INTERDISCIPLINARY EGYPTOLOGY

Research Article

Emotion metaphors related to the source domain HEAT/FIRE

in ancient texts from Mesopotamia and Egypt

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Abstract

This study provides interdisciplinary insights into the conceptual metaphor EMOTION IS HEAT/FIRE in ancient Mesopotamian and Egyptian texts. Applying the framework of Conceptual Metaphor Theory, the article investigates instances of the conceptual metaphor EMOTION IS HEAT/FIRE in Akkadian and ancient Egyptian, two languages of the Afro-Asiatic language family. Focusing on the emotions of love/desire as target domain, the study explores (dis)similarities in the metaphor's uses and in the underlying conceptualisation of emotions in these two related languages. Case studies from both corpora reveal that ancient Egyptian and Akkadian texts employ a set of universal metaphors that are common cross-culturally/cross-linguistically and are grounded in bodily experience (including the metaphor THE BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR EMOTIONS). However, the identified instances of the metaphor also display some culture-specific variations that are analysed through a close reading of the texts in their respective cultural contexts.

Keywords: metaphor analysis, emotion studies, ancient Egyptian texts, Akkadian texts, heat/fire

التعبيرات المجازية المرتبطة بالعاطفة بوصفها مصدرًا للحرارة/النار في نصوص بلاد الرافدين القديمة ومصر

الملخص

تعمل هذه الدراسة على تقديم رؤى متعددة التخصصات لفهم التعبير المجازي، أي التشبيه الذي يُعبّر عن أن "العاطفة هي الحرارة/النار" كما ورد في النصوص القديمة من بلاد الرافدين ومصر. وذلك من خلال تطبيق ما يُعرف بنظرية الاستعارة التصورية، حيث تبحث المقالة في فهم المعنى الكامن وراء الاستعارة التصورية، أي التشبيه الذي يشير إلى أن 'العاطفة هي حرارة/نار' كما ورد في كل من اللغتين الأكدية والمصرية القديمة، وهما لغتان تنتميان إلى عائلة اللغات الأفروآسيوية. يركز البحث على كل من عواطف الحب والرغبة كمعاني مكنية محتملة، حيث يقوم بدراسة أوجه التشابه والاختلاف في استخدامات هذه الاستعارة وفي التصوّرات الكامنة وراء استخدام كلمة "العاطفة" في هاتين اللغتين اللتين تجمعهما العديد من الصلات. تكشف دراسات الحالة من كلا المتنين أن النصوص المصرية القديمة والأكدية تستعين بمجموعة من الاستعارات العالمية الشائعة بين الثقافات واللغات، والمترسخة في التجربة الجسدية الفطرية (بما في ذلك الاستعارة القائلة بأن "الجسد وعاء للعواطف"). ولكن من ناحية أخرى، تبين أن الأمثلة المحددة للاستعارة تُظهر أيضًا بعض الاختلافات التي ترجع إلى اختلافات ثقافية، والتي يتم تحليلها واستخلاصها من خلال قراءة دقيقة للنصوص في سياقاتها الثقافية الخاصة.

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1 Introduction

Emotion concepts are shaped by cultural knowledge, with cultural models of emotions providing parameters for perception and interpretation that are linked to complex networks of cultural values, norms, and 'feeling rules' (e.g. RÖTTGER-RÖSSLER, 2006; STEARNS & STEARNS, 1985). Cultural models underlying emotion concepts vary between cultures and historical epochs, and they influence how people in diverse social, historical, linguistic, and cultural settings experience and evaluate their own emotions and those of others. They are also reflected in the emotion lexica of different languages, which consist of a variety of emotion terms that carry culturally immanent meanings and are linked to different ways of categorising emotions.

Despite this cultural variety, cross-cultural surveys and ethnographic studies have found that, perhaps surprisingly, the phenomenon of romantic love is known in most cultures and historical periods (not only in the modern western world). However, there are marked differences and variations in the cultural models and interlinked feeling rules, social/moral norms, dominant discourses, and evaluations of love relationships (e.g. JANKOWIAK, 2006; RÖTTGER-RÖSSLER, 2006). Cultural models of love include knowledge about the forms that love can take, its characteristic expressions, associated bodily feelings, facial expressions, gestures, behaviours, and how it comes into being or develops.

Following insights from emotion research in disciplines such as psychology, neurosciences, cognitive linguistics, history, and social anthropology, we regard LOVE as a polysemous, fuzzy, and complex emotion category embracing numerous types, forms, feelings, and experiences (e.g. FEHR & RUSSELL, 1991; KÖVECSES, 1986, 1988; C.-H. MAYER & VANDERHEIDEN, 2021; RINNE et al., 2023; ROSENWEIN, 2021; RÖTTGER-RÖSSLER & ENGELEN, 2006). As an 'umbrella term', it thus covers a diverse set of phenomena or types. Some psychologists differentiate three interrelated 'systems' of love, all of which have different neurobiological correlates: love dominated by a passionate feeling of sexual desire, lust, or physical attraction; passionate love as romantic attraction (associated with feelings of intimacy, closeness, and connectedness); and love as a long-term bond characterised by companionship and feelings of affection, caring, and empathy (FREUND & KEIL, 2006; RÖTTGER-RÖSSLER, 2006). Further important aspects of LOVE include the experience or feeling of a 'powerful *bond*' or connection between persons in positively evaluated social relationships, as well as intimacy, trust, and '*commitments* to loyalty and faithfulness' (FREDRICKSON, 2016: 847).

Building on observations from emotion research on the emotion category LOVE, the present study investigates instances of the conceptual metaphor EMOTION IS HEAT/FIRE in textual materials from ancient Mesopotamia and Egypt, written in two languages of the Afro-Asiatic language family. In Akkadian and Egyptian texts, metaphors drawing on the source domain of HEAT or FIRE are found in connection with several emotion categories or subdomains, especially with LOVE/(SEXUAL) DESIRE and ANGER/AGGRESSION. Consequently, this study explores commonalities and culture-specific variations in the concepts and cultural models of love underlying the metaphors LOVE/(SEXUAL) DESIRE IS HEAT/FIRE in Akkadian and ancient Egyptian texts. The contextual analysis of our text examples reveals semantic nuances underlining the fuzzy nature of LOVE, its polysemy and associated experiences, covering a spectrum that ranges from sexual desire and passion to intense longing and feelings of jealousy. Comparing examples highlights a high degree of cross-linguistic commonality, but also a few interesting culture-specific variations in the concepts and cultural models present in Akkadian and Egyptian literary traditions.

2 Theoretical Framework: Metaphor and Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT)

In the present analysis of Akkadian and ancient Egyptian textual sources, we are drawing on the framework of the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) as applied to the study of emotion concepts and language (e.g. KÖVECSES, 2000, 2010, 2020; LAKOFF & JOHNSON, 1980). CMT takes an 'interactionist' view of metaphors that regards them not as merely linguistic or poetic, but as 'conceptual devices … for understanding and creating reality, rather than merely describing it' (BLACK, 1962; KÖVECSES, 1986: 9). The primary function of metaphor

is thus seen as cognitive, serving to help us grasp difficult, complex, or abstract concepts (KÖVECSES, 1986: 6; LAKOFF & JOHNSON, 1980). Emotion concepts are composed of a large number of metaphors and metonymies as well as cultural models and 'related concepts' (KÖVECSES, 1988; KÖVECSES, 2008: 382).[1] The various metaphors associated with a concept such as LOVE capture specific aspects of the concept and contribute to complex, multifaceted cultural models of LOVE.

Following the CMT approach, we view metaphors and metonymies as both linguistic and conceptual, such that metaphorical expressions and idioms are surface manifestations of underlying processes and structures at the conceptual level. Conceptual metaphors are defined as conceptual mappings between two different domains, typically from a (more concrete) *source domain* to a (more abstract) *target domain*. For example, in the metaphor LOVE IS FIRE, conceptual knowledge components about the source domain FIRE (OR HEAT) are mapped onto the target domain LOVE (or more generally, EMOTION). Metonymy typically involves only a single conceptual domain; metonymies provide access to a domain through a part of that same domain (as in INCREASE OF BODY HEAT STANDS FOR LOVE).[2]

As pointed out by proponents of CMT (KÖVECSES, 2000, 2010, 2020; LAKOFF & JOHNSON, 1980), conceptual metaphors and metonymies contribute to the structure and content of prototypical cultural models of the emotions through sets of mappings that provide a schematic basic structure used to create cultural models. Some metaphors are central in defining a particular (basic) model for an emotion concept and can be encountered across a variety of languages and cultures. For example, cross-linguistic evidence shows that (a variety of) emotions are conceptualised by an overlapping set of central structuring metaphors, including EMOTION IS FIRE (OR HEAT) and EMOTION IS A (NATURAL, PHYSICAL) FORCE.[3]

The metaphor EMOTION IS HEAT/FIRE, which forms the focus of the present study, is drawn on by speakers of modern English in reference to several emotions (such as anger, love, desire, ambition, curiosity, hatred, enthusiasm, hope), some of which can also be observed in Mesopotamian and Egyptian sources from ancient times. The shared (meaning) focus of the metaphor, as we will see in the text examples discussed below, is (emotional) INTENSITY. In other words, different variations of the metaphor EMOTION IS HEAT/FIRE can be seen as instantiations of the metaphor EMOTIONAL INTENSITY IS TEMPERATURE.[4] The following exemplary expressions from modern English illustrate instantiations of the metaphor EMOTION IS HEAT/FIRE, which are used to characterise ANGER, LOVE, and LUST/SEXUAL DESIRE (after KÖVECSES, 2008: 392–3; KÖVECSES, 1986: 84–5; KÖVECSES, 1988: 42–8; KÖVECSES, 2010: 142–4, 237–8):

His anger is smouldering.
I am burning with love.
He's on fire for her.

These linguistic examples reflect the following central mappings:

- The thing that is hot or burning (from fire) is the angry, lustful, loving person[5]

[1] For example, for speakers of English, the concept of LOVE is linked to closely associated concepts such as PHYSICAL CLOSENESS, INTIMACY, AFFECTION, LIKING, SEXUAL DESIRE/INTIMATE SEXUAL BEHAVIOUR, ATTACHMENT, LONGING, CARING, RESPECT, ADMIRATION and DEVOTION (for detailed discussion, see KÖVECSES, 1986: 74–8; KÖVECSES, 1988: 35–42).

[2] A linguistic example of the metaphor LOVE IS FIRE would be '*I am burning with love*', while an example of conceptual metonymy would be INCREASE IN BODY HEAT STANDS FOR LOVE (as in '*I felt hot all over when I saw her*'), see KÖVECSES (2008: 381); KÖVECSES (2010: 141–2) and below.

[3] The metaphor EMOTION IS A (NATURAL, PHYSICAL) FORCE contributes to the cultural models of emotion as salient aspects the notion of passivity and lack of control by depicting the emotion as something independent from the experiencer, with the power to affect them. Moreover, FORCE metaphors provide the schematic structure of a dynamic model (of causation and effect).

[4] KÖVECSES (2010: 141–6) concludes that these various heat metaphors are based on the simple metaphor INTENSITY IS HEAT (OR FIRE). The source domain of HEAT/FIRE is drawn on to describe any intense action, event, or state beyond emotions (such as battle, conflict, rebellion, thought, sickness, or imagination).

[5] Examples from English and Chagga (an African language) show that in LUST/SEXUAL DESIRE IS FIRE metaphors, both the lustful person

- The heat/fire is the anger, lust, love, etc.
- The intensity of the heat/fire is the intensity of the feeling

A central idea linked to the concept of INTENSITY in the metaphor EMOTION IS HEAT/FIRE is that of a scale (low to high). Prototypically, the intensity associated with love and anger is high, but KÖVECSES (1986, 1988) notes verbal expressions that reflect dynamics in love relationships and variations in emotional intensity ranging between 'hot' passion and 'warm' affection. These variations relate to what Kövecses calls 'ideal' and 'typical' models of LOVE.[6]

In general, CMT studies show that conceptual metaphors and metonymies have an 'experiential basis', which is both physical/bodily and cultural and which motivates the creation of metaphors. The metaphor EMOTION IS HEAT/FIRE is grounded in embodied experience and human physiological responses associated with emotions such as love, but also with other 'intense' states or actions (KÖVECSES, 2010: 144). In the case of anger and love, these responses may include an increase in body heat and heart rate (LEVENSON, 2003; WILKOWSKI et al., 2009).[7] The relationship between source and target in LOVE IS HEAT and WARMTH IS AFFECTION is thus metonymical: THE PHYSIOLOGICAL EFFECTS(S) OF THE EMOTION (i.e. INCREASE IN BODY TEMPERATURE) STANDS FOR THE EMOTION (KÖVECSES, 1986: 101–2).

The metaphor EMOTION IS HEAT/FIRE occurs across a wide variety of languages (including Akkadian and ancient Egyptian) due to universal aspects of human physiology, embodiment, and conceptualisation. But there is also a considerable degree of cross-cultural and historical variation in the specific attestations of the metaphor; that is, how these emotion metaphors are elaborated and framed by broader cultural concepts (see e.g. HUPKA et al., 1996; KÖVECSES, 2008: 388–94; KÖVECSES, 2010: 216–8; LAKOFF & KÖVECSES, 1987; MATSUKI, 1995; YU, 1995). Furthermore, cross-linguistic variations in the specific conceptual structure of a commonly attested metaphor are linked to differences in the speakers' experiential focus. For example, which physiological aspects and responses associated with an emotion emerge as components in conceptualisation varies across languages but can also change over time (KÖVECSES, 2008: 392–5; see also GEVAERT (2001) and KÖVECSES (2000)).[8]

In light of the cross-linguistic and historical changes and variations in emotion metaphors and concepts, the evidence for the metaphor EMOTION IS HEAT/FIRE in the earliest written sources of humankind from two distinct cultural traditions and regions of the Ancient Near East is of particular interest for the question of what may be universal vs. culturally dependent aspects of emotion concepts and emotional experiences. The present study thus contributes to the evidence for conceptual commonalities and variations associated with the metaphor LOVE/SEXUAL DESIRE IS HEAT/FIRE. To this end, our analysis will pay attention to the experiential focus of the HEAT metaphors in both Akkadian and ancient Egyptian textual corpora and to the ways concepts of LOVE are framed via associations with related concepts and reflect specific or shared cultural models of LOVE.

and the desired person can be viewed as 'hot'; however, there are differences in the metaphor's underlying model due to diverging cultural framing of sexual relations (KÖVECSES, 1988; KÖVECSES, 2008: 392–3; LAKOFF, 1987).

[6] While ideal and typical models of LOVE overlap in some of their conceptual components, the ideal model reflects what individuals (in a specific society) usually regard as desirable, while the typical model reflects social expectations and views of appropriateness (KÖVECSES, 1986: 93–100; KÖVECSES, 1988: 56–70).

[7] Beside actual physiological changes (associated with emotions, such as a rise in blood pressure, heart rate, or skin temperature accompanying fits of anger), people also experience bodily sensations of activation in different parts of the body during emotional states; see e.g. NUMMENMAA et al. (2014, 2018) and RINNE et al. (2023).

[8] For diachronic studies of changes in emotion concepts, see e.g. GEERAERTS and GRONDELAERS (1995) on the origins of the conception of anger in present-day English and STEARNS (1994) on the history of love in the USA.

3 Current State of Research on Emotion Metaphors in Ancient Mesopotamian and Egyptian Texts

3.1 Ancient Mesopotamia

In recent years, interest in emotions and metaphors has increased considerably in Ancient Near Eastern studies, including Assyriology. This has included research on Mesopotamian languages and societies (e.g. HSU & LLOP-RADUÀ, 2021; JAQUES, 2006; KIPFER, 2017; KIPFER & WAGNER-DURAND, 2021; SONIK & STEINERT, 2023) as well as conceptual metaphors and figurative imagery in Mesopotamian texts (PALLADIVINI & PORTUESE, 2020; STRECK, 1999; WEE, 2017). Examples of emotion metaphors in Akkadian have been explored recently by STEINERT (2021, 2023), who demonstrates the central role of metaphor and metonymy in emotion lexemes as well as more complex expressions in Akkadian literary and colloquial texts (such as letters).[9]

Researchers have found that many of the emotion metaphors and metonymies encountered in Akkadian texts are cross-culturally attested or universal (e.g. the metaphor THE BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR EMOTIONS), but some are less common or culturally specific (e.g. LOVE IS A LIQUID POURED OUT OVER THE EXPERIENCER).[10] Akkadian emotion expressions often refer to specific body parts and internal organs as the seat or as a CONTAINER for emotions. In anger expressions, it has been shown that especially the 'heart' (*libbu*, a term that can also mean 'belly' or 'inside (of the body)'), the 'liver' (*kabattu*), or the 'stomach' (*karšu*) are said to 'become inflamed' or 'burn' (*ḫamāṭu*, *ṣarāḫu*) (for examples, see BACH, 2023: 337; SCHAUDIG, 2023: 638–9; STEINERT, 2021: 437).[11]

There are further textual hints that speakers of Akkadian connected anger with an increase or overproduction of bile in the body, which was regarded as hot, causing burning bodily sensations.[12] In Akkadian texts, the metaphor EMOTION IS HEAT/FIRE has been observed most frequently in reference to ANGER. At least two Akkadian verbal roots attest to metaphor-induced colexification,[13] where the lemma in question can have the meanings 'to burn' and 'to be angry': *ḫamāṭu* 'to burn; to be inflamed' (with fever, fury) and *ṣarāḫu* 'to flare up: to be hot, feverish, excitable, angry' (see STEINERT, 2021: 450; STEINERT, 2023: 55–6; WENDE, 2023: 161).[14]

Among the characteristic signs or behavioural expressions of anger or rage in Mesopotamian texts are screaming and agitated speech, which can also be expressed drawing on the source domain HEAT (RENDU LOISEL, 2016: 130–45). Old Assyrian letter writers voicing complaints about having received 'heated/hot words' (Akkadian *awātum ḫimṭātum*) from their correspondents refer to letters they have received that expressed anger or 'undue excitement' – thus reflecting the metaphor ANGER IS HEAT/FIRE (HIRSCH, 1967; LARSEN, 2001: 280; STEINERT, 2021: 447–8; STEINERT, 2023: 55–7). The negative evaluation of 'speaking with a burning mouth' (i.e. not controlling one's anger in social interaction), which is found in proverbs and similar wisdom literature, underlines a behavioural ideal in Mesopotamian ethics: to suppress the open expression of negative emotions, so as to keep an appropriate social face and thus avoid damaging social bonds and relationships (STEINERT, 2021: 447–8; STEINERT, 2023: 56–7; see also BACH (2023) and SCHAUDIG (2023)).

[9] Steinert's contributions discuss emotion metaphors related to anger, fear, sadness, joy, love, pride, and disgust.

[10] See STEINERT (2021: 425–5) and STEINERT (2023: especially 55–72, 76 n. 45) for examples and Example A.1 in Section 4.1 below.

[11] For a reconstruction of bodily maps of emotions in Neo-Assyrian Akkadian texts, based on a quantitative analysis of linguistic associations between body part and emotion terms, see LAHNAKOSI et al. (2024)

[12] See STEINERT (2021: 450–1) and STEINERT (2023: 55–6) for a discussion of the associated nouns (*ḫimṭu* 'burning; fever; anger', *ṣiriḫtu* 'inflammation; anger') and expressions with *libbu*, which can cover pain and heat sensations as well as embodied feelings.

[13] Metaphor-induced colexification refers to "the linking of two senses by a single lexeme in synchrony ..." or "across different periods of its semantic history" (FRANÇOIS, 2008: 171). For investigations of this phenomenon in ancient Egyptian, see e.g. DI BIASE-DYSON and CHANTRAIN (2022); CHANTRAIN (2024) .

[14] SCHAUDIG (2023: 633–5) adds the verbs *agāgu* and *agāmu*, which mean 'to be furious' in Akkadian, but have associated meanings 'to burn; to be hot' in cognate terms attested in Arabic. A similar metaphorical association is encountered in the Sumerian word murgu_3 (or urgu_2) 'anger' (JAQUES, 2006: 95–6; JAQUES, 2023: 138). This term is written with a complex cuneiform sign composed of the elements KA 'mouth' and IZI 'fire', alluding to speaking with a 'burning mouth', an anger-connoted expression also found in Akkadian texts (see below).

However, anger is an ambivalent rather than a purely negative emotion in Mesopotamia, and functions as a (positive) prerogative of powerful persons (especially deities and rulers). Thus, as **Bach** (2023) and **Schaudig** (2023) have shown, royal 'anger' unleashed against enemies and criminals through violence and war was regarded as just and heroic. In related martial contexts, the metaphor EMOTION IS HEAT/FIRE is also extended to ZEAL/ENTHUSIASM.[15]

Previous studies (**Da Riva**, 2021; **Frahm**, 2009: 34–41; **Steinert**, 2021: 437; **Zomer**, 2023) of Mesopotamian texts have also addressed another 'hot' emotion: jealousy/envy. The connection between both conceptual domains is seen not only in written discourse, but also in cuneiform script. Thus, the Sumerian term ninim 'jealousy; envy' is written as a complex logographic sign composed of the cuneiform signs $ŠA_3$ 'heart, inside' inscribed with the sign IZI 'fire' (**Jaques**, 2006: 249–50; **Jaques**, 2023: 143). An association between jealousy and fire is also drawn in Akkadian texts, including love poetry and scholarly literature (see Section 4.1 below). This evidence suggests that jealousy in love relationships was often expressed through HEAT/FIRE metaphors in Mesopotamian texts.

The domain of (erotic) LOVE is another field of emotion(s) that has been shown to be associated with HEAT/FIRE metaphors in Mesopotamian texts.[16] Instances of this metaphor have been noted in Akkadian love poetry and amatory spells (**Steinert**, 2023: 60, 75 note 57; **Wasserman**, 2016: 42–3). The study of these texts by **Wasserman** (2016) highlights that the FIRE metaphors often serve to express painful or 'problematic' aspects of (unhappy) love and erotic relationships, such as excessive passion and jealousy. The present study takes a fresh look at the available cuneiform sources, from the perspective of CMT as well as from a comparative angle—aspects that have not yet been in the foreground of previous Assyriological discussions.

3.2 Ancient Egypt

Approaches from cognitive linguistics,[17] especially CMT, have already been employed to examine the conceptualisation of EMOTION IS HEAT/FIRE in ancient Egyptian texts to generate a better understanding of the (metaphorical) conceptualisation of hot emotions.[18] For instance, Effland examined socially acceptable and not acceptable forms of aggression, highlighting that heat and passion were conceptualised as negatively connotated states; in particular, 'hot' forms of speech denote verbal expressions of violence in Egyptian (**Effland**, 2003: 76). In contrast, anger is an ambivalent rather than a completely negative emotion. For example, royal or divine anger unleashed against (divine or political) enemies has a positive connotation and characterises the ruler or deity as a powerful, raging, and strong individual (**Hsu**, 2017: 41–2, 204–7; **Köhler**, 2016: 316–7; **Köhler**, 2021: 98–9). **Köhler** (2016) explored the conceptualisation of ANGER in ancient Egyptian text sources, employing methods and approaches from cognitive linguistics. Examining 14 lexemes of the ANGER semantic field, she presents the underlying metaphorical and metonymic structure of ANGER and notes a few conceptual metaphors that are tied to the conceptual domain of HEAT/FIRE: ANGER IS HEAT/FIRE and ANGER IS HEAT/FIRE IN A CONTAINER (**Köhler**, 2016: 119–26).[19]

Di Biase-Dyson (2018: 33–44) conducts a detailed investigation of HOT and COLD metaphors in the Ramesside Period (*c.* 1295–1069 BCE). As part of the study, she determined that the lexemes *nsr* 'fire, to burn',

[15]For FIRE/BURNING as the zeal to engage in martial combat, see **Guichard** (2014: 20, 58 *Zimrilim Epic* iii 19–20, Old Babylonian period): *ṣabtū šīrūšunu išātam karšūšunu šiwītam lamdū* 'their (Zimrilim's warriors') flesh was seized by fire, their bellies experienced burning'.

[16]For studies of (erotic/romantic) love and love poetry in ancient Mesopotamia, see e.g. **Couto-Ferreira** (2023), **Kramer** (1958), **Leick** (1994), **Musche** (1999), **Nissinen** (2001), **Sefati** (1998) and **Wasserman** (2016). For the lexical repertoires of terms and expressions denoting LOVE in Sumerian and Akkadian, see e.g. **Jaques** (2006: 123–45, 535–41), **Jaques** (2023: 141–3) and **Wende** (2023: 154–5).

[17]For an overview of cognitive linguistics in Egyptology, see **Köhler** (2016: 75–80) and **Nyord** (2015: 1–11). For a theoretical framework of metaphor studies, see e.g. **Di Biase-Dyson** (2025: 1–18) and **Di Biase-Dyson** (2020: 39–61).

[18]For a more general overview of emotion research in Egyptology, see **Köhler** (2016: 80–1) and **Hsu** and **Llop-Raduà** (2021: 10–11).

[19]Additionally, **Köhler** (2021: 97) mentions the connection between ANGER and HEAT/FIRE.

srf 'heat, to be warm', *šm(m)* 'hot (one), to be hot', and *tꜣ* 'to be hot' were metaphorically conceptualised as ANTAGONISM IS HEAT, which can be reflective of EMOTION IS HEAT and THE BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR THE EMOTIONS (DI BIASE-DYSON, 2018: 34–7).[20] Recently, DI BIASE-DYSON and CHANTRAIN (2022: 603–35) have engaged with emotion, temperament, and personal characteristics in their examination of metaphors of sensory phenomena—such as sounds (quiet, noise), temperatures (heat/warmth, cold/coolness), and tastes (sweetness, bitterness)—in the textual record throughout the pharaonic period of Egypt (*c.* 2700–1070 BCE). They note that ANGER and IMPULSIVITY are conceptualised as HEAT/FIRE (via the lexemes *nsr* 'fire', *srf* 'to be warm', *šm(m)* 'to be hot', and *tꜣ* 'to be hot, to burn') and conclude that the examples refer to temperament rather than emotion (DI BIASE-DYSON & CHANTRAIN, 2022: 610–2). Moreover, they point out that "*srf-ỉb*, 'warm of heart/zealous', can be seen as positive because it is moderate, while *tꜣ* and *šmm*, 'hot/angry', as well as the closely related colour *dšr*, 'red', are seen as negative, because they express an intense, excessive heat and therefore an excessive emotion" (DI BIASE-DYSON & CHANTRAIN, 2022: 622, also 612; DI BIASE-DYSON, 2018: 37).

Previous research in Egyptology has mostly focussed on the conceptual metaphors ANGER IS HEAT/FIRE and ANTAGONISM IS HEAT. Generally, these studies have been a by-product of investigations on the conceptualisation of ANGER. Until now, no analysis or discussion has specifically considered HEAT/FIRE metaphors with reference to the domain of LOVE and related concepts and conceptual domains in ancient Egyptian texts.[21]

4 Case Studies

4.1 The metaphor of LOVE IS HEAT/FIRE in Akkadian texts

The Akkadian texts discussed in this section have been selected as instances of the metaphor LOVE IS HEAT/FIRE based on contextual and semantic criteria, meaning that in the text examples we either find an explicit linguistic reference to the emotion of LOVE via the use of Akkadian terms (denoting 'love' or related concepts), or we find clues to the topic through the textual genre. The metaphor LOVE IS HEAT/FIRE is attested so far in three Akkadian texts dating to the Old Babylonian period (*c.* 2000–1600 BCE), discussed as Examples A.1, A.2, and A.3 in this section. All three texts are poetic compositions classified as love literature and amatory spells.[22] The number of examples shows that the use of the metaphor LOVE IS HEAT/FIRE is a recurring, although limited phenomenon in Akkadian texts. The identified examples stem exclusively from love poetry and love spells from the Old Babylonian period (i.e. the first half of the second millennium BCE).[23]

A further example, Example A.4, is a scholarly commentary on a passage found in an omen compendium that illustrates the survival of the contextually related metaphor JEALOUSY IS FIRE in Akkadian texts from the first millennium BCE. This example is included in this study, because feelings of jealousy are already described in these terms in Old Babylonian incantations that belong to the genre of love spells (WASSERMAN, 2016: 249

[20] DI BIASE-DYSON (2018: 37) also discusses the impact of genre on the conceptual metaphor ANTAGONISM IS HEAT, as the metaphor is attested in the Old and Middle Kingdom in the wisdom corpus, while in the New Kingdom, this metaphor is also employed in other genres.

[21] The project '*Sexual Dynamics and Dynamics of Magical Practice in Graeco-Roman Egypt: Erotic Spells in the Greek and Demotic Magical Papyri (PGM and PDM) and their Cultural Traditions*' deals with a promising set of data; see https://www.uni-heidelberg.de/fak-ultaeten/philosophie/zaw/aegy/forschung/DFGProjektSvenjaNagel.html, accessed 19 September 2024.

[22] For a critical discussion of these genre designations, see WASSERMAN (2016) and WEEDEN (2022). The performative setting of these texts most likely varied between a public performance (in a cultic or royal court setting) and a private context. Love spells were recited as part of magical rituals performed to fuel or curb erotic passion or to engender feelings of love and attraction. Often through direct addresses, these spells aimed to exert an influence on one or multiple protagonists involved with or desired as a partner in an erotic/amorous relationship. The speakers or protagonists in these compositions may be of any gender. The speakers in the selected examples are without exception female, which may be significant for interpreting the situations and feelings reflected in the texts and metaphors.

[23] This clustering of the attestations for the metaphor may be accidental, since the metaphor ANGER IS HEAT is attested in sources from both the second and the first millennium BCE.

No. 24, 268 No. 32). Thus, the shared use of the metaphor indicates links between the conceptual domains of LOVE and JEALOUSY that are based on cultural models and experiences in marital and amorous relations. Furthermore, Example A.4 illustrates the continuity in the use of the FIRE metaphor in first-millennium BCE Akkadian texts.

The first example introduces us to the metaphor LOVE IS HEAT/FIRE with a focus on sexual desire and erotic passion. It stems from a poetic dialogue (including the responses of a chorus) between a woman and the Babylonian king Rīm-Sîn of Larsa (*c.* 1822–1776 BCE), in which the woman, full of longing, invites her partner:

Example A.1: YOS 11, No. 24 i 20–25 (Old Babylonian period, *c.* 18th/17th century BCE):

(20)	***alk-am***	***lunnedr-am***	***kīma***	***libb-ī***
	go:IMP-1SG	be_embraced:PREC.1SG-VENT	like	heart-1SG
	iqbi-am	***i***	***nīpuš***	
	say:PRT.3SG-1SG	COH	do:PRT.1PL	
(21)	***šipram***	***ša***	***murtâmī***	***kal***
	work:ACC.SG	REL	lover:GEN.PL	all
	mūšim	***ē***	***niṣlal***	
	night:GEN.SG	VET	sleep:PRET.1PL	
(22)	***luḫtalṣā***	***ṣūḫiš***	***ina***	***mayyālim***
	press:PREC.1SG.DU	laughter.TERM	on	bed:GEN.SG
	kilallāni			
	both			
(23)	***itablal***	***eli***	***inbī***	***u***
	mix_up_constantly:IMP.SG.M	over	fruit.GEN.PL	and
	dādī	***balāṭam***	***etpir***	
	darling:GEN.PL	life:ACC.SG	feed_yourself:IMP.SG.M	
(24)	***ina***	***ṣērī-ya***	***ṣurup***	***lalâ-ka***
	on	back-1SG	burn:IMP.SG.M	desire:ACC.SG-2SG.M
(25)	***tabik-kum***	***râm-ī***	***tapḫaram***	***leqe***
	pour:STAT.3SG.M-2SG.M	love-1SG	entirety:ACC.SG	take:IMP.SG.M
	mala	***ḫašḫāti***		
	as much as	want:STAT.2SG.FEM		

(20) '(She:) Come to me! I want to be embraced as my heart (*libbu*) told me! Let us practice (21) the work of lovers all night, let us not sleep! (22) Let the two of us cling together in love-play (lit. laughter) in bed! (23) Be mingled over fruits and delights! Feed yourself with vitality! (24) Ignite your desire (*lalû*) on me! (25) My love (*râmī*) is poured out on you (masc.) entirely. Take as much as you (masc.!) desire!' (WASSERMAN, 2016: 169–71 No. 15, with HECKER, 2005: 172; SEAL text no. 1616; cf. FOSTER, 2005: 162–4; HECKER, 1989: 747–50).

This passage evokes several interrelated metaphors and images to express the concept of LOVE in terms of SEXUAL DESIRE or LUST. The central sentence of interest here, 'Ignite (lit. burn) your desire on me!' (*ina ṣērīya ṣurup lalâka*) is uttered as an invitation to the male partner to engage in passionate lovemaking. Here, DESIRE or PASSION (Akkadian *lalû*) is conceptualised as a fire emanating from the erotic partner, which has the effect of igniting the experiencer's (speaker's) passion (i.e. has qualities of a NATURAL FORCE).[24] Here, the expression *lalâ ṣarāpu* denotes a strong desire, longing, or urge, but can also take on the nuance 'to vent/express one's feelings'.[25]

[24] See also WASSERMAN (2016: 38, 42), who sees the woman's speech as hinting at sexual climax.

[25] For *lalû* 'exuberance; charm; desire, longing, passion', see also JAQUES (2006: 246 fn. 546). For *ṣarāpu*, see CAD Ṣ, 102–104 s.v. *ṣarāpu* A; AHw 1083–1084 s.v. *ṣarāpu* I. For *lalâ ṣarāpu*, see also the *Tukulti-Ninurta Epic* iv (A rev.) 27'–28' (FOSTER, 2005: 311; MACHINIST, 1978: 108–9): [*tib*]*âm-ma gašriš ša tuṣammiru epuš tāḫaza* / [*šub*]*râ kakkēka ina qabli ša lalûka iṣrupu qerebka nuppiš* 'So attack me fiercely and fight the battle for which you strive! Show your weapons, find relief (lit. let your interior breathe freely) in the battle for which your desire burns!' For *lalâ ṣarāpu* 'to vent one's feelings (of grief and desperation)', see also JAQUES (2006: 265–6) and WASSERMAN (2020: 26, 35, 53, *Atramḫasīs* III iv 12'–14'). WASSERMAN (2020: 53) regards *lalâ* as a dual (standing metaphorically for the lips) and *ṣarāpu* as denoting primarily a verbal expression of emotion. Compare also the meaning 'to cry loudly (in grief)', booked

While the male partner's lovemaking or passion (*lalû*) is described through the notion of BURNING/FIRE (*ṣarāpu*), the female speaker's love is conceptualised as LIQUID poured out (*tabāku*) over the erotic partner, perhaps implying complete surrender and offering oneself to the partner who is invited to consume (*leqû* 'take') the woman's sexual love like food or drink.[26] This imagery is amplified by the references to 'fruits' (*inbū*, also denoting sexual pleasures) and to feeding (*epēru* Gt-stem) in line 23, reflecting the metaphors (SEXUAL) LOVE IS EATING/NOURISHMENT and SEXUAL LOVE IS HUNGER.[27] In this example, the metaphor LOVE IS HEAT/FIRE is also associated with notions of arousal, intimate sexual behaviour, desire (signalled by terms such as *dādū* (plural) 'lovemaking; sexual attractiveness', *ṣūḫu* 'laughter; love-play', *ḫašāḫu* 'to desire'), and bodily vitality (signalled by the reference to 'not sleeping' and *balāṭu* 'life, vitality' in lines 21 and 23).[28]

The focus of Example A.2, an Old Babylonian spell, revolves around the 'frenzy' (*uzzu*) of the goddess Nanāya, a divine patron of love, seduction, and sexuality.[29] The composition formed part of a collection of love spells found at Isin.[30] While it shares similarities with Old Babylonian incantations to soothe another person's anger, the central term *uzzu*, literally meaning 'anger, rage', bears connotations of passion and uncurbed sexual arousal ('frenzy') in the present context.[31] The target of the spell is a man; the assumed speaker is his (female) partner:

in AHw 1084 s.v. *ṣarāpu* II as a separate verb, but presumably to be regarded as belonging to *ṣarāpu* 'to burn' (CAD Ṣ 103 *ṣarāpu* A mng. 3b 'to groan loudly(?)'; see also ESAD). Outside love poetry, the verb *ṣarāpu* is used more often in expressions referring to painful feelings and bodily sensations, see JAQUES (2006: 20–21 fn. 61, 62, 64). The derived noun *ṣurpu* means 'anguish', and the genitive phrase *ṣurup libbi* 'burning of the heart' denotes an 'intense painful feeling, (deadly) distress, or grief' (AHw 1114; CAD Ṣ, 257; JAQUES, 2006: 564 fn. 1136).

[26] In Akkadian texts, other emotions (joy, fear/terror) are also said to be poured (*tabāku*) over a person with the effect of causing the emotion in question in that person (CAD T, 5 sub 1f). This specific metaphor is less common than other metaphors involving fluids, such as EMOTION (ANGER) IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER, a central metaphor in the conceptualisation of anger in different languages (KÖVECSES, 2000: 142–3, 148–50, 152–4; KÖVECSES, 2008: 391–2; KÖVECSES, 2010: 123–6, 197–9, 307–9; LAKOFF & KÖVECSES, 1987).

[27] For this and similar metaphors (such as LOVE IS A TASTY SUBSTANCE) in Akkadian love poetry, see STEINERT (2023: 59–60). KÖVECSES (1986: 67–70) and KÖVECSES (2010: 94–5, 187) discusses this metaphor in English language contexts, under the alternative descriptions LOVE IS A NUTRIENT, LUST IS HUNGER, and THE OBJECT OF LOVE IS (APPETISING) FOOD. This metaphor highlights the aspect of 'desire for love/sex' and a 'consequence of love' by drawing on the concepts of hunger and nutrition (need for food). Mappings underlying this metaphor as described by Kövecses are also reflected in Akkadian examples: the hungry person stands for the person who desires love; food stands for love; hunger is the desire for love; the effect of nourishment stands for the consequence of love. In Example A.1 above, the effect of love is explicitly described as vitality/life.

[28] See WASSERMAN (2016: 32–6, No. 16 ii 6–9) for a discussion of the lexical-semantic fields and images surrounding erotic love (*râmu*) in Akkadian love poetry, and for sleeplessness as a symptom of being in love.

[29] For Nanāya, see AMBOS (2003), BEAULIEU (2003: 182–216), SCHWEMER (2004: 72–4), STOL (1998–2001: 146–51), WESTENHOLZ (1997: 57–84) and ZISA (2021: 138–41). Nanāya's powers and qualities linked to love, sexual pleasure, physical attractiveness, and sensuality are celebrated in hymns, love poetry, and incantations, where she is referred to as the 'mistress of love' (*bēlet râmi*); see *Maqlû* V 55–56 in ABUSCH (2015: 140).

[30] The tablet with the incantations had been intentionally broken and sealed in a pot deposited in the corner of a wall—a context that points to the object's use in a magical procedure; see SCURLOCK (1989–1990) and WILCKE (1985) for discussion.

[31] See FOSTER (2005: 204), STADHOUDERS (2013: 315) and WASSERMAN (2016: 268) CAD U/W, 396 renders *uzzu* here as 'sexual arousal'; WILCKE (1985: 203) WILCKE (1985: 203) prefers the translation 'Wildheit' (impetuosity); the noun is derived from the verb *ezēzu* 'to be furious, fierce' and is related to the adjective *ezzu* 'furious, wild' (see below Example A.3 and Section 4.2). For incantations and rituals to soothe anger, see e.g. SEAL text nos. 7045, 7046, 7047, STEINERT (2020: 62–71, 87–97), STEINERT and COLOMBETTI (2022) and WHITING (1985).

Example A.2: IB 1554 rev. 78–84 (Old Babylonian period, *c.* 18th/17th century BCE):

(78)	**[*uzzum*]**	***uzzum***		
	anger:NOM.SG	anger:NOM.SG		
(79)	***i*[*ttanazz*]*az***	***ina***	***libbi-šu***	
	stand_constantly:PRS.3SG	in	heart:GEN.SG-3SG.M	
(80)	***lušqi-ka***	**[*m*]*ê***	***kaṣûtim***	
	give_to_drink:PREC.1SG-2SG.M	water:ACC.PL.M	cold:ACC.PL.M	
(81)	***lušqi-ka***	***šurīpam***	***takṣiātim***	
	give_to_drink:PREC.1SG-2SG.M	ice:ACC.SG	frost:ACC.PL	
(82)	**[*l*]*ibba-ka***	***kīma***	***barbarim***	***bāštum***
	heart:ACC.SG-2SG.M	like	wolf:GEN.SG	dignity:NOM.SG.F
(83)	**[*kīma*]**	***nēšim***	***šal*[*lumat*]*um***	***liklā-ka***
	like	lion:GEN.SG	radiance:NOM.SG.F	restrain:PREC.3PL.F-2SG.M
(84)	***še*[*ḫiṭ*]**	***uzzum***	***ša***	***Nanāya***
	jump:IMP.SG.M	anger:NOM.SG.M	REL	DN

(78) 'Frenzy, frenzy! (79) It is constantly present in his heart! (80) Let me give you (masc.) cold water to drink! (81) Let me give you (masc.) ice (and) cool drinks to drink! (82) May (my) erotic charms (restrain) your heart like a wolf! (83) May (my) radiance restrain you like a lion! (84) Jump/attack, oh frenzy of Nanāya!' (WASSERMAN, 2016: 268–70, No. 32; SEAL no. 7149).[32]

The 'frenzy' (*uzzum*) or 'frenzy of Nanāya' invoked in this incantation is conceptualised as a wild animal that 'jumps' or 'attacks' (*šaḫāṭu*). This imagery can be viewed as an instantiation of the metaphor PASSIONS ARE BEASTS INSIDE A PERSON and LOVE IS A (CAPTIVE) ANIMAL, which KÖVECSES (1986: 98–100) has discussed in connection with love metaphors in English language usage, observing that they express a conflict between the desires of the individual and social expectations around controlling (excessive) emotions. The 'frenzy' present in the heart (*libbu*) of the spell's target in Example A.2 is conceptualised as intense and strong (a force or agent). That the 'frenzy' is also seen as something hot is not expressed directly but implied by the sentences 'Let me give you (masc.) cold water to drink! Let me give you (masc.) ice and cool drinks to drink!', addressing the spell's target.[33]

WASSERMAN (2016: 268) proposed that the purpose of incantations concerned with the 'frenzy/rage of Nanāya' was to control or tame excessive male sexual passion, thereby allowing the speaker's (i.e. the woman's) sexual needs to be satisfied. This may be alluded to by the contrast between the target's 'frenzy' (*uzzu*) at the beginning of the spell and the 'frenzy of Nanāya', perhaps seen as a positive counterforce restraining the man's passion. Thus, the 'frenzy of Nanāya' is likened to positive powers of the (female) speaker that act as a counterforce, curbing her partner's 'frenzy': *bāštu* 'dignity, vitality', here translated as 'erotic charms', and *šalummatu*, a kind of radiance emanating from powerful beings and things.[34] These powers likened to the 'frenzy of Nanāya' serve as forces to tame the 'anger/frenzy' in the target's heart, which is as aggressive as a wolf and a lion. The emotive role of the goddess in this spell may be related with the power attributed to

[32]These lines are followed by two more sections that continue with their focus on the 'frenzy' (of Nanāya); see IB 1554 rev. 85–94 and 95–98; WASSERMAN, 2016: 269–70 SEAL no. 7149. For very similar spells against anger (*uzzum*) from the Old Babylonian period, see further UET 6/2, 399 (WHITING, 1985: 180–181 Text C, lines 1–3, 8–11; SEAL no. 7046) and TIM 9, 72 (WHITING, 1985: 180–1 Text B, SEAL no. 7045, lines 17–18). In the latter text, the speaker addresses the target (angry person): 'I will put out the fire of your heart' (*lūšēṣi išātam ša libbīka*).

[33]A very similar love spell referring to the cooling of hot feelings is YOS 11, No. 21c, lines 26–30 (see WASSERMAN, 2016: 250–1 No. 25; SEAL no. 7142). The rubric appended to the spell classifies the composition of Example A.2 as an incantation to be recited over a lump of salt (KA.INIM.MA.LAG.MUN.KAM; WASSERMAN, 2016: 269, line 99), which provides another clue. Incidentally, salt as a remedy is also encountered in spells against gastrointestinal problems attributed to the overproduction of bile, associated with burning gastrointestinal pain (STEINERT & VACÍN, 2018). Although it is unclear whether this salt lump was given to the target of the spell or whether other symbolic ritual actions would be performed with it, the classificatory rubric underlines that the incentive of the spell and ritual performance was to cool or neutralise an undesired emotional state or response regarded as dangerously hot.

[34]For the complex concept *bāštu* in Akkadian texts, see JAQUES (2006: 278–88) and STEINERT (2012: 404–69). It is presumably no coincidence that both *bāštu* and *šalummatu* are feminine nouns.

Nanāya and other goddesses (such as Ištar) to create and spark human sexual desire and fertility, expressed in other sources. The agency of these goddesses (including their association with providing aphrodisiacs) is well attested in spells and rituals to treat the loss of (mostly male) sexual desire.[35]

Yet another nuance of the metaphor LOVE IS FIRE may be found in Example A.3; namely, the painful feelings of unfulfilled or rejected love. In this Old Babylonian love spell, a female speaker wishes to change her present situation:

Example A.3: CUSAS 32, no. 23b: obv. 7–16 (Old Babylonian period, *c.* 18th/17th century BCE):

(7)	***assuḫ***	***baštam***	(8)	***azarru***	***karānam***
	tear_out:PRT.1SG	thorn:ACC.SG		sow:PRS.1SG	vine:ACC.SG
(9)	***ana***	***išātim***	(10)	***ezzetim***	***mê***
	toward	fire:GEN.SG.F		fierce:GEN.SG.F	water:ACC.PL
(11)	***ašpuk***		(12)	***kīma***	***puḫādī-ka***
	pour:PRT.1SG			like	lamb:GEN.PL-2SG.M
(13)	***rām-anni***		(14)	***kīma***	***ṣēnim***
	love:IMP.SG-1SG			like	flock:GEN.SG
(15)	***nasḫir-am-ma***		(16)	***amr-anni***	
	turn_back:IMP.SG-1SG-and			look:IMP.SG-1SG	

'I have torn out the thorn, I will be sowing the vine. I have poured water onto the raging fire. Love me as (you love) your lambs! Seek me out as (your sheep) flock, and look at me!' (GEORGE, 2016: 46, 147–8; SEAL no. 7139; WASSERMAN, 2016: 247, No. 23; GEORGE, 2022: 58–9).

In these sentences, rich in symbolic imagery, the woman speaks of extinguishing the 'fierce fire' (*išātum ezzetum*) and 'tearing out the thorn bushes', images which, as WASSERMAN (2016: 248) has proposed, stand for EMOTIONAL PAIN or LONGING, describing 'the negative suffering of the lover', 'the agony of unrequited love, the burning anguish of unfulfilled desire'.[36] Instead of fire and thorns, the speaker wishes to 'sow the grapevine': the former symbolise her present feelings of painful longing for the man she adores; the latter symbolises pleasure, sweetness, and an ideal love relationship. The prompts to the loved one, wishing he would pay attention to her and love (*râmu*)[37] her with affection resembling the attachment of an animal (mother) towards her young, or the concern of a shepherd for his herd, underlines the contrast between the love desired by the woman and the quality of the 'raging fire' (*išātum ezzetum*) that characterises her present feelings.[38]

The word *išātu* 'fire' (in Example A.3 with the adjective *ezzu* 'angry, raging, fierce'[39]) is also used in healing contexts in the meaning 'fever' and 'abscess, inflammation' (BÁCSKAY, 2018: 7–8, 12; CAD I/J, 233 sub 4; STOL,

[35] See ZISA (2021: 139–41) for Nanāya's role in the $ŠA_3$.ZI.GA incantations and rituals to spark (male) sexual desire. Nanāya is invoked there beside other goddesses (especially Ištar) as the divine agency behind the recited spells, e.g. ZISA (2021: 138, 316–317 text E.3: 52–53), where she is called *bēlet kuzbi* 'mistress of sexual attractiveness'. This power is also attributed to Nanāya in a spell for a woman whose husband is angry with her (FARBER, 2010: 75–77, STT 257 rev. 2–16).

[36] See also GEORGE (2022: 63), who interprets the poem as the 'voice of a girl giving a first, aching expression to the adolescent longing that was preparing her for the next stage in her life'. For similar mappings in English love metaphors, see KÖVECSES (1986: 84–5), where 'being burned by the fire is the frustration caused by love'.

[37] The semantic spectrum of *râmu* '(to) love' can encompass aspects such as strong emotional attachment (e.g. between relatives, especially spouses, siblings, parents and their children, etc.), sexual attraction (between lovers), loyalty (towards a superior), appreciation (towards a dependent person), a strong liking or preference for people, places, activities, virtues/character traits (ALSTOLA et al., 2023).

[38] As GEORGE (2022: 60–3) notes, the agricultural metaphors in Example A.3 also allude to a well-known contrast between the realm of the farmer (weeding thorns, sowing seeds, representing the girl's life world) and that of the shepherd tending flocks (representing the boy/man addressed in the spell).

[39] The adjective *ezzu* is derived from the verb *ezēzu* 'to be furious, fierce', a verbal root that refers to an inherent quality, 'a type of intrinsic and dangerous state of anger mainly attributed to the divine' (quote from WENDE, 2023: 162 with CAD E, 428b). While the verb describes sudden outbursts of rage; the adjective *ezzu* is found as an attribute of demons, wild beasts, weapons, natural forces (especially fire, flood, storm), and divine auras (BACH, 2023: 336–7; JAQUES, 2006: 89, 111–4; SCHAUDIG, 2023: 633–4, 636, 638). The noun *uzzu* 'rage, anger, frenzy' found in Example A.2 is likewise derived from the same root.

2007: 1–3; WASSERMAN, 2007). In some incantations, *išātu* is described as a powerful personified agent/force with a demonic quality.[40] The conceptualisation of fire as a powerful agent/force is also drawn on in the LOVE IS HEAT/FIRE metaphor in Example A.3 for a characterisation of the experienced emotion. Moreover, it appears that in metaphors, the term *išātu* predominantly serves to describe painful, unpleasant emotions in terms of physical (burning, painful) sensations in the body.

Finally, Example A.4 brings us to the concept JEALOUSY and its role in love relationships.[41] JEALOUSY has been described for English language contexts as a component of the model of LOVE (KÖVECSES, 1986: 100, 103–4). The association of jealousy with fire may already be reflected in the rubric '(incantation against) the fire of the heart' (IZI.ŠA$_3$.GA) appended to Old Babylonian amatory spells, perhaps as a metaphoric reference to 'the burning emotion of jealousy' (WASSERMAN, 2016: 249).[42]

The remarkable passage of Example A.4, from a first millennium BCE commentary on an omen text (related to the divination practice of extispicy), is another instance of the metaphor JEALOUSY IS FIRE. Here a woman's jealousy towards her husband is expressed with a unique idiom. The text quotes an omen about the meaning of a specific feature that looks like the sting(er) of a scorpion; it was found on a part of the liver of a sacrificial animal (called the 'Station') and is explained as follows:

Example A.4: Manzāzu Commentary 1 (Rm. 2, 103 iii 42–45 and duplicates; 7th century BCE):

(Omen from the source text:)

šumma	***šalšu***	***manzāzu***	***kīma***	***ziqit***
if	third	station:NOM.SG	like	sting:CS
zuqaqīpi	***aššat***	***amēli***	***ina***	***kubbub***
scorpion:GEN.SG	wife:CS	man:GEN.SG	in	burn:INF.CS
suḫse-šu	***išātu***	***ana***	***bīt***	***amēli***
crotch:GEN.SG-3SG.M	fire:ACC.SG	toward	house:CS	man:GEN.SG
inaddi				
throw:PRS.3SG				

(Commentary:)

šumma	***suḫsu***	***ina***	***pāni-ka***	***suḫsu***
if	crotch:NOM.SG	in	front:GEN.SG-2SG.M	crotch:NOM.SG
qīnu	***qenât-ma***	***ina***	***qīni-ša***	***išātu***
jealousy:NOM.SG	be_jealous:STAT.3SG.F-and	in	jealousy:GEN.SG-3SG.F	fire:ACC.SG
ana	***bīt***	***amēli***	***inaddi***	
toward	house:CS	man:GEN.SG	throw:PRS.3SG	

(Omen from the source text:) 'If thirdly, the Station is like the sting(er) of a scorpion: A man's wife, with her crotch (*suḫsu*) burning (*kubbubu*), will set his house on fire.'
(Commentary:) If you have (the word) 'crotch' before you: 'crotch' means jealousy (*qīnu*); she is jealous, and in her jealousy, sets the man's house on fire. (KOCH-WESTENHOLZ, 2000: 143, no. 19: 84).[43]

For the present analysis, it is significant that the commentator associates the expression 'with her crotch burning', featuring a rare term for the genitals or pubic triangle (*suḫsu*), with jealousy.[44] Jealousy is linked here

[40] See e.g. the so-called Fire incantations (LAMBERT, 1970: 42, lines 10–13, 21).
[41] The jealousy of a wife or female lover towards a female rival is the topic of several Mesopotamian love spells and other poetic texts; see e.g. DA RIVA (2021) and WASSERMAN (2016: no. 16, 27, 29).
[42] For the rubric 'incantation (to calm) the fire of the heart' (KA.INIM.MA IZI.ŠA$_3$.GA), see e.g. VS 17, 23 (WASSERMAN, 2015; WASSERMAN, 2016: 249–250 No. 24; SEAL no. 7141). The expression IZI.ŠA$_3$.GA may refer to jealousy, in allusion to the Sumerian term ninim 'jealousy' (written with the sign ŠA$_3$ 'heart, inside' inscribed with the sign IZI 'fire'); see WASSERMAN (2016: 607) for discussion.
[43] See also FRAHM (2011: 81–2) and KOCH (2015: 38) for discussion. For the term *qīnu* (*qinû*) 'jealousy; envy', see DA RIVA (2021: 311); FRAHM (2009); SAD Vol. 3, 137.
[44] For *suḫsu* in the meanings 'crotch, genital organs', 'pubic hair/triangle', and 'genital secretions', see e.g. ABUSCH and SCHWEMER (2011: 112 text 2.5, 3 line 3); CIVIL (2006: 55 and fn. 3); FRAHM (2011: 81, fn. 403); GEORGE (2013: 119, 121 No. 19, line 28'); ZISA (2021: 413 note on line 26). The quoted omen apodosis is already encountered in a Middle Babylonian omen text; see

with a burning feeling (*kubbubu*) in the genital organs.[45] Here, the D-stem *kubbubu* (*kubbub suḫsi* 'burning of the crotch' = jealousy) implies an increased intensity of the expressed feeling. Although the link between the protasis and apodosis is not made explicit in the commentary (perhaps because it was obvious to the commentator), it is not too far-fetched to draw a conceptual link between the scorpion sting in the omen protasis and the motifs of burning sexual organs (jealousy) and setting on fire (of the house) in the apodosis.[46] In ancient Mesopotamia, scorpions symbolised (erotic) love and motherhood, as much as they were also feared for causing pain through their sting (PIENTKA-HINZ, 2009–2011).[47]

In terms of conceptual structure, the commentary's explanation given in Example A.4 could be interpreted in two alternative ways: as an example of the conceptual metaphor JEALOUSY IS FIRE, or as a conceptual metonymy BURNING OF THE GENITALS STANDS FOR JEALOUSY. The association of jealousy specifically with the genitals may be an inheritance from an older textual tradition transmitted to the commentator or it may draw on other contemporary literary texts known to them.[48] In either case, we encounter here a culturally conditioned notion of sexual jealousy associated with women (wives) that articulates culturally salient problematic aspects of gender relations in patriarchal Mesopotamian societies, where men were allowed to have multiple spouses or female sexual partners (beside a first-ranking wife). In other words, marital fidelity and exclusivity in a relationship with one male partner was only expected of women. In agreement with these social patterns and gender norms, we see a focus in Akkadian terms related to the verb *qenû* 'to be jealous, envious' on female jealousy, in related nouns such as *qinītu* 'concubine, second ranking wife, female rival' and *qīnayātu* 'rites against a (female) rival'.[49] Anthropological studies report similar conflicts in societies practicing polygamy (polygyny), where social norms and expectations collide with individuals' (women's) desire for exclusivity (of their partners' love and attention) in marital relationships, triggering jealousy between wives and competition to be their husband's favourite spouse (e.g. JANKOWIAK, 2006; RÖTTGER-RÖSSLER, 2006).

Semantic and contextual analysis of the four Akkadian examples allows us to grasp some central conceptual and evaluative aspects of love and emotions encountered in Akkadian texts. In all four, the source concepts FIRE, HEAT, and BURNING served to mark the strong intensity of the experienced emotions. Moreover, apart from Example A.1 (which described the intense pleasure of passionate lovemaking), the concept of fire or burning was used to highlight the impact or tonality of the emotion as negative: either because the emotion was seen as excessive, or because it was experienced as unpleasant or painful. Thus, Examples A.2, A.3, and A.4 used the metaphor EMOTION IS HEAT/FIRE to describe feelings associated with a troubled or unfulfilled love relationship (such as heartbreak/pain, anguish, yearning, jealousy).

GEORGE (2013: 235, 245 No. 30, line 40). A Late Babylonian medical(?) commentary also quotes it (BM 34989 rev. 7', eBL edition; https://www.ebl.lmu.de/fragmentarium/BM.34989, accessed 29 November 2023).

[45] The verb *kabābu* found in Example A.4 occurs in texts from the first millennium BCE together with *libbu* 'heart' as subject (or agent), to express strong emotions (CAD K, 2 sub 1; AHw 414). In a report of a Babylonian priest to the Neo-Assyrian king Esarhaddon (from the year 674 BCE), it is found beside *râmu* 'to love' to express strong devotion and concern, when the sender writes: '[I am] your servant who keeps in mind your good deeds and loves [you]. My heart burns [me] because of you.' (HUNGER, 1992: 262–3 No. 469 lines 12–13: *aradka ša ṭābtīka inaṣṣaru u iramm*[*uka anāku*] / *libbā ina muḫḫīya ikabbaba*[*nni*]) .

[46] The verb *zaqātu* 'to sting' and *ziqtu* 'sting' can refer to a stinging pain, see SALIN (2017).

[47] According to STOL (2000: 118), the scorpion stands especially for fertility and sexuality in marital relationships. In mythology and visual arts, the scorpion is linked predominantly to women (as a symbol of the goddess Išḫara and the queen) and is represented in scenes of human sexual intercourse.

[48] For this argument, see FRAHM (2011: 82, fn. 407), noting that the commentator may have drawn on the Babylonian Divine Love Lyrics, which describe a public cult ritual featuring the deities Marduk, his consort Zarpanītu, and the goddess Ištar of Babylon revolving around a triangular relationship and the wife's jealousy (DA RIVA, 2021; LAMBERT, 1975; NISSINEN, 2001). The Divine Love Lyrics feature both the word *qenû* 'to be jealous' and the rare term *suḫsu* (LAMBERT, 1975: 104, BM 41005 obv. ii 10, 17, rev. iii 18; CAD Q, 209–10; in CAD T, 181 sub 1b the translation 'bed' of *suḫsu* needs correction).

[49] CAD Q 254; AHw 480; DA RIVA (2021: 311–2, 316–7). The rites referred to as *qīnayātu* were public cult rituals known from the so-called Divine Love Lyrics, a corpus of first millennium BCE texts with scripts for the performance of rituals regarded by some scholars as primarily 'women's rites' that allowed the verbalisation of jealousy through the performative mirror of divine love relations. Perhaps not incidentally, in the Divine Love Lyrics, sexual jealousy towards a female rival is given expression in hateful abuses uttered by the goddess Zarpanītu (the betrayed wife) toward her husband's lover, the goddess Ištar, in a series of curses and insults focusing on the rival's genital organs (DA RIVA, 2021; LAMBERT, 1975).

As pointed out in previous research (STEINERT, 2021, 2023), and in Section 3.1 above, emotions and other psychological states are frequently localised in or associated with activities of body parts or organs in Akkadian texts, reflecting the metaphor THE BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR EMOTIONS. The uses of the container schema in Akkadian emotion expressions shows variations in the underlying conceptualisation (and linguistic constructions): emotions are either described as external FORCES/AGENTS entering or affecting the body (part) or experiencer; or, they are described as processes in or activities of the body parts or organs themselves, which affect the experiencer (and in which the body part assumes the role of a quasi-agent) and their behaviour.[50] Examples A.1, A.2, and A.3 reflect the former conceptualisation, while A.4 reflects the latter. If we look at body parts directly implied in the emotion expressions and affective experiences, the discussed texts show a preference for *libbu* 'heart, belly, inside (of the body)' as the seat of feelings (Example A.2), in addition to the rare term *suḫsu* 'crotch, genitals', which featured exceptionally in Example A.4 as the locus of jealousy (an emotion designated in Sumerian and in incantation rubrics similarly as 'fire of the heart').

The co-texts of Examples A.1, A.2, and A.3 provide further hints about the conceptual networks surrounding the metaphor LOVE IS HEAT/FIRE in Akkadian literature.[51] Semantic analysis of these examples suggests that the feelings alluded to through the metaphor LOVE IS HEAT/FIRE can have several distinctive nuances, ranging between sexual desire, passion, frenzy, and painful longing. Thus, the lovers' feelings described in Examples A.1, A.2, and A.3 are appraised or evaluated in contrasting ways. A.1 represents an example of the (positive) experiences of LOVE/DESIRE experienced as intense pleasure, excitement, intoxication, rapture, ecstasy. Thus, its metaphor LOVE IS HEAT/FIRE is linked to erotic desire, (sexual) activity and arousal, vitality, bodily activation (sleeplessness), and to notions of NOURISHMENT/EATING and TASTY SUBSTANCES.

In contrast, in A.2, erotic/romantic love was framed in the conceptual and lexical domain of ANGER, which in this context may have connotations of sexual frenzy (in the expression 'rage/frenzy (*uzzum*) of the goddess Nanāya'). Aspects of the emotion of ANGER mapped here on the concept of romantic love are its 'hot' character (denoting excessive intensity) and its 'animalistic' characteristics: LOVE/PASSION are described here through the image of attacking wild animals (similar associations are seen in the expression *išātum ezzetum* 'raging fire' in Example A.3). The involvement of the goddess Nanāya in Example A.2 alludes to the role of deities as mythological prototypes and to the role of mythological historiolas often encountered in Mesopotamian magical literature.[52]

The conceptual metaphor EMOTION IS HEAT/FIRE is also associated with the domains of SICKNESS and PAIN, especially in Examples A.3 and A.4, underlining the evaluation of the experienced emotional states as negative and unpleasant.[53] Thus, notions of heat, inflammation, and painful sensations play an important role in Mesopotamian medical texts and provide conceptual links to the imagery of these two texts.[54] The

[50] For discussion, see e.g. BÖCK (2014), W. R. MAYER (2010), SALIN (2015, 2017), STEINERT (2012, 2021, 2023) and ZISA (2019).

[51] For an analysis of the semantic network of LOVE based on word co-occurrence/similarity in Neo-Assyrian texts using digital methods, see ALSTOLA et al. (2023). On networks of concepts, metaphors, and semantic domains in Mesopotamian texts, see e.g. MINDLIN et al. (1987), PALLADIVINI and PORTUESE (2020), SALIN (2018), STEINERT (2017), STRECK (1999) and WASSERMAN (1999).

[52] Animal imagery and invocation of divine characters associated with love and sexuality are also common in love incantations and rituals concerned with sexual relations (especially the $ŠA_3$.ZI.GA rituals to arouse sexual desire); see ZISA (2021) for discussion.

[53] Note that in the love spells of Examples A.2 and A.3, the metaphor LOVE IS HEAT/FIRE was framed through the metaphor of counteraction, expressed through the action of 'cooling' the 'hot' emotion of the spell's target (with cold water, ice). Such emotive expressions are also known from anti-witchcraft rituals, in which the hatred and evil words of sorcerers/witches are framed as hot anger and are countered by performative actions of cooling or extinguishing (e.g. *Maqlû* V 98–111 and 132–140 in ABUSCH, 2015: 336–7; see also ABUSCH, 2002: 197–216, with the Ritual Tablet lines 83'-86', 372). Similar ritual actions (involving a lump of salt, elsewhere used to combat 'hot' bile) may have been performed in association with the love incantation Example A.2.

[54] For LOVE IS SICKNESS in Mesopotamian texts, see e.g. COUTO-FERREIRA (2010), STEINERT (2023: 60) and WASSERMAN (2016: 34–5). For emotional states as sickness, see e.g. SIBBING-PLANTHOLT (2023: 567–8), STEINERT (2021) and STEINERT (2023: 63–4). Both medical texts and Akkadian emotion terminology use an elaborate set of lexemes associated with HEAT and PAIN (see e.g. BÁCSKAY (2018), CADELLI (2019, 2021) and SALIN (2015, 2017)). Several lexemes or expressions describing bodily symptoms that are used in medical contexts can also refer to emotional or psychological states (e.g. *ḫamāṭu, ṣarāḫu, ṣarāpu, saḫālu, kaṣāru* are terms that can cover multiple conceptual domains such as FEVER, INFLAMMATION, ANGER, PAIN, SUFFERING). General terms such as *marāṣu* 'to be ill' or *murṣu* 'sickness' are used to describe various states of ill-being and suffering (including emotions such as grief). For discussion,

love spell of Example A.3 speaks of thorny plants symbolising the experiencer's painful feelings (of unfulfilled love), while in the omen and commentary passage of Example A.4 the emotion of JEALOUSY is phrased via the metonymy of BURNING GENITALS, presumably referring to the burning, painful quality ascribed to feelings of jealousy.[55]

Finally, a characterisation of the affective experiences connoted by heat metaphors as excessive (and therefore negatively evaluated) is emphasised by the motif of violent behaviour or impulsive action caused by JEALOUSY in Example A.4. Similar links to fierceness and violence are established via the images of ferocious wild animals in Example A.2, and through the attribute *ezzu* 'raging, furious, fierce' qualifying the hot/fire emotion in Example A.3.

4.2 The metaphor LOVE IS HEAT/FIRE in ancient Egyptian texts

The ancient Egyptian data for this study was mainly collected from the *Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae* (TLA)[56] and the *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache* (Dictionary of the Egyptian Language; henceforth Wb.), supplemented with other word lists, dictionaries, databases, and corpora.[57] Within this framework, we searched the corpora dating from the Old Kingdom (*c.* 2686–2160 BCE) to the Graeco-Roman Period (332 BCE–395 CE) for HEAT/FIRE lexemes linked to LOVE and similar expressions of emotions.[58] The corpus currently yields eight useable attestations. Most examples (5/8) stem from ritual texts (funerary contexts), while two passages come from love spells and one from a magical text, which is possibly related to a love spell.[59] The earliest attestations come from the Old Kingdom (*c.* 2686–2160 BCE) and Middle Kingdom (*c.* 2055–1650 BCE). Six examples date to the Graeco-Roman Period (332 BC–395 CE).[60]

The association between HEAT/FIRE and the domains of LOVE and DESIRE can already be grasped in the Old and Middle Kingdom. The former, with Pyramid Text Spell 535, associates *mrw.t* 'love' with the term *srf* 'to be warm, to warm' (Pepi I, Dynasty 6, *c.* 2321–2287 BCE).[61] This introduces us to the metonymy WARMTH FOR AFFECTION, which could be a component of the broader concept of LOVE (**Kövecses**, 1986: 101–2). Similarly,

see **Attia** (2018, 2019) on states of psychological distress in cuneiform medical texts and **Salin** (2018, 2020) on metaphors of pain in Mesopotamian medical texts.

[55] An association of jealousy with strong pain is also implied in the motif of the scorpion sting connected with jealousy in Example A.4.

[56] https://aaew.bbaw.de/tla/index.html, accessed 29 September 2024; https://thesaurus-linguae-aegyptiae.de/home, accessed 19 September 2024.

[57] For example, Digitales Zettelarchiv [Digital Slip Archive], https://aaew.bbaw.de/tla/index.html, accessed 19 September 2024; Ramses Online, http://ramses.ulg.ac.be/, accessed 19 September 2024. For demotic texts, the data has been collected exclusively from the TLA.

[58] This study presents a sample of significant attestations; an in-depth and comprehensive analysis of ancient Egyptian emotion concepts associated with HEAT/FIRE is currently being prepared by Knebel as part of her ongoing PhD project, at the Johannes Gutenberg University, Mainz (thesis working title: Lexical-Semantic and Conceptual Analysis of FIRE in Ancient Egyptian Texts).

[59] In the Ramesside Period (Dynasty 19–20, *c.* 1300–1100 BCE) of the New Kingdom, the so-called love songs (also called love poetry) are attested. However, this group of texts shows no link between the domains of FIRE and LOVE. For love songs, see e.g. **Landgráfová** and **Navratilová** (2009), **Mathieu** (1996) and **Navratilová** and **Landgráfová** (2015). For an analysis of figurative expressions in the love songs, see **Hsu** (2014: 407–16). For an analysis of the expression of sexual desire, see **Garzón Rodríguez** (2022: 47–84). **Quack** (2016: 62–89) traces the expressions of love in different textual genres and deals with the possible reasons for the absence of love songs in late period Egypt.

[60] This trend towards the Graeco-Roman Period could have various reasons. First, it could be that sources from earlier times have been lost or have not (yet) been detected. Alternatively, the existing concept was modified or expanded over time by new ideas. Third, we know that the Egyptian language underwent significant changes in the Graeco-Roman Period (**Dieleman**, 2005: 105; **Kurth**, 2007: 6), and therefore the influence of cultural contact should also be considered. Love spells from the Papyri Graecae Magicae (PGM) also reflect a connection between DESIRE/LONGING and HEAT/FIRE. A common formula in these spells is that FIRE is 'given in' the body or body parts of the target of the spell (a woman) to ignite her DESIRE/AROUSAL according to the wishes of the practitioner of the spell; see **Love** (2016: 15–66) and **Quack** (2009: 32–3). **LiDonnici** (1998: 69, 88, 97–8) argues that HEAT/FIRE in love spells references the target being affected by fever, inflammation, or other symptoms of illness in the absence of the 'lover'; for counter-arguments, see **Love** (2016: 163–6).

[61] (§ 1290b) (…) *ḥtp.ty srf mrw.t=k* (…) '(…) while you are being content (and) the love for you is warm. (…)' (PT 535, § 1290b, Pepi I, Dynasty 6, Saqqara; **Allen**, 2005: 103; **Berger-El Naggar** et al., 2010: fig. 43, pl. XIX; **Mathieu**, 2018: 244, 289, 486.

Example B.1, a magical spell from pRamesseum XI (Middle Kingdom, *c.* 2055–1650 BCE), which is possibly a love spell, compares the speaker's desire with that of a deity for a body part associated with them, such as Horus and his eye (MEYRAT, 2019: Vol. I, 86). In addition, B.1 describes the *ỉb*-heart as a CONTAINER[62] for the 'flame' (*tkꜣ*), evoking the conceptual metaphor DESIRE IS FIRE and THE BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR THE EMOTIONS:

Example B.1: pRamesseum XI (pBM EA 10764), Fragment B, 1–3, Ramesseum, Thebes, Middle Kingdom:

(1) […] ***ỉb=ỉ***	***n=ṯ***	***ḥꜣ.ty(=ỉ)***	***[n]=˹ṯ˺***	***mỉ***	***ỉb***
heart:M.SG-1SG	for:PREP-2SG.F	heart:M.SG-1SG	for:PREP-2SG.F	like:PREP	heart:M.SG
˹ḥ˺r	***n***	***˹ỉr.t˺=f***	***sth***	***n***	***ỉs[n.wy]=f***
DN	for:PREP	eye:F.SG-3SG.M	DN	for:PREP	testicle:M.PL-3SG.M
ḥw.t-˹ḥ˺r	***n***	***ḥnsk.t=s***	(2) […] ***˹ḏḥ˺w.ty***	***n***	***˹ḳ˺ḥ=f***
DN	for:PREP	braided_lock_of_hair:F.SG-3SG.F	DN	for:PREP	arm:M.SG-3SG.M
(…) ***ỉw***	***rḏỉ***	***n=ỉ***	(3) […] ***tkꜣ***	***m***	***ỉb=ỉ***
PTCL	to_give:PASS	to:PREP-1SG	flame:M.SG	in:PREP	heart:M.SG-1SG
tk˹ꜣ˺	***m***	***˹ḥꜣ.ty˺[=ỉ](…)***			
flame:M.SG	in:PREP	heart:M.SG-1SG			

'[…] My *ỉb*-heart (= my desire) is for you. (My) *ḥꜣ.ty*-heart is [for] you like the *ỉb*-heart (= desire) of Horus for his eye, (that of) Seth for his testi[cles], (that of) Hathor for her braided locks, […] (and that of) Thoth for his arm. (…) There has been given to me[63][…] a flame in my *ỉb*-heart, a flame in [my] *ḥꜣ.ty*-heart (…).' (GARDINER, 1955: 14, pl. XLIV; MEYRAT, 2019: Vol. I: 84–5, Vol. II: 333).

Another example for the metaphor EMOTION IS HEAT/FIRE in the broad domain of LOVE is found in an inscription from the Edfu temple, here Example B.2. The quote revolves around the god Horus the Behdetite as the tutelary deity of Edfu[64] in his role as creator of human beings and, specifically, of sexual pleasure:

Example B.2: Edfu VIII: 50.9–10, Ptolemy XII Auletes, Graeco-Roman Period:

(50.9) **(…)** ***ntk***	***ỉwn***[65]	***ỉrỉ***	***ṯ:y.w***	***ḥm.wt***	***srf***
2SG.M	pillar:M.SG	to make:PTCP	man:M.PL	woman:F.PL	to_warm:PTCP
ỉb.w	***r***	***s:ḫpr***	(50.10) ***nḏmnḏm***[66]		
heart:M.PL	(in_order_)to:PREP	CAUS:to_create:INF	sexual_pleasure:M.SG		

'(…) because you (= Horus the Behdetite) are the pillar (of the moon), the one who creates men and women, the one who warms the *ỉb*-hearts to create sexual pleasure.' (KURTH, 1998: 94).[67]

The central phrase of interest, 'warming of the *ỉb*-hearts' (*srf ỉb.w*),[68] and the association with the creation of 'sexual pleasure' (*nḏmnḏm*) suggests the metaphor EMOTION IS HEAT with a focus on arousal and sexual

[62]The *ỉb*-heart is often conceptualised as a CONTAINER; see NYORD (2009: 49, with the preposition *m*, 68, 77–8 (*ỉb* as a container for emotions), 83).

[63]MEYRAT (2019:Vol. I, 85) translates '*J'ai placé […] un flambeau est dans mon désir (…).*' It is possible to read *ỉw rḏỉ.n=ỉ* as a perfect form or *ỉw rḏỉ n=ỉ* as a passive form.

[64]See also LGG VI: 430b. For Horus the Behdetite (= Horus of Edfu), see LGG V: 253b–255b.

[65]For *ỉwn* as 'pillar (of the moon)', see GRAEFE (1984: 901); TLA 500162; WILSON (1997: 52). See also LGG I: 193c–194c.

[66]TLA 91580; Wb. II 381.16–22; WILSON (1997: 567–8).

[67]For the same phrasing see Urk. VIII: 97. no. 121 (3). For similar examples, see Edfu I: 582.16, which associates 'the one with a warm *ỉb*-heart' (*srf ỉb=f*) with the verb *nk* 'to copulate'. Esna II: 17.8 uses the expression 'the one who warms the *ḥꜣ.ty*-hearts for you' (*srf n=f ḥꜣ.tyw*) as an epithet for the god Khnum-Re (FERNÁNDEZ PICHEL, 2018: 25, 31–2; LGG VI: 430b).

[68]Based on medical texts, BARDINET (1995: 68–80, especially 71) argues for a semantic distinction between the lexemes *ỉb* and *ḥꜣ.ty* (previously both lexemes were translated with 'heart'). While the '*ḥꜣ.ty*-heart' refers to the physical heart in the human body, the broader lexeme *ỉb* refers to the torso region (NYORD, 2009: 142–3; NYORD, 2017: 32–3). According to NYORD (2017: 33) the '*ỉb* is involved in a wider range of activities, including digestion, cognition and emotion'. For a summary of the state of research, see NYORD (2009: 55–68). In this paper, *ỉb* is translated as '*ỉb*-heart'.

desire, which this passage indicates is connected to a feeling of warmth in the body, in particular around the *ỉb*-heart. Example B.2 illustrates an instantiation of the metaphor AROUSAL/SEXUAL DESIRE IS HEAT and is associated with the creation of human beings and sexual activity, signaled by the expression 'one who creates men and women' (*ỉrỉ ṯꜣy.w ḥm.wt*) and the noun 'sexual pleasure' (*nḏmnḏm*).

'Hot' rather than just 'warm' love is the topic of love spells. Example B.3 offers an explicit instance that stems from the magical handbook pLondon-Leiden (*c.* first half of the 3rd century or second half of the 2nd century CE; **Dieleman**, 2005: 41–4).[69] The love spell, written in Demotic, targets a woman with the aim to inspire passionate love in her, doing so with the help of an intoxicating wine mixture[70] and the magic power of the recited incantation:

Example B.3: pLondon-Leiden, 15.18–15.20, Thebes, Graeco-Roman Period:

(15.18) **(…) *pꜣ***	***pḏ***	***n.ty-r***	***ỉrỉ***	***s***	***ꜣs.t***
ART:M.SG	longing:M.SG	REL	to_make:PFV	3SG.F	DN
r	***ḥr-bḥd.t***	***mỉ***	(15.19) ***ỉrỉ***	***s***	***tꜣ***
for:PREP	DN	cause(_that):IMP	to_make:SBJV	3SG.F	ART:F.SG
mn	***r***	***mn***	***ỉw=s***	***mr***	***n.ỉm=f***
N.N.	for:PREP	N.N.	SBRD-3SG.F	to_love:PROG	PREP-3SG.M
ỉw=s	***lbỉ***	***m-sꜣ=f***	(3) […] ***ỉw=s***	***rkḥ***	***n-ḏr.t=f***
SBRD-3SG.F	to_be_mad:PROG	(following_)after: PREP-3SG.M	SBRD-3SG.F	to_be_inflamed :PROG	because_of_the_hand: PREP-3.SG.M
ỉw=s	***ḳdỉ***	***m-sꜣ=f***	(15.20) ***r***	***mꜣ***	***nb***
SBRD-3SG.F	to_search(_for): PROG	(following_)after: PREP-3SG.M	at:PREP	place:M.SG	every:ADJ.M.SG
ỉw	***wn***	***ḫ.ỉꜣ.t***	***n***	***st(i).t***	***ḫn***
SBRD	to_exist:PROG	fire:F.SG	PGEN	fire:F.SG	in:PREP
ḥꜣ.ty=s	***n***	***tꜣy=s***	***wnw.t***	***n***	***tm***
heart:M.SG-3SG.F	in:PREP	POSS:F.SG	hour:F.SG	PGEN	NEG
nw	***r.r=f***				
to_see:INF	PREP-3SG.M				

'(…) The longing which Isis felt for Horus the Behedite, let N.N.[71] feel it for N.N. while she is loving him, while she is mad after him, while she is inflamed by him, while she is seeking him everywhere, while there is a flame of fire (= burning fire) in her *ḥꜣ.ty*-heart in her moment of not seeing him.' (**Griffith** & **Thompson**, 1904: 106–7; **Love**, 2016: 159).[72]

The text repeatedly draws on the domain of FIRE to describe the feelings the spell is expected to cause: the desired woman will be 'inflamed by him' (*ỉw=s rkḥ n-ḏr.t=f*) and there will be 'a flame of fire (= burning fire) in her *ḥꜣ.ty*-heart' (*ỉw wn ḫ.ỉꜣ.t n st(i).t ḫn ḥꜣ.ty=s*). The emotional distress described here may denote the passionate feelings of ardent longing and desire that the woman, as the spell's target, experiences while being separated from the spell's practitioner. The expressions can be understood as instantiations of the conceptual metaphor LONGING/DESIRE IS FIRE. In the example, 'a flame of fire (= burning fire)' is located in the *ḥꜣ.ty*-heart, indicating it is particularly affected by 'hot' feelings. Simultaneously, the phrase 'there is a flame of fire in her *ḥꜣ.ty*-heart' can be viewed as a linguistic expression of the conceptual metaphor THE BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR THE EMOTIONS (**Di Biase-Dyson**, 2018: 37; **Kövecses**, 2010: 202–6).

Example B.3 explicates that these burning feelings were 'triggered' by the absence of the spell's practitioner.

[69] The magical handbook consists of 98 spells, including for vessel or lamp divination, love, dream sending, charm/success, and medical recipes (**Dieleman**, 2005: 39–40). For pLondon-Leiden see also www.trismegistos.org/text/55955, accessed 15 November 2023.

[70] See pLondon-Leiden, 15.14–15.15.

[71] Nomen nescio (used as a placeholder for the personal name of the spell's target to be inserted during recitation).

[72] Transcription and translation after Vittmann, in TLA, London-Leiden: https://thesaurus-linguae-aegyptiae.de/text/ZT7NF-GRAHBG75I2NEOZQSSVKJM/sentences?page=3#sentence-26, accessed 14 November 2023. See also pLondon-Leiden, 21.26–21.27: (21.26) (…) *š-tw=w ḏỉ.t tꜣ st(i).t m-sꜣ ḥꜣ.ty=s tꜣ ḫ.ỉt.t* (21.27) *m-sꜣ nꜣỉ=s ỉwf.w š-tw=s šm-nꜣ (n) mn* (…) '(…) until fire is put/given after her *ḥꜣ.ty*-heart, the flame after her flesh, until she goes (to) N.N. (…)', after Vittmann, in TLA, London-Leiden; **Love** (2016: 160).

This suggests it denotes, more specifically, the woman's LONGING or DESIRE to be reunited with the male speaker. This is also signaled by the co-text 'in her moment of not seeing him'. Additionally, the expressions 'loving him' (*ỉw=s mr n.ỉm=f*), 'mad after him' (*ỉw=s lbỉ m-sꜣ=f*), and 'inflamed by him' (*ỉw=s rkḥ n-ḏr.t=f*) might also reflect the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS SICKNESS. This signals a close link between the concepts LOVE, SICKNESS, and FIRE.

Another feature in Example B.3 is that the affectionate feelings of the goddess Isis for her son Horus and her husband Osiris[73] serve as a prototype for those of a longing person. In the Osiris myth, Seth murders his brother and ruler of Egypt Osiris, after which, Isis, the wife of Osiris, searches for the mutilated body of her deceased husband throughout Egypt, seeking to revive his body. The search for the body parts is linked to Isis's longing and desire to be reunited with her husband.[74]

Similarly, the focus of Example B.4., drawn from the ritual text pBremner-Rhind (*c.* 305 BCE), revolves around the emotions/feelings LOVE, LONGING, GRIEF and SADNESS. The songs of Isis and Nephthys, from which the passage quotes, allude to the celebration of the Osirian ritual and were performed by two priestesses representing those two goddesses (FAULKNER, 1936: 12; KUCHAREK, 2010: 14–5; PINCH, 2004: 115–6). In particular, Example B.4 refers to Isis mourning for her deceased husband Osiris:

Example B.4: pBremner-Rhind (pBM EA 10188), 13.5–13.8, Thebes, Graeco-Roman Period:

(13.5) ***ḫn<d>=ỉ***	***tꜣ***	***nn***	***wrd=ỉ***	***m***	***ḥḥ=k***
to_tread:	earth:M.SG	NEG	to_be_weary:	in:PREP	to_seek:
THMZ-1SG			FUT-1SG		INF-2SG.M
(13.6) ***ỉw***	***nbỉ.t***	***{r}<m-ḫnw>[75]=ỉ***	***n***	***mrw.t=k***	(13.7) ***hꜣy***
PTCL	flame:F.SG	in_the_interior_of:	because_of:	love:F.SG-2SG.M	EXLM
		PREP-1SG	PREP		
mỉ	***mꜣꜣ=ỉ***	***tw***	(13.8) ***rmỉ=ỉ***	***n***	***wʿ.w=k***
come:IMP	to_see:	2SG.M	to_weep:	because_of:	loneliness:
	SBJV-1SG		THMZ-1SG	PREP	M.SG-2SG.M

'I tread the earth (and) I will not be weary in seeking you. A flame is in me because of (my) love for you. Oh come that I see you (again). I weep because of your loneliness.' (FAULKNER, 1933: 24; FAULKNER, 1936: 129; KUCHAREK, 2010: 180; Feder, in TLA, pBremner-Rhind).

The composition in Example B.4 locates a flame in Isis (probably in her body) because of her love for Osiris (*ỉw nbỉ.t {r}<m-ḫnw>=ỉ n mrw.t=k*). This imagery can be viewed as the metaphor THE BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR THE EMOTIONS (DI BIASE-DYSON, 2018: 37; KÖVECSES, 2010: 202–6). Kucharek interprets the phrase 'a flame is in me' as an expression of the physical sensations caused by ongoing mourning and lamentation, such as crying (KUCHAREK, 2010: 550–1). In this context, the body of the mourning person is described as something unpleasantly hot, burning, and feverish; that is, sensations associated with the conceptual domain SICKNESS (KUCHAREK, 2010: 549–50). It is also possible that the expression 'a flame is in me because of my love for you' is used metaphorically to express the excessive emotions of Isis' LONGING to be reunited with Osiris ('Oh, come that I may see you').[76] The passage is embedded in a network of associated concepts and collocates LONGING with GRIEF/SADNESS ('to be weary' (*wrḏ*), 'weeping' (*rmỉ*), 'loneliness' (*wʿ.w*)) and LOVE ('love' (*mrw.t*)).

The metaphorical constructions of LOVE/LONGING/(SEXUAL) DESIRE/AROUSAL IS HEAT/FIRE in Examples B.1, B. 2, B.3, and B.4 can be reconstructed through the textual context and co-text. The contextual situations

[73] See pLondon-Leiden, 15.17.

[74] Mythological references are very common in ancient Egyptian sources. In medical-magical texts, which often allude to the Osiris myth, the patient identifies with Horus the child and the healer with Isis. This identification provides mythic precedence for making a spell magically effective; see NUNN (1996: 98), PINCH (2004: 10) and POMMERENING (2020: 389).

[75] After Feder, in TLA, Papyrus Bremner-Rhind: https://thesaurus-linguae-aegyptiae.de/text/45APBFH7ENHZVHELL64L5XSRBY/sentences?page=32, accessed 19 September 2024.

[76] Similarly, the lamentations of Isis and Nephthys employ the metaphor of LONGING to describe the widow's desperate yearning to see her husband; see KUCHAREK and COENEN (2021: 29–30).

that evoke the metaphorical image LOVE/LONGING/DESIRE IS HEAT/FIRE are often motivated by mythological references, which is unsurprising, since funerary and magical texts typically draw on mythological references and prototypes.[77] In the songs of Isis and Nephthys (Example B.4), Osiris' absence is described as the cause of Isis' emotional distress, motivated by the desire and longing to see her partner again. Similarly, the woman's emotions in the love spell (Example B.3) are 'triggered' by her not seeing the practitioner/speaker of the spell.

In Examples B.3 and B.4 (probably also B.1), the feelings of LOVE/LONGING/DESIRE mainly affect females. The meaning of the conceptual metaphor AROUSAL/SEXUAL DESIRE IS HEAT is associated with the creation of human beings (Example B.2). The emotion AROUSAL/SEXUAL DESIRE may be experienced by all people, since the text attributes it to 'men and women' (*tꜣy.w ḥm.wt*).

The discussed instantiations of the conceptual metaphor EMOTION IS HEAT/FIRE are said to affect particular body parts. In these examples, the expressions are collocated with the *ḥꜣ.ty*-heart (Example B.3), the *ỉb*-heart (Example B.1, B.2), and probably the body (Example B.4). This suggests that these feelings or emotions were conceptualised as something that was felt or experienced within the body. Moreover, the examples are construed with the same key elements: a flame (of fire) inside the body, the *ỉb*- or the *ḥꜣ.ty*-heart, and a warm/hot *ỉb*-heart. Thus, the examples illustrate a strong connection between hot emotions and a CONTAINER schema, which is reflective of the conceptual metaphor THE BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR THE EMOTIONS (**Di Biase-Dyson**, 2018: 37; **Di Biase-Dyson & Chantrain**, 2022: 610; **Köhler**, 2016: 125–6; **Kövecses**, 2010: 202–6).[78] The conceptual metaphor EMOTION IS HEAT/FIRE is based on common human physiological changes associated with emotions such as love. Since the physiological effects of love and other intense emotions are INCREASED BODY HEAT, the bodily reaction serves as a frame for the conceptual metaphor EMOTION IS HEAT/FIRE (**Charteris-Black**, 2016: 38; **Kövecses**, 2010: 144). In line with this commonality the usage of physical symptoms referring to hot emotions is already attested in the ancient Egyptian textual record in the Old Kingdom.[79]

A range of HEAT/FIRE lexemes is employed in the Egyptian examples to generate the discussed conceptual metaphors.[80] Interestingly, while the conceptual metaphor AROUSAL/SEXUAL DESIRE IS HEAT is exclusively attested with the lexeme *srf* 'to (be) warm' (Example B.2; Wb. IV 195.11–13; TLA 139380), the conceptualisation LOVE/LONGING/DESIRE IS FIRE utilises the lexemes *nbḥ.t* 'flame' (Example B.4; Wb. II 244.11–13; TLA 82650), *rkḥ* 'to light (a fire), to burn up' (Example B.3; Wb. II 458.9–14; TLA 96440), *ḫ.t* 'fire, flame' (Example B.2; Wb. III 217.10–218.13; TLA 113020), *sḏ.t* 'fire, flame' (Example B.3; Wb. IV 375.12–377.7; TLA 150140), and *tkꜣ* 'flame, torch, candle' (Example B.1; Wb. V 331.5–15; TLA 173620). This distribution corresponds with the conclusions of **Di Biase-Dyson** and **Chantrain** (2022: 612, 622), who argue that the lexeme *srf* reflects less intense

[77] 'Literary narrative, ritual, and magical spells all transform myths which they use as a subject matter. We can have no access to the myths themselves' (**Baines**, 1996: 374).

[78] Ancient Egyptian texts often refer to the heart (*ỉb*) or the belly (*ḫ.t*) as a CONTAINER for emotions (**Nyord**, 2009: 55–78, 404–17). For example, the ANGER lexemes are located inside the heart (*ỉb*) or the belly (*ḫ.t*) referring to the metaphors ANGER IS IN THE HEART, ANGER IS IN THE BELLY, and the BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR THE EMOTIONS; see **Köhler** (2016: 96–108).

[79] Within some private tombs, mainly from the Old Kingdom (*c.* 2686–2160 BCE), the compound *srf-ỉb* 'to be enthusiastic, to be zealous (literally: warm of *ỉb*-heart)' is attested in dialogues ('Reden und Rufe') between overseer and workers carrying out tasks for the tomb owner; see **Di Biase-Dyson** and **Chantrain** (2022: 611–2) and **Merzeban** (2007: 232–7). In addition, the Middle Kingdom (Dynasty 12, c. 1985–1773 BCE) wisdom text The Maxims of Ptahhotep (pPrisse (= pBN 186–194, 12.2–12.3)) links the composite *tꜣ ỉb* 'hot of *ỉb*-heart' to the behaviour and reactions of a person with 'a violent temper'; see **Di Biase-Dyson** (2018: 36) and **Di Biase-Dyson** and **Chantrain** (2022: 610). Occasionally, an inflamed *ḥꜣ.ty*-heart (*ḥꜣ.ty mꜣḫ*) implies sorrow or fear; see **Toro Rueda** (2003: 259–61). For instance, this notion is encountered in the Story of Sinuhe (Dynasty 12, *c.* 1985–1773 BCE, pBerlin P 3022 + pAmherst m–q (B), 131–132) or pBremner-Rhind (*c.* 305 BCE, pBremner-Rhind, 7.22).

[80] The verb *srf* already occurred in the Old Kingdom (*c.* 2686–2160 BCE) with a link to emotions as an expression for ZEAL (see footnote 79). Since the First Intermediate Period (*c.* 2160–2055 BCE) the noun *srf* 'warmth' was linked to temper, with texts frequently collocating it with the verb *dꜣr* 'to supress', indicating that the temper should be controlled, see (**Di Biase-Dyson & Chantrain**, 2022: 611). The lexemes *nbḥ.t, rkḥ, ḫ.t, sḏ.t*, and *tkꜣ* are less frequently used to express emotions; e.g. in the Teaching of Amenmope, the noun *ḫ.t* 'fire, flame' is used to express the emotion anger (burning in the belly), reflecting the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS FIRE: (13.7) *tꜣ ḫ.t rkḥ.w m ḫ.t=f* 'the anger (lit. fire) burns/rages in his belly' (pBM EA 10474, 13.7; **Di Biase-Dyson**, 2018: 37; **Laisney**, 2007: 119–20, 342). **Westendorf** (1977: 163) and **Westendorf** (1973: 137) identifies ⲣⲱⲕϩ as a Coptic equivalent of the verb *rkḥ*, which he translates with 'brennen, entflammen (auch: begehren), verbrennen' [to burn, ignite (also: desire)].

emotions, while other HEAT/FIRE lexemes refer to more excessive and intense emotions.

A close examination of the co-texts of the four discussed examples reveals that the metaphor LOVE/LONGING/(SEXUAL) DESIRE/AROUSAL IS HEAT/FIRE is embedded in a network of associations with other concepts, metaphors, and experienced feelings—thus providing a rich imagery for the domain of LOVE. The metaphor EMOTION IS HEAT/FIRE is framed by sexual activity and arousal (Example B.2), states of intoxication/sickness (Example B.3), and crying/grieving/loneliness (Example B.4). As noted, in Example B.2, the 'warming of the *ỉb*-heart' is collocated with the creation of 'sexual pleasure' (*nḏmnḏm*) in human beings, generating the conceptual metaphor AROUSAL/SEXUAL DESIRE IS HEAT. Thus, this metaphor is an example of the intense experiences of arousal, sexual desire, and sexual activity framing erotic desire.

In contrast, Examples B.3 and B.4 use the lexeme 'love, to love' (*mrw.t, mr*) in the co-text to signal a connection to the emotion LOVE. This reference also links the two examples through the co-text to the domain of LOVE. In Example B.4, the metaphor is linked to the domain of GRIEF and SADNESS, signalled by the terms 'weeping' (*rmỉ*), 'to be weary' (*wrḏ*), and 'loneliness' (*wʿ.w*). Notions of a hot, burning, or feverish body caused by the ongoing mourning and lamentation in Example B.4 (KUCHAREK, 2010: 549–51) provide the conceptual structure to the imagery of this example. Moreover, the metaphor EMOTION IS HEAT/FIRE in Example B.3 is coupled with the emotional distress of being 'mad' (*lbỉ*) and 'inflamed' (*rkḥ*), which could denote the domain of SICKNESS.

5 Comparison and Conclusion

What can we learn from a comparison of the Akkadian and Egyptian instances of the shared metaphor LOVE IS HEAT/FIRE? Do our examples imply similar concepts, schemas, and cultural models of love in ancient Mesopotamian and Egyptian societies, or even aspects of universal concepts? Can we draw any conclusions about individuals' emotional experiences based on the models of love reflected in the texts we discussed? How are the three 'systems' of love mentioned in the introduction (sexual attraction/lust, romantic love, and love as a bond based on empathy and caring) reflected in the Akkadian and Egyptian sources under discussion? Do we encounter similar notions of romantic love?

Let us recapitulate that following cross-cultural surveys, the phenomenon of romantic love is found in most cultures and historical periods, despite marked differences and variations in cultural models and interlinked feeling rules, norms, dominant discourses, and evaluations of love relationships (e.g. JANKOWIAK, 2006; RÖTTGER-RÖSSLER, 2006). According to comparative studies (e.g. JANKOWIAK, 2006; JANKOWIAK & FISCHER, 1992; TENNOV, 1979), romantic love is characterised by an intense attraction that involves the idealisation of the other (within an erotic context), a strong identification with the loved person, an excessive mental fixation and emotional dependence on the other, bodily symptoms (e.g. agitation, hyperactivity, sleeplessness, euphoria), and (often) expectations of exclusivity and an enduring relationship. Interestingly, while concepts of romantic love are recognised cross-culturally, romantic love is often culturally marked as a negative state, as a dangerous physical or mental illness, conflicting with the favoured forms of love, which focus more on aspects of empathy, respect, and caring for the other (e.g. LAU, 2006; RÖTTGER-RÖSSLER, 2006). In light of these comparative studies, we shall first summarise our findings from the previous sections on the metaphor LOVE IS HEAT/FIRE, before then formulating some tentative conclusions regarding the representation of different models of love and their evaluations in the Akkadian and ancient Egyptian sources.

The examples presented in Sections 4.1 and 4.2 have shown that the metaphor LOVE IS HEAT/FIRE is used in both Akkadian and Egyptian texts (reaching back as far as the second millennium BCE), especially in love literature, spells, and mythological/ritual texts. In most of our examples, the focus of the LOVE IS HEAT/FIRE metaphor is the notion of INTENSITY (i.e. heat/fire signified high intensity of feeling). Notably, it was only in the Egyptian texts that we encountered a differentiation in the degree of the emotion's intensity, witnessed in examples differentiating between hot passion (Examples B.1, B.3, B.4) and warm affection/desire

(Example B.2), perhaps implying differences in the evaluation of emotional experiences as excessive vs moderate (inappropriate vs appropriate). However, the predominant association of love with HEAT/FIRE signals the prototypical perception of the emotion as 'hot' (strong, intense).

As a hint to the wide-reaching commonalities in human conceptualisations, we observed that the central mappings linked to the metaphor LOVE IS HEAT/FIRE identified in modern English (**KÖVECSES**, 1986, 1988) are also expressed in Akkadian and Egyptian texts: the fire/heat corresponds to the feeling/emotion, and the thing that is hot/burning is the person in love. A close reading revealed that in both the Akkadian and Egyptian text examples the tonality and quality of the feeling varies, ranging from SEXUAL DESIRE and PASSION/FRENZY to PAIN/SUFFERING/LONGING (i.e. between the poles of pleasantness/unpleasantness). In two instances of our sample, the fire stood for the painful feelings of lost, unrequited, or frustrated love, which was linked to the loss of (or fear of losing) the loved person. Akkadian texts also used the mapping of cooling the fire for curbing or turning down an excessively intense emotion.[81] In Akkadian texts, we further encountered a related metaphor, JEALOUSY IS FIRE, that is so far unattested in Egyptian sources.

In both textual corpora, the metaphor LOVE IS HEAT/FIRE is closely linked to other fundamental, cross-culturally common emotion metaphors: EMOTION IS A FORCE and THE BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR EMOTIONS. The fire of love can ignite another person (Examples A.1, B.1, B.3) and is compared with wild, aggressive animals (Example A.2 PASSIONS ARE WILD BEASTS). In both corpora, hot feelings were localised inside the body, most commonly in the HEART (or BELLY). One Akkadian example (Example A.4) associated (female) JEALOUSY with the crotch/genitals, a link that is not found in the Egyptian texts. Thus, embodied feelings formed the experiential basis motivating the EMOTION IS HEAT/FIRE metaphor (in a metonymic relationship). At the same time, the specific association with particular body parts and organs also reflects culturally embedded and partially specific conceptualisations that are shaped to some degree by emic views of gender relations (especially in the case of female jealousy in the Akkadian Example A.4).

Analysis of the co-texts of our examples discussed in the previous sections showed that the conceptual domain of (erotic, romantic) LOVE is embedded in a network of associated concepts and metaphors in Akkadian and Egyptian, reflecting the complexity of the concept in both languages and cultural settings. Several related concepts are common to both corpora, while some may reflect culture-specific conceptualisations and diverging frames or cultural models of LOVE. On the one hand, love is linked to prototypically positive notions including pleasure, excitement/arousal, intoxication, rapture, ecstasy, and vitality. In this context, a specific metaphor encountered in the Akkadian Example A.1 was the metaphor (SEXUAL) LOVE IS EATING/NOURISHMENT and LOVE IS A TASTY SUBSTANCE. On the other hand, in several instances, LOVE was marked as a negative emotional experience associated with concepts of PAIN, SICKNESS, INSANITY, FRENZY, and with the 'problematic' or 'dangerous' emotions of JEALOUSY, ANGER, and SADNESS/GRIEF. The Akkadian instances describing troubled love relationships or lost/unrequited love used specific connotations of the concept of ANGER to frame the metaphor LOVE/PASSION IS HEAT/FIRE (Examples A.2, A.3), while one Egyptian example (Example B.4) focused on SADNESS/GRIEF as a central related emotion linked to loss of the beloved person (myth/ritual text). This divergence may be linked to differences in context; namely, whose feelings were of central interest in the respective texts. In the Akkadian example, problematic aspects of love experiences were linked to male ANGER (perhaps with the connotation of EXCESSIVE PASSION); in the Egyptian example, the painful feeling of lost love was linked to the GRIEF of a female experiencer.

Another shared and important aspect of the Mesopotamian and Egyptian discourses about love (although emphasised to a greater extent in the latter) was the role of divine love as a prototype or model for human relationships and emotional experiences of love. More specifically, goddesses (Isis, Nanāya) played an eminent

[81] Similarly, ancient Egyptian texts use the mapping of cooling the HEAT/FIRE for turning down an intense emotion. To the authors' knowledge, this mapping is not linked to the emotion of LOVE. However, the cooling down of emotions occurs in relation to TEMPER or ANGER. For example: (4) (...) *ḳb srf tmm [mr.yt]* '(...) The one who is cool of warmth/cools the warmth (= free of temper), is complete in [favour].' (oMichaelides 16 = oLos Angeles M.80.203.209 (Teaching of a man for his son), line 4, Dyn. 19–20, New Kingdom; **FISCHER-ELFERT**, 1999: 189, II, § 19, 9–10.

role in both textual traditions. This appears to correlate with a marked emphasis on expressing the feelings and emotional experiences of women (especially in the Mesopotamian examples, in the ancient Egyptian examples especially in Example B.3).

Love literature and magic (incantations and rituals) were also important forms of expressing and dealing with problematic aspects of (erotic, romantic, passionate) love in marital or extramarital relationships. Sexual fulfilment and erotic love seem to have been celebrated as an ideal (and human need), especially in (Mesopotamian) divine love lyrics and love rituals (Example A.1, similarly Examples B.1, B.2). Among the examples discussed in this study, a few traits of romantic attraction could be reflected in the Egyptian love spell (Example B.3), whose aim was to inspire an overwhelming feeling of passionate longing in the target; the induced or desired state was described as one of intoxication/madness and was characterised by an obsessive longing for the performer of the spell.

In Example B.3, too, as well as in other Egyptian and Mesopotamian examples, such excessive feelings of passionate or romantic love were repeatedly highlighted and emphasised as stressful, painful, and therefore potentially dangerous and undesirable experiences. Thus, concepts such as SICKNESS/MENTAL ILLNESS, PAIN, and SUFFERING were recurringly linked to love experiences characterised by the metaphor LOVE IS HEAT/FIRE. These contrary aspects indicate the existence of conflicting, opposing models, evaluations, and experiences of love. On the one hand, our sources articulate the high value and desirability ascribed to intimate love relationships and experiences. But at the same time, they favour an avoidance of emotional excess ('dangerous' passions) in such relationships and instead emphasise aspects of caring and attachment, with attention focused on the management of intra-relational conflicts between partners (caused, e.g. by jealousy), and on coping with the loss of a loved one.

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7 Additional Glosses

The glosses in this article follow the Leipzig Glossing Rules. The glossing abbreviations for the Egyptian part, adapted from the Leipzig Glossing Rules, can be found in **Di Biase-Dyson** et al. (2009). In addition, the following glosses are used:

COH	cohortative
CS	status constructus (construct state)
DN	divine name
PREC	precative
PRT	preterite
REL	relative pronoun
VENT	ventive
VET	vetitive

8 Abbreviations found in text

AHw	Akkadisches Handwörterbuch (VON SODEN, 1965–81)
BM	Tablet siglum of the British Museum, London
CAD	The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago (GELB et al., 1956–2010)
CUSAS	Cornell University Studies in Assyriology and Sumerology
Edfu VIII	Die Inschriften des Tempels von Edfu VIII (KURTH, 1998)
ESAD	The Electronic Supplement to the Akkadian Dictionaries
ESNA II	Le temple d'Esna, Esna II (SAUNERON, 1963)
IB	Tablet siglum Iraq Museum, Baghdad
LGG	Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen (LEITZ, 2002–2003)
N.N.	Nomen nescio (used as a substitute for an unknown name)
o	ostracon
obv.	obverse
p	papyrus
PDM	Demotic Magical Papyri
PGM	Papyri Graecae Magicae / Greek Magical Papyri
rev.	reverse
Rm.	Tablet siglum of the British Museum, London (Rassam)
SAD	Supplement to the Akkadian Dictionaries (STRECK, 2018–2022)
SEAL	Sources of Early Akkadian Literature (STRECK & WASSERMAN, N.D.)
STT 2	Sultantepe Tablets 2 (GURNEY & HULIN, 1964)
TIM 9	Texts in the Iraq Museum 9 (VAN DIJK, 1976)
TLA	Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae and
UET 6/2	Ur Excavations, Texts 6/2 (GADD & KRAMER, 1966)
Urk. VIII	Urkunden des aegyptischen Altertums (Abteilung VIII, Heft 1) (FIRCHOW, 1957)
VS 17	Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der Königlichen Museen zu Berlin 17 (VAN DIJK, 1971)
Wb	Wörterbuch der Äegyptischen Sprache (ERMAN & GRAPOW, 1971)
YOS 11	Yale Oriental Series, Babylonian Texts 11 (VAN DIJK et al., 1985)

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