

THE HOLY QURAN IN CHRISTIAN MISSIONARY STRATEGIES DURING COLONIAL SOUTH ASIA^{*}

Nur UDDIN^{**}

Article Information

Article Types: Research Article, **Received:** 10 May 2025, **Accepted:** 07 December 2025, **Published:** 31 March 2026, **Cite as:** Uddin, Nur. "The Holy Quran in Christian Missionary Strategies During Colonial South Asia". *Journal of Academic Research in Religious Sciences* 26/1 (March 2026): 373-404.

DOI: 10.33415/daad.1696762



Abstract

This article explores how Christian missionaries in colonial India used the Qur'an to further their objectives. Christian missionary activities in the region, beginning in the 16th century, intensified significantly in the late 18th century under expanding Western colonial influence. The primary aim was to challenge Islam's theological foundations and assert Christianity's superiority. Missionaries approached the Qur'an in two ways: either to refute Islamic teachings or to support Christian beliefs. Under British colonial rule, missionary work became more organized, leading to the development of new interpretative strategies. This article analyses the works of key missionaries, including John Murdoch and William Goldsack. Murdoch's *Selections from the Koran* critiques Islam while guiding missionaries in using the Qur'an for their mission, while Goldsack's Bengali translation aimed to convert Muslims, often distorting the Qur'an to favor Christianity. The study employs qualitative research methods, including content and discourse analysis, offering a more in-depth examination than the existing literature. It provides significant insights into the impact of Christian missionaries on religious and intellectual debates in colonial India.

Keywords: Qur'anic Commentary, Missionary, Colonialism, John Murdoch, William Goldsack, Indian Subcontinent.

^{*} This article is derived from the thesis entitled "The Quran and Prophet Muhammad in The Socio-Politics of Indian Sub-Continent After Western Interaction (Istanbul: Marmara University, PhD Thesis, 2024)".

^{**} Research and Project Coordinator, Centre For Indian Sub-continent Studies (HAKAMER), nuhamim.du@gmail.com/nuruddin.apk@hakamer.org.tr, Orcid ID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0712-6530>.

Sömürge Dönemi Hint Alt Kıtası'ndaki Hıristiyan Misyonerlik Stratejilerinde Kur'an-ı Kerim*

Nur UDDIN**

Makale Bilgisi

Makale Türü: Araştırma Makalesi, **Geliş Tarihi:** 10 Mayıs 2025, **Kabul Tarihi:** 07 Aralık 2025, **Yayın Tarihi:** 31 Mart 2026, **Atıf:** Uddin, Nur. "Sömürge Dönemi Hint Alt Kıtası'ndaki Hıristiyan Misyonerlik Stratejilerinde Kur'an-ı Kerim". *Dinbilimleri Akademik Araştırma Dergisi* 26/1 (Mart 2026): 373-404.

DOI: 10.33415/daad.1696762



Geniş Özet3

Kur'an-ı Kerim, yalnızca insanlık için son ilahi kitap olmanın ötesinde, İslam adı altında güçlü bir medeniyetin inşasına zemin hazırlamıştır. Bu medeniyetin yükselmesiyle birlikte, Kur'an zamanla diğer medeniyetler için de önemli bir gündem konusu olmuştur. Özellikle Batıların kendilerini dünyaya açması ve Müslüman topraklarla karşılaşmaları, onları Kur'an ile doğrudan bir temas kurmaya zorlamıştır. Müslüman topraklarının sömürge altına alınması, bu ihtiyacı daha da pekiştirmiştir. Batıların sömürgeleştirdiği ilk Müslüman toprakları olan Güney Asya, bu sürecin önemli bir örneğidir. Başlangıçta ticari amaçlarla bölgeye gelen Batıların, zamanla Hıristiyanlık yayma hedeflerini de gündemlerine almışlardır. Dini, siyasi ve ekonomik stratejilerin birleştiği bir yaklaşım benimseyerek bölgeyi nihayetinde egemenlikleri altına almayı başaran İngilizler, sadece bölgenin siyasi ve ekonomik sömürsünü sağlamakla kalmamış, aynı zamanda İslam'ın entelektüel ve kültürel hâkimiyetini zayıflatmayı, kendi medeniyetlerinin etkinliğini kurmayı da amaçlamışlardır. Bu bağlamda, Müslüman coğrafyasındaki varlığı doğası gereği genel olarak İslam'la, özel olarak Kur'an'la tersten olsa bile bir ilişki kurmak zorunda kalmışlardır. 18. yüzyılın sonları ve 19. yüzyılın ortalarına gelindiğinde, sömürgeciliğin zirveye ulaşmasıyla birlikte, Müslümanlarda siyasi, iktisadi ve dini anlamda bir aşağılık kompleksi oluşmuş ve bu durum, oryantalist

* Bu makale, "Hint Alt Kıtası'nın Batı ile Etkileşim Sonrası Toplum ve Siyasetinde Kur'an ve Hz. Peygamber (İstanbul: Marmara Üniversitesi, Doktora Tezi, 2024)" adlı tezden üretilmiştir.

** Araştırma ve Proje Koordinatörü, Hint Alt Kıtası Araştırmaları Merkezi (HAKAMER), nuhamim.du@gmail.com/nuruddin.apk@hakamer.org.tr, Orcid ID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0712-6530>.

ve misyoner faaliyetlerinin sistematik hale gelmesine yol açmıştır. Misyonerler, Hıristiyanlığı yaymak amacıyla İslam inancına karşı geliştirdikleri stratejilerin merkezine Kur'an-ı Kerim'i yerleştirmiştir.

Bu makale Hıristiyan misyonerler tarafından kullanılan temel stratejilerinde Kur'an'ı hem araştırma ve literatürlerinde hem de pratik evanjelik faaliyetlerinde nasıl kullandıklarını incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Misyonerler, temel olarak İslam'a karşı Hıristiyanlığın üstün olduğunu kanıtlamak için, Kur'an'a karşı ikili bir yaklaşım geliştirmişlerdir. Bir yandan Kur'an'ın öğretilerine, özellikle de tevhid ilkeleri ve Hz. Peygamber konumuna meydan okuyarak İslam inancının temel yönlerini çürütmeye çalışmışlardır. Öte yandan, İsa Mesih'in tanrısallığıyla ilgili olanlar olmak üzere Hıristiyan teolojik iddialarını desteklemek için ilgili Kur'an ayetlerini kullanmışlardır. Bu yaklaşım hem İslam'ı eleştirmelerine hem de bazı Kur'an öğretilerini Hıristiyan inançlarıyla uyumlu hale getirmeye çalışmalarına olanak sağlamıştır. Böylelikle güney Asya'da misyonerlik faaliyetleri genişledikçe misyonerlerin Kur'an'la ilişkileri de gelişmiştir. Başlangıçta misyonerler Kur'an'ın gerçekliğini ve meşruiyetini sorgulamayı amaçlayan teolojik tartışmalara odaklanmışlardır. Ancak İngiliz sömürge gücünün yükselişi ve misyoner varlığının artmasıyla birlikte bu çabalar daha sistematik hale getirmişlerdir. Özellikle Sömürge idaresinin doruk noktasına ulaştığı tarihsel evrede, misyonerler Batılı epistemolojik çerçeveleri içeren yeni Kur'an tanıtma ve yorumlama yöntemleri benimsemişlerdir. Kur'an'ı tercüme etmesi, Kur'an ayetler destekli Hıristiyan öğretilerini teşvik eden eserler ve İslamî inançlarına meydan okuyan polemik eserleri üretmeye başlamışlardır. Bunun örnekleri, bu makalede ele alınan William Goldsack ve John Murdoch gibi misyonerlerin çalışmaları arasında açıkça görülmektedir.

John Murdoch'un 1896 tarihli *Selections from the Koran* adlı eseri, Kur'an'ın misyonerler tarafından kendi gündemlerini ilerletmek için nasıl kullanıldığının örneklerinden biridir. Murdoch'un çalışması, sadece Müslümanlara değil, aynı zamanda Batılı okuyuculara yönelik olarak da Kur'an'ın eleştirel bir incelemesini sunmak üzere tasarlanmıştır. Murdoch, eserinde Kur'an'ı, Hz. Muhammed tarafından kişisel ve siyasi amaçlara hizmet edecek şekilde manipüle edilmiş; özellikle de mevcut Hıristiyan ve Yahudi gelenekleriyle uyumlu hale getirilmiş bir metin olarak sunar. Bu yaklaşım, İslam'ı önceki inançların fikirleri üzerine inşa edilmiş, ancak nihayetinde kusurlu ve eksik bir din olarak çerçevelemeyi hedefleyen daha geniş bir misyoner stratejisinin parçasıdır. Goldsack'ın Kur'an'ı Bengalceye çevirisi ve beraberindeki çalışmaları, misyonerlerin Kur'an'ı dini-siyasi amaçları doğrultusunda nasıl araçsallaştırdıklarına dair çarpıcı bir örnektir. Bu çeviri, dilbilimsel bir çabadan ziyade, Hıristiyanlığın üstünlüğünü kanıtlamaya yönelik bir propaganda aracıydı. Nitekim Goldsack, metne eklediği notlarla Kur'an'ı kusurlu ve tahrif edilmiş bir metin olarak tasvir ederek onu itibarsızlaştırmayı hedeflemiştir. Bu yaklaşım, misyoner söylemin temel hedefi olan Hıristiyanlığın üstünlüğünü tesis etme gayesiyle doğrudan uyumluydu. Misyoner Goldsack ayrıca Kur'an'la daha incelikli etkileşim biçimlerine de girdiler. Mesela *Ghulam Jabbar's Renunciation: A Tale of Eastern Bengal* adlı kurgu kitapta Kur'an ayetlerini, okuyucuyu Hıristiyanlığa yönlendirecek şekilde yeniden yorumlamaya çalışmıştır. Bu tür bir edebi yaklaşımla, Müslüman okuyucular arasında, özellikle de gençler arasında, Kur'an'ın ilahi kaynağı ve İslami öğretilerin doğruluğu konusunda şüphe uyandırmayı amaçlamıştır.

Sömürge döneminde Güney Asya'da misyonerlik çabaları ve bu çabalarda Kur'an'ı stratejik olarak ele alışı, siyasetin yanı sıra dini ve kültürel olmak üzere sömürgeciliğin çok boyutlu olduğunu ortaya koymaktadır. Misyonerler, Müslü-

manları Hristiyanlığa döndürme çabasını göstermesinin yanında, kendiler entelektüel söylemleri üretmekle sömürgeciliğe önemli katkılarda bulunmuşlardır. Özellikle çevirileri, polemik yazıları ve İslamî metinlerin yeniden yorumlanması şeklinde misyonerler tarafından benimsenen eleştirel yaklaşım, İslam hakkındaki sömürgeci bilgi üretiminin şekillenmesinde önemli bir rol oynamıştır. Sonuç olarak, sömürge dönemi Hint Alt Kıtasında Kur'an'la ilişki kurma biçiminde önemli değişikliklere sahne olmuştur. Misyonerler Kur'an'ı sadece dini bir metin olarak değil, dinleri ile birlikte siyasi gündemlerini de iletirmek için bir araç olarak kullanmışlardır. Bu misyoner çalışmalarının Müslüman toplum üzerine derin etkileri olmuştur; Müslüman ulema ve entelektüeller, bu yeni meydan okumalar ışığında İslami öğretilerini savunmak ve yeniden yorumlamak zorunda kaldı ve bu süreçte nicelik ve nitelik açısından kayda değer bir entelektüel birikim de ortaya çıkmıştır.

Bu araştırma, sömürge döneminde Hint Alt Kıtası'ndaki Hristiyan misyonerlerin Kur'an'ı araçsallaştırma biçimlerini incelemeyi amaçlamakta; bu bağlamda John Murdoch (ö. 1904) ve William Goldsack (ö. 1957) gibi seçkin misyonerlerin faaliyetleri özelinde analiz etmeyi hedeflemektedir. Çalışma, bu misyonerlerin Kur'an'la ilişkilerini ve kullandıkları yöntemleri analiz etmektedir. Giriş kısmından sonra, misyonerlerin bölgedeki varlığı ve Kur'an ile ilişkileri hakkında kısa bir genel bakış sunulmakta, ardından Murdoch ve Goldsack'ın hayatlarına ve Kur'an'ı nasıl kullandıklarına dair ayrıntılı bir inceleme yapılmaktadır. Araştırma, içerik analizi ve söylem analizi metodolojileriyle değerlendirilmiş ve çoğunluğu birincil kaynaklardan oluşan verilerle desteklenmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Tefsir, Kur'an, Misyonerlik, Sömürgecilik, John Murdoch, William Goldsack, Hint Alt Kıtası.



Introduction

Throughout human history, the continuous struggle for dominance, whether driven by interests or ideological superiority, has remained constant. This conflict has often manifested as clashes between civilizations, with particular societies or movements adopting different forms of civilization at various points in time. Depending on geographic and historical contexts, this process has taken on numerous forms, exhibiting diversity in terms of its objectives, instruments, and methods. In the 7th century CE, the emergence of the final prophet, Muhammad (pbuh), in the Arabian Peninsula and the subsequent revelation of the Qur'an introduced a new dimension to this ongoing struggle. As a result, a civilization was born that would leave an indelible mark on world history. This civilization, later known as the Islamic civilization, gradually expanded, grew stronger, and spread across different regions of the world, ultimately being perceived as a significant threat by existing civilizations. Consequently, Islamic civilization has become an important

area of study, particularly when examined through the lens of its interactions with other civilizations.

Throughout history, the civilization most notably opposed to Islamic civilization has arguably been Christianity. Christians, perceiving Islamic civilization as their principal rival, have undertaken various efforts aimed at preserving and asserting their own dominance in the world. It is well-established that, in pursuit of these objectives, Christians have repeatedly sought to challenge Muslim authority. One significant outcome of these efforts was the successful establishment of a Christian presence in regions under Muslim dominion after the 18th century. This geographical area, the Indian Subcontinent, witnessed the arrival of various European powers such as the Portuguese, Dutch, and Spanish. However, it was the British who ultimately succeeded in establishing imperial control over the region. Driven by religious, commercial, and political motives, the British managed to assert dominance over this Muslim-majority territory through multiple stages. Since the early 16th century, Western powers, particularly the British, have regarded Islamic sacred texts as a key focus of academic inquiry, seeking to utilize them in the service of their broader geopolitical and ideological goals.

Although the initial objective of Western Christian powers in the Indian Subcontinent appeared to be trade, they concurrently initiated missionary activities. Given that the region was under Muslim rule, missionaries engaged with the Qur'an in two distinct ways. Firstly, they sought to demonstrate the superiority of Christianity over Islam by challenging the Qur'anic principles of monotheism (Tawhid) and prophethood. Secondly, they cited specific Qur'anic verses to support Christian theological beliefs, particularly those concerning Jesus Christ. These two approaches to interpreting the Qur'an evolved and remain evident in contemporary evangelical efforts. As Christian influence grew within Muslim societies, missionaries, through their closer engagement with Muslims, developed new strategies for using the Qur'an in their efforts. During the peak of colonialism, some missionaries engaged in direct debates about the Qur'an, while others used indirect methods to create doubt about Islam and the Qur'an. An illustrative example is William Goldsack, a missionary who, by adopting Muslim names, produced scholarly works on Islam and the Qur'an.

When conducting a literature review, numerous academic studies have explored the complex relationship between Western colonialism and Christian missionary activities, as well as Orientalists' research on the Quran in the context of colonialism. Among the literature we reviewed, Abdul Kabir Hussain Solihu's article¹ stands out. In his work, he examines the background of Quran translations prepared by Christian missionaries in the Yoruba language in southwestern Nigeria, emphasizing that a key motivation for this was the conversion of Muslims to Christianity. Apart from this, among Turkish studies, the relevant articles by İsmail Cerrahoğlu² and Şinasi Gündüz³ mention the use of the Quran in evangelical activities by missionaries in Muslim regions. However, these studies do not specifically address the strategic use of the Quran in relation to colonialism as a central research question. This study seeks to fill this gap by critically examining how the Quran was strategically employed in Christian missionary efforts during the colonial period.

378 | db

This research, which aims to investigate how Christian missionaries utilized the Qur'an during the colonial period in the Indian Subcontinent, concentrates on the works of two prominent missionaries: John Murdoch (d. 1904) and William Goldsack (d. 1957). By examining the literature on missionary activities and the writings of these two figures, the study analyzes the methods these missionaries employed in engaging with the Qur'an. To clearly outline the purpose of our study, we will begin with a brief overview of the history of Christian missionaries in the region and their engagement with the Qur'an. The main focus of the research will then be the missionary lives of John Murdoch and William Goldsack in the colonial environment, and will subsequently examine how the Quran was positioned in their scientific studies and practical evangelical activities. Throughout the research, the collected data is assessed using content analysis and discourse analysis methodologies to draw informed conclusions. Sometimes, when necessary, the

¹ Abdul Kabir Hussain Solihu - Abdulganiy Akorede Abdulhameed, 'Christian Translations of the Qur'an into Yoruba and Their Historical Background', *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations*, (2 October 2015).

² İsmail Cerrahoğlu, 'Oryantalizm ve Batıda Kur'an ve Kur'an İlimleri Üzerine Araştırmalar', *Ankara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 31/1-4 (1 August 1989), 95-136.

³ Şinasi Gündüz, 'Misyonerlik ve Hıristiyan Misyonerler', *Dinbilimleri Akademik Araştırma Dergisi* 2/4 (1 August 2002), 1-21.

Philological Analysis method was also used. The majority of the sources utilized in this study are primary sources, with a select number of secondary sources also incorporated to enrich the analysis.

1. Missionary Presence & Qur'an Before Colonial Period

The initial arrival of Western Christians to the Indian Subcontinent occurred in 1498 with the arrival of the Portuguese navigator Vasco da Gama (1469-1524).⁴ This event was part of a broader phenomenon in the late 15th and early 16th centuries, during which Christian European powers undertook expeditions with “commercial, political, and religious” objectives, ranging from Africa to China. The Portuguese, arriving by sea, progressively organised expeditions and established a presence, particularly in the western part of the Indian subcontinent, in the region of Goa. In these areas, alongside their commercial and robbery activities, they engaged in missionary work and the forced conversion of local populations to Christianity.⁵

It can be said that the Portuguese effectively took advantage of the chaotic environment during the transition of Muslim dominance in the Indian subcontinent, from the Delhi Sultanate to the Mughals, as well as the tumultuous period between Babur and Akbar during Humayun's reign. Furthermore, after these periods, during Akbar's rule, they did not encounter any situation that would pose a significant threat to them. Despite being aware of the Portuguese settlement along India's coastal regions and their forced Christianization efforts in some areas, Emperor Akbar never expressed any discomfort or concern.⁶ The Catholic Jesuits, India's first organised missionary order, arrived in Goa in the 1540s with Portuguese assistance. Akbar's silent tolerance of the Portuguese settlement alleviated the missionaries' fears about where and how to begin their activities in the region. These Jesuits initially used

db | 379

⁴ Stephen Neill, *A History of Christianity in India: The Beginnings to AD 1707* (New York-London-Sydney: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 87.

⁵ The Portuguese arrived in the region equipped with both military and naval forces, conducting expeditions to establish their dominance. Their activities included launching attacks on indigenous populations as well as on the established traders in the area. For more details see.. Neill, *A History of Christianity in India*, 94; Yücel Bulut, 'Hindistan'da İngiliz Sömürgeciliği, Oryantalizm ve William Jones', *İstanbul University Journal of Sociology* 3/6 (10 February 2012), 71–106.

⁶ Neill, *A History of Christianity in India*, 99.

Goa as a missionary centre before expanding their efforts throughout the Indian subcontinent. These Jesuit missionaries, who were immensely influential in a variety of areas, including theological discussions, remained important in the Indian Subcontinent until the establishment of British authority. They even played a role in shaping Akbar's thoughts and policies.⁷

The Portuguese missionaries, who established themselves in the western region of the Indian subcontinent, were invited by Akbar to engage in religious debates in the palace. Following the arrival of Portuguese sea captain Pedro Tavares at Akbar's palace in 1577, the missionary Julian Pereira arrived at Fatehpur Sikri in 1578 at his suggestion and engaged in numerous theological dialogues there.⁸ After this period, Akbar's interest in Christian missionaries increased, and he invited them to his court on several occasions. Seizing this opportunity, a group of Jesuit priests, including Rodolfo Acquaviva (d. 1583), Antonio (Anthony) de Monserrate (d. 1600), and Francis Henriques (d. 1600), visited Akbar in 1580. During this visit, they presented Akbar with several gifts, including a seven-volume set of the Royal Polyglot Bible and two portraits, one of Jesus and one of the Virgin Mary.⁹ The Jesuit priests remained at Akbar's court for an extended period, during which they were entrusted with the education of Akbar's children, including his son Murad (later known as Jahangir).¹⁰ They were granted significant opportunities to the extent that Father Rodolfo made concerted efforts to declare Akbar's conversion to Christianity publicly. However, Akbar, recognizing that such a step would not be suitable for his position, ultimately refrained from accepting Christianity.¹¹

380 | db

⁷ For more detailed information on this subject, see. Abdulhamit Birişik, *Oryantalist Misyonerler ve Kur'an: Batı Etkisinde Hint Kur'an Araştırmaları* (İstanbul: İnsan Yayınları, 2004), 25–50.

⁸ Birişik, *Oryantalist Misyonerler ve Kur'an*, 28.

⁹ Ebba Koch, "The Influence of the Jesuit Mission on Symbolic Representations of the Mughal Emperors", *Islam in India: Studies and Commentaries*, ed. Christian W. Troll (New Dehli: Vikas Publishing House, 1982), 1/14; Birişik, *Oryantalist Misyonerler ve Kur'an*, 29.

¹⁰ Rev. Father Felix, 'Jesuit Missions in Lahore', *The Islamic World in Foreign Travel Accounts: Mughal India According to European Travel Accounts: Texts and Studies IV*, ed. Fuad Sezgin (Frankfurt: Institute for the History of Arabic-Islamic Science at the Johann Wolfgang Goethe University, 1997), 78/2–9.

¹¹ Father Pierre du Jarric Jarric, *Akbar and the Jesuits: An Account of the Jesuit Missions to the Court of Akbar*, trans. C. H. Payne (London-New York: Harper & Brothers, 1926), 40.

At Akbar's request, a group of missionaries led by the Greek-born priest Dom Leon Grimon travelled to Lahore in 1590. Similarly, in response to a letter sent by Akbar to the missionaries in Goa in 1594, another group, led by Jerome Xavier (d. 1617), arrived in Lahore in 1595.¹² Jerome Xavier, who resided in India under state protection for nearly twenty years, was granted permission to baptize anyone who wished.¹³ Christian missionaries were provided with significant opportunities, allowing them to establish churches in various regions of the Indian Subcontinent, including Goa, Agra, and Lahore. Moreover, despite some Ulama's objections, the missionaries' controversial statements regarding the Qur'an and the Prophet during religious debates in the royal court went largely unchallenged. Furthermore, Akbar Shah's "Sulh-i Kul" (Universal Peace) initiative enabled the establishment of missionary schools for Hindus and Muslims, thus facilitating the Christianization of the local population. The leader of a missionary delegation commented on the opportunity arising from this situation: "*This (opportunity) seemed like the only path for me, as the ruler openly states that everyone in his country can follow the religion they prefer.*"¹⁴ Therefore, it can be said that the policies implemented by Akbar's government had a significant long-term impact on the events that led to the Western conquest of Bengal in 1757, following the Battle of Plassey, and the eventual establishment of British sovereignty over India in 1857, almost two and a half centuries after Akbar's death.

Under Jerome Xavier's guidance, the missionary delegation engaged in sustained evangelical activities with considerable intensity. Their primary objective in debates, public sermons, and written works was to promote Christianity and assert its superiority over Islam. In this context, they often addressed issues related to the Qur'an and the Prophet Muhammad (pbuh). Like the members of earlier Jesuit delegations, Jerome Xavier and his colleagues employed an aggressive rhetorical approach in their discussions and debates with Muslims, as well as in their public sermons. Their discourse frequently took a polemical tone, with derogatory references to the Qur'an as a "false book" and accusations directed at the

¹² For detailed information about this missionary group, see. Jarric, *Akbar and the Jesuits*, 51–61.

¹³ Birşik, *Oryantalist Misyonerler ve Kur'an*, 31.

¹⁴ Francis Goldie, *The First Christian Mission to the Great Mogul* (London: M.H. Gill, 1897), 102–103.

Prophet Muhammad (pbuh), attributing various immoralities and crimes to him.¹⁵ Jerome Xavier wrote all of his works after arriving in India. He authored more than twenty works in various genres, written in both Persian and Portuguese.¹⁶ A significant portion of his works focused on Jesus Christ and Christianity, in which he argued for the superiority of Christianity over Islam, and these works also addressed the Qur'an and the Prophet Muhammad (pbuh). Among these works, *Mir'ātu'l-Quds* and *Fuente de Vida* (Fountain of Life) stand out as particularly prominent.

His most famous Persian work, *Mir'ātu'l-Quds: Destan-i Hazreti Isa*, has been translated into English as *The Mirror of Holiness: The Life of The Lord Jesus*. This four-volume book, composed of texts taken from the Gospels, covers topics such as the birth, childhood, miracles, teachings, death, suffering, ascension, and resurrection of Jesus. To attract Muslims' interest in Christianity and Jesus Christ, *Mir'ātu'l-Quds* includes numerous quotations from the Bible, one of the divine books mentioned in the Qur'an.¹⁷ According to Carvalho, Xavier was concerned about finding sources for this book and was aware that it would be examined and discussed. Therefore, he should have quoted from sacred texts rather than from people to demonstrate the reliability of his sources. Carvalho compares Xavier's preference in this regard to the difference between quoting from the Qur'an versus hadiths.¹⁸ Before the composition of this work, the religious debates at Akbar Shah's court, in which Muslim scholars referenced Qur'anic verses about Jesus Christ, significantly heightened Xavier's interest in the Qur'an. Consequently, it is highly probable that Xavier believed that utilizing Qur'anic accounts of Jesus would enable him to persuade Muslim audiences more effectively. This intention is evident in *Mir'ātu'l-Quds*, where Xavier employs the Qur'anic term "Ruhul-Qudus" (Holy Spirit), which is used

382 | db

¹⁵ Neill, *A History of Christianity in India*, 182.

¹⁶ For his works in Persian, see. Arnulf Arnulf Camps, *Studies in Asian Mission History* (Leiden-Boston-Köln: Brill, 2000), 35–45.

¹⁷ Although missionaries may have had such intentions, Muslims know that the existing Gospels have been destroyed and are very far from the original Gospel. Therefore, it can be said that the general public, except Akbar, did not pay attention to their missionary work.

¹⁸ Pedro Moura Carvalho, *Mir'āt al-Quds (Mirror of Holiness): A Life of Christ for Emperor Akbar: A Commentary on Father Jerome Xavier's Text and the Miniatures of Cleveland Museum of Art, Acc. No. 2005.145* (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2011), 27.

to describe Jesus, in the introduction of the work.¹⁹ In this work, Xavier avoids discussing controversial topics, such as adultery and blasphemy, which appear in both the Qur'an and the Bible, as well as subjects that do not align with the Qur'an, such as the crucifixion of Jesus or his stance on divorce. By omitting these polemical issues, he aimed to make Christianity more appealing to Muslims or to foster reconciliation with them.²⁰

In his work *Fuente de Vida* (Fountain of Life),²¹ written in Portuguese in 1597-1598, Xavier utilized the Qur'an to support Christian claims that Jesus is divine and that the Bible is superior to the Qur'an. He referenced Qur'anic verses about Jesus and Mary, asserting that while some Qur'anic narratives about Jesus and the Bible are correct, others are inaccurate.²² In response to the Muslim assertion that the Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) is superior to all human beings, including all prophets, Xavier offers the following response:

“In the Koran Mohammed showed an extraordinary reverence for Jesus Christ: in Sura III he called Jesus the spirit of God, conceived like Adam by the spirit and the force of God, and born of Mary most holy above all women; in Sura XIX he praised Christ as a man full of sanctity and sinless; and in many other places of the Koran he said Christ to be a great prophet, a performer of great miracles, a man totally free from sin and very great in God's eyes”.²³

By approaching the Qur'an and the Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) in this manner, Xavier sought to assert the superiority of Christianity and encourage the conversion of Muslims to Christianity. This approach reveals that Xavier strategically employed the Qur'an as a rhetorical tool in his works, leveraging its content to advance his missionary objectives.

¹⁹ Carvalho, *Mir'āt Al-Quds*, 36.

²⁰ Carvalho, *Mir'āt Al-Quds*, 37-38.

²¹ It was subsequently translated into Persian under the title *Āināh Haq Namā* (آئینه حق نما), meaning "Mirror Reflecting the Truth" Arnulf Camps, *Jerome Xavier, S.J. and the Muslims of the Mogul Empire: Controversial and Missionary Activity* (Schöneck: Nouvelle Revue de Science Missionnaire Suisse, 1957), 16-18.

²² For detailed information on this issue, see. Camps, *Jerome Xavier, S.J. and the Muslims of the Mogul Empire*, 105-150.

²³ Camps, *Jerome Xavier, S.J. and the Muslims of the Mogul Empire*, 139.

Meanwhile, recognizing the Portuguese commercial and military successes, the British had made several attempts to enter the Indian Subcontinent since 1527. However, they were unable to establish a foothold until the early 17th century due to the Portuguese efforts to block their entry. Despite this, the British could not resist the allure of the Indian Subcontinent, which the philosopher Hegel described as “a land of desire,” noting that no great Eastern nation or modern European power had refrained from acquiring a part of it, large or small.²⁴ After 1590, certain English merchants, attempting to enter the region covertly, succeeded and subsequently secured positions at the Mughal court. These individuals went on to establish the British East India Company (EIC) in 1599, which grew in prominence and strength through substantial financial and logistical support from the Queen of England.

With the rise of British power in the Indian Subcontinent, Protestant missionaries began to arrive in the region, some of whom were officially brought by the East India Company (EIC). Notably, Henry Martyn²⁵ (1781-1812) became a key figure among the missionaries introduced to the region by the EIC. Upon his arrival, Martyn recognized his limited knowledge of Islam and thus embarked on studying the Qur’an in Arabic, along with reading various texts on Islam.²⁶ There is evidence to suggest that the Qur’an played a significant role in his evangelical activities. In a letter to a friend, Martyn detailed how he encouraged, and at times coerced, Muslims to accept Christ by casting doubt on the authenticity of the Qur’an. He mentioned posing questions about the Qur’an’s status as the word of God to sow doubt among those assisting him with translation work. Despite his repeated failures, Martyn continued his efforts to convert his Muslim translators to

384 | db

²⁴ Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *The Philosophy of History*, trans. J. Sibree (New York: The Colonial Press, 1899), 142.

²⁵ On July 17, 1805, Martyn embarked from England aboard the “Union East India-man” after securing a position as a chaplain with the East India Company. During the 305-day voyage, he dedicated himself to learning Persian, Urdu, Arabic, and Bengali. Upon arriving in Calcutta in 1806, Martyn did not engage in open missionary activities like many of his contemporaries. Instead, he served as a chaplain for the East India Company, focusing primarily on translating the Bible into various regional languages. For further details, see. John Sargent, *Memoir of the Rev. Henry Martyn* (London: Seeley, Burnside & Seeley, 1830), 93; Murat Hanilçe, ‘Henry Martyn s Personal Effects and His Grave in Tokat’, *Cedrus* 5 (1 June 2017), 543–566.

²⁶ Birişik, *Oryantalist Misyonerler ve Kur’an*, 78.

Christianity.²⁷ Figures such as Martyn played a pivotal role in consolidating British colonialism. In fact, as Irvin Johnson said, although missionaries like Martyn had an imperialist mindset in their efforts, they were underpinned by broader imperialist goals.²⁸

Similarly, Carl Gottlieb Pfander (d. 1865) and Aloys Sprenger (d. 1893), who spent significant time in the Indian Subcontinent, also utilized the Qur'an in their missionary efforts.²⁹ In addition to these figures, the Latin translation of the Qur'an by Ludovico Marracci³⁰ (d. 1698/1700) and George Sale's English translation were widely employed by missionaries in the region. George Sale's translation, in particular, was reprinted multiple times in India for missionary use. Following the official collapse of the Mughal Empire in 1857 and the subsequent annexation of the Indian Subcontinent to the British Crown, colonial governance operated more efficiently, thereby facilitating missionary activities in a more structured and systematic manner. This shift created a more conducive environment for missionaries to carry out their work, enabling them to refine and implement more effective strategies for engaging with the Qur'an. Missionaries even developed curricula focused on Islamic sciences for educational purposes and authored numerous works on the Qur'an and the Prophet Muhammad (pbuh). To explore how missionaries utilized the Qur'an as a central component of their strategies during the height of colonial influence, the activities and works of John Murdoch and William Goldsack will be examined.

2. Missionary John Murdoch and the Quran in His Works

John Murdoch was an influential missionary who demonstrated a profound religious devotion from a young age. He was born in Scotland in 1819 and dedicated sixty years of his life to Christian

²⁷ Sarah J. Rhea, *Life of Henry Martyn, Missionary to India and Persia, 1781 to 1812* (Chicago: Women's Presbyterian Board, 1888), 21; Nur Uddin, *Hint Alt Kıtasi'nın Batı ile Etkileşim Sonrası Toplum ve Siyasetinde Kur'an ve Hz. Peygamber* (Istanbul: Marmara University, PhD Thesis, 2024), 124.

²⁸ Wesley Irvin Johnson, *Evangelicals Encountering Muslims : A Pre-Evangelistic Approach to the Qu'ran*, (PhD Thesis), 32.

²⁹ For the activities of these two missionaries in the region and their perspectives on the Qur'an, see Uddin, *Hint Alt Kıtasi'nın Batı ile Etkileşim Sonrası Toplum ve Siyasetinde Kur'an ve Hz. Peygamber*, 127–139.

³⁰ In different sources his name is also mentioned as Ludovico Marraccio, Ludovicum Marraccium, Ludovicus Marraccius and Louis/Luigi Marracci.

missionary work and the production of religious literature in South Asia. He initially pursued a career as a teacher in England before relocating to Ceylon (modern-day Sri Lanka) in 1842, where he served as a missionary schoolmaster.³¹ Despite his strong commitment to Christian propaganda, Murdoch faced internal conflicts, as his role required him to work as an educator rather than a missionary. Ultimately, he left his official position and established a Tract Society to publish Christian literature, with a particular focus on Christian religious texts in Sinhala (Ceylonese).³² In 1854, Murdoch left Ceylon and settled in Madras (now Chennai), India, where, in 1855, he founded the “South India Christian School-Book Society.” This society was created to develop Christian textbooks for schools operating under the patronage of the East India Company (EIC).³³

In 1858, Murdoch, along with other missionaries, founded the “Christian Vernacular Education Society,” capitalizing on the post-1857 situation and the favorable conditions that had developed. Under Murdoch’s leadership, this society focused on training teachers to impart Christian teachings and preparing textbooks on Christianity. Ambitious missionaries such as John Murdoch played a pivotal role in shaping the educational landscape of South Asia, particularly amid the expanding British colonial presence. These missionaries accused Muslims of bigotry, derided Hindus as idolaters, and sought to position the Western world and Christianity as superior in both religious and intellectual terms. The colonial administration adopted a policy of utilizing Western education as a primary instrument to assert the superiority of Christianity and Western civilization over Islam and other indigenous religions. John Murdoch was a key figure in both formulating and executing this policy.³⁴

386 | db

³¹ R. Vennela - Richard Smith, ‘Bilingual English Teaching in Colonial India: The Case of John Murdoch’s Work in Madras Presidency, 1855–1875’, *Language & History* 62/2 (4 May 2019), 96–118.

³² Henry Morris, *The Life of John Murdoch: The Literary Evangelist of India* (London-Madras: Christian Literature Society for India, 1906), 51.

³³ Vennela - Smith, ‘Bilingual English Teaching in Colonial India’.

³⁴ For extensive information on Christian missionary schools and the interaction of education and knowledge through the system it implemented, see: Hayden J. A. Belenoi, ‘Missionary Education, Religion and Knowledge in India, c. 1880-1915’, *Modern Asian Studies* 41/2 (2007), 369–394.

John Murdoch, a lifelong Christian devotee, played a significant role in developing textbooks to educate native high school students about the perceived superiority of Christian civilization.³⁵ Additionally, he offered recommendations on the organization of the national education system, which was under colonial control. In response to Murdoch's criticisms and suggestions, the colonial government initiated a comprehensive revision of the textbooks in 1873.³⁶ The revised textbooks presented various aspects of Islam and the Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) in a hostile and unfavorable manner. In subsequent revisions, a policy was adopted to entirely remove references to the Prophet from the textbooks.³⁷

It is now pertinent to examine John Murdoch's approach to the Qur'an in his missionary works. His most significant contribution in this regard is *Selections from the Koran*, published by the Christian Literature Society in 1896. The book's cover indicates that it presents a comprehensive examination of the Qur'an, drawing upon the works of scholars such as George Sale, Wherry, Muir, Hughes, Osborn, Pfander, and others. In the preface, Murdoch asserts that one of the primary aims of the work is to assist educated Muslims in gaining a better understanding of their own religion as well as Christianity. Furthermore, he states that the secondary objective of the work is to provide missionaries with a concise overview of Islam and to guide them towards the most reliable sources of information on the subject.³⁸

In his work, he states that there could not be a more advantageous place for missionary work among Muslims than India, probably due to the multi-religious and understanding nature of the region. Murdoch stated that in order to work among the Muslims of South Asia, missionaries should pay attention to three issues. First,

³⁵ Hayden J. A. Bellenoit, *Missionary Education and Empire in Late Colonial India, 1860-1920* (London-New York: Routledge, 2016), 74.

³⁶ For detailed information on this subject, see. John Murdoch, *National Education in India* (Madras: United Scottish Press, 1863); Vikas Gupta, 'Social Agenda of Colonial Education: Textbook Discourse in the Mid-Nineteenth Century', *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* 68 (2007), 1112-1123.

³⁷ The textbooks contained negative information not only about Islam but also about Muslim countries. For example, in the history textbook, it was stated that the Ottoman Empire (Türkiye) was the only country in Europe that did not adopt the true religion. (bk. Gupta, "Social Agenda of Colonial Education", 1112-23).

³⁸ John Murdoch, *Selections From the Koran* (Madras-London: The Christian Literature Society, 1896), iii.

to learn about the beliefs of the Muslims and how best to deal with them; second, to greet Muslims with courtesy whenever possible and try to have friendly conversations with them about Christianity; and finally, to distribute appropriate Christian materials among the Muslims. Following this, he lists seventeen works on the Qur'an, the Prophet Muhammad and other aspects of Islam and their authors that would be useful to missionaries and Orientalists in their efforts to learn about Muslim beliefs. His list includes translations of the Qur'an by George Sale, Edward Henry Palmer (1840-1882) and John Medows Rodwell (1808-1900), a short commentary on the Qur'an by E. M. Wherry (1843-1927), and *The Coran and Life of Mahomet* by Muir (1819-1905).³⁹

In the twenty-page introduction to *Selections from the Koran*, John Murdoch provides a detailed account of various aspects of the Qur'an, including its suras, their order, the language of the Qur'an, and its origins and sources. Additionally, he offers concise discussions on topics such as the sources of hadith, the concept of Allah, faith, religious practices (including prayer and other acts of worship), sects, festivals, and fasting.⁴⁰ The information he presents about the origin of the Qur'an and its revelation to the Prophet Muhammad largely aligns with Islamic teachings. This alignment with Islamic beliefs likely served to familiarize missionaries with Muslim perspectives on these topics. In the section on the sources of the Qur'an, Murdoch cites Thomas Patrick Hughes, a missionary active in the region, from his work *Notes on Muhammadanism*. Hughes argues that the Qur'an was written to serve Muhammad's purposes and asserts that its content was shaped by modifications of Arab legends, Christian traditions from Arabia and southern Syria, and Jewish traditions from the Talmud.⁴¹

The first section of the main text of *Selections from the Koran* is devoted to 88 surahs of the Qur'an. In this section, the author selects and translates verses that address a wide range of topics, including Allah, the Qur'an, the Prophet Muhammad (pbuh), other prophets, Judaism, Christianity and more. While Murdoch did not engage with some of the surahs from the final volume of the Qur'an, he included translations of smaller surahs such as *Al-Lahab*,

³⁹ Murdoch, *Selections From the Koran*, iii–v.

⁴⁰ For more information see. Murdoch, *Selections From the Koran*, xi–xxx.

⁴¹ Murdoch, *Selections From the Koran*, xvi.

Al-Ikhlās, and *An-Nās*.⁴² In the second part of the text, titled “Reasons for Denying the Qur’an as the Word of God” Murdoch asserts that the Qur’an cannot be regarded as the divine word and outlines the rationale behind this claim. He argues that the Qur’an contains spelling errors, incorporates bizarre or unsettling parables, and includes inaccurate geographical information. Furthermore, Murdoch contends that the Prophet Muhammad was a deliberate impostor who offered no genuine hope for salvation. To support his position, he provides twenty-four reasons to substantiate his claim that the Qur’an is not the word of God.⁴³

In addition to *Selections from the Koran*, Murdoch compiled a report titled *Report on Theological Education in India*, which focused on the religious literature being produced in the Indian Subcontinent. The primary objective of this report was to inform missionaries about these religious works. Within the report, Murdoch references various texts related to the Qur’an and the Prophet Muhammad.⁴⁴ Another substantial work by Murdoch is the *Catalogue of the Christian Vernacular Literature of India*, published in 1870. This comprehensive work provides detailed information on books published in local languages and English by missionary societies and other organizations operating across different regions of the Indian Subcontinent, all aimed at facilitating the Christianization process. Among the texts listed in this catalogue are works on the Qur’an and the biography of the Prophet Muhammad (sīrah). The preface positions the catalog as a tool for evaluating missionary work in the Indian subcontinent and determining the necessary next steps for spreading Christianity.⁴⁵ This stated purpose confirms the author's serious commitment to his mission and, at the same time, demonstrates the importance of this work as a resource for Western orientologists.

In the post-1857 colonial context, John Murdoch played a pivotal role in advancing Christianization through his literary contributions. Two of his biographers, Ferguson and Morris, have described

⁴² For further information, see. Murdoch, *Selections From the Koran*, 1-118.

⁴³ Bk. Murdoch, *Selections From the Koran*, 128-77.

⁴⁴ For detailed information, see. John Murdoch, *Report on Theological Education in India* (Madras: The S. P. C. K. Press, 1900).

⁴⁵ John Murdoch (ed.), *Catalogue of The Christian Vernacular Literature of India: With Hints on The Management of Indian Tract Societies* (Madras: Caleb Foster, 1870), iii.

Murdoch as a “literary evangelist,” while others have referred to him as a “travelling bookman”.⁴⁶ These designations highlight his pioneering efforts in the production and dissemination of Christian literature in both English and Indian languages, as well as his involvement in creating school textbooks and works focused on Islam. Murdoch, who passed away in 1904, remained a dedicated evangelist throughout his life, as evidenced by the following passage from the preface to *Selections from the Koran*:

“For more than twelve centuries some of the fairest portions of the earth, once studded with Christian churches, have been allowed to remain under the baneful sway of Islam, without scarcely a single effort on their behalf. Such a trumpet call has seemed necessary to awaken the Church to a sense of her duty: God grant that it may be effectual!”⁴⁷

John Murdoch motivated fellow missionaries by asserting that the Queen of England governed more Muslim territories than the Ottoman Empire, that the majority of Africa, home to a significant Muslim population, was now under Christian rule, and that “*The Crescent is visibly waning*”.⁴⁸ These statements clearly indicate that Murdoch viewed the study of the Qur’an and the Prophet Muhammad as strategic tools for advancing missionary objectives.

3. William Goldsack’s Approach: Evangelism Through the Quran

William Goldsack, a British translator of the Qur’an, was born in Australia in 1871. From an early age, he developed a strong interest in Christian theology. In preparation for a missionary career, Goldsack studied Christian theology in England, where he received instruction from prominent biblical scholar Dr. Silas Mead (d. 1909) and George Henry Rouse (d. 1909), known for his missionary work in Bengal. Encouraged by Rouse, Goldsack travelled to South Asia in 1897, initially learning Bengali and later Arabic under

⁴⁶ These adjectives are used in the titles of the works written about John Murdoch. See. Morris, *The Life of John Murdoch: The Literary Evangelist of India*; John Ferguson, *The ‘Literary Evangelist’ of India and Ceylon: John Murdoch, LL. D* (Colombo: Ceylon Observer, 1898); A. W. McClymont - John Zimmerman Hodge, *The Travelling Bookman, John Murdoch of Madras: With a Special Chapter on the Indian National Christian Council and Its Debt to John Murdoch* (Lutterworth Press, 1947).

⁴⁷ Murdoch, *Selections From the Koran*, iii.

⁴⁸ Murdoch, *Selections From the Koran*, iii.

the guidance of a local Muslim scholar in Pabna (now part of Bangladesh). In addition to his missionary activities, Goldsack dedicated himself to deepening his understanding of Arabic to systematically study Islam and produce to evangelistic research in the field. His studies took him to Syria in 1912 and Cairo in 1917, where he had the opportunity to engage with Islamic sources. Goldsack worked in South Asia until 1923, when he was forced to return to England due to a malaria infection. He spent the remainder of his life as a fruit grower in South Australia, where he passed away in 1957.⁴⁹

As a representative of the Baptist Missionary Society (BMS) in India, Goldsack actively participated in international conferences during the early 20th century, a period marked by the peak of Christian missionary organizations. At the first missionary conference held in Cairo in 1906, which focused on missionaries operating in Muslim-majority regions, he delivered a presentation titled *How to Reach and Teach Illiterate Muslims*.⁵⁰ Goldsack also served as the secretary of the Bengal branch of the *Christian Literature Society*, a prominent organization and publishing house that played a crucial role in disseminating Christian literature and missionary works on Islam in India. Throughout his career, until his retirement in 1923, he was involved in the production of numerous publications on Islam.⁵¹ Goldsack contributed significantly to missionary activity through his extensive publishing efforts, authoring several books and treatises on Islam, including a translation of the Qur'an.

Goldsack's most significant scholarly contribution is his Bengali translation of the Holy Qur'an, undertaken with a focus on the Bengali Muslim community. He initially published the translation in multiple volumes, with the first volume titled *Alif Lam Mim Sipara* released in 1908, and the final volume, *Amm Sipara*, published in 1920. The complete translation, later compiled into two volumes,

⁴⁹ Clinton Bennett, *Biographical Dictionary of Christian Missions*, ed. Gerald H. Anderson (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1998), 'William Goldsack'; D. O. Coffey, *Admitted Truths in Muslim-Christian Dialogue: A Study of William Muir, Sayyid Ahmad Khān and William Goldsack in 19th Century India* (Great Britain: University of Edinburgh, 2003), 96–99.

⁵⁰ This article was also published as a book chapter in his book "Methods of Mission Work Among Moslems" in the same year. See. William Goldsack, 'How to Reach and Teach Illiterate Moslems', *Methods of Mission Work Among Moslems* (New York-London-Toronto: Fleming H. Revell, 1906), 29–40.

⁵¹ Bennett, 'William Goldsack'; Coffey, *Admitted Truths in Muslim-Christian Dialogue*, 96–99.

spans 1,193 pages. Each verse of the Qur'an is presented with the original Arabic text followed by the Bengali translation, with occasional footnotes offering explanatory comments. Throughout this work, Goldsack employed notably hostile language and provocative terms. The index of his translation includes headings such as "It is Permissible to Lie," "The Christians educated Muhammad," and "The Qur'an is Linguistically Erroneous," all of which reflect his critical stance towards the Qur'an.⁵² Goldsack translated the Qur'anic words according to his own interpretation and attempted to exegete the verses in both the translation and the footnote explanations, without providing any supporting evidence. For instance, he translated the Qur'anic term *Anfal* as "stolen or robbed property," and in the footnotes, he elaborated, stating, "Muhammad fled to the city of Medina and began robbing in the four corners of Medina with his followers". In his explanation of the verse from Surat al-An'am, "If We had sent down to them angels (as they wanted), they would not have believed...",⁵³ Goldsack offered his own interpretation, claiming that when the disbelievers demanded that Muhammad bring down an angel from heaven to confirm his prophethood, he failed to do so. According to Goldsack, Muhammad subsequently conveyed his own words as a divine revelation, stating, "even if the angels came down, they would not believe." Goldsack's interpretation also included a sarcastic remark, suggesting that the Prophet's response to such demands was merely, "I am only a messenger".⁵⁴

392 | db

⁵² Mofakkkhar Hussain Khan, *Pobitro Kur'an Procharer Itihash o Bonganubader Shoto-borsho* (Dhaka: Bangla Academy, 1997), 77.

⁵³ Al-An'am 6/11.

⁵⁴ S. M. Zwemer, 'Translations of the Koran', *The Muslim World* 5/3 (July 1915), 244–261.

20 of Surah Najm.⁵⁶ In this narration, Goldsack claims that Muhammad, influenced by Satan, accepted the polytheistic gods al-Lāt, al-‘Uzzā, and Manāt as intercessors. Through this interpretation, he attempts to undermine the Prophet’s authority.⁵⁷ Goldsack’s treatment of the Qur’anic verses and the position of the Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) reflects a dismissive and mocking approach. Additionally, in a perverse way, he manipulates the Qur’anic verses about Jesus and the Gospel, using them as evidence to support his Christian beliefs, thereby distorting their intended meaning in a manner consistent with his religious agenda.

When Goldsack’s translation of the Qur’an faced criticism within his own missionary circles, he advanced a series of arguments in his defense. He emphasized that the Qur’an repeatedly acknowledges the Old and New Testaments as the word of God and identifies Jesus as both the Word and Spirit of God, thereby asserting that the Qur’an itself constitutes a legitimate point of reference for Muslims. Goldsack argued that employing these Qur’anic affirmations to encourage Muslims to reflect more deeply on the divinity of Jesus was entirely appropriate. In doing so, he sought to justify his approach by claiming that demonstrating evidence for Jesus’ divinity from within the Qur’an would prevent Muslims from easily dismissing the argument as irrelevant. Goldsack asserted to his colleagues that “*we shall find that the Qur’an too will become a school-master to lead men to Christ.*”⁵⁸ According to John Takle, a missionary working in Bengal, Goldsack actively used his translation among Muslim and Hindu students with the intention of portraying Islam as an incoherent and baseless religion.⁵⁹

⁵⁶ Zwemer, “Translations of the Koran”.

⁵⁷ Goldsack’s interpretation of the verse through the gharāniq incident reflects a continuation of the claim made by the Orientalist William Muir (d. 1905), who argued that the Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) was influenced by Satan. This narrative, originating in colonial South Asia, has endured over time. Its enduring influence is evident in works like Salman Rushdie’s *The Satanic Verses*. Rushdie, an author of Indian origin, engages with this theme in a manner that reflects a critical and hostile stance toward Islam, underscoring the persistence of such colonial-era interpretations that sought to undermine the Prophet’s authority. See William Muir, *The Life of Mahomet: From Original Sources* (Edinburgh: John Grant, 1923), 81–83; Salman Rushdie, *The Satanic Verses* (New York: Random House, 2011).

⁵⁸ Goldsack presented these reasons in a letter to Rev. H.H. Collins. See. Coffey, *Admitted Truths in Muslim-Christian Dialogue*, 108.

⁵⁹ John Takle, ‘Moslem Advance in India’, *Islam and Missions*, ed. E. M. Wherry - Samuel M. Zwemer (Second Missionary Conference on behalf of the Mohammedan

This translation, published by the *Christian Literature Society for India*, was initially intended as a strategic tool to provide Christians with an advantage in Muslim-Christian polemical debates. Following its publication, the translation sparked significant protests from the local Muslim community, as both the translation and its accompanying commentary employed rhetoric perceived as offensive and inflammatory. Muslim scholars responded by publishing articles in regional newspapers criticizing this Bengali translation of the Qur'an, which likely contributed to the eventual banning of the work.⁶⁰ The British colonial administration generally tried to manage local unrest by calming public sentiment whenever possible, stepping in only when absolutely necessary. In this case, they intervened to maintain order. However, it's clear that the colonial authorities often pursued their goals indirectly or delayed controversial actions to avoid causing more instability. During that period, Muslims progressively began to strengthen their political advocacy for their rights. This was especially evident in regions like Bengal, where they held a numerical majority.

db | 395

Goldsack represents a distinct typology of missionary engagement. Not only did he translate the Qur'an with the intent of calling Muslims to Christianity, but being proficient in both Bengali and English, he also produced literary works in these languages—specifically, tales and stories aimed at Muslim youth, with the goal of facilitating Christianization. A notable example of this approach is his fairy tale book, *Ghulam Jabbar's Renunciation: A Tale of Eastern Bengal*, which uses Qur'anic verses through the narrative of a fictional young character. This book serves as a strategic and persuasive tool designed to demonstrate Christianity as the sole true religion. Within this work, Goldsack tells the story of Ghulam Jabbar, an eighteen-year-old Muslim youth who, while studying at a missionary school, begins to harbor doubts about the Qur'an due to the sermons of a missionary. Gradually, these doubts lead him to abandon Islam and convert to Christianity. This narrative exempli-

World Held at Lucknow, London-New York-Toronto: Fleming H. Revell, 1911), 206–219.

⁶⁰ Nur Uddin, *Bengalce'de ve Bangladeş'te Yapılan Kur'an ve Tefsir Çalışmaları* (Konya: Necmettin Erbakan University, Social Science Institute, Masters Thesis, 2018), 62; Coffey, *Admitted Truths in Muslim-Christian Dialogue*, 110-111.

fies Goldsack's use of fictional literature as a means of promoting Christian conversion among Muslim youth.⁶¹

One of the verses Goldsack incorporates in this work is "If you do not know, ask those who have knowledge of the (heavenly) books"⁶² Goldsack interprets the term *ahl al-zikr* in this verse as referring to the *Ahl al-Kitāb* (People of the Book), namely Jews and Christians, and emphasizes this interpretation through the use of narrative storytelling. In the book, Ghulam Jabbar's internal struggles and questions, prompted by hearing a missionary preacher's explanation of this verse, are described as follows:

"I don't know what to think; the missionary assured us again and again in his preaching that, in the noble Qur'an, we Muslims are told to ask the advice of Jews and Christians if we are in doubt; but how can that possibly be? Was not Muhammad the last and greatest Prophet? and does not the noble Qur'an contain the final and complete revelation of God? We know that it does. How then can it possibly command us to ask advice of a people who mistakenly follow a corrupted and abrogated Scripture and worship the Prophet Jesus as God!"⁶³

Goldsack constructs an extensive narrative, attempting to address the young man's questions by drawing on classical tafsir works, including those of *al-Bayzāwī*, *Jalalayn*, and *Tafsir al-Kabir*.⁶⁴ Throughout this 137-page work, Goldsack uses such narratives to systematically cultivate doubt regarding the authenticity of the Qur'an. In the conclusion of the work, he presents a fictional account in which the imagined youth, along with his fictional com-

⁶¹ A similar method of creating fictitious personalities has also been used by some Muslim scholars. For example, Ghulam Ahmed Perwez, one of the strongest voices of the Ahl al-Qur'an school of thought, wrote letters to two fictitious young men named Selim and Tahire (Salīm key Nām Ḥuūt Wa Ḥuūt Wa Tāhir key Nām Ḥutūt) and expressed his thoughts through them. See. Abdulhamit Birışık, "Perviz, Gulam Ahmed", *DİA*, 34:247-249.

⁶² Al-Anbiya 21/7 (فَسْئَلُوا أَهْلَ الذِّكْرِ إِنْ كُنْتُمْ لَا تَعْلَمُونَ)

⁶³ William Goldsack, *Ghulam Jabbar's Renunciation: A Tale of Eastern Bengal* (London-Madras-Colombo: Christian Literature Society, 1913), 1.

⁶⁴ For his complete fiction based on this verse, see. Goldsack, *Ghulam Jabbar's Renunciation*, 2-15.

panion named “Emarat,” resolves their doubts about the Qur’an and ultimately embraces Christianity.⁶⁵

One of the distinctive features that sets Goldsack apart from other missionaries of the colonial period is his practice of writing treatises and refutations on the Qur’an under a Muslim pseudonym. A notable example of this is his rebuttal to an article written by a Muslim mullah, who expressed belief in Jesus Christ as the saviour, under the name “Abdullah,” thereby posing as a Muslim. Goldsack authored this response under the pseudonym “Abdullah” and subsequently sent it to missionary Elwood M. Wherry, who published it under the same name.⁶⁶ In this treatise, written under the guise of a Muslim mullah, Goldsack argued for the divinity of Jesus Christ, presenting fourteen points drawn from the Qur’an. Wherry printed this article in Urdu, distributing two thousand copies as a treatise titled *Haqāiq-i Qur’ān Kābil-i Tawajjuh-i Ahl-i Islām* (Qur’anic Truths That Should Attract the Attention of Those Who Belong to Islam). Wherry also published an English version of this work, entitled *Christ Superior to Mohammed: Fourteen Reasons from the Koran*.⁶⁷

By adopting the pseudonym “Abdullah,” a name commonly associated with Muslims, Goldsack sought to present his article as a Muslim refutation of Christian doctrines, thereby attempting to demonstrate that Muslim arguments against Christianity were inherently weak. L. Bevan Jones (d. 1960), a Baptist missionary in the region, criticized Goldsack for such a poor instrumentalization of the Qur’an to make Christianity look superior.⁶⁸ However, at the time, this method was very effective in seducing the minds of Muslim children who could not find other educational opportunities and were forced to attend missionary schools, and a serious brain-washing activity was carried out in this way.

⁶⁵ In order to keep the article within its own boundaries, we have not included other narratives about the Qur’an in the work. Goldsack’s work can be an important reference source in researching the methods used by missionaries in the colonial period to Christianize the Qur’an.

⁶⁶ For Goldsack’s explanations from the Qur’an on this subject, see. L. Bevan Jones, ‘How Not to Use the Quran’, *The Muslim World* 30/3 (1940), 280–291.

⁶⁷ For the verses he uses in this article to prove the superiority of Jesus, see.. E. M. Wherry, ‘Christ Superior to Mohammed: Fourteen Reasons From The Koran’, *The Muslim World* 9/3 (1919), 252–264.

⁶⁸ Jones, “How Not to Use the Quran”, 280-291.

Goldsack authored another work titled *The Origins of the Qur'an*, in which he sought to support the common orientalist claim that the Qur'an originated from the beliefs and religious practices of nonbelievers, polytheists, Jews, and Christians. In this work, directed toward Muslims, Goldsack explicitly states his original intention, asserting that if the reader can better understand the origins of the Qur'an through this text, then the book will have fulfilled its purpose.⁶⁹ In *The Qur'an in Islam: An Inquiry into the Integrity of the Qur'an*, also addressed to Muslims, Goldsack aimed to cast doubt on the authenticity of the Qur'an. He argued that the current Qur'anic text is not a complete and accurate representation of the original revelations received by Muhammad. According to Goldsack, the Qur'an has undergone numerous distortions since the time of the Prophet and can no longer be regarded as a reliable source.⁷⁰ In his work, he attempts to demonstrate that the existing Qur'an has been altered through issues related to the seven *qira'ats*, the compilation of the Qur'an by Abu Bakr and Uthman, and the recitations of Ibn Mas'ud and Imam Husayn. Notably, it is striking that the same individual, who in his writings aimed at Muslims claimed that the Qur'an had been tampered with, also stated in his paper at the 1906 missionary conference in Cairo that the Qur'an was an unchanged guide for Muslims.⁷¹ This inconsistency highlights the manipulation and deception of young students in missionary schools or other educational institutions, who, lacking the opportunity for serious academic inquiry, were subjected to such biased narratives.

398 | db

Upon arriving in the region, Goldsack authored numerous books, treatises, articles, and pamphlets focusing on the Qur'an and the Prophet Muhammad. In addition to these scholarly works, he translated *Mishkāt al-masābīh*, one of the most prominent hadith collections in the region, into English. Furthermore, his *A Mussalmani Bengali-English Dictionary*, first published in 1923, remains a significant contribution. This dictionary, which includes 6,000 words of Arabic, Persian, Turkish, and Hindi origin that have been incorporated into Bengali, serves as an important reference. A new

⁶⁹ William Goldsack, *The Origins of the Qur'an* (London-Madras-Colombo: Christian Literature Society, 1907), vii.

⁷⁰ William Goldsack, *The Qur'an in Islam: An Inquiry into the Integrity of the Qur'an* (London-Madras-Colombo: Christian Literature Society, 1906), 1–3.

⁷¹ Goldsack, 'How to Reach and Teach Illiterate Moslems'.

edition of the dictionary was later published by D.N. Banerjee in New Delhi in 2007, further underscoring its lasting scholarly value.⁷²

Goldsack's publications, most of which were written in Bengali, included provocative articles with titles such as "Was the Prophet Innocent?", "Muhammad and Jesus Christ," and "The Corruption of the Qur'an".⁷³ These articles elicited strong reactions from the Muslim community, prompting Muslim scholars in the region to respond by publishing counter-articles in Bengali in various daily newspapers, weekly, and monthly magazines. For instance, publications such as *al-Islām* and the weekly *Muhammadi*⁷⁴ released pamphlets under various headings, including "Where is the Original Bible?", "The Destroyer of the Trinity," and "Is Jesus Sinless?".⁷⁵

It is important to note that Goldsack's approach, which involved the instrumentalization of the Qur'an with the objective of intellectually engaging the Muslim community, differentiates his work from that of other missionaries. All of Goldsack's works, both mentioned and unmentioned, merit thorough analysis within the context of the period and region in which they were produced, as well as an examination of the success or failure of the missionaries under the colonial administration. Furthermore, the responses of Muslim intellectuals to these efforts provide an important avenue for research. These issues warrant detailed investigation. When considering the broader Islamic society of the Indian Subcontinent and other relevant factors, it can be argued that while Western missionaries achieved some success, particularly in intellectual Westernization, they were largely unsuccessful in Christianizing the Islamic community. In fact, they fell short of the significant successes they anticipated, even among Hindus and adherents of other religions.

⁷² Rev William Goldsack, *Mussalmani Bengali-English Dictionary* (New Delhi: Gyan Publishing House, 2007).

⁷³ Coffey, *Admitted Truths in Muslim-Christian Dialogue*, 102.

⁷⁴ William Goldsack, 'The Moslem Press of Bengal', *The Muslim World* 7/2 (1917), 182–184.

⁷⁵ Cornelius H. Patton (ed.), *Christian Literature in Moslem Lands: A Study of the Activities of the Moslem and Christian Press in All Mohammedan Countries* (New York: George H. Doran Company, 1923), 120–121.

Conclusion

From the outset, Western missionaries in the Indian subcontinent engaged with Islam and the Qur'an with the dual aim of comprehending its profound influence in the region and redirecting it toward Christian doctrinal objectives. This article has elucidated the significant interplay between European colonialism and Christian missionary endeavours in South Asia. Missionary activity expanded concomitantly with the consolidation of Western political power, each reinforcing the other in a symbiotic relationship. It can be argued that missionary work contributed to the legitimization of colonial authority through the production of knowledge, while colonial structures, in turn, facilitated missionary penetration. This dynamic resonates with the principle that power produces knowledge, and the knowledge thus generated serves to legitimize power. As this study reveals, the instrumentalization of the Quran in this Muslim-dominated geography constituted an important strategy in this attempt to produce knowledge.

400 | db

This article identifies two primary objectives underlying the missionaries' approach to the Qur'an. The first objective was to refute Islamic teachings, while the second sought to use the Qur'an as a source of legitimacy for Christian doctrines. However, a notable contradiction emerges: it is inherently inconsistent to discredit the sanctity of the Qur'anic texts while simultaneously using those same texts to validate Christian teachings. Examples of this contradiction can be found in the works of missionaries such as Jerome Xavier, who extensively quoted the Bible in his *Mir'āt al-Quds*, referring to it as the divine text to which the Qur'an alludes, and John Murdoch, who asserted that the Qur'an was a book authored by Muhammad for his personal purposes, claiming that it was a compilation of altered Arab legends, Christian traditions from Arabia and southern Syria, and Jewish traditions from the Talmud. Consequently, the missionaries engaged with the Qur'an in a manner that was decidedly unscientific during their investigation and interpretation.

Missionaries operating in the Indian Subcontinent produced various works addressing topics such as the origin, integrity, content, and revelation of the Qur'an. However, these works were primarily intended to support missionary activities in Muslim-majority regions rather than to advance academic inquiry. In this context,

John Murdoch's *Selections from the Koran* serves as a significant example. Additionally, some of these works were directly aimed at Muslim audiences. A notable example is William Goldsack's Bengali translation of the Qur'an, in which Goldsack, adopting a Muslim identity, presented fourteen arguments from the Qur'an to position Jesus Christ as the saviour, framing his presentation as a defence by a Muslim cleric. This approach represents a novel and strategic tactic employed by missionaries during the colonial period. These missionary activities and strategies, in turn, prompted a response from the ulema, particularly those politically active against colonial policies. Faced with such intellectual challenges, the ulema felt compelled to respond in order to safeguard society from the perceived threat of Christianization.

In conclusion, it is essential to recognize that British colonialism and Christian missionary activity in the Indian subcontinent were two interconnected processes that mutually reinforced each other. While the missionaries' interest in the Qur'an and Islam primarily emphasized the religious dimension of their endeavors, it simultaneously enhanced the political and cultural influence of the colonial powers in the region. A key argument of this article is that the study of the Qur'an by missionaries was not merely a religious or academic pursuit but was strategically employed as a tool to further the political and military objectives of the colonial authorities.

The Indian Subcontinent holds substantial historical and contemporary significance, both as a region with a large Muslim population and as an area that endured prolonged colonial subjugation, with the enduring effects of colonialism still evident today. Furthermore, the migration of Muslims from this region to Western countries, many of which are Christian majority, continues to influence global demographics. In this context, the missionaries discussed in this article represent only a small subset of the numerous missionaries active during the colonial period. We propose that a comprehensive, in-depth study be conducted on the impact of missionary and colonial activities on Qur'anic studies in this region, which holds critical importance. Such scholarly endeavors would significantly contribute to the process of decolonising knowledge and offer a deeper understanding to help unravel the unexplored policy architectures of colonialism.

Reference

- Bellenoit, Hayden J. A. *Missionary Education and Empire in Late Colonial India, 1860-1920*. London-New York: Routledge, 2016.
- Bellenoit, Hayden J. A. 'Missionary Education, Religion and Knowledge in India, c. 1880-1915'. *Modern Asian Studies* 41/2 (2007), 369-394.
- Bennett, Clinton. *Biographical Dictionary of Christian Missions*. ed. Gerald H. Anderson. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1998.
- Birişik, Abdulhamit. *Oryantalist Misyonerler ve Kur'an: Batı Etkisinde Hint Kur'an Araştırmaları*. İstanbul: İnsan Yayınları, 2004.
- Birişik, Abdulhamit. 'Perviz, Gulam Ahmed'. *DİA*. XXXIV/247-249. İstanbul: TDV yayınları, 2007.
- Bulut, Yücel. 'Hindistan'da İngiliz Sömürgeciliği, Oryantalizm ve William Jones'. *İstanbul University Journal of Sociology* 3/6 (10 February 2012), 71-106.
- Camps, Arnulf. *Jerome Xavier, S.J. and the Muslims of the Mogul Empire: Controversial and Missionary Activity*. Schöneck: Nouvelle Revue de Science Missionnaire Suisse, 1957.
- Camps, Arnulf. *Studies in Asian Mission History*. Leiden-Boston-Köln: BRILL, 2000. <https://doi.org/10.1163/9789047400318>
- Carvalho, Pedro Moura. *Mir'at al-Quds (Mirror of Holiness): A Life of Christ for Emperor Akbar: A Commentary on Father Jerome Xavier's Text and the Miniatures of Cleveland Museum of Art, Acc. No. 2005.145*. Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2011. <https://brill.com/display/title/20498>
- Cerrahoğlu, İsmail. 'Garânik'. *DİA*. XIII/361-366. İstanbul, 1996.
- Cerrahoğlu, İsmail. 'Oryantalizm ve Batıda Kur'an ve ve Kur'an İlimleri Üzerine Araştırmalar'. *Ankara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 31/1-4 (1 August 1989), 95-136.
- Coffey, D. O. *Admitted Truths in Muslim-Christian Dialogue: A Study of William Muir, Sayyid Ahmad Khān and William Goldsack in 19th Century India*. Great Britain: University of Edinburgh, 2003.
- Felix, Rev. Father. 'Jesuit Missions in Lahore'. *The Islamic World in Foreign Travel Accounts: Mughal India According to European Travel Accounts: Texts and Siwdies IV*. ed. Fuad Sezgin. Frankfurt: Institute for the History of Arabic-Islamic Science at the Johann Wolfgang Goethe University, 1997.
- Ferguson, John. *The 'Literary Evangelist' of India and Ceylon: John Murdoch, LL. D.* Colombo: Ceylon Observer, 1898.
- Goldie, Francis. *The First Christian Mission to the Great Mogul*. London: M.H. Gill, 1897.
- Goldsack, Rev William. *Mussalmani Bengali-English Dictionary*. New Delhi: Gyan Publishing House, Bilingual édition., 2007.
- Goldsack, William. *Ghulam Jabbar's Renunciation: A Tale of Eastern Bengal*. London-Madras-Colombo: Christian Literature Society, 1913.
- Goldsack, William. 'How to Reach and Teach Illiterate Moslems'. *Methods of Mission Work Among Moslems*. 29-40. New York-London-Toronto: Flaming H. Revell, 1906.
- Goldsack, William. 'The Moslem Press of Bengal'. *The Muslim World* 7/2 (1917), 182-184. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1478-1913.1917.tb01540.x>
- Goldsack, William. *The Origins of the Qur'an*. London-Madras-Colombo: Christian Literature Society, 1907.
- Goldsack, William. *The Qur'an in Islam: An Inquiry into the Integrity of the Qur'an*. London-Madras-Colombo: Christian Literature Society, 1906.

- Gündüz, Şinasi. 'Misyonerlik ve Hıristiyan Misyonerler'. *Dinbilimleri Akademik Araştırma Dergisi* 2/4 (1 August 2002), 1–21.
- Gupta, Vikas. 'Social Agenda of Colonial Education: Textbook Discourse in the Mid-Nineteenth Century'. *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* 68 (2007), 1112–1123.
- Haniilçe, Murat. 'Henry Martyn s Personal Effects and His Grave in Tokat'. *Cedrus* 5 (1 June 2017), 543–566.
- Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich. *The Philosophy of History*. trans. J. Sibree. New York: The Colonial Press, 1899.
- Jarric, Father Pierre du Jarric. *Akbar and the Jesuits: An Account of the Jesuit Missions to the Court of Akbar*. trans. C. H. Payne. London-New York: Harper & Brothers, 1926. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203307526>
- Johnson, Wesley Irvin. *Evangelicals Encountering Muslims : A Pre-Evangelistic Approach to the Qu'ran*. South Africa: University of South Africa, PhD Thesis, 2015. <https://uir.unisa.ac.za/handle/10500/19987>
- Jones, L. Bevan. 'How Not to Use the Quran'. *The Muslim World* 30/3 (1940), 280–291. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1478-1913.1940.tb00454.x>
- Khan, Mofakhkhar Hussain. *Pobitro Kur'an Procharer Itihash o Bonganubader Shoto-borsho*. Dhaka: Bangla Academy, 1997.
- Koch, Ebba. 'The Influence of the Jesuit Mission on Symbolic Representations of the Mughal Emperors'. *Islam in India : Studies and Commentaries*. ed. Christian W. Troll. New Dehli: Vikas Publishing House, 1982.
- McClymont, A. W. - Hodge, John Zimmerman. *The Travelling Bookman, John Murdoch of Madras: With a Special Chapter on the Indian National Christian Council and Its Debt to John Murdoch*. Lutterworth Press, 1947.
- Morris, Henry. *The Life of John Murdoch: The Literary Evangelist of India*. London-Madras: Christian Literature Society for India, 1906.
- Muir, William. *The Life of Mahomet: From Original Sources*. Edinburgh: John Grant, 1923.
- Murdoch, John (ed.). *Catalogue of The Christian Vernacular Literature of India: With Hints on The Management of Indian Tract Societies*. Madras: Caleb Foster, 1870.
- Murdoch, John. *National Education in India*. Madras: United Scottish Press, 1863.
- Murdoch, John. *Report on Theological Education in India*. Madras: The S. P. C. K. Press, 1900.
- Murdoch, John. *Selections From the Koran*. Madras-London: The Christian Literature Society, 1896.
- Neill, Stephen. *A History of Christianity in India: The Beginnings to AD 1707*. New York-London-Sydney: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Patton, Cornelius H. (ed.). *Christian Literature in Moslem Lands: A Study of the Activities of the Moslem and Christian Press in All Mohammedan Countries*. New York: George H. Doran Company, 1923.
- Rhea, Sarah J. *Life of Henry Martyn, Missionary to India and Persia, 1781 to 1812*. Chicago: Women's Presbyterian Board, 1888.
- Rushdie, Salman. *The Satanic Verses*. New York: Random House, 2011.
- Sargent, John. *Memoir of the Rev. Henry Martyn*. London: Seeley, Burnside & Seeley, 1830.
- Solihu, Abdul Kabir Hussain - Abdulkameed, Abdulganiy Akorede. 'Christian Translations of the Qur'an into Yoruba and Their Historical Background'. *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations*. <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/09596410.2015.1073884>
- Takle, John. 'Moslem Advance in India'. *Islam and Missions*. ed. E. M. Wherry - Samuel M. Zwemer. 206–219. London-New York-Toronto: Fleming H. Revell, 1911.

- Uddin, Nur. *Bengalce'de ve Bangladeş'te Yapılan Kur'an ve Tefsir Çalışmaları*. Konya: Necmettin Erbakan Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Yüksek Lisans, 2018.
- Uddin, Nur. *Hint Alt Kıtası'nın Batı ile Etkileşim Sonrası Toplum ve Siyasetinde Kur'an ve Hz. Peygamber*. İstanbul: Marmara Üniversitesi, Doktora Tezi, 2024.
- Vennela, R. - Smith, Richard. 'Bilingual English Teaching in Colonial India: The Case of John Murdoch's Work in Madras Presidency, 1855-1875'. *Language & History* 62/2 (4 May 2019), 96-118. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17597536.2019.1641942>
- Wherry, E. M. 'Christ Superior to Mohammed: Fourteen Reasons From The Koran'. *The Muslim World* 9/3 (1919), 252-264. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1478-1913.1919.tb01774.x>
- Zwemer, S. M. 'Translations of the Koran'. *The Muslim World* 5/3 (July 1915), 244-261. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1478-1913.1915.tb01451.x>

