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Thomas N. Grove

Framingham State University, tgrove@framingham.edu

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Blue Dragon, White Wolf A Comparison of Korean and Navaho Traditional Geographies

Landscapes in many parts of the world have been invested by local inhabitants with meaning derived from their forms. The capital city of South Korea was established on a beneficial site, protected by mountains. And the mountains are seen as certain creatures from the particular form of the mountain ranges. The blue dragon Naksan to the east rolls low over and over again, but the black turtle Pugaksan to the north sits high and rugged while the white tiger Mallidongsan prowls along the western side of the original city. King Taejo chose this place and these three creatures to anchor the center of power for his Choson Dynasty.

The traditional geography of Seoul works initially with three categories—colors, creatures, and directions—reflecting the universal myongdang system of blue dragon in the east, red bird in the south, white tiger west, black turtle north. Using blue instead of feng shui green reflects the South Korean conception of yin-yang as a circle of lower blue and upper red. This arrangement demonstrates p'ungsu, the children of mother earth and father sky—blue being the lower water and red the higher wind. In terms of points on the compass, this Korean positioning of yin-yang suggests final solidity of balance resides in the southeast, which coincides with the general direction of probably the first human migrations from northern and western regions of Asia onto the Korean peninsula. And the two creatures associated with p'ungsu emphasize this. The blue dragon from the East Sea stands on a cardinal compass point next to the red bird. The other-worldliness of the eastern creature is often magnified by renderings of the red bird as the fantastic phoenix, emblem of Korean royalty.

The number four underlies the three categories of myongdang, as the colors and creatures appear in only four directions. The efficacy of four-sided protection is stressed in the construction of Korean Buddhist temples. In commenting on his Tale 51, “Sabulsan Mountain,” in his *Myths and Legends from Korea*¹, James Huntley Greyson notes that the Four Buddhas, “guardians of the four cardinal points of the Universe” [167], stand in main gateways to temples. This placement received natural validation in Korea from a large, four-sided rock on Sabulsan Mountain that has the Buddhas of the Four Directions carved on it and wrapped in red silk. The myongdang in the mountains surrounding the original perimeter of Seoul indicates that four creatures perpetually protect the city—turtle, dragon, bird, tiger. The extent of their protection can be seen through examining their traits.

The turtle, stationed in the direction from which any invasion of the Korean peninsula by land would come, is the solid, relatively immobile one on whom several Asian and North American myths say the earth rests. In the opposite direction is the bird, whose active flight above earth contrasts with the non-active turtle. Their colors stress their differences: warm red of south—fiery and

¹ Curzon, 2001

dancing—against cold black of north—silent and standing. The hard shell of the tortoise matches its grim, impenetrable black while the light feathers of the bird blaze with happy, vibrant red. The two creatures further contrast through their use of air. The tortoise has achieved extraordinary internal control of it, allowing him to remain underwater for a long time, while the bird’s external control of the same element allows it to remain above earth for a long time. The contrasting complementarity shows the strength of this pair of guardians.

Other places than Seoul manifest the solidity of the turtle since not only the earth itself but countries on its surface have been established through this amphibian. A story² about the founding of the Kingdom of Kaya on the southern tip of Korea opens with the statement that “since the beginning of the universe, no kingdom had ever been established on the land.” One March day around A.D. 40 people were washing themselves in a stream to ward off misfortune. Suddenly, from “the turtle-shaped mountain of Kooji-bong north of the stream,” a voice roars it is to be their king. It orders them to dig into the mountain while chanting, “Turtle, turtle, stick out your head. If you don’t, we’ll roast and eat you.” When they comply, a rope drops from heaven and they find a chest of eggs at the end of it. Out of the eggs emerge the future rulers of the first kingdoms.

In this account of society’s formation, people are asked to act as if the shape of the mountain indicates its true nature of tortoise. The purple rope and the scarlet-wrapped gold chest may be understood as the neck and head of the turtle, who is following the instructions of the chant to extend its neck. Its head holds the unborn first kings, which suggests the turtle thought of them first, even conceiving them. This northern creature has contributed in a decisively concrete way to establishing the original governments.

Later in the same story, the complementarity of south with north arises from the question of how to preserve what the turtle has brought to the people. When urged to marry, one of the egg offspring, King Sooro, says he will take a queen as heaven wills. Soon after, “on the south sea a ship with a red sail swelling and a red flag fluttering” appears, bearing his future wife. Although the myongdang creature of the south is not directly mentioned, the flag of the ship suggests the bird’s presence through its fluttering movement and red color. The red sail swelling portends the conception of an heir to continue the line of kings the turtle began by sticking its neck out.

In other old tales from Korea, the protective turtle appears at crucial junctures to rescue the protagonist. When the Princess Pari’s royal father, disappointed over having a seventh daughter and still no son, puts her in a chest and throws it in the sea, a turtle carries it to land on his back. The back of another turtle, along with fish, helps the hero Chumong and his followers cross a river; before his pursuers reach the water, the water creatures submerge.

² “King Sooro, the Founder of Kaya” in Duk-soon Chang’s *The Folk Treasury of Korea*, Seoul: Society of Oral Literature, 1970, pages 43-46

Earlier in the same tale, a representative from the opposite southern direction from the turtle--namely the bird--protects Chumong even before his birth. The sequence sadly recalls Princess Pari's hard childhood as the egg containing the embryo of Chumong is discarded in a field by the king. Birds, however, cover the egg with their wings, allowing it to mature. Further evidence of the protective power of birds dramatically comes in the popular tale of hare tricking hungry tiger. The hare instructs the tiger to look up at the sky so the hare can drive sparrows into the beast's mouth. Instead of doing that, the hare sets the bushes on fire, which sound like birds flying toward the tiger's mouth. The tiger falls for the trick and gets permanent burn stripes. Fire intensifies the southern link of red—and thereby heat--with a bird.

The coordination of the four myongdang creatures extends somewhat into the east-west contrast of blue dragon with white tiger. One emerges from the world of human experience; the other from a world beyond. Like the turtle, the tiger controls a more limited territory than the dragon, who can move underwater and through air, as well as on land. Both the dragon and tiger, however, can manifest aggression foreign to the turtle or bird.

The other-worldliness and eastern orientation of the dragon literally rose during a new palace's installation east of Wolsong. Just east of the principal royal edifice in Hwangnyong-sa, building was progressing when a dragon emerged from the ground. Recognizing this unusual blessing of the site, the king named the building under construction Yellow Dragon Temple.

The stabilizing force of east-west, as seen earlier in north-south, arises as kingdoms of Korea are established. The three god-men who emerge from a cave on Cheju Island find their future wives in a chest on the eastern beach—three maids in blue, daughters of a king in an eastern country. The reference to direction receives further emphasis through the women wearing blue of the east. And in the opposite western direction the founder of Koguryo catches a white deer that helps protect his kingdom by causing a torrential rain, sweeping the rival capital of Biryoo away. Although less aggressive than the white tiger, the deer operates in an indirect way like the turtle, solidifying another early kingdom.

One of the most full expressions of the four myongdang colors as protection comes in a climactic moment of the shaman's song about the once-abandoned Princess Pari, seeking the sacred water that will save her parents from death. After the princess has traveled far through many obstacles, the place of the Peerless Immortal who has the water comes into view: "To the east a gate of blue glass,/ To the west a gate of white glass,/ To the south a gate of red glass,/ To the north a gate of black glass . . ." ³ The propitious array of colors signal she has reached the end of her search in a highly guarded spot. Further idealizing of this

³ translated by Peter H. Lee in Seo Dae-seok's *Myths of Korea*, Jimoondang International, 2000, page 141

myongdang appears in the origin myth of Life Grandmother, where Western Paradise's garden displays blue flowers in the east, white in the west, red in the south and black north. Even the trees in the east have blue bark.

Beyond Asia, a geographic system like the Korean myongdang lies in the southwest desert of North America where the Navaho inhabitants have found a large shape outlining their homeland.

Stretching across hundreds of miles of flat sandy desert and high mountains, a giant lies supine with his feet northwest, his head southeast. His body spreads over at least three states—Arizona, New Mexico and Colorado. The main geographic points of interest lie in his trunk, centered in New Mexico. Two flat-topped, mesa-like low mountains in the northern part of that state represent his heart and his soul. East and a little further north stand a small pool and hot springs, the navel of the supine being, out of which the Navaho believe the ancestors of both animals and people emerged from four subterranean worlds into this fifth world. Further east towers Blanca Peak, the White Mountain of Navaho myth that forms the right shoulder of the human giant. His other shoulder, Mount Taylor or the Blue Turquoise Mountain, looms almost two hundred miles south of the White one. The other two mountains that complete the outline of his upper body are the western Yellow one, San Francisco Mountain in Arizona, and the northern Black one, the San Juan Mountains in Colorado.

In the outline of their supine land giant, the Navaho people have methodically differentiated the four cardinal points of the compass with colors and mountains, as well as holy beings and animals in some versions. In one popular account by Franc Johnson Newcomb⁴, the First Woman, suggests mountains could protect the First People from dangerous sea serpents. For the hearts of the mountains, a small duck manages to get four stones from mountains at the bottom of the ocean: a stone of clear white crystal from the east subterranean mountain, a blue turquoise stone from the south mountain, yellow jasper from the west and black jet north. He brings the stones to First Man, who announces: "Now we will soon have four mountain walls to protect us from the raging ocean waves." The story continues with a description of his construction:

He took out the white stone and carried it to the eastern edge of the land; he blew on it four times so that it grew higher and higher with each breath . . . Going to the north of the land, he again blew four times, and the tall white rock spread in that direction until it could go no further. First Man then blew on the opposite side and the land grew in that direction, forming a long range of white mountains that completely shut out the ocean along the eastern side. First Man took the blue turquoise stone to the south and shaped a long range of blue mountains there, in the same way he had created those in the east. Then he created a range of still higher [yellow] mountains in the west, and in the north he made many black peaks. Now the land was completely surrounded by high

⁴ *Navaho Folk Tales*, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1993

mountains. [76]

The narrator goes on to describe how First Man got the four Wind People to make more level land for the First People, each of the four winds blowing one of the mountain ranges back to the water.

The way in which the Navahos' land was formed bears clear similarities to how Seoul's location was chosen. In both cases, the four cardinal directions receive prominence. The Navaho account has intensified the Korean version by positing two sets of mountains that occupy the four directions—the subterranean ones that have the heart stones and the surface ones First Man manufactures. The number four itself receives further emphasis in the Navaho account through having four potential animal volunteers, four stones, four colors, four winds, and even four times First Man blows on each of the four mountains. Navaho mythology in general stresses again and again the importance of four. In this present context of land security, four signifies complete surveillance—all directions are covered. First Man makes sure of this by blowing on each of the four mountains until their ranges form a continuous square wall against the water with its double threat of flood and monsters.

In this action of his lie the natural elements identified as Korean p'ungsu: wind and water. The Navaho story of land formation has explained how water is brought under control by its complementary element, wind. This force receives triple emphasis as First Man, having used his own wind to first make each mountain high and secondly extend its length, finally asks the Wind People to blow the sides of the land square to the water. Wind and water are the molders of this land. Water provided the stones for the mountains wind sculpted. P'ungsu determines myongdang, the best site. Through employing one of the essential elements of p'ungsu against the other, First Man has produced a viable place for his people to live.

Paralleling the number four in Navaho geography, specific colors reside in unchanging directions—white to the east, blue to the south, yellow west and black north. By comparison, the Korean landscape has only one color, yellow, not used—being replaced by red. However, the Asian orientation of all but black has changed. White has moved into its complementary position of east and blue has shifted south.

Both the American and Asian color systems can signify a chronological sequence built upon the circuit of the sun--a daily phenomenon early peoples continually dependent upon their natural surroundings for survival would monitor closely. The first of the four chiefs of the Navaho, Sandoval, describes⁵ what the sun looked like to the maiden First Man raised as his child:

She saw a great white horse with black eyes. He had a long white mane . . .

⁵ in Aileen O'Bryan's *Navaho Indian Myths*, New York: Dover Publications, 1993

the bridle was white too . . . and the saddle. And there was a young man sitting on the horse. The young man's moccasins and leggings and clothing were all white. [76]

The other color of the sun for Sandoval is blue. To make the sun, First Man and First Woman decorated a perfect turquoise stone, "as large as the height of an average man if he stretched his arms upward." [15] A Turquoise Boy is asked to enter the turquoise. This color receives additional solar association in the description of the sun's journey across the sky. In the south, above the Great Mountain, also called the Turquoise Mountain,

there is a square hole in the sky. And this hole in the sky is mirrored in a lake which lies between the two highest peaks of the mountain . . . It is said that the sun stops at this place at midday and eats his lunch. [21]

From this perspective, the primary meaning of the Navaho sequence of eastern white, southern blue (turquoise), western yellow and northern black is clear. It marks the movement of the sun from its white rising over the desert floor in the morning, through its full power in the deep blue sky of midday to its yellow setting in the late afternoon, followed by black night. This solar progression is honored by First Man placing Dawn Boy in the East Mountain or right shoulder of the land giant, Daylight Boy in the South Mountain, Twilight Boy in the West and Darkness Boy North.

The corresponding myongdang sequence of blue-red-white-black can also mark solar progression, although not visual like the American. Earth dwellers react to the four phases of the day, waking to pre-dawn's cool blue and warming into the red of midday heat before the less intense white of late afternoon clouds in front of the weakening sun leads people into cold sleep of black night.

From another perspective with north as the starting point, the Korean order of colors parallels the Navaho order of worlds the First People climbed through to reach this Many-Colored World they now inhabit. As they ascended, light grew more and more strong. The First World was Dark [Black], The Second Blue, The Third Yellow, The Fourth White. The Korean placement of blue in the east almost seems remembered through centuries of migrations across the Bering Strait land bridge as Sandoval describes the argument that arose between the East and South Mountains of the land giant's shoulders. "The East wanted the Turquoise . . . and the South wanted the White. There was quite a bit of trouble; the mountains would tremble as though they would fall to pieces . . ." [23]

For Sandoval, a larger progression through time comes through four winds that manifest the traditional Navaho order of colors:

When . . . the Changeable Wind [White] shakes the mountain all the sleeping plants and animals awaken from their winter's sleep. When the Blue Wind shakes the mountain the leaves come out. When the Yellow Wind shakes the

mountain all plants become greener and all animals come out of hiding. When the Dark Wind shakes the mountain all the animals are slick and shed their winter coats. [113]

The connection between the four directions and new life receives emphasis in the Navaho system through an unusual reverse aging process. Old White Bead Woman, once the maiden who glimpsed the sun as a young man on a horse, ascends from earth at the end of her life to a new home in the sky called Floating White Bead House or Floating Turquoise House. She comes out this home and undergoes a change. She walks toward the east using a walking stick. She returns middle aged, with no stick. “To the south she walks and she returns a young woman. She walks to the West and comes back a maiden. She goes North and returns a young girl.” [112]

This Navaho connection of north with generation of youngest life resonates with the Korean story of six eggs containing the first kings, found by going north of a stream to Kooji-bong mountain. And the first people of Cheju Island, three Sinin or divine men, emerge from Mo hung cave on the northern slopes of the central mountain, Holla-san. From the womb-like darkness of north can spring life. Through the solar progression out of north’s night from east to south to west maturing life is recorded through the myongdang color sequence of black that grows into blue and finally mature red before subsiding into the white of advanced age.

Just as one creature is linked to each myongdang color, so is one animal linked to each Navaho color—or, rather, one animal provides a color from each of the four main directions. To win their status as leaders for inhabitants of the third subterranean world, four animals journey to the ends of earth to find useful things for their people. Among other items, the lion finds a yellow robe in the west, the wolf finds a white one in the east, the bluebird a blue one in the south, the hummingbird a robe of many colors in the north. When they return from their journeys, a carefully orchestrated sequence of gift giving to their potential followers begins. Each animal manifests his color almost without exception in four ways—his robe, the cloud over his head, his corn, and what he carries in his right hand. The number four continually drums the amount of candidates, directions, gifts into an expected backdrop against which the differences in colors stand out even more.

And, as with the mountains, the succession of colors reflects both the daily solar journey and the cycle of seasons. The animals themselves point this out. Wolf brings morning light and spring rain from the east, Bluebird brings blue sky and summer rain from the south, Lion evening light and autumn rain, Hummingbird the northern lights of night and winter food. Interestingly, the natural growth and decline of daylight reflected in the movement from east to south to west and finally north does not unfold until the animals, one by one, return with their gifts. The animals come back in the traditional sequence of white wolf first, bluebird second, followed by yellow lion and multi-colored or black hummingbird, resolving the issue

of leadership. This final shift to the natural solar circuit of directions is emphasized through the fourfold ordering of the gifts—first of all, light comes every day for growing, followed by intermittent rain and finally the product of these two natural forces rises from the desert floor—corn, a solution to the food shortage that caused unrest among people in the Third World.

Two of the four animal leaders in this version of Navaho creation recall the southern and western animals of Korean myongdang, red bird and white tiger. Since the Navaho bluebird is probably not a species of the red bird, the tiger and mountain lion may seem more closely aligned. The Navaho goal of harmony requires their four animals, presented principally as food providers, almost perfectly balance each other through their gifts of light and rain and corn. Like the hungry tiger in Korean lore, the mountain lion poses the greatest threat of the four Navaho animals to human beings, and—like the tiger--his home in the direction of the setting sun suggests the end of life.

The next animal in the Navaho's natural sequence of directions, north, is the hummingbird. The meaning with which the Navaho invest him as a harbinger of new life naturally follows the dying in the west. In comparison to his northern counterpart in the myongdang menagerie, the tortoise, the hummingbird carries unambiguously positive qualities. Even the fair-minded Navaho, always working for balanced harmony, betrays a preference for him in describing his robe as "even more dazzling than [the others] and—in direct answer to the worry about food—he assures the people his bowl of beans "will never become empty." [9] As a reassuringly constant provider of food who carries the power of many colors instead of just one, the hummingbird holds a possibility of new life in the womb, a possibility suggested by his Asian counterpart through the story of King Sooro when prayers to a turtle-shaped mountain bring a chest of king-bearing eggs.. The north for the Navaho does not harbor black death but of a germination wonderfully capable of developing in any direction the many colors of the aurora borealis present.

The myongdang turtle contrasts with his southern partner, red bird, while the Navaho bluebird, a bringer of good luck and happiness, occupies the similar opposed point to the hummingbird. Desert order places the two most similar animals at the two most naturally opposed directions for daylight and warmth. The myongdang east-west animal pair manifest even greater contrast between themselves and their Navaho counterparts. The dragon and tiger come from decidedly unlike realms. The eastern one, magical scaly water creature, can also inhabit sky or land; the western one, ordinary furred prowler, cannot leave land. In comparison to Korea, the Navaho eastern wolf and western lion fall close together—four-footed, fur-bearing land mammals that again draw their opposed directions closer to the harmony so desired by the Navaho.

The colors the Korean and Navaho peoples have placed in the four primary directions produce effects like the animal placements. The Korean set white

across from blue while the Navaho replaces blue with yellow for less contrast. In the other pair of directions, the two systems bear more resemblance, but the Navaho still presents less contrast in at least the version that adorns north with many colors, presumably including a shade of the southern blue.

As the Navaho north-south creatures stand across from their east-west counterparts, a variation on p'ungsu emerges. The two birds, southern bluebird and northern hummingbird—especially the marvelously hovering tiny hummingbird, travel in the region of the wind, while their wolf and lion counterparts must use the elements upon which water rests—land. The wind-land balance produced by the animal pairs is simple and restricted. In contrast, all but one of the myongdang creatures can travel in at least two regions. This cultural difference could arise from how the creatures are employed in their respective systems. In the arid desert of southwest America, survival—especially of the early inhabitants—presents daily challenges. Too much sun or too little rain could diminish yield of their main food, corn. Balance of light and moisture prove vital. Sky and land had to cooperate with each other for the First People of the Navahos to live in the desert. This cooperation, an expression of balanced harmony, governed the choice and placement of their four animal leaders. Each of the animals guiding the Navahos qualified for his role by presenting the First People with a unique form of sunlight, rain and corn.

The myongdang order addresses survival concerns of its people too, but more comprehensively. East and south pair off to form a blue-red p'ungsu in which the blue dragon can surely bring water for plant growth that the red bird can warm to maturity. The dragon, however, along with the tiger and tortoise, is poised to repel malevolent intruders too. In this capacity these Asian creatures patrol all regions—water and sky as well as land. They have built another level of protection that looks like the Navahos'. First Man in the American desert carefully constructed an unbroken chain of mountains to shield his people in the square trunk of the land giant. The Korean beings inhabit mountains of various sizes, increasing in height from west to east to north, perhaps reflecting a very old assessment of where danger most likely would arise. If myongdang be based on a Chinese model, perhaps north Siberian or Mongol raids were most feared, followed by invasion from the ocean and infiltration from the west. The center of Chinese imperial power has traditionally resided in the north part of the country, so the emperor might expect support from the southern quarter of his kingdom against dangers from the other directions. In the southwest desert chain, First Man also varied his mountains' heights, making the west "still higher" [Newcomb 76], which may mean the southern range is higher than the east. The "many black peaks" of the north might, as in Seoul, tower the highest. By erecting mountains even on the south, the Navaho may betray a greater concern for protection than his Asian counterpart.

Unlike the Korean myongdang the Navaho disposition of animals comes from a specified area of a known land. In the simplified version presented in the story of

the four leaders, the four directions receive their first delineation through actual physical features of mountains that stand in the west, plains in the east, valleys south and forests north. The Navaho also use this local approach to creation geography when they identify present mountains as the shoulders, navel and heart of their massive giant.

The ultimate localizing of myongdang comes in one of the earliest scenes of the Princess Bari legend as collected by Duk-soon Chang in *The Folk Treasury of Korea*, material important enough to form part of the song of shamans for escorting the dead into the next world:

At the time of [the princess's] conception, the queen had a dream, in which she saw a blue hawk on her right hand and a white hawk on her left hand, a gold turtle on her knees, and the sun and the moon over her shoulders . . . [65]

Within the dream landscape, usual directions give way to symbolic ones that, as with other women like Danggeum-agi in the origin myth of the three Chesok gods, can foretell the future. Although no wandering holy man like Sukkayurae comes to interpret the dream of Princess Bari's mother, crucial places in the life the princess will pursue align with places in the dream.

First the dream associates gold with a turtle, just as happens before the birth of another famous royal person, King Sooro, when prayers to a turtle precipitate the lowering of gold eggs. The turtle in the mother's dream resides close to her womb, emphasizing the moment of conception. The connection of gold with the amphibian carries double force as a gold turtle lock will secure the chest in which the royal daughter is placed and thrown into the water. The northern connotation of new life out darkness which arises in Sooro's account as well as in the Navaho color system is working here too. The princess's sinking chest is instantly rescued by a turtle for a wandering divinity to find.

In complementary southern relationship to the gold turtle in the mother's dream stand the sun and the moon. Their propitious conjunction in the warm south portend s not only survival of the life just conceived, but maturation of that life into the first shaman. The extraordinary meeting of the main luminaries of day and night forecasts an escape from death for both the princess and her parents. A similar heavenly pairing is invoked by a man with an A-frame on his back to make the famous fortuneteller Tojung understand why he was lucky to have followed him up a mountain: "Don't you know that midnight and noon conflict with each other? [They] always meet each other."⁶ When the mysterious man stops talking, all but the very top of the mountain sinks into the sea, leaving just enough for Tojung to stand on. When the midnight moon and noon sun meet in the queen's dream, they too presage rescue from death. Having managed to escape drowning in water, Princess Bari will use water to bring her mother and father back from the dead of night into the light of day.

⁶ "Hannaroo Ferry and Hero Rock," Chang, page 158

Between the planets and the turtle stand two hawks, their colors reflecting the double achievement of the life conceived: blue for the sacred water and white for the dead parents. The usual directions of an ordinary landscape become meaningful as they refer to the two notable accomplishments of the princess. The blue hawk replaces the eastern dragon of fertility, in her story the place where she got the sacred healing water. The white hawk replaces the western death symbol of the hungry tiger, prone to eating people as many stories attest—in this case, the king and the queen. Dreaming of the same animal in both the east and west, on her right and left hands, the queen sensed the close bond between the key locations in the life she just conceived: the remarkable deed of Princess Bari was not only finding the magical water in a remote land but managing to find her way back to her own kingdom where she could revive her dead parents with the water. The aggressive resolve needed to accomplish this double task over unimaginably vast distances and many years receives double emphasis in the nature of the predatory, high-flying hawk, standing on both sides of the queen in a hand, the final instruments her daughter will need to complete her mission.

Through this combination of colors and animals in the queen's premonition dream, another way of using myongdang unfolds as the human body defines the four directions: north in front, east to the right, west left and—by implication—south behind. This general approach also produced the Navaho sand painting of the earth giant, with modification for his body lying on a southeast-northwest axis. The system receives final universal application in its most limited geography. Every person, in possessing an upper trunk, carries a myongdang arrangement and may react to his surroundings based on whether his northern front is facing true north, with his other three sides pointing east, south and west, respectively. The alignment suggests again that the danger most feared, i.e. from the north, should be carefully watched front-on, while the back need not be guarded from the warm, friendly south.

Thomas N. Grove
Framingham State College
Framingham, Massachusetts