23. “Hever HaRabbanim koreh l’ishur hahok b’hekdem,” [The Rabbinic Association calls for passage of the law as soon as possible,] *HaTzofe* (July 13, 1965), 1 [in Hebrew].
24. Warhaftig, A Constitution for Israel, 271.
25. Don-Yehiya, *Religious Leadership*.
26. Friedman, “Birurim misaviv l’hok,” [Clarifications about the Law,”] *Shvilin* 1, (Year?) 13-14.
27. Barukh Yesher, “Hok Hashabbat mihuyav b’mitziyut,” [The Sabbath law is mandatory in reality”] *Shivilin* (Year?) 15-17.
28. Tchorsh, “V’kitorah ya’aseh,” [Like Torah, It Will be Done,”], *Shivilin* (Year?) 10.
29. Transcript of an interview with Rabbi Ariel, *Institute for Research on Religious Zionism*, 21; Shaul Israeli, 'B’halakhot koalitziya,” “[In the Laws of the Coalition,”], *Amud Hayemini,* 1965, 118-120.
30. “Blessing of Dr. Z. Warhaftig,” *Shvilin*. Warhaftig made a similar argument regarding the 1951 Hours of Work and Rest Law at a joint meeting of the Knesset members and the rabbis at home of Rabbi Herzog, quoted in Cohen, *Halakha and State*.
31. *Shvilin* 21-22 (1969): 243.
32. Cohen, *The Tallit and the Flag*, 90.

Chapter 8

1. “Derekh hayisurim shel Prof. Rut” [The Painful Path of Professor Ruth,”] *Ma'ariv*, November 20, 1964, 19. “Sa’arat Bar Ilan,” [“The Bar Ilan Upset,”] *HaTzofe*, November 27, 1964, 9.
2. Shaul Yisraeli, “Brakha bli ayin,” *HaTzofe*, January 13, 1967, 5.
3. “Hever HaRabbanim dan b’derkhei hapeula khamakdat hahitururut hadatit b’tzibur,” [“The Rabbinic Association discusses actions to deepen the public’s religious awakening,” *HaTzofe*, June 7, 1967, 1.
4. Announcement by the Rabbinic Association, *HaTzofe*, August 10, 1967, 4.
5. “Khaf-het Iyar k’yom hoda’a al hanitzahon,” [“The 28th of Iyar as a Day of Thanksgiving for the Victory,”] *HaTzofe*, March 8, 1968, 11.
6. Shmuel Katz, *Harabbanute hareishit v’yom Yerushalayim: Hahlatot, tefilo v’manhigim [The Chief Rabbinate and Jerusalem Day: Decisions, Prayers and Leaders*], Website of the Israel Ministry of Education.
7. Haim Fikresh, “Demuta haruhanit v’hadatit shel hamedina b’mercaz diyunei kinus hever HaRabbanim,” [“The spiritual and religious image of the state at the center of the discussions of the Rabbinic Association conference”], *HaTzofeh*, February 12, 1968, 2.
8. The issues are discussed by Rabbi Ya'akov Ariel in an interview in the *Institute for Research on Religious Zionism* 21, as well as in the issues of *Shvilin* published in the 1960s. See also: “Maharifa parshat Merbek,” [“Exacerbating the Marbek Incident,”] *HaBoker* May 6, 1964, 12.
9. Hever Harabbanim tova hizuk samhuta shel harabbanut hareishit,” [“The Association of Rabbis Demands Strengthening the Authority of the Chief Rabbinate,”] *HaTzofe*, November 19, 1968, 6.
10. Friedman, A Dilemma without a Solution.
11. The case is presented in detail in A booklet published by Rabbi Shlomo Goren: “Psak hadin b’inyan ha’ah v’ha’ahot,” [“The ruling regarding the brother and sister,”] 1972. For more on the this case, see: Aviad Yechiel Hollander, “Neumanot kefula l’halakha v’limedina v’pitrona: Pesikato shel harav Shlomo Goren k’mikrei bohen,” [“Double Loyalty to Halacha and the State and its Solution: The Ruling of Rabbi Shlomo Goren as a Case Study,”] *Hakirah [Investigation]* 15, (2013), 5-34; Shafra Mishlov, “Manhigut datit noezet v’mihira: Hapegiya b’ma’amado hatzibori shel haRav Goren b’akvot parshat ha-ah v’ha’ahot,’” [“Bold Religious Leadership and its Costs: The Damage to Rabbi Goren's Public Status Following the 'Brother and Sister' Case”, *Publication of the Amadot Conference*, 5, (Elkana 1973), 822-834.
12. Dan Peter, “External Struggles for Internal Needs in the National Religious Party,” *Devar*, February 10, 1972, 7.
13. “Rabbis of the National Religious Party Oppose Changes in Choice of the Chief Rabbi,” *Devar*, December 12, 1972, 2.
14. Transcript of the interview in the Archive of Religious Zionism, file 21.
15. For an example of such criticism see: “Strengthening and Establishing the Chief Rabbinate,” *Shvilin* 21-22 (1969: 4).
16. “Opponents of Rabbi Goren Organize”, *Al Hamishmar*, June 18, 1972, 2.
17. *Ma’ariv*, October 13, 1972, 30.
18. Interview in *Institute for Research on Religious Zionism,* folder21.
19. Interview with Rabbi Ya'akov Ariel, in *The Flag of Jerusalem: The Torah Journal of the Jerusalem Yeshiva for Youth* 7, (2010), 262.
20. Minutes of the 10th Conference of the Rabbinical Council, *Institute for Research on Religious Zionism*, PM, 648.
21. *Halfway to the Jubilee: 25th Anniversary of its Founding 1948-1973: First Days, Conventions and Meetings, Activities and Deeds, Summary of the Period: Activity Report*, Submitted to the 10th National Conference of the Rabbinical Assembly on 25-26 Iyer 1973 in Tel Aviv.
22. Yair Sheleg, *The Hardalim (Zionist Ultra-Ultraorthodox): History, Ideology, Presence* (Jerusalem: Israel Democracy Institute, 2020).
23. The defamation case against Rabbi Goren is also cited in Azrieli, *The Knitted Kipa Generation*, 183-184.
24. “A Storm in the Convention of the Rabbis of the National Religious Party,” *Devar*, May 29, 1973, 3.
25. Danny Koren and Boaz Shapira, *Coalitions* (Tel Aviv: Zmora-Bitan Dvir, 1997), 25; Aharon Kempinski, *Zebulon Hamer: A Political Biography* (Ramat Gan: Bar Ilan Publishing, 2021), 51-55 [in Hebrew].
26. On the debate in the Knesset regarding this bill, see Yosef Fund, “The Battle of Opinions on the Question of Who Is a Jew - 1970,” (MA diss., Bar Ilan University, 1976); Eliezer Don-Yehiya, *Religion and National Identity in Legislation, Law and Politics: The Shalit Case and the Polemic on the Question of 'Who is a Jew', in the 1930s*, (Jerusalem, Yad Yitzhak Ben Zvi, 2008), 379-400; Asher Cohen, *Non-Jewish Jews in Israel: the Challenge of Expanding the Jewish Nation in Israel* (Jerusalem: Shalom Hartman Institute, 2006), 76-78 [In Hebrew].
27. Aharon Kempinski, “Minister Zevulun Hammer’s Stance on the ‘Who is a Jew?’ Issue, *Jewish Political Studies Review*, 31, no. 1-2, (2020)., 146-159.
28. Daniel Vermus, *The Knitted Kipa Revolution: How the Youth of the National Religious Party (Mafdal) Conquered the Party's Leadership* (2016), 87-91.
29. Yitzhak Raphael, *I Did Not Win Light in a Windfall* (Jerusalem 1981), 378-379.
30. Quoted in Raphael, *I Did not Win*, 375.
31. Yehoshua Shemesh, “Rabbi Goren: The Issue of Who is a Jew is a Concern for the Existence of the Nation of Israel,” *HaTzofe*, March 1, 1974, 3.
32. Yehoshua Bitzur, “The Struggle over whether Mafdal Should Join the Government. Is Dividing Its Leadership,” *Maariv,* February 28, 1974, 3 [in Hebrew].
33. Rabbi Soloveitzik's words were also quoted in HaTsofe: “Hagri'd Soloveitzik: One Should Not Give up on Conversion According to the Halacha,” *HaTsofe*, March 1, 1974, p. 3.
34. Raphael, *I Did not Win*, 378.
35. Raphael, *I Did not Win,* 377.
36. Vermus, *The Knitted Kipa Revolution,* 93.
37. Report of the faction meeting, March 10, 1974, *Institute for Research on Religious Zionism*, SMP, 36.
38. “M. Meisels, The Rabbinic Member of the Mafdal Condemned the Decision to Join the Government”, *Ma'ariv,* March 18, 1974, 3 [in Hebrew].
39. Raphael, *I Did not Win,* 386.
40. Asher Arian, *Politics and Regime in Israel* (Tel Aviv: Zmora-Bitan Dvir, 1990), 262-263 [in Hebrew].
41. Wahrhaftig and Katz, *The Chief Rabbinate of Israel*, 1616.

Chapter 9

1. Cohen, *The Tallit and the Flag*, 110.
2. Don-Yehiya, *Religious Fundamentalism*, 431; Don-Yehiya, *Between Peace and the Completeness of the Land*. It is also important to note Dror Greenblum's claim that religious Zionism's concept of power existed before the Six Day War. See Dror Greenblum, *From the Bravery of the Spirit to the Sanctification of Power: Power and Bravery in Religious-Zionism 1948-1967* (Tel Aviv: Open University Press, 2016) (in Hebrew).
3. Schwartz, *From Realism to Messianism.*
4. Dov Schwartz and Avi Sagi, *From Reality to Language: Religious Zionism and the Yom Kippur War*, (Jerusalem: Carmel, 2022) [in Hebrew].
5. *Don-Yehiya, Religious Fundamentalism*.
6. Kempinski, *Zebulon Hamer,* 432.
7. Schwartz, “From the Beginning of Growth to its Realization,” 119. See also Hellinger, *Where is Israel Going?* 97; Segev 1967, 577.
8. Sheleg, *The Hardalim*; Sheleg, *The New Religious Jews*, 37-42; Ehud Sprinzak, *Bein Mecha’a Parlamentarit Leteror: Alimut Politit Be’Israel [Between Extra-parliamentary Protest and Terrorism: Political Violence in Israel]* (Jerusalem: Jerusalem Institute for Israel Studies, 1995), 58-64.
9. Horowitz and Lissak, *Trouble in Utopia,* 98.
10. Asher Cohen, “Separatism and Openness: The Attitude of the Press and the Religious Zionist Leadership to the Secular and Secularism during the State Period (1948-1986)” (MA diss., Bar Ilan University, 1987).
11. *Don-Yehiya, Religious Fundamentalism*, 438-439.
12. Shlomo Abramowitz, *“‘Yishivot nakim b’kol makom’: Tahalikhim v’temorot b’tzionut hadatit l’or hakamat yeshivot ha’hesder” [“We Will Establish Yeshivot Everywhere”: Processes and Transformations in Religious Zionism in Light of the Establishment of Hesder Yeshivot, 1953-1985,”* (PhD diss., Bar Ilan University, 2017); Stuart A. Cohen, “The Hesder Yeshivot in Israel: A Church-State Military Arrangement,” *Journal of Church and State* 35 (1993):113-130.
13. Levi Yitzhak Hiroshalmi, “The voice of the rabbinate is not heard,” *Ma'ariv,* June 23, 1978, 21.
14. Sharir, *A Genius in Torah and Virtues, 86.* The Sephardi chief rabbi, Rabbi Ovadia Yosef, also supported the replacement of Rabbi Goren with an Israeli rabbi as the Ashkenazi chief rabbi; Yoel Nir, *Arie Dery: The Rise, the Crisis, the Pain* (Tel Aviv: Yedioth Ahronoth and Seferi Hamad, 1999), 70.
15. Kempinski, *Zebulon Hamer,* 94-95; Warhaftig, *Constitution for Israel,* 423.
16. “Appointment of Hamer: Brazen Nonsense,” *Al Hamishmar*, June 10, 1977, 1. Dov Schwartz compared Rabbi Zvi Yehuda Kook's demand to appoint Rabbi Druckman to the view that yeshiva leaders should have the same status as political leaders. Dov Schwartz, *Challenge and Crisis in Rabbi Kook's Circle* (Tel Aviv: Am Oved, 2001), 79, note 25.
17. Simcha Raz, *Voice of Salvation: In the Image of Rabbi Zvi Yehuda HaCohen Kook* (Shapira Center: Yeshiva Or Etzion, 2009), 329 [in Hebrew].
18. “Notice to the Rabbis,” Rosh Chodesh Tammuz 1977, Rabbi Ze'ev Neuman Archive [in Hebrew].
19. “Revelation of the rabbis’ opinion,” Rosh Chodesh Tammuz 1977, Rabbi Ze'ev Neuman Archive [in Hebrew].
20. “Zebulon Hamer to the Minister of Education and Culture,” *Ma'ariv,* June 19, 977, 13 [in Hebrew].
21. Rabbi Yehuda Amital supported Hamer, against the opinion of Rabbi Zvi Yehuda Kook. See: Elyashev Reichner, *By Faith Alone: The Story of Rabbi Yehuda Amital* (Tel-Aviv: Meshkal, 2008), 176 [in Hebrew].
22. Avraham Tirosh, “Rabbi Druckman Announced that He is not a Candidate for the Position of Minister of Education,” *Ma'ariv,* June 19, 1977, p. 1.
23. Raz, *Voice of Salvation.*
24. Don-Yehiya, *Religious Leadership*, 115.
25. “Hever HaRabbanim in the Test of Our Days,” *Shvilin* 31-32, 1979, 7.
26. Rabbi Yerachmiel Avinari, “In His Midst,” *Shvilin* 33-35, Iyer 1984, 17.
27. Vermus, *The Knitted Kipa Revolution,* 172-174.
28. Interview with Rabbi Glicksberg.
29. Kempinski, *Zebulon Hamer,* 110-113; Menachem Friedman, “The Mafdal under Change: The Background to its Electoral Decline,” *State, Government and International Relations* 19-20 (1982): 105-122.
30. Azrieli, *The Knitted Kipa Generation,* 115.
31. “The National Religious Movement: A New Page,” *Ma'ariv*, March 22, 1987, 78.
32. Amnon Levy, “The President Gave an Address and the Rabbis were Caught in the Middle,” *Hadashot*, March 2, 1987, 13.
33. Menachem Rahat, “The Moderate Stream Won at the Mafdal conference,” *Ma'ariv,* July 24, 1987, 3.
34. Nurit Debarat, “The Mafdal (National Religious Party) Rabbis Come out Against the Ministry of Education in the ‘Pamphlet Affair,’” *Ma'ariv*, May 20, 1988, 6.
35. Meeting of the Hever HaRabbanim, September 1, 1988, *Institute for Research on Religious Zionism*, SMP, 107.