**Bibliography**

**Archive of the Institute for Research on Religious Zionism, Bar Ilan Universty**

**Folder numbers**

PM: 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648

SMP: 36, 107

Folder 21: Shulamit Eliah’s interview with Rabbi Ya'akov Ariel “Peyilato shel harav v’ḥavero b’ḥaver harabbanim shel HaPoel HaMizraḥi heḥal mishnot hashishim v’ad yameinu,” [“The Activities of the Rabbi and his Colleagues in Ḥever HaRabbanim of HaPoel HaMizraḥi from the 1960s to the present day,”]

Personal archive - Rabbi Ze'ev Neuman

Interview with Rabbi Yosef Glicksberg

**Newspapers**

Devar, Ha’aretz, HaTzofe, Herut, Ma’ariv, Netivah, Panim el Panim

**Documents**

Bernstein, Zvi, ed. *Pirkei Peulah: Doah mugash l’zirei ha’vaadah ha 12 shel Hapoel Hamizrahi* [*Record of Activity, A Report Submitted to the Delegates of the 12th Hapoel Mizrachi Conference* (Chesvan 2017 - 28 Nissan 2017), 74.

*Yarḥei d’kalla shel ḥaver harabbanim sh’al yedei hamiflaga hadatit haleumit: Ḥoveret hakhana l’sidrat hashiurim b’inyan kabalat eidut [Yarḥei kalla* of the rabbinic association of the National Religious Party: A preparatory booklet for the series of lessons on receiving testimony] (1958) [in Hebrew].

*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.

Interview with Rabbi Ya'akov Ariel, in *The Flag of Jerusalem: The Torah Journal of the Jerusalem Yeshiva for Youth* 7, (2010), 262

**Books and articles**

Abramowitz, Shlomo. “‘Yishivot nakim b’kol makom’: Tahalikhim v’temorot b’tzionut hadatit l’or hakamat yeshivot ha’hesder 1953-1985.” [“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*.*

Ahituv, Yosef. “Hatzionut hadatit bein idiologia l’halakha,” [“Religious Zionism between Ideology and Halakha”]. In *Sugiot b’ ḥekar hatzionut hadatit: Hitpatḥuyot v’timurot l’dorotehen* *[Studies in Religious Zionism: Developments and Changes],* edited by Yishai Arnon, Yehuda Friedlander and Dov Schwartz. Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan University, 2012. [in Hebrew].

Aḥituv, Yosef. “Metachim v’timurot bmanhigut hadatit.” [“Tensions and Transitions in Religious Leadership”]. In *Bein samkhut l’ideiologia* [*Between Authority and Autonomy in Jewish Tradition]*, edited by Z. Safrai and A. Sagi. Tel Aviv: Hakibbutz Hameuchad, 1997. [in Hebrew].

Aminoaḥ, Nehemiah Zvi. “Bein rabbanei Torah v’Avodah,” ["Among the Rabbis of Torah and Labor,” *HaTzofe* September 17, 1948. [in Hebrew].

Aminoaḥ, Nehemiah Zvi. “Yarḥei kala k’megama *ḥ*evratit-ru*ḥ*anit.” [“Yarḥei kalla as a Social-Spiritual Trend.”] *HaTzofeh* August 26, 1958. [in Hebrew].

Arend, Aharon. *Pirkei Meḥkar l’yom ha’atzmaut. [Research Essays about Israel Independence Day.]* Ramat Gan: Bar Ilan University, 1998.

Arian, Asher. *Politics and Regime in Israel*. Tel Aviv: Zmora-Bitan Dvir, 1990). [in Hebrew].

Bacon, Gershon. “Da’at Torah v’ḥevlei mashiah: L’sha’alat ha’ideologia shel agudat Yisrael b’Polin.” [“Da’at Torah and the Birth Pangs of the Messiah: On the Ideology of Agudat Yisrael in Poland.”] *Tarbiz* 52 (1983), 497–508 [in Hebrew].

Berger, Peter. “A Market Model for the Analysis of Ecumenicity.” *Social Research* 30, 1963, 77-93.

Bernstein, Zvi. ed. *Pirkei Peulah: Doah mugash l’zirei ha’vaadah ha 12 shel Hapoel Hamizrahi* [*Record of Activity, A Report Submitted to the Delegates of the 12th Hapoel Mizrachi Conference* (Chesvan 2017 - 28 Nissan 2017), 74.

Blidstein, Jacob. “Torat medina b’mishnat harav Shault Yisraeli.” [State religion in the teachings of Rav Shaul Yisraeli”]. In *Shnei Avrei Hagesher: [**Two Sides of the Bridge],* edited by Tzvi Tzameret and Mordekahi Bar-on. Jerusalem: Yad Ben Zvi, 2002.

Brandes, Yehuda. *Hamakef v’haellipsa: Ha’erakhim v’ha’izunim shel hatzionut hadatit. [The Hyphen and the Ellipse: Religious Zionism, Values and Balance.]* Rishon Letzion: Yedioth Ahronoth and Hamed Books, 2021. [in Hebrew].

Brown, Benjamin. “Da’at Torah b’tzionut hadatit.” [“Da’at Torah in Religious Zionism.”] In *Hatziunut hadatit: Eidan hatimurot* [*Religious Zionism: The Era of Change]*, edited by Asher Cohen and Israel Harel. Jerusalem, 2004). [in Hebrew].

Brown, Benjamin. “Da’at Torah v’emunah ḥakhamim b’hagut haḥaredit.” [“Da’at Torah and the Faith of the Sages in Haredi Thought.”] MA diss., The Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1996. [in Hebrew].

Cohen, Asher. “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 *Shnei Avrei Hagesher: [Two Sides of the Bridge],* edited by Tzvi Tzameret and Mordekahi Bar-on, 440-441. Jerusalem: Yad Ben Zvi, 2002.

Cohen, Asher. “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.

Cohen, Asher. *Hatallit v’hadegel: Hatziunut hadatit v’ḥazon midinatu hatorah b’yamei reishit hamedina.* [*The Tallit and the Flag: Religious Zionism and the Vision of the Torah State in the Early Days of the State.]* Jerusalem: Yad Ben Zvi, 1998. [in Hebrew]

Cohen, Asher. *Non-Jewish Jews in Israel: the Challenge of Expanding the Jewish Nation in Israel*  Jerusalem: Shalom Hartman Institute, 2006. [in Hebrew].

Cohen, Asher and Schwartz, Dov. *Mirommaut l’ḥaradah: Hatzionut hadatit b’esor harishon shel hamedinah.* [*From Supremacy to Anxiety: Religious Zionism in the First Decade of the State of Israel.]* Ramat Gan: Bar Ilan University, 2020.

Cohen, Asher and Susser, Bernard. “The ‘Sabbatical’ Year in Israeli Politics: An Intra-Religious and Religious-Secular Conflict from the Nineteenth through the Twenty-First Centuries.” *Journal of Church and State* 52, no. 3 (2010): 454–475.

Cohen, Asher and Zisser, Baruch. *M’hashalom l’haslamah: Hashasah hadati-haḥiloni b’petaḥ hameah haesrim v’eḥad. [*From Acceptance to Escalation: The Religious-Secular Rift at the Outset of the Twenty-First Century.*]* Tel Aviv: Shoken, 2003. [in Hebrew]

Cohen, Naomi. “Tzionut datit: Mashber v’timorah.” [“Religious Zionism - Crisis and Change.”] In *Kovetz hatzionut hadatit [The Religious Zionist Anthology],* edited bySimcha Raz, 323-331. Jerusalem: The World Center, 1997.

Cohen, Stewart and Elazar, Daniel. *Edat bnei Yisrael.* [*The Jewish Polity.]* Jerusalem: The Jerusalem Center Public Affairs and Reuven Mass Publishing, 1997. [in Hebrew].

Cohen, Stuart A. “The Hesder Yeshivot in Israel: A Church- State Military Arrangement.” *Journal of Church and State 35* (1993) 113-130.

Cohen, Yehezkel. *Nashim b’hanhagat hatzibur. [Women in Public Leadership.]* Jerusalem: Hakibbutz Hadati, 1991. [in Hebrew].

Don-Yehiya, Eliezer. “Fundamentalism dati v’radicalism politi: Ha’yeshivot haleumiyot b’Yisrael.” [“Religious Fundamentalism and Political Radicalism: The Nationalist Yeshivot in Israel.”] In *Atzmaut:* *Ḥamishim hashnim harishonim [Independence: The First Fifty Years],* edited by Anita Shapira. Jerusalem: Shazar Center for Israel History, 1998.

Don-Yehiya, Eliezer. “Manhigut datit v’manhigut politit.” [“Religious Leadership and Political Leadership.”] In *Manhigut ruḥanit b’Yisrael: Morasha v’ya’ad* [*Jewish Spiritual Leadership in Our Time]* edited by Ella Belfer. Jerusalem and Tel Aviv, Dvir, 1982. [in Hebrew].

Don-Yehiya, Eliezer. *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.

Don-Yehiya, Eliezer. “Tefisot shel hatzionut bihagot hatzionit haorthodoksit.” [“Perceptions of Zionism in Orthodox Zionist Thought.”] *Hatzionut* 9, (1984): 55–93. [in Hebrew].

Don-Yehiya, Eliezer. “Yetzivut v’timurot b’miflagot mahaneh: Hamafdal v’mahapakhat hatzi’irim,” [“Stability and Transformations in the Mahaneh party: The Mafdal and the youth revolution,”] *Medina, Mimshal, veYahabal*, 14 (2015): 25-52. [in Hebrew]

Don-Yehiya, Eliezer. *Bein shalom l’shleimut ha’aretz. [Between Peace and the Completeness of the Land.]* (Ben Gurion Institute for the Study of Israel and Zionism, Ben Gurion University of the Negev, 2019. [in Hebrew].

Don-Yehiya, Eliezer. *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.

Don-Yehiya, Eliezer. *Mashber v’temorah b’medina ḥadasha:* *Ḥinukh, dat v’politica b’ma’avak al ha’aliyah hagedolah. [Crisis and Change in a New State: Education, Religion, and Politics in the Struggle over the Absorption of Mass Immigration in Israel.]* Jerusalem: Yad Ben Zvi, 2008. [in Hebrew].

Don-Yehiya, Shabtai. *Harav Ben-Zion* *Ḥai Uziel Ḥayav v’mishtanav [Rabbi Ben-Zion Ḥai Uziel, His Life and Teachings.]* Jerusalem, 1955.

Eliash, Shulamit. “*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. [in Hebrew].

Eliash, Shulamit. “The Chief Rabbinate and the Mizrachi during the Mandate Period,” *Cathedrda* 37 (1986): 123-148.

Ettinger, Yair. *Parumim: Hamaḥlakot shmaftzelot et hatzionut hadatit [Unraveled: The disputes that redefine Religious Zionism]*. Kinneret, Zamora Beitan-Dvir, 2019. [in Hebrew]

Feldman, Anat. “Gormim b’tzmiḥat miflaga politit: Hitaḥdut ha’Sefaradim shomrei Torah—Shas [Factors in the Growth of a Political Party: The Association of Sefardi Guardians of the Torah – Shas*.”* PhD. diss., Bar-Ilan University, 2001. [in Hebrew]

Fishman, Aryeh. *Bein da’at l’ideologia.* [*Between Religion and Ideology.]* Jerusalem: Yad Ben Zvi, 1990. [in Hebrew].

Friedman, Menachem. “Harabbanut hareishit dilemma l’lo pitaron,” [“The Chief Rabbinate's Dilemma Without a Solution,”] *Medina, Mimshal, v’Yahabal* *[State, Government and International Relations]* 3 (1973): 118-127 [in Hebrew].

Friedman, Menachem. “The Mafdal under Change: The Background to its Electoral Decline.” *State, Government and International Relations* 19-20 (1982): 105-122.

Friedman, Menachem. *Haḥevra Ha**ḥaredit.* [*Ultra-Orthodox Society.*] Jerusalem: Jerusalem Institute for Policy Research, 1991. [in Hebrew]

Friedman, Menachem. *Ḥevra v’da’at: Ha’orthodoksiah ha’lo tzionit b’eretz Yisrael.* [*Society and Religion: Non-Zionist Orthodoxy in the Land of Israel.*] Jerusalem: Yad Ben Zvi, 1978. [in Hebrew].

Fund, Yosef. *Firud o’histatfut: Agudat Yisrael mul hatzionut v’medinat Yisrael.* [Separation or Participation: Agudat Yisrael Confronting Zionism and the State of Israel.] Jerusalem: Magnes, 1999. [in Hebrew].

Geertz, Clifford. *Islam Observed*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971.

Geiger, Yitzhak. “Hatzionut hadatit haḥadasha: Sikira, iyun v’bikoret.”[“The New Religious Zionism: Overview, Study and Criticism.”] *Akdomot: A Journal of Jewish Thought* (2001): 51-77 [in Hebrew].

Geiger, Yitzhak. *Hayetziah mihashtetl: Rabbanei hatzionut hadatit el mul etgar haribonut hayehudit.* [Leaving the Shtetl: *Religious Zionist Rabbis and the Challenge of Jewish Sovereignty*.] Alon Shvut: Herzog College, 2006. [in Hebrew].

Goldberg, Giora. *Hamiflagot b’Yisrael: M’miflagot hamon l’miflagot electoriot. [Political Parties in Israel: From Mass Parties to Electoral Parties.]* Tel Aviv: Ramot, 1992). [in Hebrew].

Goren, Shlomo. “Yesodot heter hamekhira b’shvi’it.”] “Essentials of the Permit of Recognizing Shmita.” *Mishnat Hamedina.* Jerusalem: Hotsaʼat ha-Idra rabah u-mesorah la-ʻam. 219-263.

Greenblum, Dror. *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).

Gutel, Neria. “Morkhavut yaḥasitshel harav Yisraeli el hatzionut hadatit.” [“The Complexity of Rabbi Yisraeli’s Attitude to Religious Zionism.”] In *Sugiot b’ ḥekar hatzionut hadatit: Hitpatḥuyot v’timurot l’dorotehen* [*Studies in Religious Zionism: Developments and Changes]* edited by Yishai Arnon, Yehuda Friedlander and Dov Schwartz. Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan University, 2012.

HaCohen, Shmuel Avidor. *Yaḥid b’doro: Milgat ḥiyav shel hagaon Rabi Yitzḥak Halevi Herzog rosh rabbanei Yisrael. [Singular in His Generation: The Life Story of Rabbi Yitzhak Isaac Halevi Herzog, Chief Rabbi of Israel.]* Jerusalem, 1980. [in Hebrew]

Harel, Areleh/*Ye'erav Siḥi: Siḥot im harav Ya’kov Ariel al hashkafa, avodat Hashem v’pirkei ḥaim. [Conversations with Rabbi Ya'akov Ariel on the Worldview, Serving God, and Life Stories.]* *Divrei Shir* (2018): 23-34.

Hellinger, Moshe. “Degem hademokrati hayehudit mul degem hayahadut hademokratit b’hagut haorthodoksit hamodernit b’meah ha’esrim.” [“The Model of Jewish Democracy Versus the Model of Democratic Judaism in Modern-Zionist Orthodox Thought of the Twentieth Century”.] PhD diss., Bar Ilan University, 2002. [in Hebrew].

Hellinger, Moshe. *Hatzionut hadatit b’petaḥ ha’meah ha-21: Bein gasisah l’bein tiḥiya efsharit. [Religious Zionism at the Threshold of the 21st Century: Between Extinction and Possible Resurrection.]* Ramat Gan: Argov Center, Bar Ilan University. [in Hebrew]

Hellinger, Moshe. *Medinat Yisrael, l’an?: Etgardim l’zihutah hayehudit v’hademokratit shel medinat Yisrael v’mitveh l’hitmodidut imam. [Where is Israel Going? Inner Challenges Facing the Jewish and Democratic Identity of the State of Israel and an Outline for Confronting Them.]* Jerusalem: Magnes, 2019. [in Hebrew]

Herman, Tamar et al. *Dati’im? Leumi’im! Hamaḥaneh hadati leumi b’Yisrael 2014 Doaḥ Meḥkar [Religious? Nationalist!: The National Religious Sector in Israel 2014, Research Report.* Jerusalem: Israel Democracy Institute, 2014.

Hollander, Aviad Yechiel. “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* 15, (2013), 5-34.

Horowitz Dan, and Lissak, Moshe. *M’yishuv l’medinah. [From Settlement to State.]* Jerusalem: Am Oved, 1977. [in Hebrew].

Horowitz Dan, and Lissak, Moshe. *Mitzikot b’utopia: Yisrael hevra b’omes yeter. [Trouble in Utopia: The Overburdened Polity of Israel.]* Tel Aviv: Am Oved 1990.

Israeli, Shaul. “Tikrit Kibia l’or hahalakha,” [“The Kibia incident in the light of Halacha,”] *HaTorah v’hamedinah [The Torah and State]* 5-6 (1953-1954): 113. [in Hebrew]

Kaplan, Lawrence. “Da’at Torah: A Modern Conception of Halakhic Authority.” In *Rabbinic Authority and Personal Autonomy*, edited by Moshe Sokol. Lanham, MD: Jason Aronson, Inc, 1997.

Katz, Jacob. *Halakha b’mitzur.* [*Halakha in Straits.*] Jerusalem: Magnes, 1992 [.in Hebrew].

Katz, Shmuel. “Harabbanat hareishit v’yom ha’atzmaut.” [“The Chief Rabbinate and Independence Day.”] In *Harabbanut hareishit l’Yisrael: Shivim shana l’yesod* [*The Chief Rabbinate of Israel: Seventy Years Since Its Establishment*, edited by Itamar Wahrhaftig and Shmuel Katz. Jerusalem: Heikhal Shlomo, 2002.

Katz, Shmuel. *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.

Kempinsky, Aharon. “Minister Zevulun Hammer’s Stance on the ‘Who is a Jew?’ Issue. *Jewish Political Studies Review*, 31, no. 1-2, (2020)., 146-159.

Kempinsky, Aharon. *B’pikudat harabbanut: Hitpatḥutah shel harabbanut hatziveit b’Yisrael. [By Order of the Rabbinate: The Development of the Military Rabbinate in Israel.]* Jerusalem: Carmel, 2015.

Kempinski, Aharon. *Zebulon Hamer: A Political Biography.* Ramat Gan: Bar Ilan Publishing, 2021. [in Hebrew].

Koren, Danny and Shapira, Boaz. *Coalitions.* Tel Aviv: Zmora*-*Bitan Dvir, 1997.

Kroneh, Moshe. *Rabbotai v’morei, aḥi v’re’i: Pirkei zikhronot.* [*My Rabbis and Teachers, My Brothers and Comrades: Memories.*] Tel Aviv 1987. [in Hebrew].

LaPalombara Jospeh and Weiner, Myron. *Political Parties and Political Development.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1966.

Leon, Nissim. *Ha’mitznefet v’hadegel: Leumiut sh’kineged b’ḥarediut ha’mizraḥit. [The Turban and the Flag: Nationalism Versus Mizrachi Ultra-Orthodoxy.]* Jerusalem: Van Leer, 2016. [in Hebrew].

Liebman, Isaiah. “Hitpatḥutha’neo-masortiut b’kerev yehudim orthodoksim b’Yisrael.” [“Development of Neo-traditionalism among Orthodox Jews in Israel.”] *Megamot* 27 (1982), 231-239 [in Hebrew].

Luz, Ehud. *Parallels Meet: Religion and Nationalism in the Early Zionist Movement, 1882-1904.* Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1988.

Marmorstein, Mordechai Sa'ar. *Avi dor hakipot hasirugot: Harav Moshe Tzvi Nuria, hagato, peulo v’mikomo b’itzuv haetos hatzioni dati. [Father of the Knitted Kipa Generation - Rabbi Moshe Zvi Neria: His Thought, Work and Place in Shaping the Religious Zionist Ethos.]* Duvdvan Publishing, 2014.

Mayzlish, Shaul. *The Rabbinate in Stormy Days: The Life and Teachings of Rabbi Yitzhak Isaac HaLevi Herzog, the First Chief Rabbi of Israel,* translated by Tanhum Yoreh. Jerusalem: Gefen, 2017.

Mishlov, Shafra. “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.

Morgenstern, Aryeh. *Harabbanut hareishit l’Yisrael: Yesoda v’irguna*. [*The Chief Rabbinate of Eretz Yisrael - Its Establishment and Organization.]* Jerusalem: Shorashim, 1973.

Mozes, Hanan. “Mitzionut datit l’datiyut post-modernit: Megamot v’tahalikhim b’tzionut hadatit me’az retaḥ Rabin.” [“From Religious Zionism to Postmodern Religiosity: Trends and Processes in Religious Zionism Since Rabin's Assassination.”] PhD diss., Bar-Ilan University, 2009.

Neuberger, Benjamin. *Dat, Medinah v’politica.* [*State, Religion and Politics in Israel.*] Tel Aviv: The Open University, 1997. [in Hebrew].

Norkah, Joseph. “Ish haTorah v’ha’hagot: Migodlei peilah shel Tzion kadshenu.” [“A man of Torah and thought: One of the greatest activists of our holy Zion.”] *Shibilin*, 33-35 (1984): 28-35 [in Hebrew].

Raphael, Yitzhak. *I Did Not Win Light in a Windfall*. Jerusalem 1981. publisher?

Raz, Simcha. *Voice of Salvation: In the Image of Rabbi Zvi Yehuda HaCohen Kook.* Shapira Center: Yeshiva Or Etzion, 2009.

Rechnitz, Ido. “Mikoman shel Ha-rabbanim b’asiyah ha’tziborit-politit.” [“The Place of the Rabbis in the Public-Political Action.”] *Shma’tin* 178 (2011): 212 [in Hebrew].

Reichner, Elyashev. *By Faith Alone: The Story of Rabbi Yehuda Amital*. Tel-Aviv: Meshkal, 2008. [in Hebrew].

Reichner, Elyashiv. *Hineni: Siporo shel harav Ḥaim Dreichman.* [*Here I Am: The Story of Rabbi Ḥaim Druckman.]* Rishon Lezion: Meshachal, 2018.

Rinsky, Rivka. “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.

Rubin, Ben-Zion Rubin, “Smotrich b’kol shavur mibekhi: Ma na’aseh bli ha-ḥuich v’haḥibuk” [“Smotrich, His Voice Breaking with Tears: What Will We Do Without the Smile and Hug?”] *SrugimNews*, December 26, 2022 [in Hebrew].

Runes, Yitzhak A. “Idiologia tziyonit datit v’halakhot medina bmishnato shel harav Shaul Yisraeli.” [“Religious Zionist Ideology and State Laws in the Teachings of Rabbi Shaul Yisraeli.”] In *Halakha Tzionit: Hamashmauyot Hahalakhtiyot shel haribunut haYehudit. [Zionist Halacha: The Halachic Meanings of Jewish Sovereignty,* edited by Yedidyah Stern and Yair Sheleg. Jerusalem: Israel Democracy Institute, 2017),

Safrai, Ze'ev and Saguy, Avi eds., *Bein samkhut l’autonomi b’misirat Yisrael.* [*Between Authority and Autonomy in Jewish Tradition.]* Tel Aviv: United Kibbutz Press, 1997.

Sagi, Avi and Schwartz, Dov. *M’realism l’mashiḥiot: Hatzionut hadatit v’milḥamat sheshet hayamim. [From Realism to Messianism: Religious Zionism and the Six Day War.]* Jerusalem: Carmel Publishing and Shalom Hartman Institute, 2017.

Schwartz, Dov and Sagi, Avi. *From Reality to Language: Religious Zionism and the Yom Kippur War*. Jerusalem: Carmel, 2022. [in Hebrew].

Schwartz, Dov. “Mireishit hatzmiḥah l’hagshamah.” [“From the Beginning of Growth to its Realization.”] In *Hatziunut hadatit: Eidan hatimurot* [*Religious Zionism: The Era of Change]*, edited by Asher Cohen and Israel Harel. Jerusalem, 2004. [publisher?]

Schwartz, Dov. *Challenge and Crisis in Rabbi Kook's Circle*. Tel Aviv: Am Oved, 2001.

Schwartz, Dov. *M’aḥdut l’ribui: Sipora shel hatodaha hatzionit hadatit. [*From Unity to Multiplicity: The Story of the Religious-Zionist Mindset.] Jerusalem: Mossad Bialik, 2018. [in Hebrew].

Schwartz, Dov. *Religious Zionism: History and Ideology.* Ministry of Defense, 2003. [in Russian].

Sharir, Avraham Yisrael. *Gaon b’Torah v’b’midot: Perakim l’darkho v’l’dimuto shel maran hagaon harav Shaul Yisraeli. [A Genius in Torah and Virtues: Essays on the Path and Character of Rabbi Shaul Israeli.]* Jerusalem: Erez, 1999. [in Hebrew].

Sharir, Avraham Yisrael. *Harabbanut v’hamedinah: Asefat ma’amarim, neumim, siḥot v’rishimot. [The Rabbinate and the State: A Collection of Essays, Speeches, Conversations and Articles.]* Jerusalem, 2001.

Sheleg, Yair. *Ha’ḥardalim: Ha’historiya, idiologia, noḥakhut. [Zionist Ultra-Orthodox: History, Ideology, Presence.* Jerusalem: The Israeli Institute for Democracy, 2020. [in Hebrew].

Sheleg, Yair. *Hadatiyim haḥadashim: Mabat akhshavi al haḥevra hadatit b’Yisrael. [The New Observant Jews: Recent Developments among Observant Jews in Israel.]* Jerusalem: Keter, 2000. [in Hebrew]

Smith, Donald. *Religion and Political Development*. Boston: Little & Brown, 1970.

Sprinzak, Ehud. *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.

Stern Yedidia Z. and Friedman, Shuki, eds. *Rabbinute: Ha-etgar* [Rabbis and Rabbinate: The Challenge.] Jerusalem: Israel Democracy Institute and Am Oved, 2011. [in Hebrew].

Taub, Eliav. *Gadolim b’politica: Ha’nihigutam shel harabanim Ovadiah Yosef v’Elazar Shach [Religious Leaders in Politics: The Leadership of Rabbis Ovadia Yosef and Elazar Shakh*. Jerusalem: Resling, 2013.

Tchursh, Katriel Fishel. “L’hofa’at hakovetz,” [“For the appearance of the compilation,”] *HaTorah v’hamedinah [The Torah and the State]* 1 (1949): 3-10 [in Hebrew].

Tzameret, Zvi. *Alei gesher tzar: Itzuv ma’arekhet haḥinukh b’yemei ha’aliyah hagedola.* [*Across a Narrow Bridge: Shaping the Education System during the Great Aliyah.*] Kiryat Sde Boker: The Ben Gurion Heritage Center, Ben Gurion University of the Negev, 1997.

Tzameret, Zvi. *Alei gesher tzar: Itzuv ma’arekhet haḥinukh b’yemei ha’aliyah hagedola.* [*Across a Narrow Bridge: Shaping the Education System during the Great Aliyah.*] Kiryat Sde Boker: The Ben Gurion Heritage Center, Ben Gurion University of the Negev, 1997.

Unna, Moshe. *B’derakhim nifradot: Hamiflagot hadatiyot b’Yisrael. [On Separate Paths, The Religious Parties in Israel.]* Alon Shvut Gush Etzion, Yad Shapira, 1983.

Vermus, Daniel. *The Knitted Kipa Revolution: How the Youth of the National Religious Party (Mafdal) Conquered the Party's Leadership* (2016), 87-91.

Vinman, Zvi. *M’katovitz ad hey b’Iyar. [From Katovitz to the 5th of Iyar.]* Jerusalem: Vetikin Publishing, 1995. [in Hebrew].

Wahrhaftig, Itamar and Katz, Shmuel. *Harabbanut hareishit l’Yisrael: Shivim shana l’yesod* [*The Chief Rabbinate of Israel: Seventy Years Since Its Establishment.]* Jerusalem: Heikhal Shlomo, 2002.

Waldenberg, Eliezer Yehuda. *Hilkhot Medinah. [Religious Laws of the State.]* Jerusalem, 1952. publisher?

Warhaftig, Zerach. *Hukah le-Yisrael: Dat u-Medina. [Constitution for Israel, Religion and State.]* Jerusalem: Masilot, 1998.

Whitman, Ze'ev. “Likrat shmittah mamlakhtit b’medina Yisrael.” [“Towards a National Shmita in the State of Israel.” Alon Shavuot, Gush Etzion: Tzomet Institute, 1993. [in Hebrew];

Yisraeli, Shaul. “Shvi’it b’adamat hefker v’tzibur, v’gader isurei hamalakhut b’shvi’it.” [The Sabbatical Year in Ownerless and Public Lands and the Fence around Prohibitions on Work during Shmita.” *HaTorah v’Hamedina [The Torah and the State]* vol. 3: 122-141 [in Hebrew].