

landscape" through his own intervention.

The fallah had a cognitive map of spatial divisions which stressed a multiplicity of differentiating criteria, each separating the boundaries of land on one basis and uniting it on another base. The criteria differentiating these divisions were overlapping and thus constituted a confusing network to the external observer, but become clear once they are established in the peasant's frame of reference: cardinal points, localities, landmarks, kinship domains, ecological domains, and seasonal agricultural cycles.

Abu Ziad who is ninety-eight years old today, explained the different elements which constituted a comprehensive system of identification and orientation. The following is based on his remarks, with confirmation from other elderly men in the village.

#### Cardinal points and locations

In addition to geographic areas, such as mountains, valleys, wadis, gorges, etc., cardinal points were an important point of reference to "map" the village lands. The village land was divided into four cardinal parts. Each part was referred to as a "face" (wejeħ). The four cardinal parts in turn were sub-divided into a number (42) of smaller basins each referred to by a specific name (Fig.3.11 & 6.12).

#### Landmarks ("nodes")

Another system of notation referred to landmarks of a communal, mostly spiritual nature: the holy shrines (sheikh el Rifa'i, el-khawas, and Rijal sufa), haunted springs ('ain Bunnayak, 'ain el Jadida and 'ain Hajar), and the holy trees (sheikh Berri and el-Majdoub) (Fig. 6.12). Secondary landmarks which belong to the different clans such as threshing floors and water wells also functioned as objects for the fallah's orientation.

#### Kinship domains and footpaths

The division of the fields into a number of lineage blocks and the