

GENESIS MATRIARCHS ENGAGE FEMINISM

JO ANN DAVIDSON
Andrews University

Modern feminist writers exhibit a profound disdain for OT patriarchy. This patriarchal system, they argue extensively, is the major influence behind all subsequent repression of women.¹ Rightly drawing attention to the pain and inequities that women are still forced to bear, they are correct that these grievous matters need to be addressed and resolved. However, in the extreme feminist view, nothing will change as long as patriarchal religions such as Judaism and Christianity exist, for these systems force women into subservient positions. The language in feminist literature is forceful, bitter, and uncompromising. To bolster their position, feminists regularly link their discussions with descriptions of their own personal experiences of inequity and indignity.² Mary Kassian is blunt:

I am a woman. I have experienced the scorn and prideful superiority with which men have, at times, treated me. I have listened to insults against my capabilities, my intelligence, and my body. I have burned with anger as I have wiped the blood from a battered woman's face. I have wept with women who have been forcefully, brutally raped—violated to the very core of their being. I have been sickened at the perverted sexual abuse of little girls. I have boycotted stores which sell pornographic pictures of women. I have challenged men who sarcastically demean women with their "humor." And I have walked out of church services where pastors carelessly malign those whom God has called holy. I am often hurt and angered by sexist, yes, *sexist* demeaning attitudes and actions. And I grieve deeply at the distortion of the relationship that God created as harmonious and good. As a woman I feel the battle. I feel the sin. *Feminism identifies real problems which demand real answers* (emphasis supplied).³

¹Such as Naomi Goldenburg, Cynthia Eller, Mary Daly, and Rosemary Radford Ruether.

²For example, feminist Carol Christ states: "During my years there, Yale's president was to make the infamous statement that Yale would never admit women as undergraduates because its mission was to educate 1,000 male leaders each year. But I had not expected this experience. I had come to study truth, and truth was no respecter of gender, I thought" (*Diving Deep and Surfacing: Women Writers on Spiritual Quest* [Boston: Beacon, 1980], xi).

³Mary A. Kassian, *The Feminist Gospel: The Movement to Unite Feminism with the Church* (Wheaton, IL: Good News, 1992), 242. She forcefully argues this point although she is not a feminist herself.

Such offenses against women are horrifying. Feminist complaints are compelling. I am not seeking to make light of the abominable record of the mistreatment of women by men that continues to this day. However, I do wish to question feminist insistence that OT patriarchy is the prime cause of this situation. In this study, I wish to draw attention to textual indicators within Genesis that seem to depict matriarchal existence far more positively than feminism typically acknowledges.

Theological studies in recent decades have brought an increasing emphasis on a close reading and literary study of the biblical texts using a literary approach. This study draws on those methods.

Sarah

Abraham's life has been extensively discussed in biblical studies. His wife, Sarah, though rarely acknowledged on a par with her husband, deserves equal attention. Savina Teubal, after examining the many details of Sarah's life, has proposed that she may have been an early priestess. Teubal argues that if Sarah was a priestess this could possibly help explain the interest Abimelech exhibited in her although she was ninety years old.⁴ It is not possible to confirm this idea textually, but Teubal's discussion does draw attention to the exceptional portrait of Sarah that Genesis presents. The details of Sarah's life in the Genesis narratives are impressive. Sarah is the only matriarch whose age is indicated when she dies, a custom consistently observed with the death of the patriarchs. Furthermore, her burial at Mamre receives extended attention. In the sparse historical style characteristic of the Genesis narrator, it is remarkable that an entire chapter (Gen 23) is devoted to Sarah's death and burial.⁵

To accurately evaluate Genesis matriarchy, these and other details need to be examined. For instance, Abram does not force Sarai to comply with his plan to deceive the king of Egypt by saying that she is his sister. He asks her. Moreover, he takes Hagar as a second wife because Sarah wants him to, and

⁴Savina Teubal, *Sarah the Priestess: The First Matriarch of Genesis* (Chicago: Swallow Press, 1984), 110-122.

⁵Ibid. Jack Vancil also notes that "Abraham's effort and negotiations to purchase a burial place for Sarah, as well as the site chosen raises more questions. . . . There is an emphasis on the place of her death as Kiriath Arba, which is identified as the later city, Hebron (23:2). . . . There is no clue whether Abraham was seeking a family burial, and stressing such detail as it does has been observed by many commentators. . . . It is striking too, that after Sarah's death there is very little further told us about Abraham. The marriage to Keturah is told in order to mention Abraham's other tribal descendants, but we do not even know where they lived. Teubal observes: "Of the forty-eight years of Abraham's life after Sarah's death there is no detail whatever. . . . Also, in the remaining part of Genesis, the text is concerned with her descendants, not Abraham's" ("Sarah—Her Life and Legacy," in *Essays on Women in Earliest Christianity*, ed. Carroll D. Osburn [Joplin, MO: College Press, 1995], 2:61-63).

later allows her to expel both Hagar and Ishmael. "Indeed, God defends her demand; and this is not the only time that the Lord acts on Sarah's behalf. In Pharaoh's court, and within the household of Abimelech, God is concerned that Sarah be protected and returned to her husband."⁶

The narrator seems intent that Sarah be regarded as just as critical to the divine covenant as Abraham. The reader finds the unwavering indication that it will be *Sarah's* offspring who will fulfill the covenant promise—even when Abraham contends with God that he already has a son, Ishmael (Gen 17:18-19; cf. Isa 51:1-2).

Janice Nunnally-Cox suggests that within their social context Sarah and Abraham were equal, allowing her to have a say in their relationship. At times, he even obeyed her. Nor does Abraham abandon her due to her barrenness, and when she died he wept. "Sarah is a matriarch of the first order, respected by rulers and husband alike, a spirited woman and bold companion."⁷

Indeed, this particular era of the biblical patriarchs and matriarchs deserves reassessment, as Teubal rightly insists: "In particular, women have traditionally been depicted as primitive and childish in their aspirations and generally lacking in vision. Fresh study of our female forebears, however, invalidates this view and shows us that the matriarchs were learned, wise women who were highly developed spiritually."⁸

Sarah's life itself demonstrates impressive stature, as we have seen above. Jack Vancil directs attention to the time when Abraham pled with Sarah to misrepresent their marital relationship: "His plea sounds apologetic. Instead of being a proud and overbearing patriarchal figure, Abraham begs Sarah to lie for him." He notes that this type of behavior seems "uncharacteristic for a totally dominant patriarchal society." Although Abraham is a member of the patriarchal period, the biblical text suggests that Sarah maintained some level of authority within the family unit.⁹

When offering hospitality, Abraham is depicted as sharing in the meal preparations along with his wife. Sarah is summoned to prepare the bread (Gen 18:6). Nevertheless, Abraham and his servant are also involved in the preparations for the feast (18:7-8). There are other textual indicators within Genesis that suggest that there is no distinct division of labor by gender during the patriarchal period. For instance, both males and females worked as

⁶Katheryn Pfisterer Darr, *Far More Precious Than Jewels* (Louisville, KY: John Knox, 1991), 9.

⁷Janice Nunnally-Cox, *Fore-Mothers: Women of the Bible* (New York: Seabury, 1981), 9.

⁸Teubal, xii.

⁹Vancil, 48-49; cf. Nunnally-Cox, 8.

shepherds.¹⁰ Both genders shared farm chores and the various particulars of family hospitality. Later, both Jacob and Esau were observed cooking.¹¹

Hagar

Hagar is not a matriarch in the covenant line. However, as a part of Sarah's and Abraham's household, she deserves to be noticed briefly in this study.¹² Consider the poignant details recorded in Gen 21 following her and her son's expulsion from Abraham's family. After surveying the narratives that include Hagar, Trevor Dennis decides that this Egyptian slave woman is "more highly honoured in some respects than almost any other figure in the Bible."¹³ For example, the "Angel of the Lord" appeared for the first time in biblical history to this rejected woman (Gen 21:17). He even called her by name! Sarah and Abraham did not grant her this dignity, but typically referred to her only by her status as slave.¹⁴

God did not abandon Hagar or Ishmael in their devastating situation. Rather, he provided for them and promised to make Ishmael a great nation. It is arresting how similar his promise to Hagar and her son was to the one made to Abraham (Gen 15 and 17) regarding the son of promise: "Then the Angel of the Lord said to her, 'I will multiply your descendants exceedingly, so that they shall not be counted for multitude'" (Gen 16:10).

God also spoke to Abraham concerning Ishmael: "And as for Ishmael, I have heard you. Behold, I have blessed him, and will make him fruitful, and will multiply him exceedingly. He shall beget *twelve princes*, and I will make him a *great nation*" (Gen 17:20, emphasis added).

The incident of Hagar with the Angel of the Lord is also the only time that a covenantal-type promise is announced to a woman. Trevor Dennis appraises this poignantly:

In only three cases, those of Hagar, Manoah's wife, and Mary in Luke, is the promise of a son made to the one who will be the mother of the child (although Sarah overhears in Genesis 18, the words are addressed to her husband). In only four cases does God make the announcement

¹⁰Rebekah is first seen coming to the well to water animals (Gen 24:11); Rachel is specifically described as "a shepherdess" (Gen 30:9); Jacob serves Laban many years as a shepherd (Gen 31:38).

¹¹Gen 25:29 and 27:31.

¹²In addition, see Philip R. Drey, "The Role of Hagar in Genesis 16," *AUSS* 40 (2002): 179-195.

¹³Trevor Dennis, *Sarah Laughed* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1994), 176.

¹⁴Sarah speaking to Abraham states: "Go in, please, to my slave-girl" (Gen 16:2b). She does not use Hagar's name, but refers only to her position. Up to this point only the narrator has given Hagar's name.

himself . . . only two women in the entire Bible receive annunciations from God himself, Hagar and the unnamed wife of Manoaah.¹⁵

It is also noteworthy that Hagar chooses her son's wife. Moreover, she is also the only woman in the OT, indeed the only person in all of Scripture, to give deity a name. Furthermore, Hagar is the only one in Scripture to use the name El-Roi (16:13a). "It is Hagar's name for God, and Hagar's alone. It arises out of, and speaks eloquently of, her own private encounter with him. Others such as Abraham named the place where God spoke to them, but Hagar is the only one to name God himself: "You are the God who Sees Me."¹⁶ This occasion of naming God is one of the four times when women dialogue with God in Genesis.

Rebekah

Rebekah, the next matriarch¹⁷ discussed in detail in Genesis, also exhibits the same strength of character as Sarah. Sharon Pace Jeansonne compels us to consider that "although she is described as being a beautiful wife for Isaac, [Rebekah] is not appreciated solely for her appearance. Like Abraham, her independence and trust are demonstrated by her willingness to leave her family and travel to a strange land."¹⁸

The Rebekah narratives portray her as a compelling person in her own right. Narrative techniques, such as dialogue, narrative pace, genealogical notation, and other literary features, suggest the prominence of Rebekah in Israel's history.¹⁹ Thus, "the most fascinating aspect of Rebekah's story is its beginning."²⁰ Her life is detailed from her betrothal as a young woman through her death, and it is developed much more than those of her husband Isaac. "The qualities of hospitality and forwardness which Rebekah displays as a girl carry over into her life as a matriarch. Rebekah's actions attest to a certain degree of female autonomy in the biblical world."²¹

Rebekah's genealogical designation must not be overlooked. In Gen 22:20-24, the genealogy lists the children born to Abraham's brother

¹⁵Dennis, 68.

¹⁶Ibid., 71.

¹⁷Keturah, Abraham's wife after Sarah's death, is mentioned only once (Gen 25) without any of the impressive detail that the Sarah narratives exhibit.

¹⁸Sharon Pace Jeansonne, *The Women of Genesis: From Sarah to Potiphar's Wife* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 1990), 53.

¹⁹Ibid.

²⁰Mishael Maswari Caspi and Rachel S. Havrelock, *Women on the Biblical Road: Ruth, Naomi, and the Female Journey* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1996), 38.

²¹Ibid.

Nahor and his sister-in-law Milcah. Their eight sons are named, but the offspring of these eight sons (the next generation) are included in only two cases, the children of Kemuel and Bethuel. The name of Kemuel's son, Aram, is mentioned only parenthetically (22:21). A specific sentence informs us that "Bethuel begat Rebekah" (22:23). This is striking, for Rebekah is the first and only offspring named. Later, however, the narrative includes mention of her brother Laban.²²

Teubal's cogent analysis also suggests that

if the narration of events following the death and burial of Sarah was truly patriarchal, it would deal with the life and exploits of the male heir, Isaac. Instead, once again the accent is on the role of a woman. Rebekah. About Isaac, her husband, we are told little relating to the establishment of the religious faith. . . . Apart from the incident of the Akedah (the binding of Isaac in which Abraham is commanded to sacrifice his son), we know nothing of the boyhood or youth of the supposed hero. "His" story begins with a detailed account of Rebekah's betrothal.²³

When Abraham directed his servant to find a wife for Isaac, one brief remark in the instructions he gave is also indicative of a woman's status during the patriarchal era. Abraham declares that "if the woman is not willing to come with you, then you will be free from this oath of mine" (24:8). Jeansonne reminds us "that Abraham assumes the woman will have the final say in the matter."²⁴ And, ultimately, it is Rebekah herself who chooses to go with the servant. In fact, in the lengthy narrative of Gen 24, her determination to travel with him was spoken directly by her in the dialogue rather than simply being reported by the narrator (24:58).²⁵ Her father determined nothing, as might be expected in an oppressive patriarchy.

Upon the servant's arrival, Rebekah arranged for his hospitality. He asked for a place in her "father's house," but she arranged with her "mother's house" (v. 28).²⁶ Her father speaks little throughout the entire narrative.

²²Jeansonne, 54-55, argues that even the placement of this genealogy after the account of the testing of Abraham with his son Isaac (22:1-19) emphasizes the importance of Rebekah.

²³Teubal, xv.

²⁴Ibid., 57.

²⁵"But her brother and her mother said, 'Let the young woman stay with us a few days, at least ten; after that she may go.' And he said to them, 'Do not hinder me, since the Lord has prospered my way; send me away so that I may go to my master.' So they said, 'We will call the young woman and ask her personally.' Then they called Rebekah and said to her, 'Will you go with this man?' And she said, 'I will go'" (Gen 24:55-58). In narrative analysis, direct speech is seen to imply the prominence of the person.

²⁶The servant asks: "Whose daughter are you? Tell me, please, is there room in your *father's house* for us to lodge? . . . So the young woman ran and told those of her *mother's house* these things" (Gen 24:23, 28, emphasis supplied). Her father Bethuel is still alive, for he speaks later (v. 50).

Most impressive, however, is the noticeable correspondence of key terms between Rebekah's narratives and Abraham's. As Sternberg notices, haste is a characteristic common to both Rebekah and Abraham: "She made haste and lowered her pitcher[,] . . . she made haste and lowered her pitcher into the trough[,] . . . she ran again to the well" as compared to "Abraham's model of hospitality, 'He ran to meet them[,] . . . Abraham made haste into the tent [,] . . . Abraham ran to the herd[,] . . . he made haste to prepare it' (Gen 18:2-7); . . . the elevating analogy stamps her as worthy of the patriarch himself."²⁷

Moreover, both Abraham and Rebekah leave behind "their country," "their kindred," and their "father's house." Both were "blessed" and "became great." The verbal correspondence between Abraham and Rebekah suggests that "with this blessing the narrator quietly moves Rebecca into the cycle of God's promises to the patriarchs."²⁸

After Rebekah married Isaac and became pregnant, in apparent agony she became anxious and went "to inquire of the Lord" (Gen 25:22). "This phrase is of great importance in the Old Testament. Only the great prophets like Moses and Elisha and the greatest kings of Israel inquire of the Lord. . . . Rebekah inquires and, as a result, receives the oracle from Yahweh which destines her younger son to rule the older."²⁹

The formula used to announce Rebekah's delivery is also highly significant: "And her days were fulfilled that she should give birth" (Gen 25:24). Mary Donovan Turner notes that this formula is used of only three

²⁷Meir Sternberg, *The Poetics of Biblical Narrative: Ideological Literature and the Drama of Reading* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), 138.

²⁸James G. Williams, *Women Recounted: Narrative Thinking and the God of Israel*, Bible and Literature Series 6 (Sheffield: Almond Press, 1982), 44. Danna Nolan Fewell and David M. Gunn concur: "It is she [Rebekah], not Isaac, who follows in Abraham's footsteps, leaving the familiar for the unknown. It is she, not Isaac, who receives the blessing given to Abraham (22:17). 'May your offspring possess the gates of their enemies!' (24:60)" (*Gender, Power, and Promise: The Subject of the Bible's First Story* [Nashville, TN: Abingdon, 1993], 73).

Mary Donovan Turner states: "It is Rebekah who, like Abraham before and Jacob after, leaves her home. She travels to the foreign land guided by the blessing for descendants who will 'possess the gate of those who hate them.' The reader of Genesis first encounters this promise for possession (*yah-rash*) in 15:3 where Yahweh seals a covenant with Abraham promising him descendants as numerous as the stars and possession of a land in which they would dwell. . . . It is important to note that although Abraham is guaranteed a son to carry God's promise to his descendants, it is *not* Isaac who next receives the blessing for *possession* of the enemy. It is Rebekah who receives the blessing similar to Abraham as she leaves her family for the foreign land (24:60). The blessing for possession is given one other time, and that is to Jacob as he leaves for Paddan-aram (28:4). Abraham, Rebekah, and Jacob are the ancestors of this promise" ("Rebekah: Ancestor of Faith," *Lexington Theological Quarterly* 20, 2 [1985]: 43-44).

²⁹Turner, 44-45.

biblical women: Elizabeth and Mary in the NT and Rebekah of the OT.³⁰

J. P. Fokkelman observes additional implications of Rebekah's giving birth as he catches subtle nuances in the Hebrew:

Even the constructive infinitive in 26b does not tell us that "Isaac has begot," but only that Rebekah has given birth. This repetition of 24a (*laledet . . . beledet*) makes it clear to us eventually that this pair of children is not so much begot by Isaac as primarily an affair between Rebekah and Yahweh, an affair of the barren woman who receives children with God's help only. The father has been driven to the edge and, after having performed in 21a one action (which expresses his helplessness!), he does not appear again until 26b, again without action. The rounding-off of this story—truly a story of birth!³¹

Fokkelman finds a concentric structure in this scene, which serves to emphasize its prominence:

- A Isaac was forty years old when he took to wife Rebekah (v. 20)
- B Rebekah was barren; prayer for children answered (vv. 20-21)
- C his wife Rebekah conceived (v. 21)
- the children struggled together within her (v. 22)
- D Rebekah asks for—an oracle (v. 22)
- D' Yahweh grants her—an oracle (v. 23)
- C' her days to be delivered were fulfilled (v. 24)
- and behold, there were twins in her womb (v. 24)
- B' birth and appearance of Jacob and Esau (vv. 25-26a)
- A' Isaac was sixty years old when she bore them (v. 26b)³²

Later, following Esau's marriage to two Hittite women, the text informs us that this was a "grief of mind to Isaac *and Rebekah*" (26:35, emphasis supplied). Turner suggests that this inclusion of Rebekah's distress regarding Esau's marriage to pagan women reveals that Rebekah was just as concerned about the covenant line as was Isaac.³³

³⁰Ibid., 48.

³¹J. P. Fokkelman, *Narrative Art in Genesis: Specimens of Stylistic and Structural Analysis* (Amsterdam: Van Gorcu, 1975), 92-93.

³²Fokkelman, 94, continues: "The oracle is central. . . . ABC . . . C' B'A', corroborate once more that we are at the beginning of a story about the new generation and not of a Story of Isaac. They show that it is not Isaac's trial of waiting and the answering of his prayer which constitute the plot, but that the ins and outs of the children's birth are the main point. But the really explosive material, which can lend dramatic force to a story of approximately ten chapters, lies in the kernel which ABC and C' B'A' hold in their grip: God's word of v. 23. What food for conflict is gathered there. . . . [T]he oracle has the power to extend the conflict of the opening passage to the conflict of all of Gen 25-35. Need we wonder that this word of God is poetry?"

³³Ibid., 47. John Murray comments similarly: "Although Rebekah had probably another motive which she had concealed from Isaac when she said to him, 'I am weary of my

Added together, these numerous narrative details force us to admit that the Genesis narrator exhibits far more interest in Rebekah than in her husband Isaac, the patriarch. As Jeansonne argues, this

characterization of Rebekah yields a deeper understanding of her significance. . . . All of these actions are given without a polemical context, and the narrator does nothing to indicate that these were unusual activities for a woman to take. . . . The presentation of Rebekah shows that women in Israel were viewed as persons who could make crucial decisions about their futures, whose prayers were acknowledged.³⁴

A close reading of Genesis places Sarah and Rebekah in roles of individuality and influence. Carol Meyers appears correct in suggesting that patriarchy itself must be carefully defined in the light of its original context.³⁵ She proposes that many of the details recorded in the OT seem to indicate a rather equitable situation between male and female up to the time of the Israelite monarchy. The result of establishing the throne in Israel, she argues, brought great changes to the Israelite patriarchal society, with the former position of the female slowly diminishing from that time on:

Feminists who condemn or bemoan the apparent patriarchy of ancient or other societies may be deflecting their energies from what should be the real focus of their concern: the transformation of functional gender balance to situations of real imbalance.³⁶

life because of the daughters of Heth; if Jacob takes a wife of the daughters of Heth, such as these, of the daughters of the land, what good shall my life do me?' (Gen 27:46), there is scarcely room to question that, when Rebekah spoke so disparagingly to Isaac of the daughters of Heth, she had particularly in mind Esau's wives and, though the urgency of her protestation to Isaac was prompted by the need of having Jacob away from the rage of Esau, there was also the deepest concern that Jacob, as the one in whom the covenant promise was to be fulfilled, should not be drawn into the entanglements of Hittite marital alignment" (*Principles of Conduct: Aspects of Biblical Ethics* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991], 41).

³⁴Jeansonne, 69.

³⁵Carol Meyers argues further: "The Hebrew Bible . . . contains some statements that appear to value men more highly than women or to give men certain legal privileges that are not extended to women. From our contemporary perspective, these texts give incomplete evidence of biblical patriarchy. They do not tell us how Israelite women felt about differential treatment. In the context of the specific social and economic structures that characterized ancient Israel, the existence of gender asymmetry, with men accorded a set of advantages apparently unavailable to most women, must not automatically be perceived as oppressive. . . . [There is a] lack of evidence that the Eves of ancient Israel felt oppressed, degraded, or unfairly treated in the face of cultural asymmetry. Gender differences that appear hierarchical may not have functioned or been perceived as hierarchical within Israelite society" (*Rediscovering Eve: Ancient Israelite Women in Context* [New York: Oxford University Press, 1988], 34).

³⁶Meyers, 45. Others argue similarly: "The formation of the monarchy was perhaps the most significant change in the millennium-long history of ancient Israel's national existence. Even before socioeconomic analysis became a prominent concern of the study of ancient

Feminists are correct to demand redress for the long-accumulating record of the subjugation of women. But they need to rethink the cause of this repression. As demonstrated in this article, the Genesis matriarchs were not suppressed or oppressed women.

Conclusion

It would be unfair to the portraits of the Genesis matriarchs to argue that they bowed in submission to all men. Although they were respectful toward their husbands, they were also intelligent, willful, and directive within the family unit. Nunnally-Cox rightly concludes: "Far from conforming to a traditional servitude, these women grace the pages of Genesis with their laughter, their sorrows, *their strength, and their power*" (emphasis supplied).³⁷

Thus, I suggest that while feminists have been correct to force attention on the abuse of women inside and outside the church, they have been incorrect in one of their basic assumptions—that OT patriarchy is a primary cause of this long-standing oppression of women. The patriarchal system is a pivotal issue in their understanding of female repression. However, OT matriarchy as exhibited by the textual records of Sarah and Rebekah suggests a different perspective than that implied by feminist literature. If Sarah and Rebekah could engage modern feminism, would they not chide the simplistic castigation of their vigorous position within OT patriarchy?

Israel, scholars recognized the dramatic changes brought about by state formation (A.D.H. Mayes, "Judges," *JOT* [1985]: 90; cf. E. Neufeld, "Emergence of a Royal-Urban Society in Ancient Israel," *Hebrew Union College Annual* 31 [1960]: 37). "More recently the establishment of the monarchy as a powerful force effecting widespread changes and as being a watershed event in the creation of hierarchies in ancient Israel has been similarly evaluated" (ibid.; cf. N. K. Gottwald, who states: "Hierarchical structure, such as the monarchic states require, means a complete break with the social, political, and economic principles on which tribal society is based" [*The Hebrew Bible* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985), 323-325]).

³⁷Nunnally-Cox, 20.