Sometimes when people examine petroglyphs, they see images that are undefinable. These images are often described and classified as being abstract because what they represent is not understood by the observer. A typical example of this type of image might be something like those shown in Figures 1 or 2, which are the only marks on the rock's surface. Figure 1 shows two oval-shaped pecked-out areas in a horizontal row with a single similar feature centered below them. Figure 2 shows a similar arrangement, except that there are two adjacent circles with a pecked-out oval area below them.

When examples of these and other, apparently abstract images are observed in a context that includes other features, or in proximity to other similar images that do have identifiable characteristics, what they represent becomes readily apparent. For example, when viewing the images illustrated in Figure 3, it becomes evident that the three pecked-out oval areas seen in Figure 1 represent the face (two eyes and a mouth) of an anthropomorph, i.e., part of a stylized human figure.

This conclusion was easily reached because the pattern of three pecked-out areas exist as the face of an anthropomorph; in other words, these "abstract features" exists in a recognizable context. The anthropomorph in Figure 3 is easily recognized as a stylized human figure because the figure's head, neck, body and part of the arms are outlined with a pecked line. Notice also that there is a round pecked-out area below each side of the head of the anthropomorph, which likely represents ear pendants or hair ornaments.
Figure 3. In this photograph, an anthropomorph with an outlined body is superimposed over an anthropomorph whose body was created with pigment that is no longer present. To the left and a little above the head of the outlined anthropomorph is a similar pattern of three pecked dots. It is evident that this pattern also represents the face of an anthropomorph, even though no outlined body is visible. A further examination of Figure 1 provides the conclusive evidence that this image is also an anthropomorph. First, there are the remnants of red paint below the face that formed the inward sloping sides of the body or a decoration on the sides of the body. The red paint is visible in Figure 3 as two sets of parallel, dark-colored lines that slope from the shoulders to the waist of the figure. Second, there is a pecked U-shaped curving line below the face that represents a necklace. These features show that this image is also an anthropomorph. Had this figure’s head and body been outlined, either by pecking or by paint, it would also have been instantly recognizable as an anthropomorph.

From this example, it becomes evident that the pecked pattern shown in Figure 1 also represents a face, as do other similar images. The pattern shown in Figure 2 likewise appears as the face of other outlined anthropomorphs. It was not readily apparent that the pecked patterns shown in Figures 1 and 2 represented faces of anthropomorphs because the paint that formed the body of the images has disappeared from the cliff face.

**CREATION OF THE ANTHROPOMORPHS - FUGITIVE PIGMENTS**

Figures 1-3 are just a few examples of anthropomorphs created with pigment that no longer exists. Because the pigment is gone, it is defined as being fugitive. The Merriam-Webster dictionary defines fugitive as: “being of short duration”, “likely to evaporate, deteriorate, change, fade, or disappear”, “…dyed with fugitive colors”. This example of the use of the word fugitive is very appropriate to this discussion, because, in general, this was how these and many other anthropomorphs were created.

Although it may not be readily apparent in the particular example given above, the anthropomorph on the left was created by first painting the image of an anthropomorph. Specific features (the eyes, mouth and necklace) were then created by pecking away the paint, which in the process also removed the surface of the rock in those areas. Today, only the pecked-out areas are visible because the pigment that formed the rest of the body, except for the faint red stripes, is no longer present.

The definition of pigment in this discussion needs to be broader than traditional definitions. The traditional definition for pigment is a substance that imparts black or white, or a color to other materials. A specific definition states that
pigment is, “a powdered substance that is mixed with a liquid in which it is relatively insoluble and used especially to impart color to coating materials (as paints)” (Merriam-Webster’s Dictionary). In the creation of pictographs, pigment could not only be a substance that imparts color to something else, it could be the entire coating material itself. If, for example, a soft, weathered lump of the non-crystalline form of the mineral hematite were used to create an image or parts of an image, just the hematite on the rock surface would be the pigment. Similarly, if a person used white clay to create an entire image, or parts of an image, without any other substance being involved (except perhaps water), the white clay would be considered pigment. Therefore, pigment, as used here, is defined as any substance applied to the rock surface to create an image or parts of an image.

The existence of fugitive pigments also explains why some anthropomorphs appear to be incomplete. The missing features were once present as painted images, however, since the paint no longer exists, the features also no longer appear to exist.

Before leaving Figure 3, there is one additional significant aspect of this panel that should be discussed. The anthropomorph on the right, whose body is outlined, is clearly superimposed over the anthropomorph on the left, whose body was created almost entirely with fugitive pigment and which was not outlined. This superimposition indicates that fugitive painted figures whose bodies were outlined date from a later period than those whose bodies were not outlined.

Other sets of images with superimposition verify this observation. These instances demonstrate the existence of a developmental sequence in the creation of these images. This succession appears to have progressed from painted anthropomorphs made entirely of fugitive pigment, to fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs with a few pecked features, to fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs with elaborately pecked-out features. The elaborate anthropomorphs created at the end of the developmental sequence include nearly full-body outlines. One of the characteristics of these later images is that hands and forearms are not outlined.

Anthropomorphic images constructed with fugitive pigment constitute a unique class of prehistoric images that are previously undefined. Specific features of these anthropomorphs were created by the removal of the pigment or by painting with mineral pigment. Likely, these features were also created with fugitive pigment. In eastern Utah, hundreds and possibly thousands of anthropomorphs were created using fugitive pigments and these techniques. These images are unique, and therefore they constitute a unique class. They have the potential to provide valuable information about cultural distribution and origins. The purpose of this paper is to describe these images, discuss their distribution and formulate some conclusions from the accumulated data.

**Fugitive Pigment Materials**

Fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs could have been created by using several different types of materials as pigment. Three possibilities are considered below.

**Vegetable Dyes**

One likely possibility is that the images were created with organic pigments or dyes, i.e., those from plant sources. These pigments, because of their greater solubility in water, would be more readily removed by erosion than mineral pigments. The creators of these figures may have chosen to use organic pigments instead of the more permanent mineral pigments because vegetable dyes were more readily available than mineral pigment or were available in a greater variety of colors. Rieske (2000) notes that at least 60 plants are used by the Hopi and Navajo to create dyes for various uses.
Several figures that have the characteristics of fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs have been discovered on the walls of caves. These figures are well protected from weathering and thus have the potential to provide an insight into the materials used in their construction. The only easily recognizable organic material found was charcoal.

An example of an anthropomorph created with charcoal is shown in Figure 4. The figure is located in a cave in the Uintah Basin of northeastern Utah. Three closely spaced horizontal “belt lines” or “waist lines” that are easily visible in the photograph were pecked through the charcoal that made up the body of the anthropomorph. This is exactly the same technique used to create the same features on similar anthropomorphs outside of the cave. Unfortunately, the face of this figure has been lost due to exfoliation of the surface. Additional examples of anthropomorphs created with charcoal will be discussed below. Charcoal would have been an easily accessible material with which to construct these images. It would have been a simple process to use lumps of charcoal or the ends of a burnt stick (or perhaps even the end of a burning stick) to create the images. If a partly burned wooden stick were used, it would likely abrade the surface, especially if it was rubbed vigorously and repeatedly on sandstone. This process would explain the existence of faint abrasions in the body and scraped outlines of some anthropomorphs that were created with fugitive pigment.

In this and other nearby caves, anthropomorphs with no pecked-out features were also created entirely with charcoal. This suggests that similar images created entirely with fugitive pigments were also made outside of caves. The existence of these images in the caves further supports the model of a developmental sequence that started with anthropomorphs being created entirely with fugitive pigments and progressed to fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs with elaborate pecked-out features. Unfortunately, the images created with charcoal outside of the caves are entirely lost to us today.

When the anthropomorphs were created with charcoal or other dark organic pigment, the features that were formed by the removal of the pigment along with the surface of the rock would have a brilliant and distinct contrast. This contrast would be especially prominent if the underlying rock was white or light tan, as are many types of sandstone in eastern and central Utah. Against a black background, the white pecked-out features of eyes, mouths, necklaces, headdresses, bracelets, belts and
other items of ornamentation (or ritual significance), some of which are very elaborate or ornate, would be accentuated and intensified to an stunning degree.

The desire for the accentuation of these features would explain why many so many figures are outlined. Outlining would further highlight the contrast. Several examples of images have been found where the contrast between a black figure and a light background has been accentuated by removal of the stones surface; the most well known examples are also located in the Uintah Basin (Figure 5). In Figure 5, the amount of outlining surrounding this image has been increased around the arms and between the legs to a much greater degree than normal. Notice also the three vertical lines on the body.

Figure 5. This anthropomorph shows the high degree of contrast between the black figure and the nearly-white sandstone

Clay
Another possibility is that images were made with common clay, or clay mixed with other inorganic or even organic materials. This type of pigment would erode over time, leaving little or no trace. Several fugitive pigment images have been found that appear to have been made with a clay-like substance. These will be discussed below. Charcoal or vegetable dyes then, were not the only fugitive pigment used to create anthropomorphs.

One of the most interesting questions surrounding the use of fugitive pigment is, as was mentioned above, why would the creators of these anthropomorphs use pigments that they knew would not last? One possibility is that they did not know that the pigments would not last. If the pigments lasted for their lifetime, would not that be long enough?

Another explanation for the use of the fugitive pigments, which is likely the most well founded, is that their use was socially or religiously constrained. In other words, "This is the way it is done, this is the way it has always been done, and if you do it any other way, then something really bad will happen" or "the good thing that is supposed to occur will not occur". Perhaps the use of organic materials was a required part of the formal procedure in which these images were created. Another possibility, but not a likely one, is that the use of mineral pigment was unknown when these images were being created. This, however, would be difficult to explain, since the Barrier Canyon Style, which is believed by some to date from the archeaic period and which is present throughout most of eastern Utah, was created principally with mineral paint; unless, of course, the Barrier Canyon Style was created later than the fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs, which is unlikely. There is however, the possibility that both the fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs and the Barrier Canyon Style images were contemporaneous and each was being created for a different purpose with different materials by various ethnic groups existing in the same culture.
DETERMINING THE FORM

The appearance of some of the features of these anthropomorphs can be determined even though the pigment is no longer present. This is possible because:

1. The creators of the anthropomorphs occasionally used a more permanent pigment, like powdered minerals.
2. The images were placed in a well-protected location (rockshelters and caves) where the pigment remains today.
3. Parts of the image were lightly scratched or abraded during or after the application of the fugitive pigment.
4. The original pigment halted the formation of patina or removed some of it from beneath where it was placed, thus creating a lighter colored area that is visible today.
5. The creators of the image mixed mineral pigment with the fugitive pigment. Since some or all of the mineral pigment remains today, the created image is still visible.
6. Both mineral pigment and fugitive pigment were used in the creation of some anthropomorphs, as shown in Figure 3. It is not surprising that both types of pigment were used in the creation of rock art - both types were used on ceramics and likely other materials as well.
7. In a few rare instances, it appears that similar anthropomorphs were painted entirely with mineral pigments, which appear to exist undisturbed today. However, since any fugitive pigment that may have been used in the creation of these anthropomorphs is no longer present, all the features may not be evident.
8. The images were covered over with mud so the original pigment was preserved.
9. Comparisons can be made with anthropomorphs that have some of the same pecked-out features as fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs, but with additional features that were added during their creation.

All of these situations have the potential to provide information about the form and attributes of the fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs.

DISTRIBUTION AND DISCUSSION

Since there is a wide range in the amount of pecking and outlining on fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs, it is difficult to decide if and at what point the images transcend from being created entirely with fugitive pigment then being outlined, to being created entirely by outlining. Making this distinction and thus classifying the images accordingly is difficult, since there is no pigment present. This is especially true when classifying complex pecked anthropomorphs that were entirely outlined and elaborately decorated with pecked-out features. Even these images could have been created first entirely with fugitive pigments. Since the pigment is gone, there is no way to determine if the anthropomorph contained pigment or how much pigment it contained. However, if parts of the anthropomorph are missing, i.e., not illustrated by pecking, it is likely that those parts were created with fugitive pigments.

Somewhere the distinction has to be made between easily identifiable fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs and those that may have been created with pecking alone. For this study, the anthropomorphs that have major and obvious missing features are defined here as fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs. Thus, in Figure 3 the images on the left is defined as a fugitive-pigment anthropomorph while the image on the right would not be, even though the image on the right was almost certainly created with fugitive pigment. If all of the anthropomorphs with outlined bodies like the one on the right were included in this study, the data would become unwieldy; therefore, anthropomorphs that have completely outlined bodies are omitted from this study.
EXAMPLES OF FUGITIVE PIGMENT ANTHROPOMORPHS

The identification and collection of data on fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs began in 1967. This study was part of a personal research program to gather data on all petroglyph and pictograph sites in and around Utah. The collection of data is centered principally on the area of the western United States occupied by the Fremont Culture. The locations where petroglyphs and pictographs have been found by the author are shown on Map 1. The actual number of sites is far greater than the number of dots on the map because there is nearly always more than one site beneath each dot. At the scale shown, each dot is five miles across and it covers an area of 19.6 square miles.

The distribution of images of the type defined here, appears to exist entirely in the drainages of the Green and Colorado Rivers, and thus is located principally in eastern Utah and parts of adjoining states—Wyoming, Colorado, Arizona and New Mexico. The distribution of these fugitive painted images will be discussed starting in the North and going to the South. As the various sites and the images within them are discussed, other characteristics that these images exhibit will also be described. All distances are measured from the Utah-Wyoming border, which will be the starting point or datum for the following descriptions.

Lucerne Valley
The Lucerne Valley is located about a mile south of the datum line. Visible in Figure 6 is a fugitive-pigment anthropomorph with pecked and abraded vertical lines that define the sides of the head, sloping lines outlining the body with a “belt line” connecting them, and a necklace and facial features (eyes and a mouth). Eyes are the most dominant facial feature of fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs. In this example, each eye has a sloped abraded line descending from it. This feature has often been labeled a “tear streak” but this interpretation is dubious. As can be seen, most of this image is missing because it was created with fugitive pigment.

Figure 6. An example of what appears to be a historically modified fugitive pigment anthropomorph in the Lucerne Valley near the Utah-Wyoming border.

A very unusual feature of this image is the presence of abraded legs that appear to be depicting pants, since the legs flair out at the bottom. Notice the presence of two parallel horizontal incised lines with four or five short vertical pecked lines below them that are at the bottom of each leg of the “pants”. It is somewhat doubtful that these legs are contemporaneous with the rest of the figure. The valley where this panel is located has been the site, both historically and likely prehistorically, of a wintering location for Shoshone Indians. For many years, it was also the site of large historic rendezvous with various groups of Indians and fur trappers. Today the panel is in a large fenced corral enclosing smaller corrals used for
holding sheep, so likely the image was modified in the recent past. Both the sides of the body and the legs of the figure are superimposed over quadrupeds in the panel. Whatever the origin of the legs is, they create a very unusual figure. The form of the image and the level of repatination indicates it dates from the late Fremont period.

Figure 7 is nearby. This image has been vandalized. What appears as white paint outlining the anthropomorph in the black-and-white photograph is in reality bright blue dye used in marking sheep.

Figure 7. This figure possesses one of the northernmost examples of a common headdress or hairstyle found in northern and central Utah.

The panel is adjacent to a sheep corral, which explains the presence of the blue dye. This blue outlining was done inaccurately, which gives a false appearance to what this figure actually is. The significance of this image is more visible in Figure 8, which is a close-up of the head. In this photograph, the red-brown pigment is visible as dark lines at the sides and top of the face as well as an outline around the headdress. This outline was apparently created with mineral pigment that may have been applied when the image was created, but this is unknown.

Figure 8. A close view of the head of the anthropomorph shown in Figure 7.

The rest of the anthropomorph was made with fugitive pigments and abraded lines. An interesting feature of this anthropomorph is that the interior area of the face is a different color (almost a pinkish-tan) from the rest of the surrounding rock, which is brownish-gray. The abrasions on the rest of the body are only a light gray. Apparently, the abrasions on the face were deep enough to expose the true color of the sandstone, which is evident in the two bullet holes, while the abrasions on the body were not. It may also be that the abrasions on the body are much older than are those of the face or that the face was painted after it was created. The dark red lines were placed over the abrasions that created the face, and they outline a headdress that is characteristic of the northern Utah region. Notice that center of the abraded area was more deeply abraded to create what appears be a nose, except that it is too high, so it may not be a nose. Notice also that there is a broad outward-sloping abraded line at each side of the head.
Figure 9 is also nearby. This anthropomorph also appears to have been vandalized. Recent abrasions appear over most of the body, or more appropriately, where the body was. The most interesting feature of this figure is the headdress, which has been recently painted with what appears to be a red sheep dye. Originally, the headdress was an abraded part of what was likely a most impressive fugitive-pigment anthropomorph.

Browns Park

Figure 10 is roughly 20 miles south of the datum in the Browns Park area of Colorado. The large figure is a good example of a fugitive-pigment anthropomorph. Were it not for the abraded outline, the figure would consist principally of facial and headdress features, a necklace and a single waistline. The outline of the body provides somewhat of an idea of what the anthropomorph may have looked like originally, however, this outline does not appear to be an original feature of the image. Notice the apparent headdress with the rectangular pecked-out area in the center. This figure has been chalked repeatedly in the past and likely has been recently abraded as well, so the outline should not be considered indicative of the original body.

This site is important because these three images are examples of some of the northernmost fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs with the types of headdresses discussed above. These headdresses are features commonly found on anthropomorphs in the Uintah Basin, as will be seen below. These images show that these features are not confined to the area around Vernal, Utah.

The lightly abraded outline of the image is likely historic. Figures 11 through 14 are located about 35 miles south of the datum. These images, and others near them that are not de-
scribed here, provide excellent examples of the technique of painting and then pecking out specific features. These anthropomorphs appear to have been created both with fugitive and mineral pigments. Figure 11 shows two anthropomorphs whose bodies have been partly outlined and partly filled in with red mineral pigment. The heads of the two anthropomorphs were completely painted with mineral pigment, and then the eyes were pecked out, removing both the pigment and the surface of the rock. Other features were also similarly made by pecking. When these images were newly created, the eyes must have stood out in bright contrast with the dark red pigment. It is likely that fugitive pigment was also used elsewhere in the creation of these images. If these images had been created entirely with fugitive pigment, the only remaining evidence of their existence would be the pecked-out features.

Figure 12 is an excellent example where it appears that both mineral pigment and fugitive pigments have been used to create an anthropomorph. The body of this figure was created with fugitive pigment that is not present today, and the headdress, or at least the part of it that is visible today, was made from mineral pigment. The headdress consists of a band of short vertical lines of alternating dark and light red mineral pigment. The eyes, mouth and four wide short vertical lines at the base of the anthropomorph's neck have been pecked out, thus removing the fugitive pigment, some of the mineral pigment, and the rough surface of the rock.

A significant feature of this particular image is that there are two sets of necklaces; one is superimposed over the other. The first necklace created was an elaborate pattern of pecked dots consisting of three rows in a U shape, with a fan-shaped pattern of probably 10 rows of dots descending from the bottom of the three rows of dots. There were about seven or eight dots in each row. The second and overlapping necklace consists of a U shaped row of five large circular elements. These two different necklaces indicate that at least two different anthropomorphs were created in almost exactly the same place.
Steven J. Manning, The Fugitive-Pigment Anthropomorphs of Eastern Utah

While the superimposition in this image appears complex, it would have been relatively easy to create. When a new image was created by painting over an older one, especially one where the fugitive pigment had faded, the older image would entirely disappear beneath the new paint. Not only would the old paint be hidden, but the pecked-out features would be hidden as well. It would then be easy to create new pecked-out features without the distraction of the old image. Today the only parts of the images that are visible are all the pecked-out features from both of the images that were created here, which make the image appear complex.

On both the right and left sides of this anthropomorph are other figures, each with similar decorative necklaces; however, weathering of the surface makes determination of specific features of these anthropomorphs difficult to ascertain. There are also other small anthropomorphs scattered nearby that were painted both in mineral and fugitive pigments.

The anthropomorph shown in Figure 13 contains additional types of pecked features. Notice the blocky rectangular area above eyes, the presence of arm bands on both sides of the body and the sloping broad parallel lines in the body, etc. Faint traces of what appear to be pigment surround the anthropomorph. Notice that the different parts of this anthropomorph seem to be out of proportion. The necklace and belt line seem to be too large for the face. This image also appears to be composed of superimposed anthropomorphs.

Superimposition often occurs in locations where there are groups of anthropomorphs. Once it has been determined that superimposi-
tion of fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs exists in the panel, it becomes easier to understand what previously appeared to be a jumble of abstract or incoherent elements.

Figure 14 illustrates a variety in the treatment of the headdress of these fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs. No evidence of pigment remains on this image. Notice the unusual facial features and that the long projections on the sides of the head (the headdress) slope downward instead of sloping upwards. Near this figure is the only horizontal fugitive-pigment anthropomorph located to this date.

Figure 15 is a composite sketch of the images in a panel that is about 35 miles south of the datum. This site is in a drainage of the Green River. In the panel, there are at least 11 anthropomorphs that were painted with fugitive pigments. No trace of pigment is visible; only the pecking remains. The images are difficult to photograph because there is very little contrast. (Notice that the upper and lower parts of section C are left of section D. The sheep’s head in lower C, corresponds to the sheep’s head in section D, and the pattern of dots in the upper part of C, corresponds to the upper dot pattern in D.) Notice that the headdresses on figures B and C are like those in Figures 7 and 8. This panel contains several examples of two common types of necklaces: those with a single large pendant and necklaces composed of multiple small pendants. This panel also contains multiple superimpositions. For example, section D contains two anthropomorphs, one placed on top of another. Each one has two eyes and a broad mouth, but each one has a different necklace – one has a large single pendant and the other has a simple single curved line. Furthermore, the large image is superimposed by a mountain sheep and two smaller fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs. The one at the top has upright inward curving horns and a single necklace, while the one beneath it has only a face and a simple necklace. Apparently, this site was used over a period of time, and images were created over older painted figures. The purpose of this site and something about its function is known, but a discussion of this is beyond the scope of this paper. Notice that the belt line that is composed of three horizontal lines occurs on two images and is the same as in Figure 4. This is a common feature of images in northeastern Utah.

Yampa River

Figures 16 and 17 are located along the Yampa River in northeastern Colorado. These images are also about 35 miles south of the datum, but located farther east. The presence of these images here extends the range of the fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs eastward and establishes their existence along the Yampa River. Notice the disproportionate size of the large pendant necklace in comparison with the eyes.
Figure 15. Shown here is a composite sketch of fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs from a panel near the Green River east of Vernal, Utah.

Figure 16. A fugitive-pigment anthropomorph found along the Yampa River in northeastern Colorado where only eyes and a large pendant necklace exist.

Figure 17. Another figure along the Yampa River showing the face of a fugitive-pigment anthropomorph.
**Echo Park**

In the vicinity of Echo Park, which is in Dinosaur National Monument and roughly 35 miles south of the datum, there are several sites with excellent examples of fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs. Figure 18 illustrates two of these anthropomorphs at one of the sites. Both figures are moderately eroded, having been placed on a cliff face with only minimal protection from the weather. The large figure has an elaborate necklace and again the three-lined belt typical of the fugitive painted anthropomorphs in this area. It is difficult to discern other features, such as a face, because of erosion. At the lower right corner of the photograph is a face that consists of two large eyes, an apparent open mouth, and a dot-patterned headdress. It is possible that this face represents a severed human head that could have been held by the larger figure.

Also in the vicinity of Echo Park is undoubtedly one of the most detailed fugitive pigment panels in existence. Figure 19 shows three of the more than 20 anthropomorphs accentuated by elaborate dot-patterned features. The images today are high above the ground because of down cutting by an adjacent creek. These pecked dot patterns are all of what remains of anthropomorphs that were created with fugitive pigments. Notice the broad dot pattern arrangement on the face of the large anthropomorph, the trapezoidal headdress with the large upward-flaring extensions (compare with Figures 9 and 10) and what appears to be a cap on the large figure’s head. To the left of this figure and at belt-line level, is a small anthropomorph whose facial features are visible above what appears to be an abraded curving necklace. To the left of this figure are visible the eyes, mouth, necklace and belt line of another anthropomorph.

**Uintah Basin**

Likely several hundred fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs exist in a broad band that cuts horizontally across the Uintah Basin in northeastern Utah. This band is roughly ten miles wide and is centered about 38 miles from the datum. The sites in this area are located along permanently flowing tributaries of the Green River. These drainages from nearby mountains provide year-around running water. This area, with its well-watered and fertile farmlands, is not only a prime settlement location today, but it was also prehistorically. Because of the significant prehistoric population density, an abundance of images exists in this area. It likely contains the largest concentration of fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs in Utah. It is not possible, therefore, to illustrate more than a sampling of these figures here.

Figure 20 is a composite of five images from an area probably now in the town of Vernal. Notice that the lines forming the anthropomorphs, as shown, are jagged, indicating that these images were made by someone not well skilled in direct percussion. The head of the
Figure 19. A panel from Dinosaur National Monument in northwestern Colorado illustrating three of more than 20 fugitive pigment anthropomorphs with elaborate pecked-out features.

Figure 20. A group of fugitive pigment anthropomorphs near Vernal, Utah.

anthropomorph shown in Figure 20D is represented only by the eyes and a large circular area above them (compare with Figure 10). No necklace is shown. This figure illustrates that not all fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs have necklaces. It also illustrates other pecked features. For example, the lower body is outlined and there is an arm holding a long narrow object that is pointed at both ends. This held object is a common feature of anthropomorphs in Northeastern Utah (sometimes the held object is pointed only at one end). The form and con-
text in which these pointed objects exist suggests that they represent a hafted blade (a knife). This premise is substantiated by the presence of dozens of knives fastened to broad sticks that have been found in the area (most are in private collections and jealously guarded). There is also a small pendant necklace in the body of Figure D, which suggests the presence of another small fugitive-pigment anthropomorph.

Figure 21 is from the same general area. It is one of several anthropomorphs that appear to have been created entirely with red mineral pigment. This image is a good example that illustrates the technique of creating anthropomorphic features by pecking away the pigment and the rock's surface. The necklace, the belt line and the eyes on the severed head were created by this technique. There may have been facial features present on the anthropomorph, but they have been obliterated by bullet holes. Notice that the anthropomorph is holding one of the slender pointed objects in its left hand. If this image had been created with fugitive pigments, only the pecked-out features would remain, which is exactly all that is seen of many images today. Compare this image to Figures 9 and 10.

This image has in its right hand an object that also has pecked-out eyes. This feature represents a severed human head. These severed heads are a common feature in Uintah Basin rock art. Sometimes they are attached by a string to a pole. In one instance, a pool of blood appears to be illustrated below one of the heads. Severed heads also appear in Basketmaker rock art and have been found in the archaeological record (Kidder and Guernsey 1919, Manning 1987). It is rumored that a severed human head was found in a burial in the Uintah Basin, but this has not been verified.

Cub Creek
The Cub Creek drainage west of Vernal, Utah is included in the broad band of sites in the Uintah Basin. Cub Creek is a short, principally spring-fed tributary of the Green River, which drains a portion of the Yampa and Blue Mountain Plateau. There is a concentration of prehistoric habitation in part of this drainage, and many examples of fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs are also present there — far more than can be illustrated here.

Figure 21. One of several anthropomorphs that appear to have been created entirely with red mineral pigment. Note the pecked out of features.

The figures below are located in Dinosaur National Monument and are adjacent to a main road, and are thus well known and heavily visited. Figure 22 illustrates one of the fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs with several different attributes that have not been previously dis-
cussed. Notice the single vertical line connecting the bottom of the necklace to the belt line, the five vertical lines pendant from the belt line and the facial and head features. The cluttered face and necklace suggest that there may have been more than one image in this location.

Figure 22. Note the vertical parallel lines below the beltline of this fugitive pigment anthropomorph, located east of Vernal, Utah.

Figure 23 illustrates another fugitive-pigment anthropomorph with different features. On each side of the head, for example, there is a vertical row of three dots. Beneath the face is a band that at first may appear to represent a mouth, but more likely, it represents a neckband, since it is so wide. Notice that the long tapering headdress is pointing downward. In addition, there is the wide upward curving necklace-like feature on the chest, which appears to represent a solid type of necklace, almost like a breastplate. Lines, either defining the sides of the body or as decorations on the sides of the body, are also present along with lines connecting the broad necklace with the belt line. There are five vertical lines beneath the belt line of the anthropomorph; however, these do not appear to be attached to the belt line. Notice that there is also a rectangular pecked-out area on the left side of the anthropomorph, and perhaps one on the right side. These represent upper armbands, and they are present on several anthropomorphs in this location.

Figure 23. This anthropomorph has a neckband, a solid curving necklace and a row of three vertical dots on each side of the head.

In some of the panels near Cub Creek, the anthropomorphs are grouped together as shown in Figure 24. In this one panel, there is an assortment of anthropomorphs with a variety of features. Superimposition is again evident. Notice the pointed object held in the hand of
Figure 24. A panel containing a group of fugitive pigment anthropomorphs, in the Cub Creek Drainage. Notice the superimposition of images.

the second anthropomorphs from the left side of the panel.

Figure 25A depicts a panel of three anthropomorphs that show examples of outlined bodies. Notice the variety of facial features. These images may also provide an idea of what the bodies of some of the fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs in this area may have looked like.

Figure 25B also contains a row of three anthropomorphs. Some scholars have not realized that these three images, and others like them, are anthropomorphs. Since a sufficient number of examples have been shown here, it is easy to see that each figure has a face composed of the typical three dots (two eyes and a mouth), and that there is an upward row of dots, like horns, on each side of the head just above each eye. Each figure also has a simple U-shaped necklace and a broad vertical line connecting the bottom of the necklace to the horizontal belt line. On the sides of each figure, there is also a round armband. Additionally, there is a horizontal line at the top of the head on the figure in the right side. Compare these images with the two figures on the left side of Figure 15.

Figure 26 is an interesting fugitive-pigment anthropomorph because first, the necklace is composed of sharp rectangular elements, and

Figure 25. Figure 25A shows three additional examples of outlined bodies and differences in facial adornment of anthropomorphs in the Cub Creek drainage. 25B is a group of three fugitive pigment anthropomorphs with a headdress composed of two rows of dots. The two figures on the left have three dots on each side of their headdresses; the figure on the right has four. Notice the armbands.
second, these elements are connected to the neckband, suggesting that they were fastened to it. Notice the presence of the dotted belt line (compare with Figure 19) along with the arm-bands, the sharp pointed knife and the large dots on the face (compare with Figure 22).

(The drawing of this anthropomorph is a taken from a color slide and is foreshortened because the camera had to be pointed upwards at a steep angle. In reality, the image is taller than it appears here.)

Figure 26. The necklace on this fugitive pigment anthropomorph is composed of four rectangular elements with squared corners. They are apparently attached to the neckband. Notice the two armbands and the knife, apparently held in the figure’s left hand.

Figure 27 illustrates another interesting anthropomorph from Cub Creek that shows additional features. Notice that there are two vertical lines above the very large breastplate-like necklace. These suggest that it was fastened by straps to something above it. Since the straps appear to be higher than the top of the short necklace around the neck, they appear to have gone over the shoulders and fastened to something on the back of the figure. This suggests that there may have been an identical large solid necklace or breastplate on the back of the figure. This second necklace could be for balance, especially if the objects were cut from stone.

On the body are horizontal rows of pecked-out dots like those in Anasazi Basketmaker panels in Grand Gulch to the south. This dot pattern would have created a dramatic effect if the figure were created with dark pigment.

The details found on this figure suggest that this and other anthropomorphic images were representations of actual people; otherwise, such fine details would not likely be depicted. There are indications that some of these anthropomorphs may have been portrayals of participants in ritual activities.

Figure 27. Notice that there are two vertical lines above the very large necklace. These suggest that the necklace was fastened by straps to a similar balancing feature on the back.

Figure 28 is one of several fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs where the “shadow” or “silhouette” form of the body can be seen. This evidence exists because the presence of the pigment had an effect on patination. Patination forms because of exposure to the elements of nature. Patination is a collection of rock var-
nish, lichen, algae and bacterial growth, deposition of dust and decomposing plant and animal matter, minerals and a variety of other things. When paint is applied to the rock surface, not only is the creation of patina halted, but also some of the existing patina is removed because the organic constituent is killed (Manning 2002). A difference in the level of patination between the two surfaces develops over time since the patina was prevented from forming beneath the painted area or removed from it, while outside of the painted area it continued to form. This difference continues to exist long after the paint that stopped the formation of the patina, or erased it, was removed by erosion. That difference, as shown in Figure 28, is still visible today. This does not always occur. It seems to depend on the type of pigment used, the type of patina, the degree of exposure and other environmental factors.

In Figure 28 it is possible to see the shape of the head, the top of the shoulders, the arms and some of the body of the anthropomorph. The rectangular areas along the side of the figure are armbands and are easily seen. This figure provides unambiguous evidence that these “abstracted versions” of anthropomorphs were at one time fully constructed human figures. This anthropomorph also shows that the broad horizontal line beneath the face is a neckband, not a mouth. Notice that in this particular instance it is curved downward at the top, suggesting that the top of the neckband is beneath the chin. Again, details such as this suggest that the anthropomorphs are depictions of real people.

A conscious researcher is always skeptical about stating that their conclusions are incontrovertible. Since the history of this figure is unknown, it is possible that many years ago someone could have put something on this image to enhance it, and the result of this action is what is visible today. However, there are several images like this in widely diverse areas of Utah and the adjoining states. Some of these images are located in such remote areas that very few individuals have ever seen them, so there is very little possibility that someone could have tampered with all of them. It is, therefore, quite likely that what is seen here in this example is the actual “shadow” of prehistoric pigment, not something that someone did historically to modify the image.

Figure 29 is also from Cub Creek. This is another rare image. There are two fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs in the photograph. One is superimposed over the other, which in itself is not rare; however, in this instance, the last image created is not pecked, as nearly all of them are; it is entirely abraded. The drawings in Figure 29 depict the two different images. Obviously, something important occurred here. Perhaps it has something to do with the head-
dress of the first anthropomorph. The headdress consists of three upward curving pecked lines. This type of headdress is common in Fremont anthropomorphs all over Utah, and even as far away as southeastern Nevada; yet it is rare in the Uintah Basin. Does the first image with the three-lined headdress indicate the presence of an “intruder” from another area? Did an occupant of the Cub Creek area disagree with a visitor who placed this image here or did he or she disagree with whatever this image represents? If something like this happened it would suggest that these images were an important and significant part of the identification and regional ideologies of the prehistoric Fremont people.

These images, and others at Cub Creek that are not illustrated here, have rarely, if ever, been identified as fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs. For example, Burton (1971), in his Master thesis where he used multivariate statistics to determine clusters of types of anthropomorphs, failed to recognize that the images in his study, of which these were a part, were at one time fully painted anthropomorphs with associated basic anatomical features, like arms, legs, hands and feet that are not visible today. This lack of recognition significantly skewed his data so that many of his conclusions are incorrect.

Ferris (1987, 1989) likewise failed to understand that these, and other images, were once painted with fugitive pigment. For example, he stated, “These figures are frontal views of the human torso, lacking such appendages as arms, legs, and genitals, and consisting of such elements such as eyes, mouth, necklace, belt etc.” (Ferris 1989:53). Furthermore, he stated: “These figures, are in fact, simplified and abstracted versions of the Classic Vernal Style anthropomorphs.” (Ferris 1989:53).

Despite Ferris’ certainty, in reality, these images are, or were, fully constructed stylized human figures, likely with all the normally associated appendages. The “abstractions” are simply the pecked-out features of fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs. Likely, the most significant of Ferris’ conclusions appear in the following statement.
The progression of figure abstractions carved into the cliff at Cub Creek represents a sequence of step-by-step simplifications, beginning with the typical Fremont anthropomorph and preceding serially through progressively abstracted versions. The elements of each figure consist of a limited number of details of body, clothing and adornment such as facial features, necklace and ear pendants and belt or sash. These elements are combined into figure portrayals in much the same way that words as parts of speech are combined into sentences. In the manner of a poet who seeks artistic effect by varying the sequences of the works, the Fremont artists of Cub Creek experimented with varying arrangements of the elements that make up the figure. With time, these figure portrayals evolved from their original type to the final stage, which is represented by the triple figure (figure 6) (Ferris 1989: 53). [Ferris’ Figure 6 is printed upside-down in this reference, see Figure 25B here]

Ferris’ sequence is exactly the opposite of what superimposition indicates actually occurred. The anthropomorphs progressed from no pecked-out features, to simple pecked-out features, to elaborate pecked-out features. So rather than progressing from complex forms to less simplified abstract forms, the sequence was from simple forms to complex forms, which is what anthropological studies indicate usually happens in progressive series. In reality then, the anthropomorphs shown in Figure 25B are likely near the middle of the developmental or cultural sequence, not at the end. Ferris’ other conclusions in the paragraph above are therefore also incorrect.

Brush Creek
On the opposite side of the Green River from Cub Creek is Brush Creek and its tributaries. Brush Creek drains the 10,000-foot high southeastern end of the Uintah Mountains. It also provides year-around clear running water. Fugitive-pigment anthropomorphic images also exist along this drainage. Two anthropomorphs from this area are shown in Figure 30. They have similar characteristics to other images discussed above. Notice the dot-patterned headdress on the figure to the right, and that the top of the shoulder of the figure on the left side is visible because it was lightly pecked. Sometimes when the light is just right, the shape of the anthropomorphs can be seen, along with arms, facial features, headdresses, etc. Both figures have ear pendants; however, the pendants of the figure on the right are shown with attached lines that go nearly to the headdress. This suggests that perhaps some ear pendants were attached to the top of the ear, or perhaps they were not ear pendants at all, but were attached to the headdress. Evidence of additional smaller fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs are also visible below and beneath the large figure on the left.

One of the most significant sites in the study of fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs is located in the Brush Creek drainage. Figure 31 shows parts of three anthropomorphs from a site on private land. These images are nearly life size. Visible here are the typical facial features, necklaces and other elements of fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs; however, they are pecked through a fugitive pigment that still exists.

The original pigment remains in part because the panel is sheltered by an overhang. However, there is another reason why the pigment still exists; and it is the most important reason. The images were covered over with mud after they were created. The word “mud” is used here in the general sense, and is applied to any substance, like clay or even pigment, that when applied to an image is not meant to create the image, but to cover it. Over the hundreds of years since these images were created, the mud has slowly eroded from them. Traces of the
Figure 30. Two elaborate fugitive pigment anthropomorphs in the Brush Creek drainage. Notice that they are superimposed over smaller, simpler images.

Figure 31. The original pigment that was used to create these images still exists. The pigment was protected from erosion by an overhang and by being covered over with mud. Mud can still be seen at the bottom of some of the anthropomorphs where it washed down from the figures. The mud or clay that covered these figures is a brown color. Some figures and parts of others were apparently covered with mud again after some of the initial mud
eroded away. The second time that parts or all of some of the images were covered over, the mud was a dark red color. Some of this mud can be seen in Figure 31. It is visible here as the dark smeared area on the lines radiating outward from the anthropomorph on the right. The two anthropomorphs shown in Figure 32 were covered entirely with the red mud. They are located to the right and below the three figures shown in Figure 31.

Figure 32. Smaller fugitive pigment anthropomorphs were also covered with red mud.

The owner of the property said that about 50 years ago the largest anthropomorph in Figure 31 was so bright it could easily be seen from the entrance to his property, which is on the opposite side of the canyon. The existence of the figure now is nearly unnoticeable. This change has likely occurred because the weathering process is continuing to remove the original pigment since the figure has been exposed by the loss of the mud that protected it. It seems apparent that erosion is continuing the relentless process of removing the pigment with the ultimate result that only the pecked out and abraded features will be ultimately visible. The same thing that has occurred to numerous other anthropomorphs will eventually occur here.

This panel provides an opportunity to examine what was certainly one of the types of fugitive pigment. The original pigment appears to have once been a thick, white, almost clay-like substance. Perhaps painted is not an appropriate word for the process used to apply this “clay” to the cliff; “plastered” or “troweled” might be more descriptive. No chemical analysis has yet been done to determine the exact chemical composition of this pigment. After the images were “painted” and the various features pecked out, they would have had an exceptional and perhaps startling three-dimensional appearance because of the thickness and color of the pigment. If the owner is correct in his assessment of what they looked like 50 years ago, imagine how these images appeared when they were newly created.

If many of the fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs were created with clay or clay-based pigment, it would explain why they were so easily eliminated by erosion. Additionally, the use of this material might also explain why some of the images are outlined by scratching, abrading and pecking. At various places along the perimeter of these images, it is evident that both the pigment and the surface of the rock have been removed to create a sharp edge. This is especially noticeable around the heads of the images and along the sides of the bodies. Creating this edge would not only make a distinctive and contrasting line, it would also increase the three-dimensional appearance of the images. Additionally, if a person were not careful in applying the clay-like pigment, the excess would have to be removed by scraping, abrading or pecking away the excess material in order for the image to have the desired appearance and have a distinct outline.
Notice that the sides of the body of the smaller anthropomorph are outlined with a line created by abrasion. This is exactly the same technique employed in creating other fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs where the pigment is no longer present.

An unanswered question is: why were these anthropomorphs covered with mud? Perhaps the creators of these images covered them because they did not want anyone to see them. This seems unlikely however, since they were placed high on the cliff face, even out of reach of anyone today, so that they could easily be seen by anyone in the vicinity. Perhaps then, there was a serious conflict surrounding the creation of these images. Was the conflict among the group of creators themselves or was it an act of defiance on the part of an outside group or person? We may never know why they were covered with mud, or why parts off the panel were covered a second time.

These images are not the only anthropomorphs that have been covered with mud. Barrier Canyon Style panels were also covered with mud. Covering images with mud may have been a far more common practice than is generally realized. It is not apparent today how often this occurred because the mud washed away long ago.

While these images have typical features of fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs, they also have some uncommon features. The large radiating lines at the sides of the heads of the large anthropomorphs are the most noticeable.

The presence in this panel of three pecked-out horizontal lines on each side of each anthropomorph's head is also significant. Three "lines" like these also exist on each side of the heads of Fremont figurines. These lines, which are generally below the head, appear to represent some type of cordage wrapped around something that appears roughly rectangular. The rectangular object often rests on the front of the figure just below, or even with, the top of the shoulder. The cordage could be hair, leather or several types of plant fibers. Some of the Pilling figurines, found in Range Creek Canyon (Morss 1954, Tuohy 1986), have three broad cords on each side of the head, which are clearly wrapped around something that is rectangular or bow-tie shaped.

There are several interpretations for what this object might be. On some figurines, it appears to be a length of long hair that was folded from the bottom into a rectangular coil and then wrapped with three ties to hold it together. Evidence for this interpretation is that the lower ends of the object are always smooth and rounded, like what would be expected from a coil of hair.

Another possibility is that this was a solid shaped object. These objects on the Pilling figurines exhibit a "Y" shaped protuberance on the back or top. If this was a solid object, the "Y" shape may have been necessary to keep it from sliding through the wrapped hair. This shape argues that the object was heavier than hair alone, and thus it may have been carved from wood. Of course, this may also be how a folded lock of hair appears. The rectangular unpocked areas on the figure on the right at Brush Creek are suggestive of decorative elements around which hair was wrapped, while the figure on the left has ties like those wrapped around folded up hair. Thus, there is a possibility that both exist. It is unlikely that either can be determined from figurines or rock art alone. For simplicity, this feature will be referred to here as a hair bob.

On both the rock art and the figurines, there are almost always three ties around the hair bob. This indicates that there was a special significance to the number three. However, rarely there are two or four ties. The rectangular features above the heads of some images, like the one on the left in Figure 31, suggest that this too was a hairstyle and not a headdress.
The eleven Pilling figurines were composed of 5 males, 5 females and one that was undetermined. (It was badly preserved.) The females were identified by the presence of breasts and aprons and the males were identified by the absence of breasts and the presence of breechclouts and one “kilt”. Hair bobs were present only on the females. This suggests that the shorter of the two images shown in Figure 31 is a female, because it has hair bobs. This further suggests that the other image, which is holding the severed human head, is a male. The facial features also appear correspondingly male and female. These features may serve to identify the sex of other images and figurines where no other indication of gender exists. The Pilling figurines are on display at the Price Prehistoric Museum in Price.

Another particularly well-preserved group of figurines was found in Range Canyon near Price and are now on display at the Fremont Indian State Park west of Richfield. A third group was found at the Old Woman Site in Central Utah, (Taylor 1957, Jennings 1978) and is sometimes on display at the University of Utah, Museum of Natural History in Salt Lake City. These are dated A.D. 1100-1200. Fremont figurines with similar features have been found in many locations in Utah (Morss 1954). All have been associated with the Fremont Culture.

Of course, it is difficult to tell from the images and figurines if these features are decorative elements added to a person’s hair or if they were headdresses made of hair and worn like a wig. Basketmaker burials have been found with the hair folded and tied with cordage along the sides of the head (Kidder and Guernsey 1919, Montgomery 1894, suggesting that the elements depicted on both figurines and in rock art were added to a person’s hair.

Clearly, the images in this panel are important not only because the original pigment still exists today, but also because they are some of the most elaborate fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs.

Figure 33 is also in the Brush Creek drainage. In this panel, two different types of images are
superimposed, one over the other. The panel contains two large fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs and four anthropomorphs (two large and two small) that have long, antenna-like appendages attached to the head. Three of these latter figures have horizontal lines in the torso. Notice the level of patination on all of the figures. It is the same. The importance of this panel is that it shows that two types of images were being made at the same time. In other words, other images were being made at the same time as the impressive fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs. Notice that there are scratches, abrasions and some pecking along the outlines of the fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs, some of which were not likely placed there when they were made. It is difficult to tell which sets of images were created first. This panel appears to further demonstrate that there existed a degree of contention or defiance among the creators of these images, since one group was intentionally superimposed over the other.

Ashley Creek
Perhaps the most well-known assemblage of fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs in the Vernal area is along Ashley Creek and its tributary, Dry Fork. Ashley Creek drains the southeastern corner of the 12,000+ foot high Uintah Mountains. Only a sampling of the images that exist in this drainage can be discussed here. Perhaps some of the most important are found in caves. Figure 34 and 35 show two images made in charcoal that are on the walls of a cave. These images have been chalked, and as usual, the person doing it was not careful, so it is difficult to see exactly what is there. Regardless, these images again substantiate the existence of charcoal, an organic fugitive pigment, as a material used to create anthropomorphs. If the charcoal were removed, the only evidence remaining of their existence would be the pecked-out facial features and the necklaces that are so common in other images. Notice that the headdress on the anthropomorph in Figure 34, and perhaps in Figure 35, is similar to those discussed previously.

Figure 34. This image, made with charcoal, was found in a cave. Unfortunately, it has been heavily chalked.

Figure 35. This image from the same cave was also made with charcoal and heavily chalked.
Another interesting feature of the fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs in this area is the quantity of superimposed images. Figure 36 is a good example.

Figure 36. This complex figure contains three superimposed anthropomorphs.

There appear to be three images all placed on top of each other. First is the small face at the top of the figure, which is much too small for the two larger necklaces and the pendant. Apparently the face, the small U-shaped necklace below it and perhaps the line descending from it, were part of one anthropomorph. The U shaped dotted necklace was part of another anthropomorph, and finally the broad U shaped necklace and the pendant were part of a third anthropomorph. The last two were created without pecked-out facial features.

Figure 37 is the classic example. The most obvious feature here is the presence of two sets of faces. A closer examination also reveals the presence of two different necklaces. One is a large pendant and the other is a single U-shaped row of dots.

Figure 37. Another example of superimposition of two anthropomorphs.

Note the abrasion along the sides of anthropomorph and the detached head on the anthropomorph’s left side. The dotted necklace was superimposed over the large pendant. Since the top of the dotted necklace is lower than the top of the straps of the pendant, the lower set of eyes and mouth must be associated with it. Notice also that the sides of the body of the anthropomorph are outlined, both with incised and abraded lines as well as with some pecking. Notice the face on the left side of the anthropomorph, which again appears to represent a
severed human head. The levels of repatination indicate that both anthropomorphs were not made very far apart in time. This figure illustrates again how easy it would have been to create one image over the top of another. To “remove it completely”, all that had to be done was to take a pigment like charcoal or clay and “paint” another image on top of the first one, then the desired features could easily be pecked out without any interference from the first figure.

Regan inaccurately chalked these images and so missed several of the anthropomorphs in this photo. Schaafsma used a drawing of Regan’s inaccurately chalked photograph, thus continuing the omissions and inaccuracies.

Figure 38A and B illustrate part of a very interesting and important fugitive pigment panel. Figure 38B shows the pecked-out portions of the panel. There are evidences of 15 faces of fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs just in the area of this one photograph, which is not the entire panel.

A large amount of superimposition occurs. Evidence of the original pigment appears to still be present (including the black pigment); however, the panel has unfortunately been modified many times in the past seventy-five years, so some of its appearance is of questionable authenticity. Albert Regan chalked the panel in about 1931 (Regan 1931:195), and numbered it P74, which is still on the panel. A photograph of the chalked panel appears in Schaafsma’s Rock Art of the Southwest (1980:172, Figure 127), and a drawing of it is in Schaafsma’s Utah Rock Art (1970:9 Figure 3), which, it should be noted, is reversed. Regan’s and others subsequent chalkings has likely had an adverse effect on the panel.

Figure 38A. This is an elaborate panel of fugitive pigment anthropomorphs.
may appear to be the necklace of the figure above it. In reality, the lower face has a headdress consisting of three or four pecked-out dots curving upwards from each side of the head. This is not readily apparent when looking at a drawing, but it is obvious when viewing the panel because the eyes are pecked in deeper than the headdress. Notice that this image is similar to the figures in Figure 25B. Surrounding the top of the head of the top-most figure are two thin curved arcs of pigment consisting of a white arc below a red arc. These arcs appear to represent part of a headdress; this pigment is not shown in Figure 38B. In addition, there are two faint abraded lines radiating upward and outwards from top of the head of the anthropomorph, and there are short lines descending from them at about a 45-degree angle so that the headdress is similar to the anthropomorph in Figure 10.

Directly below the two smaller figures are two large anthropomorphs that are adjacent to each other. Each has a tall, rectangular headdress with a single, large, roughly circular, pecked-out area near the top of it. The figure on the left has a well-pecked-out necklace, while the necklace on the anthropomorph on the right is partly pecked out and partly abraded, as if it was never finished. One indistinct pecked-out rectangular area on each side of the figure on the left suggests the presence of arm-bands. The lower part of the body of the figure on the left and the belt line are pecked out, however there is also a broad horizontal line in this area, so perhaps what appears to be the lower body may actually be lines on the body.

The most interesting feature of these two anthropomorphs is that indications of the original pigment appear to be present; however, some of this may be residual chalk. Both of these figures have a headdress similar to the anthropomorphs in Figures 9 and 10 and the left most anthropomorph in Figure 31. These headdresses are visible as a whitish outline, as are: the rest of the necklace of the figure on the right, the outlines of each anthropomorph’s body, indications of their arms and at least two vertical stripes on the left most anthropomorph. The left arm of the figure on the right goes down through a black circle to the top of a black figure with a rounded head and a vertical striped body.

Figure 38B. This drawing shows only the pecked-out features present in the panel. Paint, abraded areas and lines that indicate other features are shown in Figure 38A.
whose facial features are pecked out through the black pigment. This figure is further discussed below. The figure on the right also has two large downward sloping horns. On initial inspection, the large “horns” did not appear to be part of the original figure because a close examination showed that the outline is a slightly different color and it is slightly abraded. This feature could have been added by Ute Indians, whose images are present in several locations is the canyon system. However, on each “horn” there is a single pecked-out area, suggesting that there was something in this area. For these “horns” to be acceptable as part of the original image and not something added later and enhanced through repeated chalking, other features on similar images will have to be located.

Another interesting feature of these two anthropomorphs, and also something that is not shown in Regan’s chalked picture, is that they are both holding a similar object. The object is a severed human head. As noted above, the anthropomorph on the right is holding a black figure in its left hand. What Regan did not notice is that the figure on the left is holding a similar image in its right hand, except it is not painted. This image is a little difficult to see because it is partly superimposed by another larger face. Each of these two held images have two eyes, a mouth, and an outward sloping line beneath each eye. What further makes these two severed heads nearly identical is the presence of an unusual, single, off-center pecked dot between the two outward sloping lines.

Continuing downward there are two difficult to see anthropomorphs. The one on the left is beneath the right side of the necklace on the large anthropomorph on the left. The anthropomorph on the right is beneath the “unfinished” necklace of the large anthropomorph on the right.

Beneath the anthropomorph on the left there is a large U-shaped feature created with a pattern of pecked dots (stipple pecking). This could be a necklace of the anthropomorph or it could be the headdress of another, even smaller anthropomorph that is below it. These faces and features are not shown in Regan’s chalked photograph.

To the right of this smaller anthropomorph is also a second nearly identical small anthropomorph. This brings the total to four sets of paired anthropomorphs, if you count the severed heads. Each one consists of a face, a U shaped necklace, and a pecked oval area representing the belt line. There is also a dot above each face, indicating the presence of a headdress that may have been similar to the larger anthropomorph’s headdress. Regan’s chalking does not show the small anthropomorph on the left, whose face is either over or under the large stipple-pecked necklace of the anthropomorph above it.

Between and just below these two small faces is a face that is larger than any discussed so far. An assortment of pendants is associated with it. There is a pendant on each side of the head, apparently once descending from a painted headdress. Two more appear to be attached to a necklace or a neckband, which is shown by a U-shaped row of dots.

To the left and slightly above the large face with the multiple pendants is another small anthropomorph that has a dot above the head. This is the face that is mixed in with the severed head. Higher and farther to the right is apparently the necklace of another fugitive-pigment anthropomorph, but no other features are present.

At the lower far right is the face of another anthropomorph. It also has a dot above it. In addition, another very faint face is partly superimposed by the black-painted severed head. The eyes, mouth and slanted line beneath each eye are all finely abraded. There are also traces of red paint on the face and body of this figure.
This brings the total number of anthropomorphs to 15. Number 16 was also overlooked by Regan. He probably overlooked it because it is so large that it is entirely unexpected. The face of this anthropomorph is directly in the center of the panel. The mouth is located between the two large anthropomorphs and just above the stipple pecked necklace. The eye on the right is just to the left of the face of the large anthropomorph with the large horns, and the eye on the left is above the right side of the necklace on the other large anthropomorph. The headdress of this large anthropomorph may be illustrated by the horizontal line with the short, rounded and slightly slanted, pecked-out area that intersects it, but it more likely is the belt line of the anthropomorph at the top of the panel. The belt line of this very large anthropomorph may be the horizontal line at the bottom of the picture that has a pecked-out feature below it.

The following are some general observations about this complex panel. Obviously there was a lot that happened within this complex panel. Perhaps with some effort it might be possible to establish a sequence for the creation of these images, but this is beyond the scope of this paper.

Regan believed that the figures wearing necklaces and elaborate headdresses in this panel were women, and he called this panel the “Wheel-headed Woman Group” after an image to the right of this picture (Regan 1931:195). Regan also called the figure with the black vertical lines a “black painted lady”. Why he referred to this figure as being female is unknown. Perhaps he believed that the black lines represented a dress.

Regan further believed that many of the images were first chiseled, then painted, which is exactly the opposite of how these images were created. The processes of construction should have been rather obvious, because the face of the black figure was clearly created after the black pigment was applied to the cliff face; and there is another figure next to it, which is not shown in the photograph, that was created in exactly the same way. (This is not to suggest that paint was never added after pecking was completed. There are several examples where pigment was clearly applied to pecked-out areas.) Regan, being unfamiliar with rock art, unfortunately made many inaccurate observations and drew incorrect conclusions.

Figures 39 and 40 show a selection of fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs from the Ashley Creek Drainage. As can be seen, there is a wide variety of forms. Notice the different types of necklaces, facial features and ornamental details. Figures 39A and 39C show a feature below the belt line consisting of an oval area with a short line descending from it. Perhaps this is an indication of gender.

Fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs most often occur in groups, as in Figures 39A, I, J and L, and Figure 40B. Figure 41 is another example of figures from one panel where there exists a large number of fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs and a lot of superimposition, especially on the right side of the panel. It appears that the greater the number of images, the greater the amount of superimposition. It is as if the images had to be placed in a specific area, or perhaps it is just that many people were living in the vicinity (which there were), so there was more activity at this panel. All of the sites with large numbers of images are close to large habitation sites, suggesting that there may be some validity to this idea.

This site today is once again close to a large historic habitation site - Vernal, Utah, which is why there is so much graffiti on the panel. Notice, however, that most of the graffiti is missing from the panel. The same erosive factors that removed the paint from the prehistoric images also removed the paint from the historic graffiti.

While the superimposition in this panel appears very complex, it would, as was discussed
above, have been relatively easy to create. When a new image was produced by painting over an older one, the older one would entirely disappear beneath the new paint, along with its pecked-out features. It would then be easy to create new pecked-out features without the distraction of the old image. Today, after all the paint has been removed by erosion, the only
Figure 40. Additional examples of fugitive pigment anthropomorphs from the Ashley Creek Drainage. Note the closeness, number and simplicity of the individual images in B.

parts of the images that are visible are all the pecked-out features from all of the images that were created.

Figure 42 is a panel of anthropomorphs from Dry Fork, a tributary of Ashley Creek. The principal images, which are near the end of the developmental sequence, since they have outlined bodies and are superimposed over older and simpler fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs, illustrate several additional important traits. Notice that only parts of the arms, legs and heads are outlined; and notice again the variety in forms and decorations. Notice also the water streaks. Pecked and abraded areas and lines are all that is left of various features that were

Figure 41. Note the degree of superimposition in this panel, and the effects of erosion that removed both the old and the new pigments.
originally painted. This panel was chalked extensively by Regan (notice that the number P34A is still visible); and it has subsequently been rechalked many times, so many times in fact, that it is difficult to accurately determine what is original and what has been created historically. For example, the shoulder and right arm of the figure on the far right, which has a severed human head on its right side, are present as a chalked line even though the cliff face is no longer present.

Rows of short lines that were pecked through the fugitive pigment. At the right side of each of the large anthropomorphs, are two small sets of two dots. These dots depict the eyes of severed human heads. These severed human heads often occur in the about the same position adjacent to many anthropomorphs, many of which are elaborately decorated, as these are.

A small anthropomorph also exists lower down on the right side of the large anthropomorph shown in Figure 43-right. The large figure has the typical knife held in its right hand. Notice that the left side of the large anthropomorph is superimposed over a small anthropomorph that does not have an outlined body; again illustrating the fugitive pigment sequence discussed above. Also, notice the elaborately carved necklace, the heavily outlined face and additional pecked-out features characteristic of this late image.

Within the broad horizontal band of fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs that crosses the Uintah Basin, there is one final site that deserves mentioning. Figure 44 and 45 show part of an exceptional panel. As can be seen in Figure 44 these images are very old and difficult to see. The large figure may or may not be a fugi-
Figure 43. At the right side of each of the large anthropomorphs, are two small sets of two dots. These dots depict the eyes of severed human heads that were painted with fugitive pigments.

Figure 44. An Archaic period anthropomorph from the Ashley Creek Drainage in the Uintah Basin. Notice the complete repatination, the degree of weathering and the size.

fugitive-pigment anthropomorph, but it is the oldest anthropomorph of this type found to this date in the Ashley Creek drainage. Nearby is a Glen Canyon Style 5 anthropomorph like those found along the San Juan River. These are late Archaic images. Supporting this conclusion is the presence in the same panel of a typical Glen Canyon Style 5 Mt. Sheep with vertical and horizontal lines in the body. There are also images in the panel from the Fremont period, and
Figure 45. The large figure appears in the photograph above. It and the other anthropomorph, are Archaic images.

they have much less patination and weathering. The large face at the bottom is Fremont. This panel is significant in the study of fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs because it establishes that not only were people with the same ideology present along the San Juan River as were here in the Ashley Creek drainage, but they were here in the late Archaic Period.

As can be seen from the above examples, there is an abundance and a wide variety of fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs in northeastern Utah. Leaving this region and traveling south, the next area of concentrated rock art occurs in Nine Mile Canyon, which is about 85 miles south of the datum. Nine Mile Canyon contains many thousands of images, the vast majority of which are petroglyphs. Fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs with pecked-out features exist in Nine Mile Canyon, but they are particularly rare when compared to both the type of images found there and the number of images. Only about eight panels have been found to this date. Why there are so few is somewhat of a mystery, considering that so many exist just a few miles north.

Nine Mile Canyon

Figure 46 illustrates part of one of the more important panels of fugitive pigment anthropomorphs located in Nine Mile Canyon. The pendant necklaces are easily visible, while the facial features are missing. The bodies of these anthropomorphs are partially outlined. Notice here again that most of the heads and arms are missing, indicating that these outlined figures are again late in the sequence of fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs. This panel contains a great deal of superimposition, which has been omitted in this drawing for clarity. The figure on the left has the type of headdress seen on many Uintah Basin figures, indicating that the people from the Uintah Basin were also in Nine Mile Canyon.

Another site a few miles away is equally as important. This panel is on the northwest side of the canyon, and it contains a group of fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs (Figure 47). The image on the left has a large single-ponent necklace, a crudely pecked-out face and a curving broad line on top of the head. The broad line appears to represent something on the head.
Figure 47. Examples of fugitive pigment anthropomorphs in Nine Mile Canyon.

The arms and hands of the figure have been pecked out. It appears that there is a smaller anthropomorph overlapping the lower portion of this figure because all of the features are not in proportion to the larger anthropomorph. There seems to be a second pecked-out face below the necklace with another smaller necklace below it. Below this necklace there appears to be a "fringed skirt". This appears then, to be another example where one fugitive-pigment anthropomorph is superimposed over another. Notice the roughly pecked lines superimposed over the images in this panel.

Spangler and Spangler (2003:155), in their description of this panel, perspicaciously noted that this "abstraction is quite rare in Nine Mile Canyon", and that "this depiction might simply be a case of a human figure that was partly pecked and partly painted. When the paint eroded, it left behind only those few portions that were pecked."

A few inches to the right of this figure is another anthropomorph. It contains a single-pendant necklace, through which three sloping horizontal lines have been pecked. Above the necklace is a crudely pecked face with a broad curving line above it.

Below this image is an upside-down, V-shaped pointed line, but it does not appear to be associated with either figure. Identical features have been found on the faces of anthropomorphs in eastern Utah, so this may possibly be the face of yet another fugitive pigment anthro-
Another fugitive-pigment anthropomorph was found directly across the canyon from Figure 47 on the southeast side of the canyon. It is shown in Figure 48. This figure also seems to possibly be composed of two anthropomorphs, because it also does not seem to be in proportion; it is too long. At the top of the image there is a large pendant necklace with a line above it, which is presumably on top of the anthropomorph’s head. The necklace of this figure appears to be superimposed on perhaps the face of another figure or part of another figure. Since the original pigment is gone, it is difficult to determine exactly what the form is of this, as well as the image(s) across the canyon. Certainly, these two sets of images, so similar in form - but not identical, were not placed in these locations by chance. Two other sets of fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs have been found that are also across from each other in a canyon (Manning 1983), so this placement has some important significance. The other two sets of images will be discussed below. Notice the lightly pecked image that is to the right of the fugitive-pigment anthropomorph and the older image to the far right.

To the right of the image on the northwest side of the canyon is a small panel of perhaps 4 or 5 closely spaced fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs (Figure 49A). In the same area are four small crudely pecked-out fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs that consist only of necklaces.
and belt lines (Figure 49B-E). Figure 49E, the largest, is about 12 inches tall.

About three meters southeast of this panel is another group of images that also contain fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs. Part of the panel is shown in Figure 50. There appears to be two images here also; one is placed above the other. These two images are more distinct because they are farther apart and are offset. The top-most anthropomorph seems to have a line above its head, a dot on or above the face, two “ear” pendants and a belt line with a dot beneath it. Lower down, there appears to be the skirt or kilt of another figure, but no other pecked-out features that might be associated with it are visible. The well-defined presence of two figures in this panel, one above the other, lends confirmation the interpretation that the two other panels discussed above also contain one figure partly superimposed over and below another one.

An image adjacent to Figure 50 contains a fugitive-pigment anthropomorph that seems to have traces of the original pigment still in place. The pigment appears to be white clay like that in Figure 31. Unfortunately, the image was placed in a location exposed to the weather so most of it is not clearly visible.

An interesting feature of this panel is that when a person approaches the ledge where it is located, by the obvious route, a Basketmaker anthropomorph in a horizontal position is seen through an opening between a detached section of the cliff and an overhang beneath the cliff. It is framed exactly in the opening. It was positioned so a person approaching the site could not miss it. This is the only horizontal Basketmaker anthropomorph I have encountered. It must possess an extraordinary meaning.

Figure 50 shows a fugitive-pigment anthropomorph where the usual pecked-out features were created with red and white pigment instead of pecking or abrasion. Notice the broad band above the head (compare with Figure 12).

No facial features, arms, legs, etc., of this image are visible today. The mineral pigment was protected from erosion because the image is beneath an overhang. The outlined body suggests that it was created late in the developmental sequence of fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs. At some point late in this sequence, the specific features that were usually pecked out began to be created also by painting. This is especially so in the southwest. These specific features were created with mineral pigment, as illustrated in this example.

There is another image nearby where only a pecked-out necklace and a faint scratched line on both sides of the body are visible. It is also well protected beneath an overhang. These two panels illustrate the differences in the durability of various pigments, and that adjacent images can be created with different pigments. Other images with painted features that are late in the developmental sequence are discussed below.
Desolation Canyon
One panel of fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs was discovered in Desolation Canyon on the Green River. It is about 105 miles from the datum. The images shown in Figure 52 are part of a panel heavily visited by river runners, which correspondingly has been heavily vandalized. These images exhibit the classic characteristics of fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs. As can be seen, these figures have eyes, necklaces, a horizontal line in the lower part of the body, etc. Also present is a typical headdress from the Uintah Basin. A panel containing three necklaces and belt lines similar to these was discovered in Willow Creek Canyon to the east.

Range Creek
Two panels of fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs have recently been discovered in the Range Creek drainage west of Desolation Canyon. The first panel located consists of a single large pendant necklace that has three parallel slanted lines above it on each side (Figure 53 and 54). From what has been discussed previously, it is apparent that these lines represent the same hair ties or ornamentation as those found on anthropomorphs illustrated in Figure 31 from the Brush Creek drainage (see also Figure 39G). Also present are several pecked-out dots, some more faint than others, that are at the sides of the face of the anthropomorph. These were probably also part of the coiffure. The area where the face of the anthropomorph was seems to be a little smoother or lighter than the area surrounding it, suggesting that the area was abraded somewhat when it was painted or that the paint modified the patination. Superimposed over the anthropomorph is a roughly pecked shield-like circular feature of unknown origin. (One of the panels of fugitive pigment anthropomorphs in Nine Mile Canyon (Figure 47) also had a roughly circular pecked feature superimposed over it).
The second panel contains two fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs. These are shown in Figures 55 and 56. The image shown in Figure 55 consists of a necklace with two eyes above it. The eyes appear to have eyelashes; however, these descending lines may represent facial features. Somewhat of a shadow of the body of this figure is apparent.

Figure 55. Another panel from Range Creek containing a fugitive pigment anthropomorph.

Figure 56 also shows another fugitive-pigment anthropomorph. It has an unusual head, but notice that there is a thinner line connecting the top with the bottom. If this line is ignored, the top of the head is similar to Figures 15B, 31 and 52, and it is not so unusual. The lower part then, is a U-shaped necklace with a group of pendants below it. The connecting line may not be same age as the rest of the figure. The creators of the other elements in the panel may have added it. Notice the presence of the two small typical trapezoidal Fremont anthropomorphs in the panel. There is one on each side of the mountain sheep.

Figure 56. This fugitive pigment anthropomorph from Range Creek is to the right of Figure 55. The sheep in each photograph is the same.

Colorado River at Utah-Colorado State Line
Cole (1987:figure 14) reports the presence of a fugitive-pigment anthropomorph from the Colorado River near the Utah-Colorado state line. She describes the image as follows:

The Panel exhibits what appears to be a larger abstract anthropomorph with four dots (two above two) in the head area, a pendant on the chest area and a smaller anthropomorph below the pendant between two vertical zigzag lines. Below the smaller anthropomorph is a rake-like element, or possibly, a fringed belt. The abstract “anthropomorph” may have once been painted as well as pecked, and the pecked details are all that remains. The
Figure 53. This fugitive pigment anthropomorph is located in Range Creek Canyon in east-central Utah. The necklace, hair ties and what appears to be hair ornamentation are evident.

Figure 54. Sketch of the fugitive pigment anthropomorph shown in Figure 53.
patination on all of the elements appears identical, and it is assumed that the elements are all roughly contemporaneous (Cole 1987:51-52).

This image is shown here as Figure 57. Cole is essentially correct in her assessment that this figure was once painted; it is a fugitive pigment anthropomorph. This figure is significant since it places the fugitive-pigment anthropomorph in west central Colorado.

Figure 57. After Cole (1987:87). This image is located near the Utah-Colorado state line near the Colorado River.

Moab
The next area where fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs occur in abundance is near Moab, Utah, which is 170 miles from the datum. Images here are found along, and in the vicinity of the creeks that drain into the Colorado River from the western slopes of the nearby 12,000+ foot La Sal Mountains. Some of these creeks are Mill Creek, Pack Creek, Placer Creek and Castle Creek. Figure 58 is found just east of Moab. This image has the necklace, facial features, armbands and waist belt that are typical of images in the Uintah basin. Also present is the square pecked-out dot found in the headdress along with the pecked-out area on each side of the head, indicating the same type of hair dress. An interesting added feature here is the presence of what appear to be fingers, since there are five vertical lines on both sides of the figure; however, this may also be some kind of fringe. Notice also the presence of leg bands and the pecked-out Y-shaped lines at the side of the head.

Figure 58. Fugitive pigment anthropomorph located near Moab. Note the arm and leg bands.

Figure 59 occurs adjacent to the Colorado River just west of Moab. A typical fugitive-pigment anthropomorph necklace is obviously present. The necklace perhaps has a pendant attached. The most interesting feature of this figure is that the “shadow” of the fugitive pigment appears to be present. This photograph was digitally enhanced to make the shadow
more visible. While the outline may indicate the way the image appears now, this is no guarantee that this is authentic. There is the possibility that this abraded shadow was created recently, since the panel is adjacent to a paved road - note the extensive vandalism. The form of this fugitive-pigment anthropomorph is therefore of questionable authenticity.

Figure 59. A pecked and abraded image along the Colorado River near Moab.

Figures 60A and B are located east of Moab. The photograph in Figure 60A shows an image that has the characteristics of a fugitive-pigment anthropomorph. In this example, the necklace and the belt line are easily recognizable, but the facial features are different. Here they consist of three parallel lines, much like the hair ties farther north. The face and headdress are tilted at an angle. Painting the face with three horizontal lines is a characteristic common to fugitive pigment images farther to the south, as will be shown below.

Figure 60A. This photograph shows a small fugitive pigment anthropomorph that predate the Basketmaker images in this panel.

This panel is significant because the fugitive-pigment anthropomorph has more repatination than the other figures on the panel. The cultural affiliation of the other images in the panel is Anasazi Basketmaker. Notice the bird-headed flute player. Bird-headed anthropomorphs and anthropomorphs with birds on their heads are common in southern Utah and wherever the Anasazi Basketmaker Culture is found.
Figure 60B. Apparently, the face of the small figure, which is shown by three parallel lines, is tilted at an angle.

Figures 61 and 62 are northwest of Moab. Notice that in Figure 61 only the necklaces are present. There are four other similar images in this panel. Figure 62, which is only a short distance away, illustrates an image where only the belt line and a circular area that apparently represents a necklace are visible. There are several other images like this near Moab. This site is significant because these images are part of a panel of Basketmaker anthropomorphs, suggesting that these images are also of Basketmaker cultural affiliation.

Figure 61. Composite of images located east of Moab.

Figure 62. Segment of a panel east of Moab. The fugitive pigment anthropomorph between the two Basketmaker figures appears to be the same age, as indicated by repatination levels.

Notice the presence of the wavy lines that are similar to those in Figure 57. The two panels above, and others below, demonstrate that fugitive pigment anthropomorphs were being created in the Moab area during the period when Basketmaker rock art was being created.

Figure 63 is also located near Moab. This panel is situated on the face of a large cliff-like outcrop. It contains at least twenty-eight fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs where the principal parts of the images are a pendant necklace, a belt line and a single slanted line above the necklace, which is perhaps on the face. In the general area of this panel, there are at least thirty-six other fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs in about seven other panels. The figures in this panel are arranged in four groups. Starting left and going right there are eight in each of the first two groups, nine in the second and three in the third. Figure 63 shows five of the large fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs at the left side of the first group. There is also a small one in the center. Notice that the anthropomorphs are in association with other images. These are the same type as those in Figure 62, which are Basketmaker images.

Figure 64 shows the three fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs on the right side of the panel. Notice that several additional features are pre-
Figure 63. The left side of a panel near Moab containing 28 fugitive pigment anthropomorphs.

Figure 64. The right side of the panel. Note the smaller Basketmaker images superimposed by the larger fugitive pigment anthropomorphs.

... sent here. Pendent from the right sides of each of the three belt lines are a group of scratched and pecked lines. These seem to suggest something like a brush-like sash attached to the belt. There also seems to be a single pecked-out area on the face and a dot on the sides of each of the...
figures. One of the most important aspects of this panel is the superimposition that occurs. Notice that the pedant necklaces are superimposed over a panel containing other anthropomorphs, which are also believed to be Basketmaker. Notice that the levels of repatination on all the figures are nearly identical. This indicates that they were all created at about the same time. However, the small pecked anthropomorphs with the rectangular tapering bodies and interior lined bodies were created before the fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs. Superimposition here was somewhat fortuitous because when the fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs were painted, the small figures were covered over with pigment so they were not visible. This superposition is important because it establishes the temporal sequence and the temporal association of these two types of figures.

This panel further substantiates that what are believed to be Basketmaker anthropomorphs (like those in Figures 62 and 64) are approximately contemporaneous with the fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs with the pecked-out necklaces, and that both occur later than the rectangular tapering bodied anthropomorphs.

Figure 65 is another panel located in the general area. This panel contains a row of closely packed fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs with little else than the large pendant necklaces and the belt lines. A group of images like these was also found in Nine Mile Canyon (Figures 49). Why these figures are so crowded is a mystery.

**Fremont River**

The next large concentration of fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs is located at about 190 miles from the datum in southern-central Utah. These images are situated along the eastern drainages of the 11,300+ foot high Boulder Mountain. Two principal watercourses drain this area: the Fremont and Escalante Rivers. The panels are located principally along these rivers and their permanent or semi-permanent flowing tributaries, of which there are many. There are also too many fugitive-pigment anthropomorph to illustrate them here. It is important to note that the Fremont River drainage is where archaeologist Noel Morris, in 1931,
described, defined and named the Fremont culture.

The anthropomorph in Figure 66 is found along the Fremont River. This figure is typologically identical to the fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs in northeastern Utah. It has a pecked-out face, a large pendant necklace, a pecked outlined body, abrasions along the sides of the body (in this figure, only along the anthropomorphs left side), a belt line, and perhaps most significantly, a pecked-out rectangular area on top of the head above the eyes. This pecked-out feature is in exactly the same place as in the fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs in both the Uintah Basin and Moab areas (see Figures 10, 31, 36, and 58).

This panel shows that the same type of image with the same hairstyle exists in all three areas. Additionally, as in northeastern Utah, the figure is part of a group of similar yet diverse fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs.

Figure 67 is another figure from the same panel. It also has the same features as anthropomorphs in northeastern Utah. Notice that the necklace is composed of two simple U-shaped lines and a curving row of six large dots. Furthermore, there are two slanted lines descending from the eyes; the headdress has an inverted V-shaped line on each side of the head; there is a broad line descending from the belt line, and the body is outlined with a lightly abraded line.

Figure 66. This photograph shows a fugitive pigment anthropomorph from the Fremont River drainage in south-central Utah. Note the large pendant and the abrasions along the figure's left side.

Figure 67. Another anthropomorph from the same panel. Note the smooth area on top of the head. Compare with Figure 19.

This image displays a slightly different treatment of feature on the head. The top of the head, or "hat", is indicated by a smooth abraded area (compare to Figure 19, which is pecked). It may not be a hat however. It is in-
teresting to note that both Kidder and Guernsey (1919) and Montgomery (1894) describe the hair styles of Basketmaker people as having, "the hair closely cut from the front half of the head, thus leaving the back hair only" Montgomery (1894:230). This seems to describe what is depicted in this photograph. This is entirely possible since the Fremont and Anasazi Basketmakers were contemporaries.

Another interesting feature of this panel are the two backpacking figures carrying walking sticks that are positioned at the lower the right side of the photograph. It is tempting to speculate that these are representations of the people who traveled here from the Uintah Basin and made the images in this panel. That they may have traveled between these two areas may be true; however, evidence in the panel indicates that these images were most likely made by people who had lived in the area long enough to develop differences or innovations, in their ideologies, so that the images they created exhibit regional variations or characteristics. The similarities in hairstyles between the images in this area and in the Basketmaker region suggest that they may have traveled even farther.

Figure 68 shows another adjacent anthropomorph. It also has the rectangular feature on top of its head. This one is however, is pecked out. A conspicuous feature of this figure is the T-shaped mark on the face. Notice the position of the mouth relative to the paint; it is covered by the paint. This feature appears to represent face painting, and it is common in this area. Notice that the headdress has an upward slanting line with short lines attached to the outside edge and that there is a short horizontal line on each side of the figure that appear to be two armbands. This is also a feature found on Uintah Basin anthropomorphs. Also, notice the presence of the eyebrows.

A most significant feature of this anthropomorph is the presence of an image beneath the figure’s right arm or elbow. It consists of two pecked eyes and a line descending at an angle from each eye. There is also a pecked area outside of each eye. This then, appears to be the representation of a severed human head. It is depicted the same way and it is in exactly the same position as the severed human heads in the Uintah Basin (Figures 31, 38, 42, etc.).

Figure 68. This large anthropomorph from the Fremont River drainage appears to be holding a severed human head.

This image demonstrates that severed human heads occur in this area of central Utah. The existence of these features in this area has apparently not been recognized nor described before.

Of equal interest is the presence of three parallel lines beneath the anthropomorphs left arm. (There is a forth line that is roughly pecked, and it appears not to be contemporaneous.) These three lines were present on the face of a fugitive-pigment anthropomorph near Moab (Figure 60). This suggests the presence of another severed human head in the anthropo-
morphs left hand. Other sets of three parallel lines exist in this panel. Additional examples of anthropomorphs with these facial features are described below.

An image of an anthropomorph was discovered by the author near Moab several years ago that has relevance to this discussion. The figure appears to be holding a T-shaped object in its right hand, see Figure 69. This could be a depiction of a severed human head. If this head was created with fugitive pigment, the T shape could be a symbol representing the people of the Fremont River area, at least to the person who created the image. This image, along with the severed head with three lines on the face near the Fremont River, might indicate that the people of each of these two areas were severing the heads of the people in the opposing area.

Figure 70 again shows the T-shaped mark on the face. The rectangular area over the head is another feature occurring in the Uintah Basin. This figure has been modified. The broad abraded outline of the body does not correspond in size to the other features, and there is a pecked-out foot on the right side and an abraded leg and foot on the left side. The spiral was also placed over the figure after it was completed. The placement of one fugitive-pigment anthropomorph over the top of another is also a shared characteristic of the Fremont of the Fremont River area and the Uintah Basin.

Figure 69. This anthropomorph near Moab is holding in its hand a T-shaped image that is attached to what appears to be a wooden club. Notice the three curving lines on top of the head. Compare with Figure 29.

Figure 70. This figure also has the T-shaped facial feature, and it was modified. Note the spiral.

Figure 71 illustrates the anthropomorph just to the right of Figure 70. An interesting feature of this image is that only the eyes and mouth are pecked; the rest is all abraded. As can be seen by this figure, there is quite a lot of abrading in the creation of these figures.
Figure 71. Only the eyes and mouth are pecked out. The rest of the image is abraded.

Figure 72 is just to the right of Figure 71. All of the images shown here are fully pecked. Notice the presence again of three angled parallel lines to the left of the large anthropomorph, suggesting a severed human head. Both large anthropomorphs have the typical T-shaped facial feature. The figure on the far right has no indication of a body except for the necklace and belt line. The two large figures are high above the current ground level and out of reach today. The anthropomorph with the completely outlined body that appears squeezed in between the two large figures, along with the other small images, were added later as the ground eroded from beneath the figures. It is superimposed over the anthropomorph on the right. The fully pecked anthropomorph then, postdates the two fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs. This demonstrates that the progression in the creation of these images was identical in both the Fremont River area and in the Uintah Basin.

Initially three small fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs were placed in this area. They are shown in black on the left side of the panel. Above and to the right of them are two eyes and a mouth, also shown in black. The mouth, however, is covered with the headdress of the anthropomorph below it, also shown in black. The second set of eyes, with a line descending from each one, was created later by abrasion along with the necklace and the outline of the body; these abraded areas are shown in gray. The head of the abraded large mountain sheep was added last. The abrasions have a lighter

over time in this area, and it suggests that to some degree the abrasion as seen here, and possibly in the figures above, was done after the initial creation of the images.

Figure 72. The complex anthropomorph between and below the two large figures (and superimposed over them) was not part of the original composition. It was added later. Notice the wide flaring headdress on the large figure and its similarity to the images in the Uintah Basin.
Figure 73. Black is pecking, the gray is abrasion. The abrasion is superimposed over the pecking. The same thing occurred in the Uintah Basin.

Figure 74. This additional section of the panel shows two more examples of the common T-shaped facial features and the smaller images that were created as the soil eroded.

degree of repatination and are less weathered than the pecked images, which suggests a difference of at least 100 years between them, since it generally takes about that long for patination to begin to form. It follows then, that there was a sequence to the creation of these images in the Fremont River area. The sequence observable here began with fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs with only a few pecked-out features (a face and a necklace). It then evolved to images with more features (shown in this and other panels as being abraded and superimposed over older ones), to anthropomorphs where so many features were created by pecking that they appear to be constructed without any pigment at all. This same progression also occurred in the Uintah Basin. These images also show how fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs in this area were superimposed directly over older ones as they were in the Uintah Basin.

Figure 74 shows another portion of the panel where newer, smaller images were created be-
low fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs as the soil beneath the panel was removed by erosion. The anthropomorph whose body is outlined is partly abraded on the interior and along the top of the shoulder and top of the head. It is superimposed over something else, but it is not discernible.

Before leaving this area, one additional figure should be discussed. It is shown in Figure 75. This panel is high above the ground and completely covered with lichen, which makes seeing it difficult, which is unfortunate because the images in this panel are very interesting. The photograph shows one anthropomorph superimposed over another one. These are two of the nine anthropomorphs in the panel. The top most arrow points to the T-shaped facial feature of the top most image. The second arrow points to a necklace consisting of a single curving line with two parallel rows of pecked-out dots below it. The third arrow points to a face consisting of two eyes, the left one of which is directly below the center of the necklace. The fourth arrow shows the belt line with four, possibly five, lines descending from it (compare to Figure 22). This example demonstrates again that, not only are the images typologically the same as those in the Uintah basin, they also occur in the same context.

South of the Fremont River, along one of the perennial streams draining Boulder Mountain, are several panels of small fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs. Figure 76 shows part of one of the panels. It, like the others, contains several different types of fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs. There are eight of these images across this portion of the panel, and they are arranged in a wide oval. Most are indicated by a face, necklaces of varying types and a belt line. One figure, on the bottom left, also has an outlined body and head. These are mostly simple forms when compared to the images discussed above, and they are identical to some of the images near Moab and in the Uintah Basin.

Figure 75. The interesting fugitive pigment anthropomorphs in this location are unfortunately covered with lichens. The arrows point to specific features that are explained in the text.

A significant feature of this panel that may not appear immediately evident, is the presence of what appears to be a much larger abraded fugitive-pigment anthropomorph. It is placed left of center in the panel. In relative size, it is similar to the very large anthropomorph in Figure 38 from the Uintah Basin. The left side of the body of this figure is easily visible as a large triangular shape above and continuing upward and outward from the left side of the anthropomorph with the outlined body, whose necklace is abraded by the bottom of the large figure. The edge of the abrasion goes upward to a sharp corner and then goes right across the necklace of the left most figure on the top row. Sometimes, when the light is just right, a face appears to be visible above the abraded body.
An interesting feature of this anthropomorph is the deeply cut and pecked vertical lines on each side of the face. In the photograph, they appear to be wavy cracks. The existence of this very large anthropomorph and its placement over a group of smaller anthropomorphs is another parallel between the fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs of the Fremont River drainage and those of the Uintah Basin.

Figure 77 illustrates what appears to be a fugitive-pigment anthropomorph that was heavily abraded or that the surface was prepared before it was constructed. It is more likely however, that several different fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs were constructed in the same place.

Figure 78 shows a portion of a large panel that contains many fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs. It is also south of the Fremont River. This group of figures has elaborate head-dresses. Compare the headdress with Figure 10 from northwestern Colorado. Notice that both panels also have a row of burden carrying figures below the anthropomorph(s). The parallels between the fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs and the backpacking figures certainly seem to suggest a close relationship between the people occupying the two areas.
Figure 78 A portion of a panel along a tributary of the Fremont River showing a variety of fugitive pigment anthropomorphs. Notice the row of backpackers at the bottom.

Figure 79. Elaborately ornamented figures that are part of a row of at least 20. The dark area covering the lower portion of the panel is mud splashed on the panel because it is located next to a creek where flash flooding occurs.

Figure 79, also from the same general area and situated adjacent to a tributary of the Fremont River, shows part of a row of fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs that are more elaborate than those in Figure 78. The panel contains at least 20 indications of fugitive-pigment anthropo-
morphs along with other figures. A few of these have lines descending from the eyes at an outward angle. In this panel, anthropomorphs are also superimposed over other anthropomorphs.

It is amazing that this panel is as undamaged as it appears. Notice that the panel gets progressively darker towards the bottom of the cliff. This is because the panel was placed at the edge of a creek, and every so often, a major flood comes down the drainage and the muddy water covers or splashes a portion of the panel. Notice in about the center of the panel there is a dark horizontal dividing line; that is the high water mark. In addition, between the two figures on the right there is a dark splash mark with streaks below it. This was created by a wave from a flash flood where the water was thick with dark red mud. The horizontal belt lines appear bright because someone has recently rubbed a stone across them removing the dark red and brown mud.

A significant feature of this panel is that there are some indications that some of the body outlines were not only pecked but were also painted with the more permanent red mineral pigment. Given the environment of the panel, it is amazing that any traces of paint have survived. The presence of traces of red pigment suggests that there were more red-painted features, but the pigment is no longer present.

Figure 80 is from the same panel as Figure 78, but it is significantly higher on the cliff face and out of reach. The pigment, and thus the form of this fugitive-pigment anthropomorph, is still visible. The pigment exists today for two reasons. One is because the image is high on the cliff and thus closer to a protective overhang; and two, the image, or part of it was made from a dusky-red mineral pigment, so it lasted longer. This image, with the clearly defined pendant necklace and belt line, illustrates what other images would have been like if they had not been painted with fugitive pigment. If this image had only been painted with fugitive pigment, without pecking, no trace of it would exist today; and we would not know that it existed.

Figure 80. This figure is protected beneath an overhanging ledge, thus preserving the pigment and the form of the image.
which are beneath them. Further evidence supporting the older age of the higher images is the hair dress of this image. It is like the Basketmaker images and the hair dress on Figure 45, which places it early in the Fremont period.

Figure 81 is near Capitol Reef National Park. Compare this panel to Figure 41, which is from the Uintah Basin. It is evident that the same ideology that resulted in the creation of the images along the drainages of the Fremont River also resulted in the creation of the images in the Uintah Basin, 190 miles to the northeast.

**Fish Creek**

South of the Fremont River is a small drainage called Fish Creek. In a well-known site near Grover, Utah called Fish Creek Cove (Morris 1931:17, 36; Schaafsma 1970, 1971; Castleton 1978:149) is a large number of fugitive pigment anthropomorphs. Figure 82 shows a fugitive-pigment anthropomorph that is on the far right side of one of the panels at the site. It is part of an interesting yet perplexing panel. The images were created on a relatively narrow area where rainwater washes down over this section of the cliff, carrying dust and sand from the rocks above it, which the rain turns into mud. Thus, the panel has apparently been alternately washed and covered with mud. Features of two anthropomorphs have been painted, incised and abraded into the muddy cliff face. Notice that the outline of the figure shown in Figure 82 was abraded and the features were incised. Outlined and elaborately ornamented bodies are indicative of later fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs. Remarkably, what appears to be a painted horned headdress is visible on the head of this anthropomorph. The horns are similar to those of an antelope; they consist of one wide and one narrow parallel line going upward from each corner of the head. The horns on the right side are easily visible because they are in
an area somewhat free of the mud. The horn on the left side is visible; however, the area has been both abraded and covered with a thin layer of mud. It is difficult to determine whether it was painted first then abraded, or abraded then painted. It is apparent, however, that this image and the one next to it (shown below) were painted with both fugitive and non-fugitive pigments before the pecked features were added.

A most interesting feature of Figure 82 is the just visible wide, dark, slightly-sloping line beneath the mud that crosses the head of the anthropomorph and then turns sharply down to end just above the belt line in kind of a jagged area. This dark broad line is, in reality, the left arm and hand of a very large anthropomorph.

The figure’s right arm is shown in Figure 83. It extends out from the muddy area, and the body can be seen beneath the mud where it crosses the torso of the second abraded and incised anthropomorph. It is difficult to tell which image was created first because of the water washing down over the cliff face and people “enhancing” the images with abrasions of their own. Once again, a very large anthropomorph was created in superimposition with other smaller anthropomorphs.

Farther to the left, beneath a row of large painted quadrupeds and mixed in with numerous small petroglyphs, is a series of five fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs with features similar to others in the area, but with some additional features. Figure 84 shows three or four of these figures that are beneath a large shield figure. Left of the shield figure is a necklace of a fugitive-pigment anthropomorph that is composed of three upward curving lines with multiple lines descending from the lower line in a rayed pattern. No traces of other features are visible. At the bottom left corner of the photograph is another anthropomorph. The necklace of this figure is composed of two rows of pecked-out dots. Two lines that cross the torso beneath the necklace, a faint abraded outline of the body, and a hint of a head are about all that is visible. To the right is another fugitive-pigment anthropomorph that is more elaborately decorated. This figure has a necklace partly composed of 14-rayed lines and a headdress of two horns of the pronghorn type. The face has been lightly abraded and two narrow incised eyes can be seen. The creators of the large red figures possibly added paint to some of the features. A fourth fugitive-pigment anthropomorph likely lies buried beneath the large shield figure. The lower part of the abraded outline of a body with a belt line is visible around the leg on the left side of the shield figure. The dark reddish-brown paint is clearly in the belt line of the fugitive-pigment anthropomorph indicating that it was created after the anthropomorph.
Figure 83 There is also a huge anthropomorph in the panel whose arms are visible on both sides of the water run-off area.

This indicates that these figures, which have been labeled as being Barrier Canyon Style by some, were created after this Fremont anthropomorph, indicating that the large painted figures are Fremont.

Figure 85 is to the right of the previous photograph. This shows two fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs. This panel shows the abuse that these images have received over the years—some of it is prehistoric, most of it is historic. It is apparent that several different fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs were created in this one place, perhaps superimposing one another. The two easily visible anthropomorphs have the typical pronghorn headdresses. Those on the figure on the left are outlined with a white line. The Figure on the left also has a row of short vertical lines across the top of the head, a painted neckband and a necklace consisting of three or four pecked lines, an abraded line and a wide painted line. Two eyes are visible, and there is one pecked vertical line on each side of the face that has been painted with a dark red to black pigment. The face and necklace area appear to have been painted white before the pecking and red painting was done. Below the figure is a single belt line, or perhaps the belt lines of two different figures.

The anthropomorph on the right also has a pronghorn headdress, which was abraded and
then painted. Two pecked eyes are visible and they might have an abraded line descending from each eye, but this is uncertain. Other facial features may be present; however, the damage to the panel is so extensive that they are not apparent. The sides of the body are faintly outlined and below the figure are three or four belt lines. One significant feature associated with the image is the presence of a long triangular object, this one was painted with parallel lines, that is very much like the head-dresses on Fremont anthropomorphs in northeastern Utah; most notable is Figure 31, but see also Figures 9, 14, 19, 21, 23, etc. The presence of this object reinforces the connection between the Fremont River region and the Uintah Basin. Fortunately, it was painted with mineral pigment or it would not exist today.

![Figure 84](image1.png)  
**Figure 84.** Parts of three fugitive pigment anthropomorphs with necklaces are visible in the heavily visited and abused panel at Fish Creek Cove.

![Figure 85](image2.png)  
**Figure 85.** Two additional fugitive pigment anthropomorphs at Fish Creek Cove. Notice the presence of the painted object with the parallel lines next the head of the figure. Compare it with Figure 31.

Between Figures 84 and 85 there is a similar fugitive-pigment anthropomorph, which is shown by a pronghorn headdress, a necklace and two belt lines. In addition, there are six other fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs in the panel - five are in a row, one is above them. There may be other smaller fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs in this heavily used panel, but the abused condition of the panel makes determining this difficult.

Figure 86 shows two anthropomorphs in the panel that provide a good deal of information about the creation of fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs. These two images were painted with mineral pigment, which provides a lasting
example of how fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs were created. First, notice that they were created with two different colors. The head is much darker than the body. Fugitive pigment figures may have been very colorful. Second, after the images were painted, various features were created by pecking away the paint along with the sandstone surface. This created a high contrast and easily seen image. (The lower body of these figures is identical to the one that extends out and below the large shield figure in Figure 84.) Third, each figure was also abraded along the outlines. This may have served several purposes. The principal one, and perhaps the only one, seems to be to clean up the edges of the images and create a high contrast edge. The second purpose, and it is unknown if this was intentional, was to create a three dimensional effect. The process of cleaning up the images is very apparent on these two figures. It is also apparent that more than one tool was used to create this effect, or that the tool had several surfaces. One was a rounded, smooth, flat object like a stone.

The tool was moved repeatedly back and forth along the outline of the image, thus removing the pigment and the surface of the sandstone. It is evident that the tool was small, smooth and rounded because it produced a groove that was smooth, narrow and U shaped. Either another tool or the same tool was used to abrade away a larger area next to the figure. This abrasion is especially evident surrounding the head of the anthropomorph on the right. The tool used was flat and smooth, yet likely had a sharp edge. In some areas, the rock’s surface surrounding the image slopes toward it because a greater amount of the sandstone was removed next to the paint. A sharp-edged tool would have been required to produce this effect. This is espe-
cially evident on the right side of the anthropomorph where the painted shoulder does not match the outline. The edge of the paint is inside of the deeply abraded outline, the paint having been removed by abrasion from a flat tool.

The abrasion surrounding this figure is identical to that surrounding anthropomorphic images where no paint exists. This indicates that paint was also once present on these other images.

Quite a few of the anthropomorphs (both fugitive and non-fugitive figures) from the Fremont River drainage have headdresses that resemble the horns of a pronghorn antelope (Antilocapra americana). Interestingly, the antelope also has a black T-shaped feature on its face (Jaeger 1961:51), the same as on some of the anthropomorphs (Figure 72). Pronghorn headdresses are also a characteristic of Fremont rock art in central Utah. It appears that anthropomorphs in the Fremont River region are linked to the pronghorn antelope. Perhaps it has something to go with the fact that they are the fastest North American land mammal. They can travel up to 70 miles/hour (100 km/hour).

Escalante River
The next major drainage south of the Fremont River is the Escalante River drainage, and it contains many examples of fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs. The river is about 65 miles long and it drains the southeastern corner of Boulder Mountain, the 10,400-foot high Aquarius Plateau and the Escalante Mountains. The Escalante is a major river in south-central Utah and it flows southeast and drains into Lake Powell. The river is about 220 miles south of the datum line. Likely, the most prominent fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs are those illustrated in Figure 87. The principal feature of this panel is an amazingly long row of anthropomorphs of which only the white headdresses and necklaces are visible, the rest of the figures having been painted with fugitive pigment. There are 34 necklaces visible that are associated with headdresses, and there were probably a few more that have been eroded from the cliff face. These images were also created using fugitive pigment. Instead of pecking out the specific features of these anthropomorphs, they were created with pigment.

The left side of the panel is shown in Figure 88. The second figure from the end is shown only by the typical U shaped necklace, a line connecting it to the belt line and five lines descending from the belt line (compare with Figures 22, 23, 27, 34, 35, 37, 39, and 75). At the end of the panel is a large cross-like feature composed of short parallel lines. This could be a feature on the chest of a large anthropomorph.

Figure 87. A row of fugitive pigment anthropomorphs in the Escalante River drainage where principally only the headdresses and necklaces remain.
The anthropomorphs shown in Figures 82 and 83 have a single diagonal line across the chest that is also composed of short parallel lines, as do others in the Fremont River drainage. These images suggest that there could easily be two features composed of short parallel lines crossing the chest of an anthropomorph in opposite directions, thus creating the X.

Figure 89 shows the opposite end of the panel. Not only does it begin with an X; it ends with an X. Notice that there appears to be a head-dress above this X. This suggests that the image is an anthropomorph and that the X is on the chest. Likewise then, the image at the opposite end is also on the chest of an anthropomorph. It is apparent that these X figures were of considerable significance because they are at both ends of this impressive panel, an extremely rare occurrence.

Figure 90 is part of a panel in this area where a relatively complex combination of techniques and pigments were used to create two anthropomorphs and a shield-like feature — notice that it appears to have a handle. Since the construction techniques are probably similar to those employed in making fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs in this region they will be described in detail. The composition appears to have been planned in advance. The figures, or parts of them, were first painted with fugitive pigment(s). A “shadow” and traces of white pigment remain on portions of the face and body of each anthropomorph.

Bright, brilliant yellow and dark, reddish-brown mineral pigments were applied at some point. The yellow appears on the rectangular anthropomorph as the “horns”, the darker colored area on the head, the narrow stripe on the left side of the body, and the broad stripe along the right side. The bright yellow pigment occurs on the anthropomorph to the right as an alternating color in the short vertical stripes just above the face (compare with Figure 12), a band of short vertical stripes above it, two rows of dots forming the necklace, the top and bottom rows of the belt line, and interestingly, a circular blob over the top of the head. Traces of the yellow pigment also occur within the body of the figure and along the horns.

The dark, reddish-brown pigment occurs on this anthropomorph as the alternating color in the short vertical stripes just above the face, a horizontal line and another row of dots above the face, in a circular area at each side of the face - like an earring, the top and bottom curving line of the necklace, the outlined sides of the body and the center line of the belt line.

On the tall figure, the dark reddish-brown pigment was added as a line across the top of the head and thin vertical stripes along the right side of the body. Following the place-
Features were also created on the anthropomorph on the right by pecking away the pigment and the rock. A short vertical line was abraded on each side of the alternating yellow and dark reddish-brown headdress. Horns were created by scratching a line on each side of the curving line of yellow pigment. Three lines were incised and pecked between the various colors of the necklace and the belt line. Finally, a large pendant with six vertical lines below it was created on the chest.

The headdress of the figure on the right is strange. It is out of proportion and has too many features. It appears that there may have been two different figures here or two different headdresses, one above or slightly superimposed over the other. Another puzzling feature here is the yellow dot above the head. It is placed in the same position as the large dots in other fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs, but no additional attention was paid to it, so its inclusion as part of the figure seems problematical.

Morris (1931:37), observing these images stated: “Pecked anthropomorphs are limited to a shorthand representation of the cornute figure showing the arc of the color and two tall horns, the latter being grooves being filled in with brown paint which occurs repeatedly.” Morris did not recognize that these figures were partly created with pigment that was no longer present. If he did, he would not have referred to them as a “shorthand representation”.

Davis Gulch
About five miles above the confluence of the Escalante River with the Colorado River is a side canyon named Davis Gulch. A panel of what appeared to be white anthropomorphs was located there on a cliff face. It was submerged beneath Lake Powell. Many photographs were...
Figure 90. This panel is in the Escalante River drainage. It shows a combination of fugitive pigment, mineral pigment and pecking in the creation of these anthropomorphs.

taken of the panel before it was flooded. David Dibble's photographs can be seen on page 58 of Schaaftsma's The Rock Art of Utah (1970). An examination of the photographs shows that many of the anthropomorphs were created with fugitive pigments. Traces of the original pigment that formed the bodies of some of the figures can be seen. The anthropomorphs have the same characteristics as other fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs. They have a horizontal line above the head, the sides of the body are outlined, they have necklaces of broad U-shaped lines and the headdresses are like many other similar images. The panel provides additional examples of images where white mineral-based pigment was used instead of pecking to outline and form the features of fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs.

ABAJO OR BLUE MOUNTAINS
The next and final area where fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs have been found to occur in abundance is along the northern, eastern, and southern drainages of the Abajo Mountains and the associated plateaus of southeastern Utah. The Abajo Mountain range contains 11,360 foot Abajo Peak and 10,959 foot Mt. Linnaeus. Only a few of the many fugitive pigment anthropomorphs that exist in this area are discussed here.

Indian Creek
Indian Creek is the principal drainage of the north and northeastern slopes of the Abajo Mountains. It is about 215 miles from the datum. The adjacent North Cottonwood Creek is
a major tributary of Indian Creek. Figure 91 is part of a site containing two fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs from the Indian Creek drainage. The site was recorded by the author in 1982. Visible in the photograph is a long rectangle on top of the head, and on both sides of the head is a pecked-out area, which probably represents a hairstyle feature. The two rectangular areas below are most likely painted facial features, like the rectangular areas on the faces of anthropomorphs in the Uintah Basin (Figure 19) or the T-shaped area in the Fremont River area (Figure 68).

Figure 91. This is the face of a fugitive-pigment anthropomorph. It is located in the Indian Creek Drainage. This photograph is digitally enhanced because it is heavily repatinated and difficult to see.

Figure 92 which is nearby, shows the facial features of another fugitive-pigment anthropomorph. It is difficult to tell specifically what these features are. The two horizontal dots at the top could be eyes, but they may also be a decoration on sides of the head. The center dot could be a mouth or a nose. There is also a faint abraded horizontal area at the bottom of the image that could be a mouth. Notice the somewhat triangular abraded area between the two dots at the top. If it were inverted, it would be similar to the abraded conical feature on the heads of anthropomorphs along the Fremont River. This photograph was also digitally enhanced because it is repatinated and difficult to see. The images in Figures 91 and 92 appear to be older than the fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs farther to the north.

The panel shown in Figure 93A is located on the east side of Indian Creek. A small fugitive-pigment anthropomorph is visible in the lower right-hand corner. It is similar to the one found in the Mill Creek drainage near Moab (Figure 60). Figure 93B is a close-up photograph of the figure that clearly shows that it is composed of a pendant necklace, a belt line and three horizontal lines across the face. Notice that the sides of the body are shown by outward sloping, abraded lines. This image is moderately repatinated, and like some of the images near
Moab, it appears older than the Basketmaker images above it. Notice the small size.

Figure 94 is located directly across the canyon from Figure 93. This panel was placed beneath an overhang that protected the pigment from erosion. The fugitive pigment anthropomorph in this panel is clearly shown by the pendant necklace and other facial features. Notice that the two pecked short horizontal lines above the necklace are outside of the vertical lines, suggesting that they are not eyes, but are the features of a headdress or a hair decoration. (Vertical lines also exist on the outside of the faces of other anthropomorphs, see Figure 68.)

These pecked features are placed over a tapering anthropomorph composed of broad alternating red and faint white lines. There is almost no trace of the white pigment remaining. It is questionable whether the pecked features are part of the red-striped anthropomorph. The proportions are different — the necklace is too small — and the straps of the necklace go above the top of the shoulder line of the red paint. This suggests that the pecked features were added later. The anthropomorph on the right was painted with white pigment and outlined with red. It is believed to be Basketmaker —
Figure 94. This panel is in the Indian Creek drainage directly across the canyon from Figure 93. The dark color is reddish-brown.

Figures 95 and 96. These two fugitive pigment anthropomorphs are directly across the canyon from each other.

notice the arms – likely, the red figure is Basketmaker also. Because of these factors, it is difficult to determine the sequence of the creation of these images. The placement of these two images across the canyon from each other may appear coincidental; however, another set of images were found that were also across the canyon from each other (Manning 1993). Fig-
ures 95 and 96 show these two panels. Both have similar features. The large pendant necklaces and belt lines are easily recognizable. The abstract appearing round feature with the lines hanging down on the left side of Figure 96 is the pecked hand of the anthropomorph. The three bands across the face are the same as those shown in Figure 93. The pattern of three parallel lines was also found in panels along the Fremont River (Figures 68 and 72). There they were in a position suggesting that they illustrated severed human heads. The images from Indian Creek and the panel near Moab confirm that this pattern was indeed on the faces of stylized human figures. This suggests that the people living along the Fremont could have been collecting the heads of people living in southeastern Utah.

As discussed above, a third set of fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs on cliff faces across a canyon from each other was recently discovered by the author in Nine Mile Canyon. The purpose of the placement of these three sets of fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs across from each other is evidently not a coincidence, especially since no other sets of images have been reported. The purpose almost seems to be marking a boundary, but this is just conjecture. The real purpose is unknown.

One fact is evident from the images in these two locations. While it may be presumed that some borrowing of motifs occurred among the people of Nine Mile Canyon and Indian Creek, one in an area believed by some to be exclusively Fremont and the other in an area believed to be exclusively Anasazi, it is very unlikely that the borrowing of motifs could account for the nonrandom placement of these images across the canyon from each other. A more plausible explanation is that the same people were in both locations.

Figure 97 is from the Montezuma Canyon drainage west of Blanding, Utah. This image substantiates the existence of three lines as a facial feature on anthropomorphic images.

**Figure 97.** An Archaic type anthropomorph from the Montezuma Creek drainage with three parallel lines on its face.

### Salt Creek

West of Indian Creek is Salt Creek. It drains the 8,000-foot plateau west of Abajo Peak. Salt Creek is not really a creek but a dry wash (except when the snow is melting). It drains into the Colorado River about twenty-five miles from the plateau. Nearly all of the Salt Creek drainage is within Canyonlands National Park. Because of the quantity, uniqueness and the well-preserved nature of the prehistoric sites in Salt Creek, it and the area surrounding it that was within Canyonlands National Park, was designated a National Register Archaeological District in 1975. Within the Salt Creek Archaeological District is a dispersed group of fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs. Figure 98 shows one of them. This image appears to have two eyes, an upward curving U-shaped line for a necklace (with fine descending lines attached to it), a tapered outlined body with a diagonal line across it and a hair bob on each shoulder with lines representing ties wrapped around it (the one on the figures left side is barely visible). All of these features were noted previously in the examples above. Most of the anthropomorph in Figure 98 is no longer
visible, since it was painted with fugitive pigments. Only the white mineral pigment remains. Since the body is outlined, it is evident that the image was created late in the fugitive pigment developmental sequence. Notice that the waist flares out at the hips just above the legs, which are no longer visible.

Figure 98. A fugitive pigment anthropomorph from the Salt Creek drainage.

Above the image and superimposed over it, thus obscuring any headdress, are the handprints created by the principal, although somewhat fleeting, occupants of this area; the late Pueblo II-III Anasazi.

Figure 99 shows another anthropomorph from the Salt Creek drainage. Notice that the eyes are not where they would be expected to be—they are too low on the face; so perhaps what appeared to be eyes in Figure 98 are not eyes at all. Also present is the characteristic large pendant necklace (lightly pecked in this example).

The pendant is found on other anthropomorphs in the Salt Creek drainage and in other areas where this type image occurs. Notice that the lines on the sides of the necklace are somewhat similar to Figure 53 from Range Creek. (Interestingly, these lines make it almost look like a heart.) Present also are the outlined body and the interior torso lines. The belt line has lines descending from it, as do several anthropomorphs previously discussed (compare with Figures 22, 23, 27, 34, 35, 37, 39, 75 and 88). Notice that the pigment is slowly eroding away. The dark blotches on the figure are daubs of reddish-brown mud.

Figure 100 shows two anthropomorphs that are part of a panel located in a well protected al-
cove, and they illustrates another variation of the Salt Creek type image. Here again the images are grouped together in a row. There are at least fourteen anthropomorphs in the panel, and again they are all similar, but each one has different features.

The images in Figure 100 have several rows of lines along the sides of the bodies and they are outlined with two thin rows of red pigment. These images then are also late in the developmental sequence. There is little or no indication of headdresses or hair, likely because these features (and others) were created with fugitive pigments. Eyes have been abraded and slightly pecked through the white pigment that covers the face. A significant feature of these images is that the heads are flat on top. Another significant feature is that the figures appear to be wearing an article of clothing represented by vertical lines that are much longer than on any other known Salt Creek anthropomorph. The item of clothing on the figure on the right is faint but still visible. There is also one on the figure on the left, but only a faint indication of its presence exists. When the rest of the pigment is gone from these figures, the only evidence remaining will be the eyes and three lines of a necklace.

Other images in the panel have features typical of fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs. In one place, two diagonal lines are visible that were obviously across the chest of an anthropomorph. Barely visible traces of pigment show where the body once existed. Superimposed
over it is the white-painted face with abraded out eyes of another anthropomorph. There are slight traces of other images beneath the currently visible row of images, but they are so faint and covered over with by the newer images that it is difficult to determine what they were or how many originally existed. Superimposition of one figure over another thus occurs here, the same as it does in all of the other locations where fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs occur.

Figure 101 shows three additional Salt Creek images in a panel high above the ground. These figures are above a group of ruins. Likely most of the features are missing, since they were painted with fugitive pigments. The mineral pigments are all that remain. Like other fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs, they have a large necklace or breastplate, a band along the top of the head, interior torso lines, a belt line and eyes that in this instance were abraded through the dark reddish-brown mineral pigment on the face.

A significant feature of these anthropomorphs is that the edges of parts of the images were abraded to create a sharp paint line, exactly as was done in Fremont River and Uintah Basin areas. It is as if all the people of eastern Utah who were making these images were in contact and sharing techniques for creating the images. Some of the abraded areas are easily seen in Figure 101. The abraded areas surround the head and necklace or breastplate. The differences between the abraded and non-abraded areas are evident when the edges of the head and pendant necklace are compared to the edges of the belt line. Abrading away the pigment on the sides of the head created the distinctive shape of the head, which is flat on the top and curves inward below the eyes. The white, somewhat rectangular projections on the sides of the shoulders may represent hair bobs as described above.

Notice that the lines added to the face of the fugitive pigment anthropomorph in Range Creek (Figure 56) also create a similar facial feature.

Figure 102 shows one of a group of three anthropomorphs that are located beneath a low overhang. The figures are near ground level and there is only room for three figures on the low back wall. The three figures are similar, but, characteristically, exhibit some differences. It is evident that fugitive pigments once formed the bodies. Inside of the bodies, are multiple abraded/slightly pecked lines and purplish-brown thin painted lines that generally follow the slope of the torso. The faces of all three anthropomorphs contain a section of purplish-brown pigment that was pecked out to create a broad area of varying widths around the eyes. This broad area around the eyes has been found on other fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs in northeastern and south-central Utah.

Figure 102. One of three fugitive pigment anthropomorphs where a wide band of purplish-brown pigment was removed by pecking. Note the eyes.

Figure 103 also contains three anthropomorphs. Only the reddish-brown pigment remains. Some of the characteristics of these anthropomorphs are also found on other images in northern and central Utah. Notice the curving slanted lines beneath the pecked-out eyes of the
figures on the right have ornately decorated skirts or kilts.

Figure 106. These are three fugitive pigment anthropomorphs from a group of thirteen where only the dark reddish-brown and white mineral pigments remain. The bodies are missing because they were painted with fugitive pigments. Notice that the body of the image on the right where the pigment was, is barely visible today.

Figure 107. These are three fugitive pigment anthropomorphs from a group of nine where only the white mineral pigment remains. The bodies of some of the images are indicated by a light abrasion where fugitive pigment was applied.
Figure 108. This panel contains what appears to be eleven anthropomorphs in a row. However, they are superimposed over an undetermined number of other figures that were covered over when, presumably, they faded. Note the presence of the large hair buns on the shoulders.

Figure 109. This photograph shows a panel typically thought of as Salt Creek Faces. Notice that they are not faces. Notice also the different type of necklaces.

Many more anthropomorphs exist in the Salt Creek drainage that have features similar to those discussed above. Similar images also exist in the drainages surrounding Salt Creek. This group of images has some characteristics that are different enough to warrant classification into a distinct category. However, notice the differences that exist in the form and with the features of the images shown in the other panels from Salt Creek. They could easily be classified into several different types. Because these images have been discussed repeatedly in the literature in the past and there is some controversy surrounding them, they will be discussed further below.
South Cottonwood Creek
The southern side of the Abajo Mountains is drained by a series of streams that flow only seasonally. South Cottonwood Wash is one of these. The southeastern corner of the Abajo Mountains is drained by Recapture Creek. These drainages, along with others of the Abajo highlands, from Grand Gulch on the west to Montezuma Creek on the east, contain some of the highest concentrations of prehistoric sites in Utah. It may be surprising, considering the number of fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs located in northern Utah that are considered Fremont, that these drainages also contain large numbers of fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs. Again there are far more than can be described here.

South Cottonwood Wash, which is about 270 miles from the datum, is about 40 miles long and it flows into the San Juan River near the Utah-Arizona border. Figure 110 is an example of two fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs from the South Cottonwood drainage. The only remaining evidence of their existence is the pecked-out features, as illustrated here. The eyes, necklace, belt line and diagonal line across the torso are identical to those features occurring north of this point in eastern Utah. Below the belt line is another feature, which is characteristic of this region. It will be discussed below.

Figure 111 is another fugitive-pigment anthropomorph. Except for a hint of an outline at the top of the shoulders, only the pecked-out face is visible. This image is significant because the same T-shaped facial feature occurs on anthropomorphs along the Fremont River (Figures 68, 70, 72, 74, etc.), which is about 110 miles to the northeast, and also apparently near Moab (Figure 69).

Figure 112 illustrates a panel that contains two different types of fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs. The small images, of which there are six, are typologically the same as those that occur in the Mill Creek and Indian Creek drainages (Figures 60, 93, 95 and 96); Indian Creek is about 50 miles north and Mill Creek is about 80 miles north. Both are on the other side of the Abajo Mountains.
Figure 112. Large fugitive pigment anthropomorphs are superimposed over small fugitive pigment anthropomorphs. Inset (top right) is left of the panel.

although in Figure 93B, there are dots along one side of the figure. Superimposed over these figures are much larger anthropomorphs and other images. The two large anthropomorphs have a feature beneath the belt line that is similar to the one in Figure 110. One of these is triangular and the other is trapezoidal. These will be discussed below.

Figure 113 is a detail of the panel showing the superimposition of perhaps a headdress or a skin bag over one of the small fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs. This superimposition is significant because it establishes that the larger, more ornamented anthropomorphs postdate the smaller, simpler fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs in this area as well as throughout eastern Utah. The inverted conical shapes, one with dots, may represent several different objects.

The larger anthropomorphs also exhibit characteristics of other fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs in northern and central Utah. Notice the large breastplate on the central figures, the thin U shaped necklace superimposed over the head of a small anthropomorph and the belt lines. Also present is the triangular feature beneath the belt line of one of the large figures.

Figure 113. A detail showing the superimposition of what may be a skin bag over a small fugitive pigment anthropomorph; compare to Figures 93B, 95 and 96.

Figure 114 illustrates three fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs that are in the same panel. The figure on the left is larger than the two on the right. Each one was constructed by first painting the images and then adding various features by abrading away the pigment. Some incised features were also added. When standing in front of the panel, the images appear to have been constructed entirely by abrasion and incising; no trace of pigment is visible, how
Figure 114. Digitally enhanced images of three seemingly abraded anthropomorphs showing traces of pigment where the torsos once existed.

However, when photographs of the images are digitally enhanced, as these photographs are, evidence of the pigment becomes visible. The bodies, arms and facial features can be seen. Digitally enhancing these images illustrates that they were painted with fugitive pigments. These features were preserved here more than at other locations because the panel’s orientation and the overhanging cliff above protected the panel. It also apparent that other images existed here before these were created.

The square and upraised shoulders and long narrow arms of the figure on the left are visible, but the hands are not easily seen. This is because the hands are superimposed by three radiating incised lines. These lines, and the others described below are inconsistent with this type of image and thus appear to have been added later. Further evidence of this conclusion is that the incised lines are superimposed over red handprints, which are clearly superimposed over the images. Traces of white pigment outline the head, thus its trapezoidal form can be easily seen. The image also has pecked-out eyebrows over the eyes and the typical U shape necklace, here consisting of 12 dots. There are also two crudely incised U-shaped lines. The triangular feature below the waistline is especially visible because it is deeply abraded. Notice that the body goes to a narrow waist, and then flares out, like the anthropomorph in Salt Creek (Figure 98).

The center figure’s body and arms are also visible, and it becomes apparent that its necklace, or at least the wildly radiating lines, was added after the image was created, as are the incised lines at the bottom of the figure. The body of this figure is markedly different from the one to the left; it is long and tapering. Just above wrist on both arms, there is a faint pecked-out area that appears to have represented bracelets, since they are just above the hands. To the right of the figure is another arm, which is the arm of the third figure on the far right. It also has a bracelet and the arms are crossed. The center figure appears to be carry-
ing something in its hands that is round, but this feature is indistinct. Anthropomorphs next to each other with their arms crossed at the elbow is a feature found in other panels in northern Utah.

The figure on the far right also has a long tapering body, however it is not as visible because it is near the edge of the protecting overhang and has been eroded. This image also has pecked facial features and a crude necklace that was likely not part of the original creation.

It is obvious that the lower to middle section of this panel has been extensively abraded before the figures described here were placed upon it. This manipulation of the surface occurs more often in southeastern Utah than in northern Utah, but it is. There are several examples illustrated above from the Salt Creek and Fremont River areas. The images here were apparently “erased” by abrasion before other similar images were created. There is a very faint abraded triangular feature just visible below the crossed arms of the two figures, which suggests that the other images once present on this surface were similar to those visible today. Here again there exists another fugitive pigment panel where superimposition and a lot of reworking occurred.

Figure 115 shows a fugitive-pigment anthropomorph in a lightly abraded area. The facial features, the belt line and the triangular feature were all deeply abraded through the fugitive pigment that originally formed this image.

Figure 116 is another similar figure from the same panel. Notice the variations in this figure, and that it is superimposed over older images. These images have a different form that is believed to be Basketmaker. This panel is important because it provides another example of fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs being placed in heavily used locations.

Figure 117 shows some examples of fugitive pigment anthropomorph images located along a cliff face in the South Cottonwood drainage. These are all fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs with the typical pecked-out features. They all have faces, simple necklaces, and belt lines. In addition, they generally have two horizontal lines where the legs would be, which suggests the presence of a leg band about mid-thigh.

Figure 115 Specific features of this image were deeply abraded.

A prominent characteristic of these images is the triangular feature, which obviously is placed around the pelvis below the belt line. This feature appears to be a representation of a breechcloth or loincloth. A likely example of the garment being illustrated is shown in Figure 118. Notice the exceedingly fine workmanship. It was beautifully crafted; most certainly,
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it was constructed by a woman for a woman to use. Notice the decidedly feminine curves of the image depicted with this feature in Figure 114.

Figure 116. A fugitive pigment anthropomorph with abraded features is superimposed over an earlier anthropomorph

An unfired, obviously female figurine, that was wearing a similar feature, was found in Cave 26 by the Wetherill brothers in nearby Grand Gulch (Morss 1954:10, figure 12). Morss described the figurine as appearing to be wearing a “diaper-like breech-clout”. The figurine also has a necklace consisting of two rows of dots.

This figurine apparently dates from the Basketmaker II period; however, its providence is not well defined, as noted by Morss.

Morris (1951) and Morss (1980:141-142) illustrate other figurines, including two made from tabular pieces of wood that have similar loincloth features. These and others figurines appear to be depicting what Morss describes as an item of clothing used by women during the menstrual period, sometimes referred to as menstrual aprons (Morris 1980:104). These figures, and presumably the rock art images, are therefore associated with aspects of fertility.

The placement of these images of women with symbols associated with fertility (in addition to others not described here) all in one area is remarkable until it is realized that these images are adjacent to a cave named Baby Mummy Cave. In this cave, pothunters found at least 40, and perhaps as many as 60, infant burials. Pothunters removed all of them, and the associated artifacts. The cave is about 50 feet deep and it slopes toward the front. A row of postholes along the opening shows that at one time a retaining wall existed here, presumably to make the floor level, and perhaps to provide for the addition of more soil to provide for better burial conditions.

It is no coincidence that rock art images depicting women with symbols of fertility were created near this cave. The association of the rock art with this burial cave and the similarities of the images to the figurines substantiates that the images depicting the female loincloth, in all areas, do indeed depict women. The images here and their association to an infant-burial cave suggest that it was women who created these images.

Perhaps use of fugitive pigments in the creation of these female anthropomorphs provides a clue as to why fugitive pigments were used and not mineral pigments.
Figure 117. These are examples of fugitive pigment anthropomorphs. Some of these have belt lines consisting of rows of fine dots (compare with Figures 19, 33, etc.), and all have triangular features below the beltline depicting female loincloths.

Butler Wash
Butler Wash is another tributary of the San Juan River. The drainage contains many examples of fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs. Figure 119 is probably one of the more well-known rock art panels in San Juan County. It is 275 miles from the datum and about 20 miles from the Arizona border. Two fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs appear in this panel. Both have necklaces and the triangular female loincloth is illustrated below the necklaces. Also present are two images of a lobed circle (not shown here), which are a representation or symbol for a uterus (Manning 1992). It is interesting that both symbols occur here. The central theme appears to center on human fertility.
Figure 118. Loincloth from Walnut Canyon National Monument, Arizona.

Figure 119. Two female fugitive pigment anthropomorphs from the Butler Wash drainage.
Notice the two parallel horizontal lines at the left of the panel. Two additional faint parallel lines also exist on the left side of the adjacent anthropomorph. It is not clear what these features represent. They could be armbands, but they are not in the right position. They could represent painted lines on the face of severed human heads, but what do severed human heads have to do with fertility? What they appear to be are the belt lines of two small fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs that were placed next to the female figures.

Another interesting aspect of this panel is the two comma-like features above the loincloth of the image on the right. A similar feature is present above the three parallel lines on the face of the anthropomorph in Mill Creek (Figure 60B).

Figure 120 is part of a panel containing several fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs with significant features. The outline of some of the pigment forming the body is still visible. It is readily apparent that the image portrayed here is female. Notice the curve of the hips. The chest is crossed with a set of two rows of parallel lines of dots.

A similar feature also occurs at both ends of the large fugitive-pigment anthropomorph panel in the Escalante River drainage about 110 miles to the northeast (Figures 88 and 89). This feature ties the people of these two areas together, assuming that the feature had the same meaning. The presence of this symbol across the chest of this image adds credence to the observation that it was also across the chest of the two anthropomorphs in the Escalante panel. Notice that the dot pattern is continued as a belt around the waist. This treatment is similar to belts found on many fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs throughout eastern Utah. Notice also that the figure has a horizontal line on each leg, likely representing a leg band (see Figure 117).

Figure 121 shows two fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs. Notice that both figures have lines descending from the eyes. This is a common feature found throughout eastern Utah wherever fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs are found. A panel along the San Juan River also has this same feature.

Figure 122 shows two additional anthropomorphs from the panel. They both have large eyes, diagonal lines across the chest and leg bands. Notice the total absence of pigment and that these images seem to be appearing in pairs.
Figure 121. Two female fugitive pigment anthropomorphs are shown in this photo. Notice the presence of the small pecked-out anthropomorph.

Figure 122. Two female anthropomorphs often occur in pairs, as in this panel from Butler Wash. Notice again the small pecked-out anthropomorph.
Grand Gulch

Grand Gulch is directly west of South Cottonwood Wash. It is a deep canyon system that drains the central portion of Cedar Mesa. Cedar Mesa was occupied by the prehistoric Anasazi from Basketmaker to the Pueblo III period. It thus contains many examples of what are believed to be Basketmaker fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs. Figure 123 contains two examples of female anthropomorphs; each with a bird on her head. The body of the bird is a dark reddish-purple-brown color and the head is white.

About the only pigments remaining in the panel today are the dark purplish-red and white mineral pigments. A shadow of the fugitive pigment that made up the body of the figure on the left is still visible. The panel is in a well-protected location, which is why these pigments are still so vivid after many hundreds of years. A bird-headed anthropomorph was also in the panel in Mill Creek with a fugitive-pigment anthropomorph (Figure 60A). The Figure on the left is the most visible. It has a well-defined belt line, loincloth and leg bands, which are all pecked out. The necklace and the body of the bird were painted with dark reddish-brown mineral pigment. Notice that the arms curve sharply upward from the shoulder to the elbow. The figure on the right also has a bird on her head. The body of this figure is not very visible except on the right side. Beneath the figure, there is a triangular area of reddish pigment that is now inside the right side of the body of a bird that has a pecked outlined body containing some pigment on the left side. The reddish pigment has been nearly entirely removed by pecking and abrasion. The small white figure beneath the bird, that seems to be holding it with his hand, is a more recent addition, because it obscures the head of the larger anthropomorph.

Figure 123. Two fugitive pigment anthropomorphs from Grand Gulch, each with a bird on their head, that were created both by pecking and painting with mineral pigments.

Figure 124 is another figure that shows a variation and some important details. The necklace, waistline and loincloth were pecked out through the original pigment; then red pigment was added as an outline of the upper torso, the body of the bird, a curving line through the necklace and the top of the loincloth. Figures 123 and 124 show that in Grand Gulch features were also created both by pecking them out and by the addition of mineral pigments.

A most interesting feature of this image is that directly below the triangular loincloth there is a vertical band of red splotches, which appear to depict dripping blood. This serves to further confirm the previous interpretation that triangular feature is a female loincloth. To the right of this area and below the hand is a teardrop
shaped feature of the same red pigment. Whether this is associated with this image and what the feature represents are uncertain. Similar features have been seen at other panels containing fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs. Some of these are painted red, some are white and some are pecked out. Perhaps they are facial features, see the left side of Figure 15.

Figure 124. This image illustrates other variations. Part of the body is still visible.

Figure 125 is an example of what a fugitive-pigment anthropomorph looks like when all the pigment has eroded away. All that is visible are the pecked-out features. Only two eyes, a necklace, a loincloth and a belt line remain. The wide belt line flares downward and outward from the waistband. This may be a depiction of tassels or ties. Also, notice the deeply incised vertical slit in the loincloth.

Figure 125. Notice the lightly pecked band above the loincloth. It has two downward-flaring areas on each side.

Figure 126 shows several fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs that provide further information. This panel is located in an area that is well protected from the elements, which is why the shape of the bodies of these figures is still visible. The wide curving hips confirm that these are depictions of women. There are four anthropomorphs in a row at the bottom of the panel. Three of them have necklaces that are painted in dark reddish-brown pigment. Each
of these anthropomorphs also has a representation of the waistband with features on the sides that were described above. These features are visible because they were painted either with a thicker pigment or with a pigment that was a different composition.

Above the row of figures is a larger anthropomorph. A much larger anthropomorph is present in panels at several other fugitive-pigment anthropomorph panels in eastern Utah, as has been discussed above. What is not so evident is that there is a second even larger anthropomorph on the far left side of the panel. This large figure was painted directly over and above the smaller figure with the dark reddish-brown necklace. This large image was outlined with a thin red line, which makes it possible to see the shape and position of the body. Both large anthropomorphs have a red painted vertical line on each side of their heads. The white handprints of the late Pueblo Anasazi are superimposed over the Basketmaker figures, providing further evidence of the Basketmaker cultural affiliation for these images.

Figure 127 from Grand Gulch depicts a fugitive-pigment anthropomorph with an unusual necklace. The painted body and outlined head of this figure are barely visible. The brighter white marks that are visible in the photograph are abrasions on the body from recent vandalism and are not paint. The obvious eyes and pendant necklace were pecked out. The pendant necklace is unusual because at the top of it there are two dots that were painted with dark red pigment. This gives it the appearance of looking at a face straight on. It also has unusual straps that go up and to the sides of the figure's neck in a wide, flat curving angle. It appears to be more of a choker than a necklace.

**Montezuma Creek**

Montezuma Creek drains the eastern end of the Abajo Mountains along with a large plateau east of Monticello and Blanding that extends east to the Dolores River drainage in Colorado.

Figure 128 shows a panel that contains several of the exact same features that appear in Figure 127. The images are faint and do not show up...
Figure 127. This panel is in Grand Gulch. Notice the form of the necklace.

Figure 128. A group of fugitive pigment anthropomorphs from the Montezuma Creek drainage with the same necklace as above. Pecking is shown in black, red paint is shown in gray.
well in photographs. Pecking is shown in black; red paint is shown in gray. The red dots above the choker necklaces are a feature of a headdress or hair dress. Nearly identical figures in another panel have dark purple pigment dots above the necklace.

Figure 129 shows another panel that has far more distinct necklaces. This is another variation. The two dots are placed slightly outside of the pendant. Unfortunately, the fugitive pigment is gone from these anthropomorphs, and it is not possible to tell what they may have looked like.

Figure 129. This photograph shows a variation of the unusual necklaces.

San Juan River
Cottonwood Creek, Butler Wash, Grand Gulch and Montezuma Creek all drain into the San Juan River. It is to be expected then that there would be fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs along the river corridor, and there are many. Figure 130 is near Bluff, Utah on the Navajo Indian Reservation. The panel was described by Castleton (1979:229). A row of five large fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs is present in the panel. The image on the far right is between two traditional Basketmaker anthropomorphs. The left one of these was destroyed by a Navajo, who had a bad dream about the figures. A significant feature of this panel is that both the fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs and the traditional Basketmaker images have the same level of patination. This indicates that they are of about the same age. Notice the difference in the degree of patination compared to the newly vandalized cliff face. When the Basketmaker figures were first created, they also had this level of contrast, and must have appeared luminous. The level of repatination again indicates their age.

Three fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs in the panel have the typical female loincloths below the waistline. Two of the others are different. The figure on the far left has a V-shaped necklace. Below it is what appears to be a wide belt line that has vertical crossing lines descending from it. The third figure from the left has a C shaped necklace consisting of two rows of dots that have been partly obliterated by vandalism. It has a narrower waistline from which also descends a group of crossing lines. These features at the waist fit the description of Basketmaker aprons, which Morss (1980:104-1006) noted were used by menstruating women. It appears then that all of these anthropomorphs are female. Notice that the last anthropomorph on the right also has a group of lines descending from the belt line. If the interpretation of this feature is correct, this image may also be female. This panel thus provides additional information on gender determination. Notice that groups or rows of female anthropomorphs have occurred in several panels discussed above.

South of the San Juan River.
Figure 131 is located south of the San Juan River on the Navajo Indian Reservation. This panel is about 275 miles south of the datum. Here again is a fugitive-pigment anthropomorph where evidence of the original paint is still present. The pigment stopped, or killed, the patination and then when the paint was removed by weathering, the rock surface was left
lighter in color. This panel is protected by a slight overhang, which helped preserve this condition. The torso, head, legs, feet and parts of the arms of this female anthropomorph can still be seen. The features that were pecked through the paint are obvious. Notice the variation in the loincloth. It is smaller and the ties are narrow straps.

Panel 132 is in the general vicinity. It shows a slight variation of the fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs. The figure has pecked-out eyes, a necklace and a loincloth. Notice that the ends of the belt line are curved downward similar to those depicted on a figure in Grand Gulch (Figure 125).

This panel is significant because the patination levels of the other figures — mountain sheep with arrows or atlatal darts embedded in them — have the same level of patination as the anthropomorph, indicating they are about the same age.

Figure 133 is just to the right of Figure 132. Were it not for the information presented above, these marks on the cliff face would likely be interpreted as an abstract image. Only the curving line of pecked dots, the lightly pecked area below it and the rectangular feature indicate the presence of a once fully executed human figure, and it is even female. Notice the belt-like tabs on the sides of the loincloth. Figure 118 illustrates a belt-like tab on the right side of an actual loincloth; there was also probably one on the left side.

The “silhouette” of the bodies of the anthropomorphs shown in Figures 131 and 132 is identical to those that exist in other areas. Compare, for example, Figure 26 from the Uintah Basin in northern Utah. The existence of the vestiges of the fugitive pigments in widely separated areas shows that they were not created by historic vandalism, but are the result of the effects of paint on patination.
Northern Arizona

The existence and distribution of fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs in the Basketmaker area of southeastern Utah has been discussed above. The existence of these images does not end at the Utah-Arizona border any more than it ends at the Utah-Colorado border. Northeastern Arizona also contains a large area of Basketmaker occupation. This area, which is within the Navajo Indian Reservation, has not been fully investigated by this author to determine the existence and distribution of these images. It is expected that the existence of these figures and their distinctive characteristics would coincide with the distribution of the Basketmaker people. That they and the ideology that created them do exist, at least as far south as Canyon de Chelly, is demonstrated by Figure 134 (after Grant 1978:185). Canyon de Chelly is about 50 miles south of the Utah-Arizona border.

Grant describes this panel as follows: “A woman is painted in a horizontal position. Bending over her is a feathered figure pointing a wicker-shaped object at her pelvic region”. (Notice that this object is pictured in several panels in southern Utah.) Grant does not explain why he interprets the object being held as wicker or why the reclining image is a woman. Most likely the latter is because of the presence of the necklace. Notice that the woman does not have a head, hands or feet. It is to be expected that these features were painted with fugitive pigments that are no longer visible.
There are two rectangles; one on each side of the reclining figure's head that probably represent hair bobs. Since the figure is outlined, it apparently dates late in the developmental sequence. The importance of this panel is that it establishes the existence of the fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs and their attributes in the more southern region of the Basketmaker culture.

Figure 133. No evidence of the body remains on this fugitive-pigment anthropomorph. Notice the belt-like tabs on the sides of this loincloth.

DISTRIBUTION

It has been demonstrated here that an assemblage of images with common attributes is distributed throughout eastern Utah from the Wyoming border to the Arizona border. They are located along the tributaries of the Green and Colorado Rivers. These images are unique because they combine three diverse attributes into one distinctive type of image. First, the images are all anthropomorphs. Second, they were created principally with fugitive pigments. Third, specific features were created by utilizing various techniques to remove the pigment(s) along with the surface of the rock or to paint the features with mineral pigments.

Figure 134. This image represents the southern most extent of the fugitive pigment anthropomorph noted by the author. From Canyon de Chelly, northern Arizona (after Grant 1978:185).

Because of the large number of fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs (many are not illustrated here) and the large area in which they exist, it is evident that they were a significant and major component of the prehistoric cultures that inhabited eastern Utah. These images therefore, constitute a defining characteristic of the people who inhabited the area from roughly AD 100 to 1200. These images are important then, because they provide an easy means of determining the pattern of distribution of these images and thus of the ideology from which they were created. This provides an opportunity to study the way in which this ideology was distributed and how it changed over time. Furthermore, since the ideology was an integral part of the lives of the people, determining how the ideology was distributed and how it
changed through space and time, likewise determines how the people were distributed and how they changed through space and time.

**Geographically Constrained**

The fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs with pecked or mineral-painted features are dispersed over eastern Utah in an area roughly 300 miles north to south, but only about 150 miles east to west at the widest point. They do not appear to exist in the western half of Utah, or at the very least are extremely rare. Similarly, their density decreases rapidly as one travels east of the Utah-Colorado border.

The distributional pattern of the fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs seems determined by two factors, both geographic. The principal one is the presence or absence of mountains. East-west, border-to-border travel across Utah is geographically constrained. A 320-mile long, north-south range of high mountains and plateaus that divide the state nearly down the center interrupts travel. These are the Wasatch Mountains and they take their name from a Ute Indian name meaning *mountain pass or low place in a high mountain*. This name is significant because it reveals the Ute's perception of the mountains. Some of the mountain peaks in this Wasatch range are over 12,000 feet above sea level; the Wasatch Plateau west of Castle Dale is 11,258 feet, and the Aquarius and Sevier Plateaus farther south have peaks over 11,000 feet. Not only are these mountain ranges high, they are also wide. It is 60 miles from Emery to Fillmore, Utah.

East-west foot traffic across Colorado is also similarly constrained by high mountains and plateaus. From Colorado's border with New Mexico to the Wyoming border, there is an array of mountain ranges in west central Colorado with peaks over 14,000 feet. These are the Rocky Mountains, which were named by explorers during early 19th century because of the mountains rugged topography. Fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs seem to be uncommon in the southern half of western Colorado. Buckles (1971) and Cole (1987, 1990), who have likely made the most comprehensive study of images in west central Colorado, describe only one fugitive-pigment anthropomorph and that was located near the Utah-Colorado border (see discussion above). The images appear to be more common in northern Colorado, as shown above.

Prehistorically, mountains were a boundary that was closed most of the year with snow, ice and above all, cold temperatures. It is likely that in parts of the period when these images were being made the climate was cooler or wetter than it is now. Snow would then have been deeper and lasted longer than it does today, increasing the severity of the boundary these mountains presented.

The inhospitableness of the mountains and their effect on the distribution of rock art is illustrated in Figure 135. The map shows the locations where rock has been discovered by the author. Notice the absence of rock art in the high elevations north to south through the center of Utah.

In contrast to east-west travel across Utah, north-south travel is relatively easy. On the east side of the mountains, the area from Vernal to Bluff, Utah is principally a great plateau. In fact, it is the western side of the Colorado plateau. The only major obstacle to travel is the Tavaputs Plateau, and even then, there are canyon routes through it (like Nine Mile Canyon), perhaps even a route along the course of the Green River.

An alternate view of eastern Utah and western Colorado is to consider that it is the Upper Colorado River Basin. This basin is broadly bounded or outlined by prominent mountain ranges on all sides, except where the Colorado River exits the basin near the southwest corner. The apparent absence of fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs outside of the Colorado River
Figure 135. This map shows the locations of rock art sites visited by the author in and around Utah. The broad vertical stripe through the center of the State shows the location of the Wasatch Mountain Range.
basin does not mean that people never crossed the mountains. What it means is that crossing was difficult and generally limited to a short summer season (at high altitudes), or seasonally restricted to mountain passes. (On July 24 a few years ago, my family and I personally experienced an example of the temperatures and conditions that exist in Utah’s mountains in the summer. We were camping near the Provo River Falls at about 9,000 feet when a storm passed through around noon. It deposited three to four inches of snow. We left, returned home to the Salt Lake valley, and had our planned dutch-oven dinner in our back yard under sunny skies.) Because of the mountains, prehistoric contact between the east and west sides of Utah was limited.

Mountains appear to be a greater boundary to prehistoric travel than rivers. Utah’s mountains are high and wide, while rivers are flat and only tens of feet wide. Prehistorically all rivers in Utah could likely easily have been waded across much of the year, except during the spring runoff. Rivers were just an inconvenience and not a barrier to prehistoric travel. The distribution of rock art types is often the same on the east bank as on the west bank, indicating that rivers presented no significant obstacle to prehistoric travel.

The Wasatch Mountains can be crossed, so the paucity of fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs in the west suggests that there may have been other reasons for the images being confined to eastern Utah. The uniformity and apparently consistent change of the fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs over time suggests that some degree of regular interaction with members of other groups with the same ideology occurred, or was even required. Alternatively, perhaps the area of western Utah was occupied by people who did not share in the ideological beliefs of those in the east. There are types or styles of images in western Utah that are rare in eastern Utah, suggesting the existence of different, perhaps incompatible ideologies in the two areas.

Another factor influencing travel is the presence of a north south naturally occurring “road map”. This road map is the Green and Colorado Rivers and their tributaries. The Green River in the north and the Colorado River in the south nearly divide eastern Utah in half lengthwise. By following the Green/Colorado River north or south, one can “easily” travel from the far reaches of the Fremont area (the Utah-Wyoming border) to the heart of the Anasazi Basketmaker area (around the Utah-Arizona border) without crossing any mountains, and without becoming lost. Additionally, the mountains, both to the west and to the east, form a constant landmark.

The names of the two largest river systems in eastern Utah, as used today, imply that the Green River is a tributary of the Colorado River. The distribution of the fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs over eastern Utah suggests that the prehistoric inhabitants were following a tributary – the Green River, instead of what we consider the main river course – the Colorado River. Prehistorically however, the view that the Colorado River was the main river may have been entirely different. It was actually different historically. Explorer John Wesley Powell named the combined Green and Colorado rivers the Grand River, but the name was later changed. The Grand River is a more appropriate designation, because it suggests that the Green and Colorado rivers are equivalent. With a different perspective, the view could be easily taken that the spread of prehistoric cultures was along the principal drainage – the Green River. It is interesting how names can influence perspective.

South of Utah’s mountains and roughly centered on the Utah-Arizona border, east-west travel is not geographically constrained. North south travel is moderately restricted in this area by the Vermillion Cliffs on the north and the Grand Canyon on the south. The Virgin Anasazi Basketmaker rock art in this travel zone has some of the same characteristics as the Basketmaker rock art in southeastern Utah and
the Four Corners region. Since it has been shown here that fugitive pigment anthropomorphs exist throughout eastern Utah in areas occupied by the Fremont and Anasazi Basketmaker (but not in western Utah) it is expected that these images would be found south of the mountains in other areas also occupied by people from these cultures. In the broad strip of land between the Vermillion Cliffs and the Grand Canyon are several places that have fugitive pigment anthropomorphs with many of the characteristics found elsewhere. These images seem to be concentrated in the region around Kanab Creek (near Kanab, Utah), which is about 160 miles east of Canyon de Chelly.

One concentration of fugitive pigment anthropomorphs is located on the eastern side of the Kanab Creek drainage. Figure 136 shows a typical panel. The anthropomorphs in this photograph would not be out of place in Salt Creek. Like the Salt Creek and Grand Gulch anthropomorphs, the typical principal fugitive-pigment anthropomorphic features are mostly painted. The shapes of the faces are identical to those in Salt Creek, compare with Figure 100. The heads are flat on top with a different colored line across the head, compare with Figure 101. Hair bobs are also often present on the tops of the shoulders. The figures have the same tapered bodies with interior lines and broad belt lines. Three vertical lines on top of the head are a common feature. The images in this Kanab Creek area also have the same features as those in other regions. Figure 137 shows two panels illustrating some of these features. The necklaces on some figures are identical to those in Grand Gulch (Figure 126). Notice also the similarity in the remnants of the fugitive pigment on the bodies of the anthropomorphs in Figures 137 and 126B. A triangular red loincloth was found in one panel in the Kanab Creek area that was identical to those in Grand Gulch. The large pendant necklace is also present. In some of the panels there is also small figures that do not seem to be part of the composition because they are superimposed or seem randomly placed (Figure 137A). Several of the figures are carrying objects in their hands (Figure 137B) that might be detached human heads.

As in other regions discussed above, there are also differences that seem to be unique to this area. For example, there is a large vertical cross on the face of many of the images (Figure 137A); and like other features concentrated in one area, a fugitive pigment anthropomorph with the same cross on its face was found by the author in southeastern Utah. The only other features visible on that image were a few pecked-out facial features.

Another concentration of fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs is found west of Kanab Creek. The images there are similar to those in the area east of Kanab Creek. Beyond these groups of images there are few indications of fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs in southwestern Utah. It is interesting to note that the fugitive pigment anthropomorphs in this area have characteristics that are unique to southwestern Utah, and that these characteristics also occur on other types of rock art that are also unique to southwestern Utah (Manning 1990).

Fugitive pigment anthropomorphs not only exist east along the Utah-Arizona border, they also exist to the west. In fact they exist so far west that the Utah-Arizona border turns into the Colorado-New Mexico border. Figure 138 shows a panel of fugitive pigment anthropomorphs discovered by the author south of Bloomfield, New Mexico in the Canon Largo drainage. The images again are in a row and they have oval faces, necklaces, belt lines, skirts or kilts and parallel rows of vertical lines attached to the head. In this example there are more than the usual three or four vertical lines. Notice that there are three parallel lines at the bottom of each face of the two figures on the right. There is also a large area of abrasion between the two figures on the right and the one on the left. The spacing of the figures suggests that there was another image in the abraded area.
Figure 136. These fugitive pigment anthropomorphs are located in the Kanab Creek drainage in northern Arizona. Notice the similarity to some of the Salt Creek figures.

Figure 137A and B. These two panels from the Kanab Creek drainage illustrate additional features of these fugitive pigment anthropomorphs.

The presence of fugitive pigment anthropomorphs east and west of the southern portion of southeastern Utah shows that the images are associated with a culture that also occupied the same area, where there are no mountains to cross. The culture that exists in this, the Four Corners area was the Anasazi. It seems evident that wherever the Anasazi Basketmaker people were, the fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs were there also.
Where did these images come from? Undeniably, they came from the consciousness of the people who made them, whether it was an individual or a group of people who made them collectively. The form and technique of the creation of these images was derived from an ordered and coherent set of mental concepts—an ideology. This particular ideology was rigidly structured as shown not only by the consistency of the images, but also by the consistency of the changes over time. These are the trademarks of its existence.

The creation of stylized human figures was common to many prehistoric cultures, even on other continents. However, it was not just a normal constituent of human nature or a coincidence that anthropomorphs, specifically, were created all over eastern Utah. They exist here because their creation was derived from an ideology that was spread throughout and was essentially concentrated in eastern Utah. Part of this ideology may have derived from a much larger ideology involving the creation of anthropomorphic image; however, a completely different essence of thought was associated with the images in southeastern Utah when compared to others outside of this area.

Rock art, unlike most other remains of the past dispersed throughout Utah, is personal and specific in nature. So specific in fact, that even the work of individual artisans, or a close-knit group of individuals, can sometimes be determined. For example, two sets of two images, one found near the junction of the Dirty Devil and the Colorado Rivers and the other located in northern Arizona in a tributary of the Colorado River are so nearly identical that they could only have been made by the same individual (Manning 2001:78). The personal nature of rock art makes it possible to define and trace not only individual artisans but, perhaps more importantly, the ideologies from which
the images originated, something that is rarely achievable with other relics from Utah’s past.

Ideologies are complex entities. They can be part of a larger complex and yet be subdivided into smaller complexes. (For example, in the United States there is a basic and strong ideology, as evidenced by the existence of the U.S. Constitution, the bill of Rights, etc. It is an ideology of freedom and the importance of personal rights. In the U.S., there are also ideologies associated with political parties, religions, special interest groups, etc.) Over time, various parts of ideologies from different groups can be combined into new ideologies. Furthermore, ideologies are seldom static. So it is with this particular ideology. It is apparent from the rock art that it was constantly evolving and changing in response to influences, both from within and without. For example, the Salt Creek anthropomorphic figures demonstrate influence from outside the area, as illustrated by their similarity to the unfired Fremont clay figurines, which show influence from Mesoamerica.

It is apparent that the ideology that resulted in the creation of the fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs was tied into or part of an activity that was very important in the lives of the people. This activity was so fundamental, so essential, and so vital that the ideology spread nearly unchanged over the vast area of eastern Utah and the Four Corners area and remained there for over one-thousand years.

OTHER IDEOLOGIES

Within a culture, an ideology may be associated with an ethnic group or a religion. More than one ideology can thus exist in a culture at one time. Specific ideologies may also be associated with specific functions, or as part of classes or clans within a culture. Thus, different types or classes of images may derive from different ideologies.

It is apparent that other completely separate ideologies existed in eastern Utah during the period when fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs were being made. The indication of one of these ideologies is evident in the smaller, sometimes completely pecked-out or completely painted images. These figures are present in some of the panels illustrated here. Some examples that appear in the photographs are listed below. Notice how often superimposition occurs in the panels with the small figures, and how often these panels include mountain sheep. Some examples are: Uintah Basin: Figures 10, 15, 33; Moab: Figures 59, 60, 63; Fremont River: Figures 67, 72, 74, 78, 81; Escalante River: Figure 89; Salt Creek: Figure 98; Kanab Creek: Figure 137A, etc.

In some areas of eastern Utah, fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs dominate; in other areas, the small fully pecked figures dominate. Schaafsma (1994:8) also was aware of these differences. She notes: “Small anthropomorphic figures, quadrupeds, and abstract designs are often found in the panels with the large dominating anthropomorphs, although in 38 out of 83 Ashley-Dry Fork sites the large human figure occurs alone.” In some areas like Nine Mile Canyon for example, these completely pecked-out smaller images outnumber the fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs. In general, the two types appear not to be associated, suggesting that they derive from independent ideologies within the same culture. This further suggests the existence of ethnic groups or groups with specialized functions. For example, there may have been a division in the society that was based on inherited rank or privilege, profession or occupation, wealth, endogamy, religion, etc. There may have existed specific castes or clans, each with its own unique ideology(s) and social or religious function that accounted for these differences. Notice that levels of repatination indicate that often both types were created at nearly the same time.

Another aspect involving these smaller images is that they are not confined to eastern Utah but
are distributed across much of Utah. The distributional pattern somewhat follows that of the Uintah side-notched projectile points as described by Holmer (1986:Figure 19), which dates AD 850-1300. This distribution covers most of north-central Utah. In the north it extends to the Utah-Wyoming border; in the west it is west of the Great Salt Lake near the Nevada border; in the south it is south of Sevier Lake; in the east it extents into Colorado. This distribution supports the premise that eastern Utah contained different ideologies, perhaps one with Basketmaker origins and one with Great Basin Archaic origins. Since this paper is not about this other class of images, a discussion of the differences and reasons for the existence of the smaller pecked-out images is outside the scope of this paper.

**CONSISTENCY**

Despite the fact that fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs were created by what has been defined as two different cultures – the Fremont and Anasazi, and thus occurs in two different culture areas – northeastern and southeastern Utah, the images share the same characteristics. First, the images all depict anthropomorphs – stylized human forms – which have the same basic shape and form, with of course, regional differences and changes occurring over time. These images were not just simple painted or pecked figures like every other image that was created north, east, west or south of eastern Utah, or before or after them in time. These anthropomorphs are not stick figures, they are not long and tapering, they are not round, and they are not all the other shapes that characterize the variety of other images that have been created. Second, the method by which they were created is also the same. They were made with fugitive pigments and sometimes accentuated or made with mineral pigments. Third, they were created first by painting and then by pecking out or painting with mineral pigments specific features: faces, necklaces, headdresses, waistbands, armbands, body outlines, etc., which again, are all the same (with regional variations). In addition, they are often associated with features that exist in all areas, for example severed human heads.

It is important to recognize that not only is the similar type of image being created a significant factor, but so also are the materials used in their construction and the procedures that were followed in their creation. The significance of these images then, lies not only in the form of the anthropomorph, since a simple human figure is basically the same, it is everything about them combined. All of these combined factors create a unique feature that sets them apart from surrounding cultures.

The consistency of these images over the large area of eastern Utah and the four corners area signifies something very important about the ideology that was responsible for their creation. The nature of the ideology is shown in its uniformity. Without doubt, the consistency demonstrates an organized, powerful and influential ideology. All of the people who created these images in this large area had to have the knowledge, not only of the type of images to be made (anthropomorphs), but what pigments to use and what features to peck-out or paint.

What was responsible for this consistency over its entire range? How was the knowledge to create the images distributed? Were people instructed on how to make them? Were people constrained in some way to make them in a certain way? What kind of social entity had the power to direct the minute details of their construction? Was this enforced? How was it enforced? Was it political or religious power? How can all of this be explained? What are the possible scenarios? There are enough questions to spawn decades of research.

There appears to be one word that answers many questions and provides an insight into the creation of these images. The word is superstition. Early ethnologists who studied the inhabitants of the region, especially in the south-
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west, discovered that the lives and activities of the people were severely constrained by superstition. Ritual activities, driven by superstition, were required for nearly every activity in which a person engaged. Superstition directed the how, why, when and where of nearly every activity. Innovation, invention and thus progress came to a halt, or at least moved forward at a crawl. This was the state of affairs that the inhabitants of the southwest were found in at the time of European contact late in the 1700's.

This superstition was both political and religious, which made it extremely powerful. It was enforced and reinforced by the religious/political leaders of the community and especially by the people themselves in their acceptance and belief in the superstitions. These superstitions were nearly always, if not always, tied to a critical (life giving or life saving) or practical (planting or hunting) aspect of life, which further entrenched the supernatural beliefs and practices. Superstition was likely a prevailing force at the time the fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs were being created. Superstition would account then, for the creation of these images in a certain and consistent way. The fact that they were consistent over all of eastern Utah demonstrates that there was interaction between the people in all areas.

REGIONAL VARIATIONS

While there is consistency in the form, features and developmental sequence of the fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs over all of eastern Utah, it is also evident that regional differences exist. For example, images along the Fremont River in central Utah have broad T-shaped areas on their faces that are not common elsewhere. The triangular shaped loincloths are a common feature in southeastern Utah along the drainages of the San Juan River, but are not common elsewhere. Images in the Uintah Basin in Northern Utah have what appear to be large trapezoidal headdress or hairstyles, sometimes containing a large pecked-out rectangular or circular area in the center; these are not common elsewhere.

The regional differences may be attributed to several factors:
1.) the broad range in the talents and artistic abilities of various artisans in different areas,
2.) the relative isolation of each group, due to distances between them,
3.) the interpretations of the ideology by different individuals in each area,
4.) individual innovations, and
5.) the period of time over which the images were constructed - one or two generations.

It is apparent that many people were living in these various areas prehistorically, and like today, some of them probably never left the general area in which they lived, while others traveled everywhere. Some people probably left and lived in another area and then returned home after several years.

At least one example of nearly every feature and characteristic of any of the fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs that is specific to, and concentrated in, any one region can be found outside of that region. For example, one of the T-shaped facial features that commonly occurs on anthropomorphs in the Fremont River area was found in the South Cottonwood Wash drainage near Blanding, over 100 miles away (Figure 111). Another one appears to exist near Moab (Figure 69). The sloping vertical line beneath the eyes commonly occurs in the Uintah Basin, but as shown here, a few exist along Fremont River. Severed human heads are also common in the Uintah Basin and as demonstrated here, a few also occur in the Fremont River area. The presence of small numbers of features and characteristics outside the areas where they are common demonstrates the extent and degree to which people were traveling from one area to another.

The consistency in the fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs and their consistent change over
time, along with the regional variations, indicates that the people interacted with each other constantly, and in a wide variety of ways. The regional differences show that there were concepts or ideas that were created by insightful or talented individuals and these concepts became part of the accepted tradition in the various local areas. These differences were likely fueled by the distance and absence of constant contact between the peoples in various areas.

While there are differences in each of these regions, it is important to realize that there are more similarities than there are differences between the images in various regions. There are as many differences in images within each region (especially in the Uintah Basin) as there are differences in images between different regions.

ORIGINS

Where did the fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs originate? The images initially created on rocks by the prehistoric inhabitants of eastern Utah show that all of eastern Utah was occupied beginning sometime in the Archaic period. Thousands of years before that, it was occupied by the Paleo-Indians, as evidenced by the presence of their distinctive projectile points. No petroglyphs or pictographs have yet been found that appear to have been created during that period of time. Glen Canyon Style 5 petroglyphs, which were determined to date in the Archaic period by Turner (1963, 1971), through cultural association, levels of repatination, height above ground level and above other newer panels, etc., have been found by the author throughout the entire eastern Utah area. This indicates that an archaic population existed throughout eastern Utah preceding the development of fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs. The concentration of Glen Canyon Style 5 images generally decreases from the Utah-Arizona border to the Utah-Wyoming border, although there appear to be areas where they are concentrated, much like there are areas where fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs are concentrated.

It appears evident from the preceding discussion that the ideology from which the fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs originated was in the process of being created, or had just been created, late in the Archaic or early Basketmaker Period. This suggests a beginning date of circa AD 0-300. This correlates well with the changes taking place during that period and the efflorescence of what has been labeled the Anasazi and Fremont cultures. Apparently, the creation of the fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs was part of that evolution. The interesting question is: was the ideology from which the fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs came a result of that evolution, or was it the cause of it? This is an interesting question for future research.

The distributional pattern and similarity of the small simple fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs suggests that fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs came into existence over all eastern Utah at about the same time. Throughout the area, images exist that exhibit only a few simple pecked-out features such as eyes, necklaces and belt lines, as illustrated above. Size is a significant determinate. The oldest images are the smallest. They are also the images with the greatest degree of repatination. In addition, throughout the entire area there are images that have other features, such as partly outlined bodies, headdresses or hairstyles. These are larger than the older images. These images are also often superimposed over the simpler images, as shown here in several photographs. Throughout the entire area there are other images that have amazingly elaborate pecked-out features, with nearly completely outlined bodies. Some of these images have painted rather than pecked-out features. Some of them are portrayed with elaborate implements like shields, knives and severed human heads. These are often superimposed over the images that are less elaborate. Repatination levels on the pecked-out images confirm this sequence.
All of this establishes the existence of a developmental sequence—a sequence that occurs consistently over the entire area. As stated above, the ideology was a constantly evolving entity, and these changes are indicative of this evolution. It does not appear from the images that there was a definite point of origin for the fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs. It appears as if the whole of eastern Utah was one uniform area where everyone was in nearly constant contact with everyone else, and they evolved together. This argues for an *in situ* origin for the fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs somewhere in the upper Colorado River plateau.

Berry and Berry concluded from their research that:

> These temporal and distributional data suggest a rapid spread of Basketmaker II technologies from southwest to northeast along the Colorado River and its tributaries between ca. 2000 and 1500 B.P. The absence of Archaic dates more recent than 3000 B.P. in this area suggests that the expansion was unopposed (Berry and Berry 1976:33).

The existence of a rapid spread of Basketmaker II technologies throughout eastern Utah is significant. The date determined here for the beginnings of the fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs in eastern Utah, is also late Archaic-early Basketmaker II. Since the fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs began in that period, they could also have been part of that rapid expansion. Berry and Berry, however, did not have the information that Glen Canyon Style 5 images existed over all of eastern Utah. These images, which are particularly consistent, indicate that an extremely mobile Archaic population existed throughout eastern Utah, a population through which the fugitive-pigment anthropomorphic ideology could spread rapidly.

Fugitive pigments could have been used in eastern Utah to create anthropomorphic images without the addition of pecked features for hundreds, if not thousands of years throughout the Archaic period. It is possible that these figures were being created entirely with fugitive pigments including those features that were later pecked out. If this were true, it would explain how the fugitive pigment images came into being so rapidly—they simply evolved from an existing, extremely mobile Archaic base. Someone simply noticed one day that the specific painted features stood out more when they were pecked out, and this discovery spread rapidly. There is, however, no evidence to support the existence of these early figures. Any such fugitive pigment images long ago ceased to exist. In addition, no “silhouettes” of images without pecked features have been found that would substantiate their existence. The images were created so far back in time that all evidence of them have ceased to exist.

How then is it possible to trace the origin of something that cannot be seen? First, the place of origin should be the location where the oldest fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs exist and likely, where their highest concentration exists, since they would have been made there longer. If the fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs came into existence late in the Archaic period, then they should have the same distribution and concentration as other late Archaic evidences. Archaic presence is indicated by the existence of something that is visible—the Glen Canyon Style 5 images. If the highest concentration of the oldest fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs matches the highest concentration of Glen Canyon Style 5, then their place of origin could be discovered. Where then, is the highest concentration of Glen Canyon Style 5 images. Likely it is in southeastern Utah, however, the comparative levels of concentration have not been determined for other areas. As noted above, Glen Canyon Style 5 images are scattered over all of eastern Utah. The number of Glen Canyon Style 5 images in the central portion of eastern Utah is surprisingly large. The concentration of the oldest fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs seems highest in the south. The data indicates then, that the oldest fugitive-
pigment anthropomorphs are associated with Glen Canyon Style 5 and thus with the late Archaic, and together they are concentrated in southeastern Utah. This chain of investigation leads to the conclusion that the fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs could have originated in southeastern Utah, but if they did, the movement north was extremely rapid.

The location of origin of the fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs is of course based upon data discovered and available today. It presupposes that there are no other images outside the area discussed here, especially southeast and southwest. Admittedly, these areas are little known to the author; however, the author has spent some time around Holbrook, Winslow and the Petrified Forest areas of Arizona; no fugitive pigment images were seen. Additionally, published reports from Arizona (Malotki and Weaver 2002, McCrery and Malotki 1994, Schaafsma 1992, and Thiel 1995) confirm this observation. The conclusion that the fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs originated in southeastern Utah therefore, appears to be valid, at least as of this date and in the areas searched.

CLASSIFICATION

Traditional definitions have failed to adequately categorize these images. Since no paint is visible, they have always been classified as petroglyphs (Schaafsma 1971, Wellmann 1979, Cole 1990, etc.), but clearly, they are not petroglyphs. The terms pictograph and petroglyph have never been adequate descriptive terms for the prehistoric images of Utah. There have been various attempts to use other descriptive terms, from petrographs (Turner 1963), rock paintings (Cole 1990), and rock writing (Martineau 1973) to “hieroglyphics”, the term applied by early investigators, but these terms have not been widely used. Other descriptive terminology like “pecked pictograph” or “painted petroglyph” have also been applied to figures where both painting and pecking is obvious. These terms however, have only limited value, because the original pigment is often missing, so they cannot be identified as one or the other. The commonly used descriptive terms for classification then, fail when applied to fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs; all that is except the most generic and controversial term “rock art”.

The goal of scholars and art historians who have studied prehistoric images on rocks in the past has been to categorize the subject by dividing it up into units based on shared characteristics, nearly all of which are “intuitive” and not based on an analytical system (Manning 1993). It is obvious that it is the rock art scholar’s intrinsic methodical nature to look for differences when classifying any group of images. This paradigm is so overpowering that it hinders individuals from seeing other possibilities. Rock art styles have been created based upon perceived differences, which have become exaggerated and overemphasized, while the importance of similarities has been overlooked and de-emphasized. The fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs discussed here have been classified by mode, as defined by Manning (1993). This classification scheme categorizes images based on physical differences, not by a system of intuitive artistic styles. This classification led to the findings discussed in this paper.

Previous to this date, researchers divided the images of eastern Utah into different styles. Turner (1963) began this process in the Glen Canyon area. He divided the images there into five style horizons, each based on the presence of: general image form, associated artifacts, levels of repatination, etc. Schaafsma (1994 [1970]:2, figure 2) classified the images in eastern Utah into three different Fremont style zones: the Uintah, with the Classic Vernal Style images; the Northern and Southern San Rafael zones, with their respective styles; and one Basketmaker style zone, with the San Juan Anthropomorphic Style. The Southern San Rafael style zone included some of the area classified today as Anasazi, i.e. Indian Creek, White Canyon, Grand Gulch and the lower San Juan River. In a later publication, Schaafsma redrew
this line to follow the Colorado River (Schaafsma 1980:164), which was more in line with current archaeological thought. Despite these recent re-interpretations, Schaafsma was essentially correct the first time. Fremont rock art sites are found south of the Colorado River.

Schaafsma, in an effort to associate the rock art of Utah with cultural entities previously defined by archaeologists, emphasized the differences and de-emphasized the similarities between the images. Because of this, her assessment and classification of the fugitive pigment images in eastern Utah is inaccurate. Schaafsma, like other researchers discussed above, was unaware of the existence, importance and wide spread distribution of fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs. Additionally, Schaafsma’s style definitions are based on an assessment of all the existing images taken together, irrespective of their period of manufacture or ideological association; thus, the more complex fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs that occurred later in time were including with those that occurred earlier and later.

Furthermore, all of the other images not associated with the fugitive-pigment anthropomorphic ideology were included in her style categories. Stylistic categories, as defined by Schaafsma, do not provide an adequate representation of the all of prehistoric images in eastern Utah. They may however, be descriptive of the images that do not appear to be associated with the fugitive pigment anthropomorphs. This, however, remains to be proven. It is therefore evident, that the “styles” she defined do not reflect the differences in cultural manifestations, as she asserts, but are instead minor regional differences in the fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs created by different artisan’s rendering of the common ideology.

SALT CREEK ANTHROPOMORPHS

One of the more interesting regional variations, and a group of images that warrant an extended discussion, are the Salt Creek anthropomorphs, often called the Salt Creek Faces, although they are not faces at all. Their cultural affiliation has likely been debated more than any other group of figures, except perhaps the Barrier Canyon Style. The Salt Creek figures are some of the most controversial and misunderstood images in southeastern Utah. These figures have all of the classic characteristics of fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs. They are, therefore, a regional variation of the fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs.

Consider their distinguishing traits: the images were painted with fugitive pigments and accented with mineral pigments. In general, only the reddish brown and white mineral pigments remain today (Figure 107). Various features were created by removing the pigments along with the rock’s surface (although not to the extent occurring in other areas). Abrading is evident along the sides of the bodies and heads of the figures, where pigment was removed to create distinct lines and add a three-dimensional quality.

Furthermore, the figures have trapezoidal bodies. They are front-facing. With very few exceptions, they always occur in rows. The figures are superimposed over others of the same type. Variations always exist within each group (each figure is a little different than the one next to it or in other panels). Their faces have limited features. They have a horizontal bar on top of the head. There are small lines, pecked-out individual dots and vertical rows of dots or small circles on the sides of the head, which likely represent hair ties. They have the same large pendant necklaces and the same single or multiple rows of necklaces. They have belt lines (sometimes a single band, sometimes decorated) and vertical lines below the belt line. There are interior lines along the sides and torso of the body and diagonal lines across the torso. All of these characteristics, and others, demonstrate that the Salt Creek figures are fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs.
Previous Investigations

Formal investigations into the archaeology of Salt Creek, and therefore of the Salt Creek anthropomorphs, began with the Claflin-Emerson expeditions in 1928-1931. Several sites that were associated with rock art were investigated, at least one of which apparently included Salt Creek anthropomorphs at site LS-14-11 (42SA1563) (Gunnerson 1969:38-47). Schaafsma (1970:figure 52) illustrates two Salt Creek anthropomorphs with dark faces that she indicates are present at 42SA1563. However, several attempts have been made to locate them, both at the site and in the general area. They have not been found. Furthermore, a description of these images is not present in the site form recorded for the site by Sharrock in 1966. Apparently, either there was an error in the description of their location, which was either made or continued by Schaafsma, or they ceased to exist between 1930 and 1966, which is a very real possibility, since the sandstone at the site flakes off in large slabs.

Gunnerson (1969) concluded from the notes of the Claflin-Emerson expedition that the Salt Creek area was inhabited by Mesa Verde Anasazi in the late Pueblo II to the early Pueblo III period. Citing the similarity between Salt Creek anthropomorphs and the Fremont figurines (Morss 1954), Gunnerson surmised that the Salt Creek anthropomorphs belonged to the Fremont Culture.

In the first formal survey of Canyonlands National Park, Sharrock (1966) also concluded that the Needles District, in which the Salt Creek drainage is located, was principally occupied during the late Pueblo II early Pueblo III period by the Mesa Verde Anasazi, which, he notes, indicates a major influx into the area and an occupation lasting roughly from AD 1075 to 1150. His conclusion was based on the abundance of ceramics, architecture and ground stone. He notes that no sites that were distinctively affiliated with the Fremont culture were recorded. Sharrock however, observed the presence of numerous images that he categorized as Fremont. This created an incongruity. Noting the absence of the Utah type Fremont metate, he theorized that the female population was wholly Anasazi. That left only Fremont males to account for the rock art. Realizing that this was untenable, Sharrock concluded: "The alternative explanation is that Fremont design motifs were borrowed by the Mesa Verdeans without significant (distinguishable) population interchange." He also stated that,

...the design elements of the Fremont seem to have been borrowed wholesale by the most northern of the Mesa Verdeans who were in direct contact with the Fremont, but they were transmitted only a short distance southward among the Mesa Verdeans (Sharrock 1966: 62).

Sharrock did not discuss the Salt Creek anthropomorphs directly. The rock art he references to is described as "horned dancers, shield figures, and ghost figures". It is therefore difficult to tell from his report if the Salt Creek anthropomorphs were included in what Sharrock considered Fremont; however, a review by the author of Sharrock's field notes and site forms indicates that he recorded several sites with Salt Creek anthropomorphs, for example 42SA1629 - commonly called the Four Faces, which he did categorize as Fremont.

Ambler (1970:3-4) suggested that the presence of Fremont rock art in the Canyonlands area, where, he notes, there is little evidence of Fremont occupation, was an indication that this region was used as a hunting ground by Fremont people, either before or during the Mesa Verde occupation.

In 1978, Adrienne Anderson, National Park Service Archaeologist, in a review of National Park resources in southeastern Utah for the Park Service, noted that Sharrock's determination that the rock art in Salt Creek was Fremont was "not necessarily so", and referred to the presence of the Barrier Canyon Style as an ex-
ample of images that Sharrock incorrectly referred to as Fremont. However, she notes that, "...there is much Fremont style rock art in the district" and then indicates that the Thirteen Faces (42SA1652) is an outstanding example of Fremont style motifs (Anderson 1978:53-54). She also classifies similar figures as examples of Schaafsma's Southern San Rafael Fremont style and notes that it is strange that these images usually occur at unquestionably Anasazi sites.

Noxon and Marcus (1982) coined the term "Faces Motif" to identify the Salt Creek anthropomorphic images, which they describe as a "unique rock art theme" (1982:13). They concluded that the images, "appear limited to the Salt Creek Archaeological District in Canyonlands Park" or are "...focused within a 10 square mile area in the Salt Creek Archaeological District...". They also state that the images "...occur in consistent association with Anasazi cultural manifestations..." (1982:37) and therefore, "are probably not Fremont in origin and possibly represent a localized Anasazi development".

Griffin (1984) and Osborn, et al. (1986) surveyed in Davis and Lavender Canyons east of Salt Creek, and more fully documented the "Five Faces" site (42SA7736). They concluded that the majority of use of these canyons was during the late Pueblo II to early Pueblo III period. Griffin (1984:443) noted that at least 10% of the sites recorded during the survey dated from the Basketmaker III to Pueblo I period.

Noxon and Marcus (1995) further documented additional sites in the Park along with several panels of Salt Creek anthropomorphs. They noted that, "One distinctive feature of the Canyonlands Anasazi Style rock art are the 'Faces Motif' anthropomorphs". "Primarily focused within the Salt Creek District, Faces Motif anthropomorphs may be an adoption or combination of Anasazi and Fremont rock art styles, although this association has not been clearly demonstrated." "Faces Motif anthropomorphs are believed to originate with the Canyonlands Anasazi."

[Note: Since it is obvious that the images are not faces, where did the term originate? The first use of the idiom "faces" applied to these images was found on Sharrock’s 1965 sketch map accompanying the site form for 42SA1629 - "the Four Faces" shown in Figure 109. The notation “four faces pictographs" marks the location of the Salt Creek anthropomorphs on his sketch map. It is unfortunate that a person who knew little about rock art recorded this site. The term “Faces" will likely never disappear. Schaafsma (1971:50-54), in the process of describing two sites from Salt Creek (one in detail) that both contain Salt Creek anthropomorphs, astutely does not refer to these images as "Faces".]

Tipps and Hewitt (1989:34), in the research design section of the first intensive and comprehensive survey of specific areas in Canyonlands National Park, noted this enigma. They also posed specific questions for further research concerning the “Faces Motif anthropomorphic style”. These are as follows: "(1) were the artists who made these paintings Fremont or Anasazi (2) if Anasazi, do they represent an Anasazi adoption of a Fremont style, and (3) do the Faces Motif panels occur exclusively with Late Pueblo II/Pueblo III Anasazi remains?"

This summary of previous research shows the problems and controversy centered on the Salt Creek anthropomorphs. The realization that these are fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs and that they are part of a larger cultural complex covering all of eastern Utah, etc., sheds new light on the controversy. I shall attempt here to answer Tipps and Hewitt’s questions.

When were the Salt Creek Anthropomorphs Created?

First, however, I would like preface this discussion by answering the question: When were
these images created? Nearly all the scholars cited above believed that the images were created during the late Pueblo II through Pueblo III period, whether by the Anasazi or by the Fremont. Not only is this borne out by association, but the anthropomorphs at site 42SA1629, commonly called the Four Faces, were most certainly created by people standing on the top of an Anasazi Puebloan structure. That narrows the date considerably. Two other panels of Salt Creek anthropomorphs apparently were also made while standing on top of structures. It is obvious then that the images date from the Pueblo II-III period.

A promise for ascertaining a more exact date for construction of these images was found on the design of the lower torso of one of the Salt Creek anthropomorphs at site 42SA1629. The design is present on a wide band at the waist of one of the images (Figure 109). It resembles a belt line, sash or even a short garment extending from the waist downward. The design element consists of elongated triangles with a row of small triangles or short lines or dots along one side. (The exact design apparently differs depending on the skill of the painter or the painting implement.) The sash features the same elements as those found on whiteware ceramics, which have more narrowly defined dates.

This approach however, did not turn out as expected. Instead of being specific to a concise time, this element was found to occur in several periods. For example, it is a common design element on Anasazi ceramics dating from late Pueblo II through early Pueblo III period. For example, it is found on Black Mesa Black-on-White from the Pueblo II period (about AD 900 to 1100) (Lister and Lister 1978, Colton 1955 and Breternitz, et al. 1974). It also is present on a few Pueblo I ceramics (Kana-A Black-on-white). Plog (1979:Figure 8) illustrates the design element on a Lino Black-on-Gray bowl, which is Basketmaker III (AD 500 to 750). Although present on a variety of ceramic types, the design element is undoubtedly the most abundant during the late Pueblo II early Pueblo III period. This feature then, did not narrow the time period for the construction of the images, but it does seem to uphold the Pueblo II/III date.

An additional problem with the design element is that it is not culturally distinctive. It is found on both Fremont and Anasazi ceramics. For example, it is found on Fremont, Ivie Creek Black-on-white ceramics (Madsen 1977:38), which date AD 700 to 1200(?). Interestingly, a similar design feature also occurs in Fish Creek Cove in the Fremont River drainage, which is to be expected, since these images are all part of the fugitive-pigment anthropomorphic ideology.

There is little doubt then that the Salt Creek anthropomorphs were made during the late Pueblo II through early Pueblo III period by what has been defined as the Anasazi Pueblo people.

Returning then to Tipps and Hewitt's questions; first: "Do the Faces Motif panels occur exclusively with Late Pueblo II/Pueblo III Anasazi remains?" Having participated in survey work in Canyonlands National Park (Griffin 1984, Tipps and Hewitt 1989, etc.) and having for many years extensively explored, not only the Salt Creek drainage, but also all of the northern slope drainages of the Abajo Mountains, I observed three things:

1.) All the lower north-slope drainages of the Abajo mountains contain Pueblo II and early Pueblo III habitation sites similar to those in the Salt Creek drainage (see also Davis 1975).

2.) In these drainages there is a paucity of middlen depth associated with these Puebloan structures, indicating that the period of habitation during this period was widespread, yet relatively brief.

3.) The Salt Creek anthropomorphs are indeed concentrated in the Salt Creek Archaeological District, but they are not exclusive to the area.
For example, a panel of Salt Creek anthropomorphs is located about 20 miles north of Salt Creek in Lathrop Canyon in the Island-in-the-Sky district of Canyonlands National Park (Castleton 1979:303-304). In this panel the three (actually four) images are also in a row. One of the images is superimposed over and a little above another one. Here also the panels are associated with Anasazi Pueblo structures.

Figure 139 shows a group of what could easily be Salt Creek anthropomorphs. These “Salt Creek anthropomorphs”, however, are not in the Salt Creek Archaeological District, or even near Canyonlands National Park. They are 180 miles north of Salt Creek in the Brush Creek drainage of the Uintah Basin of northern Utah. Some of the images at the site in Brush Creek are illustrated by Schaafsma (1971:144-145). She, however, attributes them to, “apparent northern stylistic influences”. It is not too surprising that Schaafsma attributed them to northern influences. No other group of images with these characteristics has been found to this date in the Uintah Basin. Schaafsma was not familiar with the images in Salt Creek, so she did not realize what they were.

Other images with the “unique” characteristics of the Salt Creek anthropomorphs are found scattered in eastern Utah, but they are rare. For example, compare the pendant necklaces in Figure 109 with those in Figure 46 – from Nine Mile Canyon and Figure 52 – from Desolation Canyon. Other features of the Salt Creek anthropomorphs are similarly distributed.

It is apparent from the existence of the images shown in Figure 139 that the Salt Creek anthropomorphs are not confined to Salt Creek. They are not even confined to Southern Utah. Nor are they entirely associated with the Pueblo II-III Anasazi. The existence of these images in the Uintah Basin and in central Utah demonstrates that the whole set of Salt Creek figures are part of a complex of fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs that resulted from one common ideology.

Furthermore, they demonstrate that the people of eastern Utah were in contact with each other relatively constantly, given the distances involved, and most significantly, that this contact lasted for over one-thousand years. (As an example of this interaction notice that Figure 102 from Salt Creek appears to have typical Basketmaker face painting.) Someone pointed out that the problem is, of course, which group of images was created first: those in Salt Creek, or those in Brush Creek? The comment was also
made that if we knew which were created first, we might know which region was the source of the images. In reality, the images were created at nearly the same time since they both have outlined bodies, along with the shared and similar features. The images simply demonstrate the degree of contact between the people of the various regions throughout the existence of the fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs.

Back then to Tipps and Hewitt's questions, "(1) were the artists who made these paintings Fremont or Anasazi (2) if Anasazi, do they represent an Anasazi adoption of a Fremont style?"

The problem is that this is an either/or question, and it is not possible to provide an either/or answer, since the ideology responsible for the creation of these images existed in both the "Fremont" and "Anasazi" areas. Apparently all of the people of eastern Utah shared the fugitive-pigment anthropomorphic ideology since the end of the Archaic period and the beginning of the Formative. Relative to the ideology, there was neither Fremont nor Anasazi. They were all one group of people.

The Salt Creek images then, were made by a group of people who have been defined as the Anasazi, but the images do not represent an Anasazi adoption of a Fremont style. Sharrock's (1966) question of whether the Salt Creek anthropomorphs were borrowed wholesale by the late Pueblo II and early Pueblo III Mesa Verde occupants without an immigration of Fremont people has the same answer. The people who made the images already possessed the fugitive-pigment anthropomorphic ideology. They did not borrow it. An ideology cannot be borrowed if you already have it. When the ideology came into existence, which resulted in the creation of the fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs, there was neither Fremont nor Anasazi; they were all the same. The ideology was obviously influenced from outside the area, (the figures have outlined bodies, etc), but this was part of the constantly evolving changes.

The Salt Creek anthropomorphs are thus a late regional manifestation of the ideology that created the fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs. This explains why they have more outlined and decorated bodies and why more features are painted than are pecked out or abraded. Their peculiarities are due to the peculiarities of a group of people somewhat isolated in the Salt Creek area.

Apparently the occupants of eastern Utah and the adjacent areas to the south were all one group of people, that is, until something happened. The rock art of eastern Utah illustrates what happened. Sometime well into the creation of the fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs a new ideology came into existence in Four Corners area. North of this region, the people rejected this new ideology. This new ideology apparently centered on the Kiva and its associated "religion".

The people of the four corners region abandoned the fugitive-pigment anthropomorphic ideology for this new Kiva based ideology. When this occurred, the quality and style of the rock art in the Four Corners area declined and disintegrated. It consists mostly of simple lizard men, abraded grooves and spirals. While the rock art declined, the Kiva mural art flourished (Crotty 1995, Hibben 1975).

The people of the "northern periphery" rejected the new Kiva-centered ideology and continued to develop the fugitive-pigment anthropomorphic ideology, which resulted in the creation of the large and complex images that are one of the defining characteristics of the Fremont culture. The greater the distance from the Utah-Arizona, the larger and more complex are the late fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs.

It is easy to determine the line of demarcation between the Fremont and the Anasazi. It is marked by the presence or absence of the Kiva. It appears that the people in each area were still in contact with each other, they just had differ-
ent ideologies; so the rock art, ceramics and other indications of cultural contact are present.

It is no coincidence that the northern most Kivas in eastern Utah (located by the author) are in the northern drainages of the Abajo Mountains, which includes Salt Creek, North Cottonwood and Davis and Lavender Canyons. The people living in the Salt Creek area culturally were the Anasazi Pueblo, but they were in both the very southern-most fringe of the Fremont and the northern-most fringe of the Anasazi, so they retained a mixture of the two ideologies. That is why fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs were made while standing on Anasazi Pueblo structures.

The wide variety in the rock art in the Salt Creek area, which has not been mentioned by any previous researcher, indicates that the people lived in relative separation and so were able, because of the presence of some very imaginative individuals, to develop from the fugitive-pigment anthropomorphic ideology a group of figures that have some unique artistic differences.

An interesting feature of the Salt Creek anthropomorphs is their resemblance to the Fremont figurines. Some of the images exhibit a remarkable similarity, perhaps more so than the images in the traditional Fremont area. Interestingly, no Fremont figurines have been found in Salt Creek, at least any that are known.

ENVIRONMENT

One other factor links the fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs together. They nearly all occur in the same environment. The images are concentrated in four distinct regions in eastern Utah. In the north, they are concentrated along the eastern drainages of the Uintah Mountains, which drain into the Green River. In the central area, they are concentrated along the drainages of Boulder Mountain, which drains into the Fremont and Colorado Rivers respectively. In the south, they are concentrated along the drainages of the La Sal Mountains, which drain into the Colorado River. In the far south, they are concentrated along the drainages on both sides of the Abajo Mountains, which drain into the Colorado and San Juan Rivers. In addition a relatively small number of sites are concentrated in part of the Kanab Creek drainage, which drains the Paunsaugunt Plateau west of Bryce Canyon National Park.

Each group in eastern Utah occupies strikingly identical environments. They all occupy an area containing perennial creeks. They all occupy an area at the base of mountains. They all occupy an area near a major river. (Previously I discussed that rivers and mountains could be used as a road map.) There are lots of areas like this in eastern Utah and western Colorado, but only a few have concentrations of fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs.

An illustration that other areas with the same environments may have been investigated or briefly visited and then rejected is found in the Ferron Creek drainage. Ferron Creek is midway between the Wyoming and Arizona borders and at the far western edge of the upper Colorado/Green River basin. It drains the western slopes of the Wasatch Plateau with peaks as high as 10,904 feet. It flows past Ferron then it drains into the San Rafael River. It is likely at the farthest point from all the other concentrations of fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs. One single isolated fugitive-pigment anthropomorph was discovered by the author in this drainage (Figure 140).

Why certain areas were chosen to the exclusion of others is a mystery. Certainly there are other factors that determined which locations were occupied of which we are unaware.

All of these groups then, share the same adaptive strategy. It is as if the people were all the same group, and they intermingled so often that they chose just one type of environment in which to reside.
THE LARGE PENDANT NECKLACE

The key to understanding the meaning, purpose and placement of these images is a feature that is common to the fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs in all of the areas discussed here. It is an integral part and defining characteristic of the fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs. This feature is the large pendant necklace on the chest of the anthropomorphs.

The pendant necklace is a symbol. Precisely what it symbolized is unknown, however, because of its presence on anthropomorphic images in sites with ritualistic context, it can be deduced that it reveals that the person wearing it was one who had the authority, or ability, or right, or privilege, or stature, or power to officiate in these rituals. The pendant necklace was apparently a container of some kind, likely made of animal skin that held the necessary elements to define the stature of the person wearing it.

This image was discovered near Ferron, Utah. Notice how various regional characteristics of the fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs have been combined to form this image.

THE END

What happened to the fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs? They ended when the Fremont ended. The rock art shows that they were not just slowly replaced; they just suddenly ended. Panels of fugitive-pigment anthropomorphs in the Uintah Basin are superimposed by images of Pueblo IV origin from the 1400-1500's that parallel in style the Kiva murals of the Kayenta and Chaco Anasazi from northern New Mexico and Arizona (Crotty 1993, Hibben 1975). Superimposed over the sacred images of the Fremont are large shield figures and men armed with bows and arrows.

FOOTNOTES

1 This figure represents a person who is dead. The person is hanging on two protruding beams, the ends of which are shown beneath the arms. This might not be obvious to a person who has not been in a cadaver lab at a university medical center. When a live person is suspended by their arms, their feet are in about a normal position, which is out at right angles to their legs. However, when a person is dead, their feet hang straight down like those depicted in this photograph. A pictograph showing another person in this exact position is found in Northern Arizona. Its feet also hang straight down.

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NOTES

1. All drawings are tracings made directly from slides using Adobe Photoshop. They have not been field checked.
2. The study area is confined to Utah and a short distance (about 50 to 100 miles) into adjoining states. The discussion in this paper is principally centered on eastern Utah, the area with which I am most familiar.
3. Nearly all of the sites shown in Figure 135 were discovered during the author’s explorations.
4. Troy Scotter found the panels in Range Creek that are shown in Figures 55 and 56.

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