

# *The Origin and Diffusion of the Common Table Prayer “Come, Lord Jesus”*

by JAMES R. EGGERT

For centuries, the Common Table Prayer “Come, Lord Jesus” has been prayed in countless Lutheran and many other Christian homes in Germany, the United States, Australia, and elsewhere. It invites Jesus to join us as a guest at the table so that he might bless the food that he himself has provided. Typical statements of the prayer in German and English are:

Komm, Herr Jesu; sei unser Gast; und segne, was du uns bescheret hast.

*Come, Lord Jesus, be our Guest; and let Thy gifts to us be blessed.*

Or, in the Moravian translation:

*Come, Lord Jesus, our Guest to be; And bless these gifts bestowed by Thee.*

Several versions exist with minor variations in wording. Sometimes the prayer is extended by a second rhyme pair, but the short versions are most common.

The Common Table Prayer evokes the biblical passages of the wedding feast at Cana, feeding the five thousand, Martha and Mary, Jesus and Zacchaeus, the parable of the sheep and the goats, the Last Supper, the supper at Emmaus, Jesus standing at the door, and the Maranatha, the cry for Jesus to come again in glory. All these are succinctly suggested in one prayer. The obvious appeal of the prayer rests in its familiar devotion to Jesus, in the piety of inviting him to our table, in its rhyme, and in its brevity. These characteristics help maintain proper spiritual focus at a Christian meal set before a busy family. That it can be learned even by young children has helped the Common Table Prayer span generations and remain in daily use for centuries.

But where does the Common Table Prayer come from? Before about 1700, among Lutherans the term *Tischgebet* (table prayer) typically

referred to the prayers recommended by Martin Luther in his Small Catechism: the *Benedicite* (particularly the *Aller Augen*<sup>1</sup>) before a meal and the *Gratias* after a meal.<sup>2</sup> Although Luther has sometimes been suggested as the author of the Common Table Prayer also, this appears doubtful,<sup>3</sup> as it is not found in his extant writings. Since the late eighteenth century, a vague Reformation-era origin has at times been proposed, but with no identified author or source.<sup>4</sup> The prayer has often been incorporated into Lutheran catechetical materials since the 1850s,<sup>5</sup> but usually without attribution. The purpose of this paper is to shed light on the origin and diffusion of the Common Table Prayer by determining its early publication history and identifying possible precursors.

#### *Attribution to Zinzendorf*

For decades, the Common Table Prayer has been considered by many to be part of the poetic and theological output of the German radical Pietist Nicolaus Ludwig Graf von Zinzendorf (1700–1760), founder (in 1727) and bishop of the Herrnhuter Brüdergemeine, the renewed Moravian Church or Unitas Fratrum, and author of numerous hymns.<sup>6</sup> Although it is reinforced by the piety evident in the prayer, which arguably reflects Zinzendorf's deep devotion to Jesus, this identification is solely based on the appearance of the prayer in his hymnal *Etwas vom Liede Mosis*, published in London in 1753. The prayer appears without attribution of authorship or source in the first section of evangelical songs of the seventeenth century, devoted to the period before Pietism, as song 725 entitled *Tisch-Gebetgen* (little table prayer).<sup>7</sup> Zinzendorf's assignment of the prayer to this section of songs written before his birth should preclude any claim of his authorship. This fact, however, apparently did not satisfy some later researchers.

In 1889, Emil Krause (1840–1916) declared the 1753 London hymnal to be the earliest publication of the Common Table Prayer then known in hymnological circles.<sup>8</sup> But authorship of the prayer was not identified by him and has not been clarified in Moravian standard works since then. The Moravian Church's 1980 supplement to the 1753 London hymnal cites the *Gebetgen* as "Verf.

unbek.” (author unknown).<sup>9</sup> The 1995 *Moravian Book of Worship*<sup>10</sup> and its 2004 *Companion*<sup>11</sup> by Albert H. Frank give the origin of the text of hymn 826, “Come, Lord Jesus, our Guest to be” as “traditional” and trace its origin, but not authorship, to a 1669 aria text by Johann Rudolph Ahle.<sup>12</sup> These Moravian works do not list an author of the prayer.

The first explicit assertion of Zinzendorf authorship of the Common Table Prayer was in 1928 by Cajus Fabricius (1884–1950), then assistant professor of theology in Berlin, in *Die Brüdergemeine*,<sup>13</sup> later included as volume 10 of his monumental *Corpus Confessionum*.<sup>14</sup> Fabricius also discussed the prayer in 1929 in his *Urbekennnisse der Christenheit*.<sup>15</sup> Some later scholars have relied on Fabricius’ attribution of the prayer to Zinzendorf.<sup>16</sup> Fabricius’ claim of Zinzendorf authorship came to the United States by 1936, reportedly via the *Abendschule* magazine.<sup>17</sup> That story echoed the account that Zinzendorf derived the prayer from Ahle’s aria.

Fabricius based his claim of Zinzendorf authorship on the *Hymnologisches Handbuch zum Gesangbuch der Brüdergemeine*,<sup>18</sup> a 1916 comprehensive review of the hymnbooks of the Brüdergemeine by their theologian, archivist, and historian Joseph Theodor Müller (1854–1946). As described in his introduction,<sup>19</sup> Müller’s approach was to trace hymns from the current (in 1916) Brüdergemeine hymnal back through their historical hymnals, including notes from other sources mostly when found in standard hymnological works. Müller documented that, within Moravian hymnals, the prayer made its first appearance in the 1753 London hymnal and that it was similar to the aria by Ahle. Müller did not assert that Zinzendorf wrote the prayer nor even that Zinzendorf was the first to publish the prayer, only that its first publication in Moravian hymnals was in 1753. Fabricius erred when he assigned authorship to Zinzendorf, because such an assignment is not supported by his source. A conclusion of Zinzendorf authorship simply cannot be made from the 1753 London hymnal alone or from Müller’s handbook.

Zinzendorf authorship could be demonstrated by finding the Common Table Prayer in his poetic or other published works. Yet a diligent search of his 1725 publication of Christian teachings,<sup>20</sup> his 1727 song and prayer book,<sup>21</sup> the 1728 edition of his collection

of verses and sayings,<sup>22</sup> his 1731 collection of religious songs,<sup>23</sup> his 1735 collection of poetry<sup>24</sup> (with the earliest poem dated 1713), and Albert Knapp's 1845 compendium of the spiritual poems of Zinzendorf<sup>25</sup> shows that the prayer is not there.<sup>26</sup> The Common Table Prayer seems to occur in Zinzendorf's publications only in the 1753 London hymnal.

Zinzendorf wrote on the topic of table prayer at least three times. He did so, however, in a manner decrying the rote recitation of prayers without proper devotion. In his 1740 work *Jeremias: Ein Prediger der Gerechtigkeit*, for example, Zinzendorf criticized legalistic sermons by likening their ineffectiveness to that of recited table prayer:

Far too long and far too often, sermons on the Law can contribute greatly to the fact that people become so inured to the thing, like the parrot to his same old call, and children to their table prayer. In the end it is as if they derive no meaning anymore from the words and as if they hear nothing but a mere sound.<sup>27</sup>

His direct reference to children's table prayer likely points to the Common Table Prayer since, as will be shown below, Zinzendorf almost certainly knew it as a children's prayer well before 1740. From this and his other objections to rote recitation of table prayer,<sup>28</sup> which are very much in line with his emphasis on the importance of heart-felt prayer, it is clear that Zinzendorf was consistently and passionately opposed to what the Common Table Prayer can become, a rote prayer recited without thought.<sup>29</sup> Of course, these objections render problematic his inclusion of the prayer in his 1753 London hymnal, but even more so any idea that Zinzendorf wrote the prayer, repeatedly argued against it, and then embraced it anyway.

Further undermining attribution to Zinzendorf, Joseph Herl in the 2019 *Lutheran Service Book: Companion to the Hymns*<sup>30</sup> adduced an earlier, partial source, the 1735 volume of the *Universal Lexicon*<sup>31</sup> by Johann Heinrich Zedler (1706–1751). It turns out that Zedler directly copied from the 1719 *Ausführliches Heiligen-Lexicon*<sup>32</sup> by Johann Jacob Schmauß (1690–1757). Although these references show that the 1753 London hymnal was not the original source of the Common Table Prayer, they implicitly leave a Zinzendorf authorship chronologically still possible, though barely so.

Thus, because of the apparent misinterpretation of earlier scholarship, the 1753 London hymnal's placement of the prayer without a listed author in its section of seventeenth-century works, the absence of the prayer in Zinzendorf's published poetic or other religious works, Zinzendorf's consistent criticism of rote recitation of table prayers, and the existence of earlier, partial sources, Zinzendorf authorship of the Common Table Prayer appears very doubtful. Its origin must be sought elsewhere.

*The Ahle Aria as Precursor*

The Common Table Prayer did not arise or exist in a vacuum. Other works have used the same words and ideas as the Common Table Prayer. These related works may be precursors or adaptations of the prayer, but are usually more elaborate than the prayer itself. They may be discovered by performing full-text searches in multiple databases using inclusive criteria and then reading the necessarily large number of resulting candidate texts. For uniform identification of a candidate text as a work related to the Common Table Prayer, the following criteria were defined: A related work must be a prayer and have some of the key words from the Common Table Prayer. It should address Jesus, be an invitation, involve a meal, invoke Jesus' blessings, and regard the meal as a gift from God. Excluded from consideration here are passages that are an Advent or Christmas devotion, a Holy Communion prayer, a Maranatha prayer, a plea for Jesus to come as a doctor to cure our ills, or a call for Jesus to be in our hearts without referencing, even indirectly, a meal.

Only six works published before 1700 were found to possess these characteristics. More may well be discovered in a more extensive search, but it is apparent that such works are not common. Related works after 1700 are not treated in detail here because they are likely adaptations of the prayer rather than precursors, as will be demonstrated subsequently.<sup>33</sup>

The work showing the greatest textual similarity to the Common Table Prayer is the 1669 aria by Johann Rudolph Ahle (1625–1673), the same aria invoked in the claim of Zinzendorf authorship. Ahle was the organist and penultimate predecessor of Johann Sebastian

Bach at the Divi Blasii church in Mühlhausen in Thüringen. The aria's text, which Ahle himself wrote, is an antepandial prayer that reads in selection:

Komm/ JEsu Christ! sey unser Gast/ | Weil du doch dieses alles hast |  
 Durch deine Hand bescheret: | (. . . nähret) . . .  
 Drum segne du/ HErr JEsu Christ! | Was uns itzt fürgesetzt ist/ . . .<sup>34</sup>

*Come, Jesus Christ! Be our guest, as You have provided all this by Your hand: . . .  
 Then bless, Lord Jesus Christ! what is now set before us . . .*

The aria's similarity to the Common Table Prayer was noted by Krause in 1889,<sup>35</sup> Müller in 1916,<sup>36</sup> Fabricius in 1928,<sup>37</sup> Frieder Schulz in 1992/93,<sup>38</sup> and Frank in 2004.<sup>39</sup> But Schulz identified a problem with the idea that Ahle's aria served as inspiration to Zinzendorf: The aria was temporally distant and relatively hidden from Zinzendorf. If the aria was unavailable to Zinzendorf, he could not have used it to write the prayer.

This problem could be resolved by the observation that Ahle's text became available to a wider audience when it was included in the *Wagner Gesangbuch*<sup>40</sup> of 1697. This eight-volume hymnal was extremely influential, in Leipzig at least, being the source of some of the hymn texts in Johann Sebastian Bach's *œuvre*.<sup>41</sup> But this resolution is also problematic, for Zinzendorf does not cite the *Wagner Gesangbuch* in the long list of references in his hymnal. How the Ahle aria could have participated in a purported Zinzendorf authorship of the prayer thus remains unclear.

Ahle's original melody, transcribed in part in Fischer-Tümpel,<sup>42</sup> was replaced in the *Wagner Gesangbuch* by the melody "Kommt her zu mir, spricht Gottes Sohn." This older and catchier melody was published in Augsburg in 1530 with text by the Anabaptist Georg Grünwald (c. 1490–1530).<sup>43</sup> Strikingly, in addition to the simple pun "Kommt her" instead of "Komm, Herr," the sense of Grünwald's text is the near opposite of that of Ahle's. In Grünwald, Jesus invites sinners to come to him so he can make us whole; we are called to obey his Word. In Ahle, it is we who invite Jesus to our table so he can bless what he has given us; we are called to thankfulness. This

contrasting sense is the result of a profound pairing of Ahle's text and the older tune, a pairing that has survived in hymnals of the nineteenth century.<sup>44</sup>

Another question about the relationship between Ahle's aria and the prayer must be posed: Rather than an inspiration for the prayer, was perhaps the aria a poetic adaptation of a pre-existing Common Table Prayer? A hint to an answer might be found in the fact that the two songs in the *Wagner Gesangbuch* immediately preceding the Ahle aria are poetic adaptations of the Lord's Prayer and the *Aller Augen*, both recommended as before-meal prayers by Luther. This could indicate that in 1697 the Ahle aria too was considered to be a poetic adaptation of an earlier, more basic prayer, which may be just the Common Table Prayer. This would require, however, that Ahle cut the two-line prayer into two pieces for use in two disjoint stanzas of his aria, an odd dissection that did not occur in any of the related works known from the eighteenth century. The next section of this paper will instead lead to the opposite conclusion: that Ahle's aria was indeed the inspiration for the Common Table Prayer.

Five early and more textually distant Lutheran precursors were also found in this effort.<sup>45</sup> These include prayers from a 1639 devotional and prayer book<sup>46</sup> by Josua Wegelin (1604–1640) and from a 1659 church and school order<sup>47</sup> by his older brother Georg Wegelin (1603–1669); the poem “Trauungs-Lied”<sup>48</sup> by Sigmund von Birken (“Floridan,” 1626–1681) dating from 1651; its partly derivative wedding song<sup>49</sup> written in 1677 by Magnus Daniel Omeis (“Norischer Damon,” 1646–1708);<sup>50</sup> and the song “Von der Hochzeit zu Cana,” written about 1677 and published in 1690 with text by Johann Samuel Kriegsmann (1635–1678). These prayers, poem, hymn, and song all meet the criteria listed above and all, except Kriegsmann, predate Ahle's aria. Kriegsmann is, next to Ahle, the closest textual match to the Common Table Prayer. These texts show that the original inspiration for Ahle or for the prayer itself may have been the Emmaus story or the Cana wedding feast. Together the texts imply that, before the Common Table Prayer appeared in print, its concepts and terminology were already active in the Lutheran tradition.

*The Origin of the Common Table Prayer*

To shed light on the origin of the Common Table Prayer, an intensive survey was undertaken to find the prayer in published books or durable objects before 1800. This survey shows that, in direct contradiction of a purported Zinzendorf authorship in 1753, the Common Table Prayer was in fact published, in whole, in part, or by apparent reference, at least twenty times before 1753, at least four times in 1753,<sup>51</sup> and in every decade of the eighteenth century.

The earliest publication of the Common Table Prayer found in this survey was by Johann Conrad Quensen in his textbook *Neues und Nützliches SchulBuch Vor Die Jugend Biß ins zehente oder zwölfte Jahr*,<sup>52</sup> written in Leipzig with a preface dated March 23, 1698 (see Figure 1). This shows that Zinzendorf's assignment of the prayer to the seventeenth century is correct. As this textbook predates his birth, it also proves that a Zinzendorf authorship of the prayer is impossible.

Available biographical information on Johann Conrad Quensen is sparse, deriving from his university matriculation, his publications, and his later administrative work. Quensen was from Hildesheim, although whether this means the city itself or the prince-bishopric is unknown.<sup>53</sup> As the preface to his *SchulBuch* was written by Johann Christoph Losius (1659–1733), director of the Gymnasium Andreanum in Hildesheim, Quensen was likely an Andreanum graduate. When he matriculated at the Universität Leipzig in the summer semester of 1690, the normal enrollment fee was waived, implying either association with a university professor or official or, more likely, poverty.<sup>54</sup> Quensen authored several elegies and a birthday ode published in Leipzig; in those up to 1698 and in his *SchulBuch* he is called a *S.S. Theolog. Cult[or]*, a scholar of theology, an honorific often used by university students or scholars without an academic

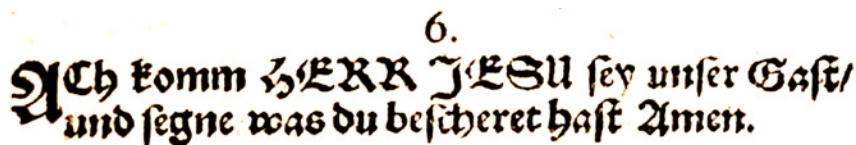


fig. 1. Earliest known publication of the Common Table Prayer, in Johann Conrad Quensen's *SchulBuch*, March 1698.



degree.<sup>55</sup> The front matter of his *SchulBuch* indicates that in 1698 he was friends with Immanuel Horn (1652–1714), at the time vesper preacher at the Thomaskirche in Leipzig, and with Christian Kühn (1672–1719), then also a theology *Cultor*. In an elegy written in 1699, Quensen omitted all academic designation, perhaps indicating he had by then withdrawn from the university or from teaching.<sup>56</sup> He apparently did not obtain a degree. In 1701 he was reportedly preparing a theological vademecum for publication.<sup>57</sup> Quensen is likely the author of the same name of several books on rapid calculation<sup>58</sup> 1701 to 1721 and of a primer and a book on Christian morals in 1726, of which apparently no copies survive.<sup>59</sup> He also appears to be the same Johann Conrad Quensen who was manorial administrator (Amtmann) for at least ten years starting Easter 1711, for Philipp Adam zu Eltz (1665–1727) at the Gut Walbeck<sup>60</sup> in the Saxon part of Grafschaft Mansfeld. A signature of Amtmann Quensen is shown in Figure 2. Quensen's fate after 1726 is presently unknown.

Quensen's *SchulBuch*, printed in Hannover and Wolfenbüttel, combined curricula in reading, religion, Latin, and deportment intended to satisfy most educational needs of schoolchildren up to the tenth or twelfth year of age. It achieved international distribution<sup>61</sup> and was recommended in a Nuremberg school order of the same year and possibly also in Parchim.<sup>62</sup> It was referenced in Helmstedt in 1726 by the Lutheran theologian Johann Fabricius (1644–1729).<sup>63</sup> Its distribution and influence made the *SchulBuch* an effective vehicle for rapid and wide popularization of the prayer.

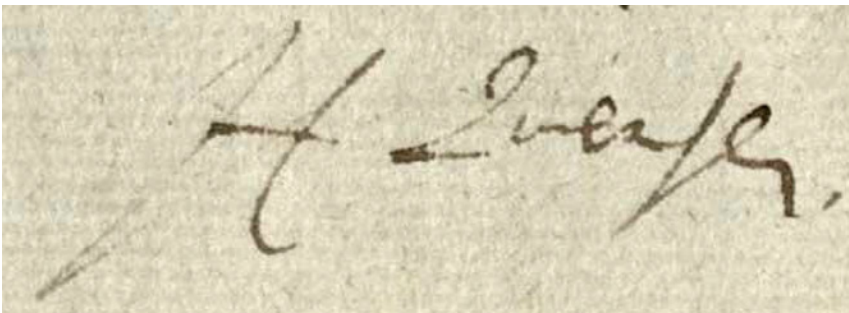


fig. 2. Signature of H[err Johann Conrad] Quensen, Amtmann in Walbeck, August 7, 1719.

But did Quensen write the Common Table Prayer? His other occasional poetry certainly demonstrates poetic skill sufficient to the task. Although Quensen does not cite himself as author of the prayer, neither does he, except for scriptural and catechismal passages, credit authorship for any of his material. Multiple writers of the prefatory material in the *SchulBuch*, though, repeatedly call Quensen its author (*Autor* and *Schreiber*); none suggests another contributor or characterizes the *SchulBuch* as a mere compendium.<sup>64</sup> Indeed, although Johann Heinrich Löder (c.1665–1728) describes the writing style of the *SchulBuch* as poor and inerudite (*schlecht und ungelahrt*), he points out that it was purposely written this way for schoolchildren (*daß diese Schreibens-Art zwar schlecht, doch mit Bedacht für Kinder sey geschrieben*), a remark that would be inapt if Quensen were not a writer of his work. Quensen is a purposeful author in his own right and not a mere compiler.

Most of the table prayers listed by Quensen were certainly not written by him, however, so the appearance of the prayer in his book, by itself, would be insufficient to assign authorship. But multiple connections from the *Wagner Gesangbuch* with the Ahle aria to Quensen's *SchulBuch* will enable such an assignment, at least provisionally.

The *Wagner Gesangbuch* and Quensen's *SchulBuch* are closely associated. Both were written in Leipzig, the *SchulBuch* less than nine months after the *Gesangbuch* appeared.<sup>65</sup> The two works also enjoy multiple personal connections. Both contain dedications by Johann Günther (1660–1714), then deacon at the Nikolaikirche in Leipzig. More importantly, Quensen's apparent mentor, the elderly Leipzig professor and superintendent Georg Lehmann (1616–1699), also wrote dedications for both works.<sup>66</sup> The apparent absence of the prayer in the decades before 1698, its appearance in the *SchulBuch* promptly after the *Wagner Gesangbuch*, and the multiple personal connections between the two works indicate the likelihood of a causal relation. They invite the interpretation that Quensen found Ahle's text among the before-meal songs in the newly-available *Gesangbuch* and used it to write the before-meal prayer for his *SchulBuch*. If the *Wagner Gesangbuch* was the road by which Ahle's aria became the Common Table Prayer, then the *SchulBuch* was the vehicle and Quensen its driver.

The proposed attribution of the prayer to Quensen should be accompanied by the caveat that other possibilities exist. Quensen may have learned the prayer from another Leipziger who was inspired by Ahle's aria in the *Wagner Gesangbuch*. The prayer may have existed before the *Wagner Gesangbuch* and come to Quensen's attention by another route. It may even have existed before Ahle's aria. But there is no evidence for any of these alternatives, and arguments against all of them. Indeed, the first is challenged by the prefatory material lauding Quensen as the purposeful author writing for children. The last suffers the odd dissection difficulty noted above. And the last two alternatives do not explain the absence of the prayer before Quensen's *SchulBuch* and would require the *Wagner*-Quensen compound correlation to be mere coincidence. The simplest and most robust explanation for the evidence is that Quensen is the author of the Common Table Prayer.

### *Diffusion of the Common Table Prayer*

The diffusion of the Common Table Prayer is documented in its publication history after 1698. Its next known appearance is tied to the earliest known comment on the use of the prayer, by Christian Weise (1642–1708), the stalwart Lutheran<sup>67</sup> rector of the *Gymnasium* in Zittau<sup>68</sup> and author of numerous published works including textbooks, plays, novels, and poetry. His textbook *Oratorische Fragen*<sup>69</sup> was published in Leipzig with a preface dated August 31, 1706.<sup>70</sup> Its chapter concerning practical oratory includes a section on baptismal sermons that is based on a passage from Luke 8, "Suffer the children to come unto me . . .". Here, Weise stresses the importance of proper parenting and praises parents who know their Savior and practice the Common Table Prayer (see Figure 3):

Well-respected parents have always made themselves well acquainted with their Savior, and also in their table prayer they have not neglected the usual plea  
Come Lord Jesus be our Guest,  
Bless what Thou hast provided.

Although there is no evidence that Weise owned a copy of Quensen's *SchulBuch*,<sup>71</sup> it is not unreasonable to think that he may have

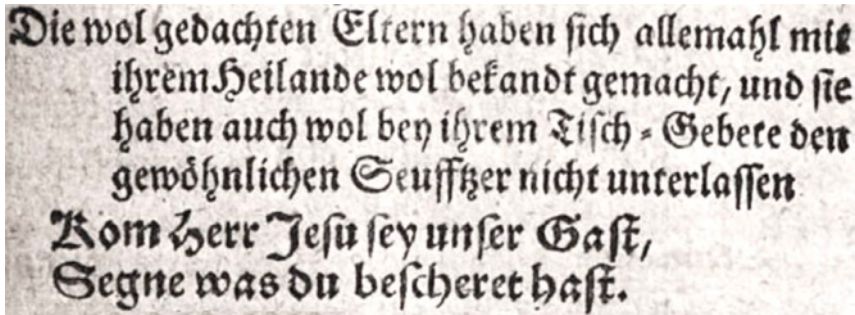


fig. 3. Earliest known comment on the Common Table Prayer, from Christian Weise's *Oratorische Fragen*, August 1706.

read it or seen its effects in the children being admitted to his school. Weise characterizes the prayer as in common use at family dining tables already in 1706. Practices in common use generally can take years to develop, and this is compatible with a first publication in 1698.

Weise also adapted the words of the Common Table Prayer in the fifth stanza of his poem *Was die Worte heissen PANEM PROPTER DEUM*.<sup>72</sup> This poem was set to the melody "Wer in dem Schutz des Höchsten ist"<sup>73</sup> and sung by the orphan children at the *Waisenhaus* (orphan house) in Zittau<sup>74</sup> on Sunday *Vocem Jucunditatis*, May 9, 1706, about three months before his *Oratorische Fragen* appeared. Weise based the poem on the first sermon by Johannes Mathesius (1504–1565) concerning the history of Martin Luther,<sup>75</sup> published in 1567. This sermon in turn drew on Luther's own account<sup>76</sup> of his youth in Eisenach when, as a *Currendschüler*, he went door to door to sing for his bread. Weise's poem repeatedly uses the mendicant's cry that Luther also used, "*Panem Propter Deum*" (Bread for God's sake!). This repetition invites us to regard the prayer in light of the parable of the sheep and the goats in Matt. 25:35 (ESV) "For I was hungry and you gave me food, I was thirsty and you gave me drink, I was a stranger and you welcomed me." Although the Common Table Prayer is mentioned neither in Mathesius' sermon nor in Luther's account, with this poetic device Weise provides both scriptural support and a Lutheran historical basis for the prayer. Weise thereby affirms the Common Table Prayer as compatible with and part of the Lutheran tradition.

Another early publication, Hieronymus Freyer's 1712 *Theologisches Handbuch*,<sup>77</sup> also quotes the Common Table Prayer in its entirety (see Figure 4). Freyer (1675–1747) was a teacher at the *Waisenhaus* in Glaucha just outside Halle. The orphanage and related schools had been founded by Freyer's mentor August Hermann Francke (1663–1727) and formed a major center of the Lutheran Pietist movement. Although the Common Table Prayer was apparently unknown to Francke in 1695,<sup>78</sup> Freyer's handbook lists it as one of the table prayers in daily use by the children at the *Waisenhaus* in 1712. This handbook is also connected to the young Zinzendorf: when the book appeared in Halle, Zinzendorf was about twelve years old and attending school there. Freyer in fact became Zinzendorf's tutor that

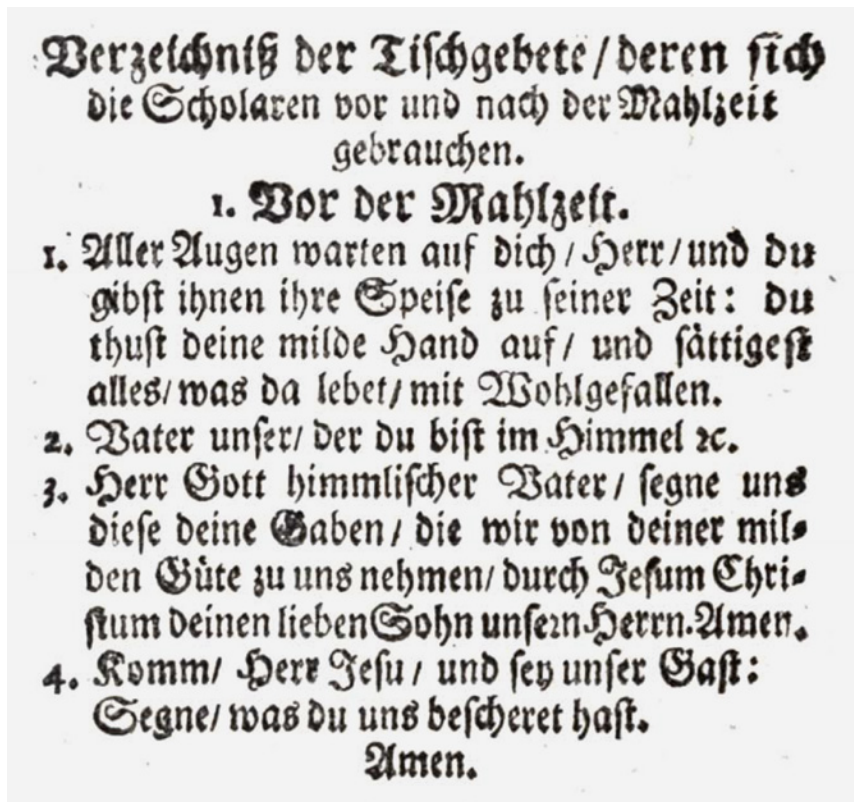


fig. 4. The Common Table Prayer, fourth in a list of before-meal prayers used by the students in Halle in 1712.

same year.<sup>79</sup> Zinzendorf thus almost certainly used the Common Table Prayer as a child in Halle and may have learned it there. The prayer had become a standard feature of the school curriculum within about fifteen years.

These and several other early-eighteenth-century works that contain or mention the Common Table Prayer are associated with schools, most notably with *Waisenhäuser*. Indeed, the prayer was in daily use in Dresden as early as 1711, as shown in a list of duties in the orphan school there.<sup>80</sup> Their frequent association with the works cited here shows the important role that schools played in the dissemination and popularization of the prayer. From its beginning, the prayer was for schoolchildren.

Starting in 1719, many of the early publications of the Common Table Prayer quote it only in abbreviated form.<sup>81</sup> The purpose of these works was clearly not to teach the prayer, but to include it as part of a compendium or mention it in a discussion. The quoting compiler assumed that the prayer was already familiar to the readership. The prayer had become well known in society within about twenty years.

In the works found in this survey up to 1753, the manner of delivery of the prayer, spoken or prayed as opposed to sung or chanted, is often documented. Almost uniformly, works quoting the Common Table Prayer are spoken or prayed (if specified at all), while related works after 1700 (those likely derived from the prayer) are sung. Some of these related works are given melodies, others are placed in sections of songs, yet others are labeled as arias or songs. The dichotomy between the Common Table Prayer being spoken and its related works being sung is nearly complete, with the sole exceptions being the 1753 London hymnal and a related prayer written 1712 in Nordhausen.<sup>82</sup> Zinzendorf was the first to classify the unaltered prayer as a song. The Nordhausen work is the only spoken item found in this period to be partly an altered version of the prayer. Clearly, though it lent itself well to musical adaptation with concomitant rewording, the Common Table Prayer was written to be, and for fifty years remained, a spoken prayer.

The works referencing the Common Table Prayer before 1753 were authored in various cities spanning a wide region ranging from

Tøndern (now Denmark) in the north<sup>83</sup> to Diessbach (Switzerland) in the south<sup>84</sup> and from Żary (now Poland) in the east<sup>85</sup> to Leiden (Netherlands) in the west.<sup>86</sup> The works include textbooks, theological works,<sup>87</sup> catechisms,<sup>88</sup> a local description,<sup>89</sup> prayer books,<sup>90</sup> a literary review,<sup>91</sup> and even an earthenware bowl<sup>92</sup> (see Figure 5). None of these early sources, excepting the 1753 London hymnal alone, is a hymnal. Their Lutheran origin and non-hymnal nature may explain why these publications were not consulted in the scholarly work carried out initially by the Moravian Müller nor by later hymnologists. The broad distribution and wide range of types



fig. 5. Glazed earthenware bowl by an unknown, possibly Hessian artist, 1733.

of these works show that the prayer had become geographically widespread and culturally dominant within sixty years.

No eighteenth-century work has been found that names the author of the Common Table Prayer. One source from 1726 does ascribe it to an unnamed *Enthusiast*, but this is neither specific nor dispositive.<sup>93</sup> The same source indicates that scholarly objections were raised regarding the theological correctness of the prayer, most notably that we should invite Jesus to be spiritually present in our souls rather than physically present at our meal. Indeed, such objections did induce some people to avoid the Common Table Prayer.<sup>94</sup> But despite these concerns, the prayer was quoted by numerous learned theologians and rapidly became widely dominant in German Lutheran culture.

The Common Table Prayer spread to other denominations nearly as rapidly. Of the works found in this survey, the earliest quoting the prayer and authored by a Reformed theologian was the 1746 book *Warnung An Die liebe Jugend*<sup>95</sup> by Samuel Lutz (1674–1750). The earliest Moravian work quoting the prayer was Zinzendorf's 1753 London hymnal. The Moravians even translated the prayer into Inuit in 1785.<sup>96</sup> The earliest Roman Catholic work quoting the prayer directly was the *Christatholisches Gebeth- und Lehrbüchlein*,<sup>97</sup> published by Wenzl Ranzendorf in Prague in 1766. The prayer thus became an ecumenical and international prayer within ninety years.

### *Conclusion*

This survey has shown that the publication history of the Common Table Prayer extends decades earlier than previously known, back into the late seventeenth century. Zinzendorf authorship of the prayer is thereby proven impossible.

The earliest publication of the Common Table Prayer found in this study is by Johann Conrad Quensen in a schoolbook written in Leipzig in 1698. Although he did not specifically claim or attribute authorship, Quensen probably penned the prayer. He likely based the prayer on the text of the 1669 aria by Johann Rudolph Ahle, recently reprinted in Leipzig in the 1697 *Wagner Gesangbuch*, with



whose release Quensen was indirectly associated. The Common Table Prayer was a spoken prayer meant for schoolchildren, and it was through schools that it first spread.

Five additional, more distant precursors were also identified in this survey. Together these related works show that the themes of the Common Table Prayer may derive from the Emmaus or Cana stories and were in active use among Lutherans before Ahle.

After appearing in Quensen's schoolbook, the Common Table Prayer rapidly came into broad use throughout German-speaking Protestant lands. Already in 1706, Christian Weise considered the prayer to be in common use in Christian families, and he wrote a musical adaptation that anchored the prayer in a scriptural and historically Lutheran context. By 1712 the prayer was a regular part of school curricula in Halle and Dresden. Over the next decades, it was quoted in a variety of written works and even in folk art. It was adapted to music and incorporated in several hymns. By the mid-eighteenth century, the prayer had become so culturally dominant that many writers assumed their readers would know its phrases and some presumed it to have been in use for hundreds of years. And now its likely author has been identified.

Barring future findings, the earliest known publication of the Common Table Prayer should be given as "Johann Conrad Quensen, *Neues und Nützliches SchulBuch Vor Die Jugend*, Hannover and Wolfenbüttel, 1698" or similar. Its authorship should be listed as "Johann Conrad Quensen(?), Leipzig, 1698." The origin of the Common Table Prayer is affirmed as late-seventeenth-century Lutheranism.

## NOTES

1. See, for example, Daniel Georg Morhof, *Unterricht Von Der Teutschen Sprache und Poesie/ deren Ursprung/ Fortgang und Lehrsätzen* (Kiel: Reumann, 1682), 636, <https://books.google.com/books?id=CDNbb8PSgloC&pg=PA636>.

2. For a review, see Frieder Schulz, "Die Hausgebete Luthers: Gebete vor und nach Tisch," in Albrecht Peters, *Kommentar zu Luthers Katechismen 5: Die Beichte. Die Haustafel. Das Traubüchlein. Das Taufbüchlein*. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994), 200–203, [https://digi20.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/fs1/object/display/bsb00048584\\_00198.html](https://digi20.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/fs1/object/display/bsb00048584_00198.html).

3. See, for example, *Evangelisch-Lutherischer Gebets-Schatz: Vollständige Sammlung von Gebeten Dr. Martin Luthers und anderer rechtgläubiger, gesalbter Beter der ev.-luth. Kirche in*

unverändertem Abdruck, Zweite Auflage (St. Louis: deutsche ev.-luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio u. a. Staaten, 1865), XII, 6, <https://books.google.com/books?id=vA9DAQAAMAAJ&pg=PA6>; and “Who wrote the Common Table Prayer?” in *Frequently Asked Questions—Doctrine*, The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod, accessed May 12, 2022, <https://www.lcms.org/about/beliefs/faqs/doctrine>.

4. Johann Daniel Tietz. “Anmerkung über unser bekanntes Tischgebeth,” *Wittenbergisches Wochenblatt zum Aufnehmen der Naturkunde und des ökonomischen Gewerbes* 13, no. 48 (December 1, 1780): 381–382, <https://books.google.com/books?id=dolEAAAACAAJ&pg=PA381>.

5. See, for example, *Dr. Martin Luther's Kleiner Katechismus mit beigegefügtten hessischen Fragestücken* (Darmstadt: Verlag des evangelischen Bücherdepots, 1852), 25, [https://books.google.com/books?id=9-\\_rAOaJABoC&pg=PA25](https://books.google.com/books?id=9-_rAOaJABoC&pg=PA25).

6. See, for example, Karl Christian Thust, *Die Lieder des Evangelischen Gesangbuchs: Kommentar zu Entstehung, Text und Musik, Bd. 2: Biblische Gesänge und Glaube—Liebe—Hoffnung (EG 270–535)* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2015), 388.

7. *Etwas vom Liede Mosis, des Knechts Gottes, und dem Liede des Lammes* (London: Mit Haberkorn- und Gussischen Schriften, 1753), 416, <https://books.google.com/books?id=dSrGrJuzx40C&pg=PA416>.

8. E. Krause, “Zu: Komm Herr Jesu sei unser Gast,” *Blätter für Hymnologie* (1889): 95.

9. Erich Beyreuther, Gerhard Meyer, *Londoner Gesangbuch: alt- und neuer Brüder-Gesang. Teil 3: Anhänge zum Londoner Gesangbuch* (Hildesheim, New York: G. Olms, 1980), 90, <https://books.google.com/books?id=bDw7AQAAMAAJ>.

10. *Moravian Book of Worship* (Bethlehem, Pennsylvania: Moravian Church in America, 1995).

11. Albert H. Frank, *Companion to the 1995 Moravian Book of Worship* (Winston-Salem: Moravian Music Foundation, 2004), 214.

12. Johann Rudolph Ahle, “Komm/ Jesu Christ! sey unser Gast,” *Annuhtiges Zehn Neuer Geistlicher Arien*, Opus decimum quintum (Mühlhausen: Hüter, 1669).

13. Cajus Fabricius, “Formen des Gottesdienstes,” *Die Brüdergemeine: Kirchenordnungen, Lieder, Liturgien und Lehrschriften der Herrnhuter*, Deutsche Erweckungs- und Heiligungsbewegungen, Bd. 1. (Berlin and Leipzig: de Gruyter, 1928), XLIII, <https://books.google.com/books?id=Tnp2nQAACAAJ>.

14. Cajus Fabricius, “Formen des Gottesdienstes,” *Die Brüdergemeine: Kirchenordnungen, Lieder, Liturgien und Lehrschriften der Herrnhuter*, Corpus Confessionum 10 (Berlin and Leipzig: de Gruyter, 1936), XLIII, <http://www.worldcat.org/oclc/1006067586>.

15. Cajus Fabricius, *Urbekennnisse der Christenheit*, Sonderdruck aus der Reinhold-Seeberg-Festschrift (Leipzig: Scholl, 1929), <https://books.google.com/books?id=BMrtDwAAQBAJ>.

16. See, for example, Frieder Schulz, “Drei ‘ökumenische’ Jesusgebete: Komm, Herr Jesu, sei unser Gast; Jesu, dir leb ich; Die Seele Christi heilige mich: Forschungen zur evangelischen Gebetsliteratur VII,” *Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie* 34 (1992/93): 1–21, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24207748>.

17. “Gemeindeleben,” *Die Mennonitische Rundschau* 59, no. 53 (December 30, 1936): 6, [https://archive.org/details/sim\\_die-mennonitische-rundschau\\_1936-12-30\\_59\\_53/page/6/](https://archive.org/details/sim_die-mennonitische-rundschau_1936-12-30_59_53/page/6/).

18. Joseph Theodor Müller, *Hymnologisches Handbuch zum Gesangbuch der Brüdergemeine* (Herrnhut: Verein für Brüdergeschichte, 1916, reprinted 1977), <https://www.deutsche-digitale-bibliothek.de/item/ND37742ZUWOZ23XQJHAT5THREUZYGQIB>.

19. Müller, *Hymnologisches Handbuch*, VI.
20. Nicolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf, *Gewisser Grund Christlicher Lehre, Nach Anleitung des einfältigen Catechismi seel. Herrn D. Luthers* (Leipzig: Walthern, 1725), [https://www.deutschestextarchiv.de/zinzendorf\\_christlichelehre\\_1725](https://www.deutschestextarchiv.de/zinzendorf_christlichelehre_1725).
21. [Nicolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf], *Christ-Catholisches Singe- und Bet-Büchlein* (Göttingen[?], 1727), <http://resolver.sub.uni-goettingen.de/purl:PPN1006033157>.
22. Nicolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf, *Einfältige aber theure Wahrheiten in einer Sammlung Der deutlichsten Verse und Redens-Arten* ([Herrnhut], 1728), <http://opac.bibliothek.uni-halle.de/DB=1/CLK?IKT=12&TRM=322508622>.
23. Nicolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf, *Sammlung Geist- und lieblicher Lieder* (Herrnhut and Görlitz: Marchen, 1731), <https://books.google.com/books?id=wFRVAAAAcAAJ>.
24. Nicolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf, *Teutscher Gedichte Erster Theil* (Herrnhut: Waisenhaus, 1735), [https://www.deutschestextarchiv.de/zinzendorf\\_gedichte\\_1735](https://www.deutschestextarchiv.de/zinzendorf_gedichte_1735).
25. Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf, Albert Knapp, *Geistliche Gedichte des Grafen von Zinzendorf* (Stuttgart and Tübingen: Cotta, 1845), [https://books.google.com/books?id=80g\\_AAAAcAAJ](https://books.google.com/books?id=80g_AAAAcAAJ).
26. That Knapp does not include a purportedly Zinzendorf Common Table Prayer in his 1845 compendium is indicative, because Knapp quotes the prayer in his own poem “Die Einladung” in Wilhelm Wackernagel, *Deutsches Lesebuch, Zweyter Theil: Proben der deutschen Poesie seit dem Jahre MD* (Basel: Schweighauser, 1836), col 1570, <https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/view/bsb10057503?page=809>.
27. Nicolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf, *Jeremias: Ein Prediger der Gerechtigkeit* (Frankfurt and Basel: Brandmüller, Jünger, 1740), 191, <https://books.google.com/books?id=dq89AAAcAAJ&pg=PA191>. This and subsequent translations are by the present author.
28. Nicolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf, August Petersen, *Sonderbare Gespräche zwischen einem Reisenden und allerhand andern Personen von allerlei in der Religion vorkommenden Wahrheiten* (Altona: Korte, 1739, reprinted Jena: Frommann, 1850), 40, <https://books.google.com/books?id=lyVDAQAAMAAJ&pg=PA40>; and Nicolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf, *Vier und Dreyßig Homilien über die Wunden-Litaney der Brüder* ([Herrnhut]: Brüder-Gemeinen, 1747), 52, [https://books.google.com/books?id=8Fw\\_AAAAcAAJ&pg=PA52](https://books.google.com/books?id=8Fw_AAAAcAAJ&pg=PA52).
29. Zinzendorf’s scattered published remarks regarding table prayer may not represent his whole thinking on the subject. In a transcribed sermon of August 26, 1694, for example, August Hermann Francke expressed essentially the same objections to rote prayer as Zinzendorf did later, but Francke still expressly supported such prayer as useful. See Erhard Peschke, ‘Vom Gebeth oder Vater Unser,’ in *Die frühen Katechismuspredigten August Hermann Franckes 1693–1695* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1992), 106, [https://digi20.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/fs1/object/display/bsb00046229\\_00105.html](https://digi20.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/fs1/object/display/bsb00046229_00105.html).
30. Joseph Herl, “Come, Lord Jesus, be our guest,” in *Lutheran Service Book: Companion to the Hymns*, ed. Joseph Herl, Peter C. Reske, and Jon D. Vieker (Saint Louis: Concordia, 2019), 1:1142–1144.
31. *Grosses vollständiges Universal Lexicon AllerWissenschaften und Künste*, Band 12 H–He (Halle and Leipzig: Zedler, 1735), 1562, <https://books.google.com/books?id=UvlfAAAAcAAJ&pg=PA1561-IA1>.
32. Johann Jacob Schmauß, *Ausführliches Heiligen-Lexicon* (Köln and Frankfurt: n.p., 1719), col 930, <https://books.google.com/books?id=e6VMAAAAcAAJ&pg=PA929>.
33. A list of related works up to 1753 can be found in James R. Eggert, *Common Table Prayer related works to 1753*, November 10, 2022, <https://www.aegilops.com/ctp/related1753.html>.

34. Markus Rathey, *Johann Rudolph Ahle 1625–1673: Lebenswerk und Schaffen* (Eisenach: Musikalienhandlung Karl Dieter Wagner, 1999), 184, 615. The transcription of the aria used in this paper, however, is from the *Wagner Gesangbuch*.

35. E. Krause, “Zum Tischgebet: Komm Herr Jesu sei unser Gast,” *Blätter für Hymnologie* (1889): 42–43.

36. Müller, *Hymnologisches Handbuch*, 167.

37. Fabricius, *Die Brüdergemeine* (1928), XLIII.

38. Schulz, “Drei ‘ökumenische’ Jesusgebete,” 3.

39. Frank, *Companion to the 1995 Moravian Book of Worship*, 214.

40. *Andächtiger Seelen geistliches Brand- und Gantz-Opfer* (Wagner Gesangbuch) *Theil I: D. Martin. Lutheri und andere in unserer Evangelischen Kirchen gewöhnliche Gesänge* (Leipzig: Zeidler, 1697), 485, <https://books.google.com/books?id=aPLvFL1yZU0C&pg=PA485>.

41. Werner Neumann, “Zur Frage der Gesangbücher Johann Sebastian Bachs,” *Bach-Jahrbuch*, 1956, 112–123, <https://journals.qucosa.de/bjb/article/download/1426/1354>. The only known original print of Ahle’s aria, formerly held in the Universitätsbibliothek Königsberg, was lost at the end of World War II. See Rathey, *Johann Rudolph Ahle 1625–1673*, 615.

42. Albert Fischer, Wilhelm Tümpel, *Das deutsche evangelische Kirchenlied des siebzehnten Jahrhunderts*, Bd. 4 (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1904), 264, <https://archive.org/details/dasdeutscheevang04fisc/page/264/>.

43. Martin Evang, Ilsabe Alpermann, *Liederkunde zum Evangelischen Gesangbuch*, Heft 29 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2022), 40, <https://books.google.com/books?id=kTJrEAAAQBAJ&pg=PA40>.

44. Most notably, in Albert Knapp *Evangelischer Liederschatz für Kirche u. Haus* (Stuttgart and Tübingen: Cotta, 1837), 489, <https://books.google.com/books?id=-vA8AAAAcAAJ&pg=PA489>.

45. One Catholic work published in Hungary in this period was also found to satisfy the criteria of this survey as a related work, but a role as a precursor to the Common Table Prayer seems doubtful due to its geographical and denominational remoteness. See “Gemüths-Erhöhung bey der Mahlzeit,” in *Ausführliche Beschreibung der berühmten wunderthätigen XIV. H. H. Noth-Helffer, außer der Stadt Caaden* (Eger: Dexter, 1694), 435, <https://books.google.com/books?id=Ny9oAAAAcAAJ&pg=PA435>.

46. Josua Wegelin, “Vor dem Essen,” *Hand-, Land- vnd Stand-Büchlein* (Nürnberg: Endter, 1637 [frontispiece]), 40, <https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/view/bsb10268944?page=68>.

47. Georg Wegelin, “Feria 2. Oster-Montag,” *Hanawische Vermehrte Kirchen- vnd Schul-Ordnung* (Straßburg: Nagel, 1659), 520, <https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/view/bsb11229662?page=552>.

48. Floridan [i.e., Sigmund von Birken], “Trauungs-Lied,” from *Ehren Gedächtnis der Edlen Magdalis/ an der Ilmenau* (1651), in *PEGNESIS: oder der Pegnitz Blumenöß-Schäferer Feldgedichte in Neun Tagzeiten. Zweyter Theil* (Nürnberg: Felsecker, 1679), 293, <https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/view/bsb10924568?page=533>.

49. Magnus Daniel Omeis, “Steh meine Freundin auf, und komme,” *Neuerweckte Himmel-schallende Lieder-Freud* (Altdorf: Treu, 1691), 338, <https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/view/bsb10592364?page=346>.

50. In 1668, Birken as president admitted Omeis as member of the *Pegnesischer Blumenorden*, a literary society in Nuremberg.

51. A list of sources up to 1753 quoting or referencing the Common Table Prayer can be found in James R. Eggert, *Common Table Prayer sources to 1753*, December 19, 2022, <https://www.aegilops.com/ctp/sources1753.html>.

52. Johann Conrad Quensen, *Neues und Nützlichs SchulBuch Vor Die Jugend Biß ins zehente oder zwölffte Jahr* (Hannover and Wolfenbüttel: Freytag, 1698), 159, [https://books.google.com/books?id=RT7V\\_uPYtwgC&pg=PA159](https://books.google.com/books?id=RT7V_uPYtwgC&pg=PA159).

53. Quensen was possibly the son of Johann Konrad Quensen, private schoolteacher in Hannover, then Lutheran pastor in Heersum 1661–1668 and in Heinde 1668–1683. But no matching baptismal record could be located in Heersum or Heinde, nor a baptismal or marriage record in any of the seven Hildesheim Lutheran churches in the period 1625–1700. (Private communication from the Lutheran parish offices of Heersum September 10, 2022 and Innerstetal September 13, 2022 and from Arndt W. Köhler, Kirchenkreis Hildesheim-Sarstedt, November 3, 2022.)

54. Georg Erler, *Die jüngere Matrikel der Universität Leipzig 1559–1809* (Leipzig: Giesecke & Devrient, 1909), 2:344, <https://books.google.com/books?id=aWw0AQAAMAAJ&pg=PA344>.

55. *Katalog der fürstlich Stolberg-Stolberg'schen Leichenpredigten-Sammlung* (Leipzig: DeGENER, 1927–1935), 1:28, 2:633, 3:236; *Gläubiger Christen Geistliches Gnaden-Leben in Christo* (Leipzig: Johann Georg, 1695), scan 71, <http://resolver.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/SBB000206FC00000071>; Johann Conrad Quensen, *Als Die Durchlauchtigste Fürstin und Frau/ Frau Christiana/ verwittbete Hertzogin zu Sachsen/ . . . Dero Geburts-Fest den 22. Septembris Anno 1698 . . . begiengen* (Leipzig: Tietzen, 1698), <http://vd17.bibliothek.uni-halle.de/pict/2005/3:676943S/>.

56. *Ehren-Gedächtniß Dem Hochwürdigem/ MAGNIFICO und Hochgelahrten Herrn George Lehmannen . . . Am Tage Seines Leichen-Begängnisses/ War der 23. Martii Anno 1699* (Leipzig: Zschau, 1699), scan 78, <http://resolver.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/SBB0001E7E500000078>.

57. *Catalogus Universalis Sive Designatio Omnium Librorum . . . : Verzeichniß aller Bücher/ so zu Franckfurt in der Fasten-Messe/ wie auch Leipziger Oster-Messe des ietzigen 1701sten Jahres . . . gedruckt worden sind* (Leipzig: Grossens Erben, 1701), <https://www.digitale-samm-lungen.de/view/bsb10536997?page=65>.

58. See Theophil Georgi, *Allgemeines Europäisches Bücher-Lexicon* (Leipzig: Georgi, 1742), 3:259, [https://books.google.com/books?id=p\\_w5Epnm8c8C&pg=RA3-PA259](https://books.google.com/books?id=p_w5Epnm8c8C&pg=RA3-PA259); and Johann Ephraim Scheibel, *Einleitung zur mathematischen Bücherkenntniß. Zweyter Band* (Breslau: Johann Ernst Meyer, 1781), 539, <https://books.google.com/books?id=s4BYAAAAcAAJ&pg=RA1-PA539>.

59. *Extract Derer in der LWoche des 1726 Jahres eingelauffenen Nouellen*, (Leipzig: December 13, 1726), 200, <https://books.google.com/books?id=3i0TAAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA200>.

60. Landesarchiv Sachsen-Anhalt Standort Wernigerode H 242, Nr. 1694; H 242, Nr. 354.

61. Quensen's *SchulBuch* was, for example, for sale in Henrick Wetsten's bookshop in Amsterdam at the beginning of 1699. See *Catalogus librorum in bibliopolio Wetsteniano venalium sub initium anni MDCXCIX* (Amsterdam: Henr. Wetstenium, 1699), 441, <https://books.google.com/books?id=mB5pAAAAcAAJ&pg=PA441>.

62. Stadt Nürnberg, *Neue Verordnung für die Teutsche Schulhalter und Schulhalterinne* (Nürnberg: Endter, 1698), §XI, <https://books.google.com/books?id=HTJDAAAcAAJ&pg=PP9>; and 'Lehrpensen der Partikularschule zu Parchim,' in *Das Unterrichtswesen der*

Großherzogtümer Mecklenburg-Schwerin und Strelitz: *Urkunden und Akten* 2. *Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogica XLIV*. (Berlin: A. Hofmann, 1909), 16, <https://books.google.com/books?id=fCRWAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA16>.

63. [Johann Fabricius], *Wohlgemeinte und unvorgreifende Anmerckungen Von Verbesserung Des Schulwesens* (Helmstedt: Meisner, Buchhändler in Wolfenbüttel, 1726), 8, 17, <https://books.google.com/books?id=TN7bUIRtx-IC&pg=PA8>.

64. Losius, who as a poet laureate of the Holy Roman Empire would have been the most likely to jealously guard the status of poet above that of mere compiler, in his preface to Quensen's *SchulBuch* did describe the book as a compilation, but one of subjects rather than of quotations. The novel advantage of the *SchulBuch* was that it combined four subject areas into one volume. Comments describing this combination do not inform the question of authorship.

65. Paul Wagner died April 11, 1697. According to its preface, the *Wagner Gesangbuch* appeared just a few months later, hence in the second half of 1697.

66. Quensen's 1699 elegy to Lehmann called him "mein ander Vater-Hertz" (my second father-heart). See *Ehren-Gedächtniß Dem . . . Herrn George Lehmannen*, scan 78.

67. Otto Kaemmel, *Christian Weise: Ein sächsischer Gymnasialrektor aus der Reformzeit des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1897), 65, <https://books.google.com/books/?id=xpwFAQAIAAJ&pg=PA65>.

68. Reimar Lindauer-Huber, "Christian Weise als Schulmann," in *Poet und Praeceptor: Christian Weise (1642–1708) zum 300. Todestag* (Dresden: Neisse, 2009), 237.

69. Christian Weise, *Oratorische Fragen* (Leipzig: Gleditsch, 1706), 607, <https://books.google.com/books?id=6ZNXAAAACAAJ&pg=PA607>.

70. The month of publication of many of Christian Weise's works can also be found in his *Oratorisches SYSTEMA* (Leipzig: Gleditsch, 1707), <https://books.google.com/books?id=wpNXAAAACAAJ>.

71. Uwe Kahl, Sachgebietsleiter Wissenschaftlicher und Heimatgeschichtlicher Altbestand, Christian-Weise-Bibliothek Zittau, private communication, September 6, 2022.

72. Christian Weise, *Was die Worte heissen PANEM PROPTER DEUM* (Zittau: Hartmann, 1706), <http://digital.slub-dresden.de/id514901683>. This poem also appears in Martin Grünwald, *Ausführliche Beschreibung Des Zittauischen Wäysen-Hauses* (Leipzig and Zittau: Richter, 1710), 156, <https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/view/bsb11437039?page=178>.

73. The original text to "Wer in dem Schutz des Höchsten ist" by Sebald Heyden (1499–1561) shows no apparent relationship to the Common Table Prayer. Weise probably selected the melody for its metric.

74. Yvonne Trenkler, "Der Einfluß Christian Weises auf das soziale Leben Zittaus am Beispiel seiner Texte zum Waisenhaus," in *Poet und Praeceptor: Christian Weise (1642–1708) zum 300. Todestag* (Dresden: Neisse, 2009), 215.

75. Johannes Mathesius, *Historien/ Von des Ehnwirdigen in Gott Seligen thewren Manns Gottes/ Doctoris Martini Luthers/ anfang/ lehr/ leben vnd sterben* (Nürnberg: Neuber, 1567), III, <https://digitale.bibliothek.uni-halle.de/vd16/content/pageview/4057923>.

76. Martin Luther, *Ein predig Mart. Luthers/ das man kinder zur Schulen halten solle* ([Nürnberg]: [Petreius], 1530), <https://mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb11396692-6>.

77. Hieronymus Freyer, *Theologisches Handbuch* (Halle: Wäysenhaus, 1712), 316, <https://books.google.com/books?id=FASLVnwn1EC&pg=PA316>.

78. Although daily prayers are mentioned in Francke's curriculum of 1695, the Common Table Prayer is not. See August Hermann Francke, *Ordnung und Lehr-Art/ Wie selbige in dem PÆDAGOGIO zu Glaucha an Halle eingeführt ist* (Halle: Wäysen-Haus, 1702), 30, <https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/view/bsb10679208?page=34>. In his sermon of August 26, 1694, Francke spoke extensively about children learning prayer, including the *Aller Augen*, but apparently did not mention the Common Table Prayer. See Peschke, "Vom Gebeth oder Vater Unser."

79. Henriette Catharina von Gersdorff, Two letters to August Hermann Francke, 25.06.1712 and 13.07.1712, Archiv der Franckeschen Stiftungen zu Halle AFSt/H C 18 Bl. 246–249, <https://digital.francke-halle.de/mod5a/content/titleinfo/1213052> and <https://digital.francke-halle.de/mod5a/content/titleinfo/1213053>.

80. Johann Jakob Geißler, "Lektionsplan für die Armenschule," in Paul Schulze, *Das Dresdner Volksschulwesen im 18. Jahrhundert: Nach den Quellen des Dresdner Ratsarchives* (Dresden: O. & R. Becker, 1906), 90, <https://books.google.com/books?id=eBYBAAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA90>.

81. See Schmauß, *Ausführliches Heiligen-Lexicon*, col 930. Interestingly, Schmauß places the words of the Common Table Prayer anachronistically in the mouth of the Dominican monk Henry Suso (c. 1295–1366). His article on Suso appears to be a rewrite of a 1648 saint lexicon article by Murer, where Suso's table prayer invites Jesus as a guest at a meal, but not at all using the simple and direct lines of the Common Table Prayer. See Heinrich Murer, *Helvetia sancta, seu Paradisus sanctorum Helvetiae florum* (Luzern: Hatt, 1648), 319, <https://books.google.com/books?id=ar1TpAXsUzYC&pg=PA319>.

82. "Anleitung zu einer ohn unterlaß übenden Beth-Kunst," in *Unterweisung wie ein Christlicher Communicant zu würdiger Geniessung des Leibes und Blutes Christi* (Nordhausen: Neuenhahn, 1712), 119, <https://books.google.com/books?id=4wVhAAAAcAAJ&pg=PA119>.

83. Johann Joachim Arends, *Vollständiges und auserlesenes Spruch- und Gebet-Buch*, 3. Auflage (Altona: Korte, 1744), 65, <https://www.deutsche-digitale-bibliothek.de/item/T5K7W266UK3ZRAEMO2VYKYBANYKJLQ4LG>.

84. Johann Jacob Rambach, Samuel Lutz, *Warnung An Die liebe Jugend, Vor der schrecklichen Gefahr Der mannigfaltigen Verführung Zum Bösen* (Schaffhausen: Hurter, 1746), 360, <https://books.google.com/books?id=mhBAAAAcAAJ&pg=PA360>.

85. *Tägliche Haus-Andacht, Wie auch Kirchen-Gebete, Vor Christliche Haus-Väter und Haus-Mütter, Kinder und Gesinde zusammen getragen*, Die Vierzehende Auflage (Zary: Rothe, 1750), 24, <https://books.google.com/books?id=C3BkAAAAcAAJ&pg=PA24>.

86. Thomas Crenius, *Das Schmerzliche Leiden Jesu* (Frankfurt am Main: Knoch, 1707), 164, <https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/view/bsb11290433?page=172>.

87. Rambach, Lutz, *Warnung An Die liebe Jugend*, 360.

88. Johann Benjamin Huhn, Johann Georg Starckloff, *Zergliederter Gothaischer Catechismus* (Leipzig and Gotha: n.p., 1749), 587, <https://books.google.com/books?id=qyVhAAAAcAAJ&pg=PA587>.

89. Johann Christian Crell, *Das fast Auf dem höchsten Gipfel seiner Vollkommenheit und Glückseligkeit prangende Königliche Dresden in Meissen* (Leipzig: Martini, 1726), 130, <https://books.google.com/books?id=lctTR.02tufYC&pg=PA130>.

90. See, for example, Johann Joachim Arends, *Vollständiges und auserlesenes Spruch- und Gebet-Buch*, 3. Auflage (Altona: Korte, 1744), 65, <https://www.deutsche-digitale-bibliothek.de/item/T5K7W266UK3ZRAEMO2VYKYBANYKJLQ4LG>.

91. *Fränkische Acta erudita et curiosa*, Sechste Sammlung (Nürnberg: Endter, 1727), 413, <https://books.google.com/books?id=j65LAAAAcAAJ&pg=PA413>.

92. *Schlüssel*. Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Inventarnummer BA1497 (Hessen(?), 1733), <http://objektkatalog.gnm.de/objekt/BA1497>. This bowl has been on public display in Nuremberg since 1970.

93. *Fränkische Acta erudita et curiosa*, 413, referencing Johann Wilhelm Speckner, *Biblische Arbeit*, Drittes Stück (Hof, 1726).

94. See, for example, Anna Christiana Barthelin, *Die GOTT wohlgefällige Hertzens-Andacht einer Christen-Seele eröffnet* (Dresden and Leipzig, 1744), 26, <https://digitale.bibliothek.uni-halle.de/urn:urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:1-316050>.

95. Rambach, Lutz, *Warnung An Die liebe Jugend*, 360. Lutz had expanded and redirected to a young audience an earlier work by the Lutheran theologian Johann Jacob Rambach (1693–1735).

96. *Tuksiautit attuagæksæt illageennut innuit nunænnetunnut* (Barby: n.p., 1785), 366, <https://books.google.com/books?id=tVFVAAAAcAAJ&pg=PA266>.

97. *Christatholisches Gebeth- und Lehrbüchlein* (Prague: mit Pruschischen Schrifften durch Factorem Wenzl Ranzendorf, 1766), 26, <https://books.google.com/books?id=jwBnAAAAcAAJ&pg=PA26>.