

John Gill and Islam: A Baptist Perspective from the Long Eighteenth Century

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John Gill's peers regarded him as an eminent theologian. Gill was a long-tenured Particular Baptist pastor, prolific author, able defender, and insightful observer of religion. As the articles in this journal suggest, Gill's writings still pique scholarly curiosity. Michael Haykin's introductory article presents the important contours to Gill's life and helps explain his influence.

This present article began as a question, "How did John Gill interpret Islam?" This question prompted others: how did Gill treat Islam in his many writings? What were the sources that influenced his thought on Islam? How did Gill's perspective compare with other Baptist perspectives? Answering these questions in full would surely require a monograph, but they each have a role to play in this analysis.

This article examines Gill's various writings to elucidate his perspective

on Islam for a contemporary audience. Gill considered Qur'anic allusions to biblical texts alongside rabbinic interpretations, though with a skeptical eye. Islam occupied an especially important place in Gill's eschatology: he interpreted Islam as the embodiment of one strand of biblical prophecy, naming it the "eastern antichrist" or "Gog and Magog" that opposed the kingdom of Christ on earth, obstructed the mass conversion of the Jewish people, and awaited God's decisive judgment. Christian rulers were destined to destroy Muslim kingdoms. Understanding the place of Islam in Gill's thought addresses a lacuna in the literature and opens doors for continuing reflection in Reformed orthodox studies.¹

PROTESTANT PERSPECTIVES ON ISLAM

Protestant theologians reflected on Islam from the sixteenth century forward. Christian engagement with Islam started in the seventh century and European engagement with Islamic thought began in the eleventh century and developed subsequently through mission and crusade.² By the late fourteenth century, the powerful Ottoman Empire included the Balkans and by the mid-fifteenth century Muslim armies had captured Constantinople and even attempted to take Rome. As the Protestant Reformation shook the Western church in the first thirty years of the sixteenth century, Christians in central Europe were shaken by losses in Hungary and conflict with Islam seemed ever-present.³ Martin Luther (1483–1546) and Philipp Melancthon (1497–1560) established a Protestant theological trajectory against Islam through sermons, tracts, and pamphlets, linking Turks with Gog and Magog of Revelation 20 and the "little horn" of Daniel 7.⁴

More directly in line with the theology Gill would espouse, Ulrich Zwingli (d. 1531) and his successor, Heinrich Bullinger (1504–1575), were the first generation of Zurich reformers. Bullinger wrote *Derr Türg* against Islam in 1567. OT Professor and humanist Theodor Bibliander (1504–1564) translated a Latin edition of the Qur'an in 1543, supported by Bullinger and Luther, with an apologetic purpose to expose what he believed to be its moral and theological faults.⁵ Genevan Reformer John Calvin (1509–1564) believed Muslims to be idolaters and Antichrist, though for different reasons than Luther.⁶

Protestants continued to address Islamic theology during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Representatively, Lutherans, Johann Dannhauer

(1602–1666) interpreted biblical passages with regard to Islam and Friedrich Calixt (1622–1701) wrote *De Religione Muhammedana*.⁷ Reformed Orthodox theologians in the generations after Calvin also reflected on the challenge of Islam. Johann Hottinger's (1620–1667) nine-volume *Historiae Ecclesiasticae* included consideration of the emergence and spread of Islam.⁸ Christoph Wittich (1625–1687) and Petrus Van Mastricht (1630–1706) penned theologies defending Christian doctrines of Scripture and the nature of Christ from heterodoxy, including Islamic thought.⁹ Both Mastricht and Wittich cited the earlier work of Johannes Hornbeek on Islamic teaching.¹⁰ Gill read Hottinger, Wittich, Mastricht, Hornbeek, and others avidly. Protestant engagement with Islam during the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries was decidedly polemical and it is within this context that John Gill's reflections on Islam stand.

John Gill was a Particular Baptist and theologian in the Reformed orthodox or Reformed scholastic tradition, a pathway of thought that began in the mid-sixteenth century and flourished until the late eighteenth century. Often associated particularly with Calvin, the tradition is broader, encompassing multiple generations of theologians from across the Continent. The adjective “scholastic” refers to the rigorous academic method of investigation common to differing extents between these theologians and earlier in the universities of the middle ages. A common three-fold periodization divides the tradition into “early” (ca. 1560–1620), “high” (1620–1700), and “late” (ca. 1700–1790). Willem Van Asselt reckons John Gill's significance in late scholasticism, describing him as “one of the most important representatives of Reformed scholasticism in the eighteenth century.”¹¹ Remembering that Gill was an autodidact reinforces the place of books in his theological formation. Gill read widely in the orthodox Reformed tradition, particularly in authors of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, and his reading helped shape his views on Islam.¹²

ISLAM IN GILL'S READING

Though not limited to sources he cited, Gill's numerous footnotes indicate specific influences. One source was Scottish exile John Forbes' (d. 1648) *Instructiones Historico Theologicae*.¹³ Forbes' well-regarded work includes a lengthy polemical chapter covering various “*impietatis [doctrinae]*

Muhammedane,” including teachings on various doctrines along with a survey of the spread of Islam after Mohammed.¹⁴ Heinrich Alting’s (1583–1644) *Theologica Historica* also addressed Islamic arguments against the Trinity.¹⁵ In Italian refugee and OT Professor Hieronymus (Jerome) Zanchi (1516–1590), Gill found the hypothetical situation that a Turk, converted to Christianity by reading the NT, might baptize subsequent believers if no church existed nearby.¹⁶ Gill also read compendia of Islamic theology and history written by Orientalists such as Oxford Professor Edward Pococke (1604–1691)¹⁷ and Dutch polymath Adrian Reland (1676–1718) on Islamic theology of resurrection.¹⁸

John Gill personally owned a copy of an Arabic Qur’ān printed by Abraham Hinckelmann.¹⁹ During Gill’s lifetime, George Sale (d. 1736) translated the first English Qur’ān, and Gill also used this edition.²⁰ Gill cited the Qur’ān directly very few times, though, leaving little evidence of how widely he had read its text. These sources, though not exhaustive, show the place of orthodox writers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries on Gill’s perspectives on Islam, perspectives that his own works display.

ISLAM IN GILL’S WRITINGS

References to Islam or Islamic thought occur infrequently in Gill’s writings and always as examples of theological error or eschatological judgment. In keeping with his day, Gill almost always used the designations “Mahometans,” “Turks,” and “Saracens” when referring to Muslims. Occasionally he wrote of “Arabs,” usually when referring to speakers of the Arabic language. He described “Mahomet” (Mohammed) as a “vile impostor,” challenging Mohammed’s self-description as a prophet in the line of Moses and Jesus.²¹ Gill’s terminology had been common among Protestants for two centuries and emphasizes a view of Muslim-as-other, outsiders bent on conquest; terms common in Europe and among Protestants and medieval Christians for centuries.

Broadly speaking, Gill’s writings fall into the categories of (1) biblical commentaries, (2) divinity, which may be subdivided into (a) doctrinal, (b) polemical, (c) creedal, and (d) practical, (3) sermons, and (4) linguistics. Others have examined his considerable literary output.²² The following analysis of Islam in Gill’s writings follow this general categorization.

John Gill’s massive, multi-volume *Exposition* of both the OT and NT

(1746–48) contains very few references to Islam, but those that do appear seem to reveal a limited engagement with the Qur'an. Gill referenced Hinckle-
mann's Arabic edition only occasionally in his *Exposition of the Old Testament*,
for comparing the Septuagint Greek term for "sheep" with the Arabic term
in Job 1:3 and interpreting the astrological meaning of *mazzaroth* in Job
38:32.²³ In these instances, Gill only notes the prefatory apparatus and not
the Arabic text proper, though Gill enjoyed a clear command of Oriental
languages and offered thousands of references to Arabic text of the OT and
NT in his *Expositions*.²⁴ In Gill's *Exposition of the New Testament*, commenting
upon Luke 1:20 where Zacharias encounters an angel and is stricken mute
until his son is born, Gill compared the Qur'anic version (Qur'an 3.41)
in which the angel limits Zacharias' speech for three days.²⁵ Gill observed
that in a subsequent vision (Qur'an 19.10), the angel proscribes Zacharias'
speech for three nights.²⁶ Gill considered the Qur'anic texts to be in error.²⁷
The Qur'an describes a partition separating the "blessed and the damned,"
a concept Gill suggests came from rabbinic literature, insisting that God's
decree, not a visible partition, is a better description of the "great gulf" of
Luke 16:26.²⁸ Sometimes Gill noted Qur'anic texts without elaboration, such
as his exegesis of the rich man and Lazarus (Luke 16:24), noting "Mahomet
has a passage that is somewhat like to this text."²⁹ Commenting on James 2:23,
Gill simply observed that "Mahomet says himself, 'God took Abraham for
his friend.'"³⁰ In his *Exposition of the New Testament*, Gill makes around fifty
references to Mohammed, split between exegetical comparisons and simple
historical references to Muslim conquest of places mentioned in the Bible.³¹
Where Gill cites the Qur'an, it is from George Sale's 1734 English translation.

Gill's *Dissertation Concerning the Hebrew Language* contains linguistic
reflections that reveal Gill's rejection of Muslim tradition. Considering claims
as to the antiquity of various languages, Gill observes:

The Arabs pretend, that their language was spoken by Adam before
his fall, and then changed into Syriac, and was restored upon his
repentance, but again degenerated, and was in danger of being
lost, but was preserved by the elder Jorham, who escaped with
Noah in the ark, and propagated it among his posterity.³²

Gill's theological writings include a congregational *Declaration of Faith and*

Practice, practical discourses on topics like prayer, Psalm singing, more detailed polemical writings on matters such as Justification, Perseverance, Grace, and the Trinity, and his expansive and systematic *Body of Doctrinal and Practical Divinity* (1769–70). Gill’s systematic and polemical works contain most of his reflections on Islam, particularly in relation to Scripture, Trinity, Christology, and Eschatology.

Gill’s presentation of the doctrine of Scripture comes early in his *Body of Doctrinal Divinity*, situated between discussion of God’s being and names. Scripture contains “nothing ... unworthy of God” and are properly called “the word of truth.”³³ Gill contrasted the Bible with the Qur’ān: “There is nothing impious or impure, absurd or ridiculous in [the Scriptures]; as in the Al-koran of Mahomet; which is stuffed with impurities and impieties, as well as with things foolish and absurd.”³⁴

In the eighteenth century, Trinitarian theology faced renewed challenges from secularizing influences of the Enlightenment, put forward by some in the Church of England and by some dissenters. Robert Oliver has aptly described this issue as “the most serious challenge to Dissent in the first half of the eighteenth century.”³⁵ Argued among Protestants, these doctrinal debates cut to the heart of catholic Christianity and saw the resurgence of theological positions such as Sabellianism and Arianism, positions deemed deficient in the church’s ancient past.

Trinitarian orthodoxy often involved concomitant opposition to classic Christology. One particularly important aspect of Christology and Trinitarianism concerned the eternal generation of the Son, to teaching that Jesus exists eternally as Son in relation to the Father, a key doctrine for showing distinctions within the Persons of the Godhead. In 1768, Gill wrote *A Dissertation Concerning the Eternal Sonship of Christ* in which he traced the doctrine from the first century to his own day, listing and summarizing the arguments of those who had defended and opposed the doctrine. Here Gill included “Mahomet and his followers” alongside Sabellians, Arians, and Socinians as groups that opposed the doctrine.³⁶ According to Gill, Socinianism, a sixteenth-century European anti-Trinitarian movement, followed an Islamic argument in denying Jesus’ eternal sonship by asking “Who is [God’s] wife?”³⁷ Conceptually, linking Socinianism with Islam and Islam with third and fourth-century heresies helped to designate Islam as linked to heterodox Christianity than a wholly different religion. This context helps

scholars interpret Gill's statement in his *Exposition of the New Testament* that "the eastern churches were perverted and corrupted by Mahomet, and drawn off to his religion."³⁸ Gill was not unique among Reformed scholastic writers in linking Islamic objections to the deity of Christ alongside earlier Christian heresies. Alting took a similar approach, mentioning Sabellians, Samosatensians, Photinians, and Arians along with Muslims as those who "deny that the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit is one God, coessential, and coequal."³⁹ Heinrich Bullinger had followed this line of thought in his mid-sixteenth century work an influence that Peter Stephens attributes to John of Damascus (d. 750).⁴⁰ The Damascene regarded Islam as Christian heresy.⁴¹

Elsewhere in this dissertation, Gill named Muhammed "as bitter an enemy to the true, proper and eternal Sonship of Christ, as ever was," based on the supposition that "God did not need a Son, because if he had a Son, they might not agree, and so the government of the world be disturbed."⁴² Here, Gill cited Alting's assessment and pointed readers to consult Forbes' *Historico Theologicæ*.⁴³ Both Alting and Forbes cite variations of this argument.⁴⁴

John Gill's eschatology contains the clearest expression of his views on Islam. Within Gill's reading of John's Apocalypse, the rise of Islam occurs under the fifth trumpet and its subsequent spread under the sixth trumpet (Rev 9:1, 13). For Gill, the trumpet judgments of Revelation were located historically in the Christian Roman Empire, post-Constantine.⁴⁵ As Crawford Gribben has shown, Gill's eschatology was complex, innovative, and decidedly millennialist.⁴⁶ For Gill, Jesus reigned over the created world through providential government and he ruled spiritually as the unique mediator of the New Covenant, but Gill also anticipated a future manifestation of Jesus' rule: "Christ will have a special, peculiar, glorious, and visible kingdom, in which he will reign personally on earth."⁴⁷ This was the millennial reign of Christ, and as the millennium began, Jesus would conquer all enemies: paganism, Roman Catholicism, and Islam.

During the millennium, Satan would be bound and unable to harass God's people. For Gill, looking back on the church's history, it was foolish to think that the Ancient Church experienced the fruit of such a binding, marked as the first five centuries were by persecution, even after the reign of Constantine in the fourth century. The rise of Islam several hundred years later in the also argued against the inauguration of Christ's millennial reign:

Also much about the same time, that vile impostor Mahomet, under the instigation of the devil arose; when the bottomless pit was opened, and then Satan surely could not lie bound in it; out of which came the smoke of the absurd Alkoran, which darkened the sun and moon, the light of [a] great part of the world; and from whence came his locusts, the Saracens, which, for some centuries, greatly afflicted the Christian empire, whose king was called Abaddon and Apollyon, Rev. 9:11; as did the Turks after them, whose empire was set up in the beginning of the fourteenth century, and continued to distress Europe till the latter end of the last. And now, so long as Mahometanism prevails over so large a part of the world as it does, the thousand years reign, and the binding of Satan, cannot be expected.⁴⁸

Several aspects of Gill's reading of Revelation 9 bear elaboration. Gill attributed Mohammed's teaching to satanic influence rather than prophetic inspiration. Explaining the apocalyptic symbolism of Revelation 9, Gill linked the sun-blotting smoke of the great pit (9:2) with the Qur'ān, implying that its teaching functioned to blind a great part of the world to the true light of Scripture and the theological clarity of the gospel. He associated the locusts of 9:3 with the "Saracens," the popular designation from the ninth century on for Muslims, regardless of ethnicity.⁴⁹ Though written in 1769, Gill had held this view since at least the early 1750s.

Preaching in 1750 from Isaiah 21:11–12, Gill anticipated a still-future mass conversion of Jews to Christianity. He believed that the time of Constantine in the fourth century was the "meridian" of gospel light among gentiles but that "darkness prevailed" through Mohammed "who having the key of the bottomless pit (Rev 9:1), opened it, and let out the smoke of his false doctrine, contained in his Alkoran, by which the sun and the air were darkened; and also his locusts the Saracens, which ran over the East, and spread his doctrine and worship everywhere."⁵⁰ Gill restated this position in his commentary upon Revelation 9:2.⁵¹

Gill's sermons are a good reminder that his primary ministry was that of preacher. John Gill enjoyed a long-tenured pastoral ministry in London (1719–1771), the mid-week Great Eastcheap lectures (1729–1756), not to mention many occasional preaching opportunities that ordinations and funerals for other pastors offered, afforded him thousands of preaching occasions over decades. Gill's published sermons amount to several dozen and

can hardly represent the volume of his ministry. Islam appears in several of Gill's published sermons. He preached these sermons during his Wednesday evening expositions, interestingly, both in late December in the early 1750s. His sermon on Isaiah 21 has been described above.

With regard to the destruction of antichrist through divine judgment, Gill saw the seven vials of God's wrath as the execution of this judgement. Gill took the Western antichrist to be the Roman Catholic Church, or the Pope and the Eastern antichrist to be the Turk or Muslims (57).⁵² Another sermon, preached from Acts 26:8 on the resurrection, dismissed the Muslim notion of resurrection including angels and animals: "First, I shall enquire who they are which shall be raised from the dead. I shall not take notice of the *Mahometan* notion, that angels and brutes shall rise, since the former die not, and therefore cannot be said to be raised from the dead; and the spirit of the latter goeth downward to the earth, never to return more."⁵³

CONCLUSION

This article sought to open up an eighteenth century Baptist perspective on Islam and has introduced the ways in which the Particular Baptist theologian John Gill pursued this engagement. Gill interpreted Islam as a Christian heresy akin to Arianism or Sabbellianism because of its denial of core Christian doctrines such as the Trinity, the deity of Christ, the exclusivity of Christ as mediator, and the idea that the Qur'ān contained genuine revelation on par with the Bible. His perspective on Islam-as-heresy was part of a Reformation and medieval tradition. He placed Islam alongside Roman Catholic teaching as the two most powerful enemies of the true church on earth, enemies to be destroyed at the end of the age. In this identification, he was consistent with Bullinger and with Luther, though their immediate influence on Gill's thought is less evident than later Continental writers. Gill's understanding of Islam was generally mediated through the theological writings of earlier generations of Reformed orthodox scholarship and, to a lesser extent, the result of his own study of the Islamic texts that he had available to him. His engagement directly with the Qur'ān, primarily via George Sale's English translation, focused on texts with biblical parallels and does not seem to be an attempt to understand the text on its own terms. Gill's purpose was to defend Christianity from its enemies and he was certain that Islam was a significant opponent, one that awaited military defeat by godly rulers of the

earth. Gill never seems to suggest that Christians might engage Muslims by preaching the gospel of Christ crucified, buried, resurrected, ascended, and returning. It will be up to other readers to reach their own conclusions on whether Gill's silence on this matter was simply in keeping with his views on election and predestination and thus part of his general reticence toward the free-offer of the gospel, an idea whose time had not yet come, cultural or religious bigotry, or something else.⁵⁴ Gill does represent a turning point in Particular Baptist engagement with Islam. English Baptists in the generation that followed Gill took a different approach to Islam. Through the Baptist Missionary Society, William Carey (1761–1834), William Ward (1769–1823), and to a lesser extent Joshua Marshman (1768–1837), ministered directly to Bengali Muslims in Serampore, India.⁵⁵ English Particular Baptist pastors and theologians like Andrew Fuller (1754–1815), John Ryland, Jr. (1753–1825), and Samuel Pearce (1766–1799) exhibited eagerness to preach the gospel to the “heathen,” including Muslims.

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1. I wish to thank Jay Collier and Jonathan Swan for their help in locating some of the sources used in this article.
 2. Richard C. Martin, Heather J. Empey, Mohammed Arkoun and Andrew Rippin. “Islamic Studies,” In *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Islamic World*, *Oxford Islamic Studies Online*, <http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com/article/opr/t236/e0395> (accessed 19-Feb-2021).
 3. See Darren T. Williamson, “Confronting the ‘Scourge of God’: Reformation Perspectives on Militant Islam,” *Fides et Historia* 45:1 (2013): 109–19.
 4. For a synopsis of Luther's most important polemical works on Islam, including his apocalyptic interpretation, see Gregory J. Miller, “Luther on the Turks and Islam,” *Lutheran Quarterly* 14:1 (2000): 79–97. For Melancthon's perspective, see Michael Plathow, “Philipp Melancthons Stellung zu den ‘Türken’: ein Teil im Ganzen des reformatischen Gedächtnisses,” *Luther* 73:3 (2002): 140–53.
 5. For a helpful summary of the Swiss reformers and Islam, see Emidio Campi, “Early Reformed Attitudes towards Islam,” *Theological Review* 31 (2010): 131–51. See also Katya Vehlow, “The Swiss Reformers Zwingli, Bullinger and Bibliander and their Attitude to Islam (1520–1560),” *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 6:2 (1995): 229–54. These articles provide a substantive bibliography for further research.
 6. See Stuart M. Bonnington, “Calvin and Islam,” *The Reformed Theological Review* 68:2 (2009): 77–87. Campi, “Early Reformed Attitudes,” 31:146–50. Francis Nigel Lee has compiled numerous statements of Calvin on Islam in his “Calvin on Islam,” available at https://www.bucer.de/fileadmin/_migrated/tx_org/leecalvinonislam.pdf.
 7. Johann Conrad Dannhauer, *Muhammedismus in Angelis Euphrataeis s. Johanni Apocal. 9, 13 ad 21* (Strasbourg: 1664); Friedrich Ulrich Calixt, *De Religione Muhammedana* (Helstedt: 1687).
 8. Johann Heinrich Hottinger, *Historiae Ecclesiasticae*, 9 vols. (Hanover: 1651–67).
 9. Christop Wittichii, *Theologia Pacifica Defensa* (Amsterdam: Johannem Wolters, 1689). Petro Van Mastricht, *Theoretico-Practica Theologia* (Utrecht: 1724).
 10. Johannes Hornbeeck, *Summa Controversiarum Religionis* (Utrecht: 1658). Hornbeeck was Professor of Theology and Utrecht (1644–54) and Leiden (1654–1666). Book 3 of the *Contraversiarum* deals extensively with Islam.
 11. Willem J. Van Asselt, *Introduction to Reformed Scholasticism* (trans. Albert Gootjes; Grand Rapids, MI:

- RHB, 2011), 179.
12. On Gill's preference for later theologians in the Reformed tradition, see Richard A. Muller, "John Gill and the Reformed Tradition: A Study in the Reception of Protestant Orthodoxy in the Eighteenth Century," in *The Life and Thought of John Gill (1697–1771): A Tercentennial Appreciation*, ed. Michael A. G. Haykin (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 53–54.
 13. Ioannis Forbesii, *Instructiones Historico Theologicae* (Amsterdam: 1645). John Forbes was Professor of Divinity at King's College, University of Aberdeen from 1620–39 before becoming a religious exile in Amsterdam in the 1640s.
 14. Forbes, *Historico Theologicae*, 173–221.
 15. Henrici Alting, *Theologia Historica, sive Systematis Historici* (Amsterdam: 1664). Gill cited this work in his "Dissertation Concerning the Eternal Sonship of Jesus Christ," *A Collection of Sermons and Tracts*, vol. 2 (London: George Keith, 1773), 549, note m. The published editions misspell "Alting" as "Altreg."
 16. Hieron. Zanchii, *Commentarius in Epistolam Sancti Pauli ad Ephesios* (A. H. De Hartog, ed.; Amsterdam: J.A. Wormser, 1886), 307–09. Though this specific edition of Zanchi's commentary was published too late for Gill to use, it contains the same content that he summarizes in his "Antipaedobaptism; or Infant Baptism an Innovation," *A Collection of Sermons and Tracts*, vol. 2 (London: George Keith, 1773), 266–67.
 17. Edvardi Pocockii, *Specimen Historiae Arabum* (Oxford: 1650). Pococke (or Pocock) was appointed the first chair of Arabic at Oxford in 1663. On his significance for the European study of Islam, see Ann Thomson, "Islam," in *Encyclopedia of the Enlightenment* (ed. Alan Charles Kors; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), <https://www.oxfordreference-com>.
 18. Hadriani Relandi, *De Religione Mohammedica* (Utrecht: 1717). Reland held professorships at Harderwijk and Utrecht; he offered a more objective description of Islam than prior European scholars. See https://www.joh.cam.ac.uk/library/special_collections/early_books/mecca.htm.
 19. Abraham Hinckelmann, ed., *Al-Coranus s. lex Islamitica Muhammedis, filii Abdallae pseudoprophetae, ad optimorum codicum fidem edita ex museo Abraham Hinckelmanni*, (Hamburg: 1694). Listed in A Catalogue of the Library of the Late Reverend and Learned John Gill, D. D. (London: 1772). Hinckelmann's work is the earliest extant printed Koran in Arabic. See Miroslav Krik, "The Tradition of the Supposed First Printing of the Arabic Koran," (M.Ls. Thesis, The University of Chicago: 1960), 4.
 20. George Sale, *The Koran, Commonly called The Alcoran of Mohammed* (London: 1734). Available at <https://quran-archiv.org/explorer/george-sale/1734>.
 21. John Gill, *A Collection of Sermons and Tracts* (London: George Keith, 1773), 2:560.
 22. See Robert W. Oliver, "John Gill (1697–1771): His Life and Ministry," in *The Life and Thought of John Gill (1697–1771)*, ed. Michael A. G. Haykin, 7–50.
 23. John Gill, *An Exposition of the Old Testament*, The Baptist Commentary Series (London: Mathews and Leigh, 1810), 3:190, 499.
 24. John Gill, *An Exposition of the New Testament*, Vols. 1–3, The Baptist Commentary Series (London: Mathews and Leigh, 1809) contains nearly 1,300 textual comparisons the Greek NT to Arabic editions while his *Exposition of the Old Testament* has above 1,500 such comparisons.
 25. *Koran*, trans. Sale, ch. 3, pg. 40.
 26. *Ibid.*, ch. 19, pg. 249.
 27. Gill, *Exposition of the New Testament*, 1:506. Gill's textual footnote to Sale's edition, "c. 10 p. 249" should be to chapter "19."
 28. *Ibid.*, 1:664. Here Gill cites *Koran*, trans. Sale, Ch. 7, pg. 120.
 29. *Ibid.*, 1:664. Here Gill cites *Koran*, trans. Sale, Ch. 7, pg. 121.
 30. *Ibid.*, 3:508. Gill cites "Koran c. 4," which is a reference to Ch. 4, pg. 76 of Sale's edition.
 31. For these place references, see, for example, *ibid.*, 3:36, 3:255, and 3:258.
 32. John Gill, "A Dissertation Concerning the Antiquity of the Hebrew Language, Letters, Vowel-Points, and Accents," in *A Collection of Sermons and Tracts*, vol. 3 (London: George Keith, 1778), 446.
 33. John Gill, *A Complete Body of Doctrinal and Practical Divinity: Or A System of Evangelical Truths, Deduced from the Sacred Scriptures*. New Edition (London: Tegg & Company, 1839), 1:19.
 34. *Ibid.*, 1:19–20.
 35. Oliver, "John Gill," in *Life and Thought*, 30.
 36. Gill, *Sermons and Tracts*, 2:564.
 37. *Ibid.*, 2:561. Though Gill does not quote Forbes at this place, Forbes did express a similar argument. See the second point of note 44 below.
 38. John Gill, *An Exposition of the New Testament*, 3:256.

39. Alting, *Theologia Historica*, 235, noted that these groups all “negat Patrem, Filium, & Spiritum Sanctum esse unum Deum, coessentialem, coæqualem.”
40. W. P. Stephens, “Understanding Islam – In the Light of Bullinger and Wesley,” *Evangelical Quarterly* 81.1 (2009): 23–37. See note 4 of Stephens’ article.
41. See Charles A. Kimball, “Muslim-Christian Dialogue,” In *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Islamic World*, *Oxford Islamic Studies Online*, <http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com/article/opr/t236/e0567> (accessed 27-Feb-2021).
42. Gill, *Sermons and Tracts*, 2:559.
43. Alting, *Theologia Historica*, 236, says: “Quod si Pater Filium haberet, facile alter ab altero diffentire ac diffidere sententiis posset, eoque turbari & distrahi concors mundi gubernatio.” See also Forbes, *Historico Theologicae*, 189–90.
44. Forbes, *Historico Theologicae*, 189–90 actually represents four arguments: first, “Non est nisi unus Deus, qui socium & participem non habet Deum alium;” Second, “Deus non est puellarum amator, non habet mulierem; ergo non genuit filium;” Third, “Si Deus haberet filium, periculum esset dissidii inter eos, ne alter in alterum insurgeret;” and Fourth “Quartum argumentum adfert Muhammaed a confictis quibusdam revelationibus, quasi divinis; fingit enim postquam in caelum Christus ascendisset, Deus hoc Christo objecisse, quod seipsum Deum esse & ut Deum adorandum esse persuasisset hominibus: & Christum Deo respondisse, hoc se nequaquam docuisse.”
45. Gill, *Exposition of the New Testament*, 3:748.
46. For excellent treatments of Gill’s eschatology, see Crawford Gribben, “John Gill and Puritan Eschatology,” *The Evangelical Quarterly* 73:4 (2001): 311–26 and Barry H. Howson, “The Eschatology of the Calvinistic Baptist John Gill (1697–1711) examined and Compared,” *Eusebia* 5 (2005): 33–66.
47. Gill, *Doctrinal and Practical Divinity*, 2:268.
48. *Ibid.*, 2:296–97.
49. See “Saracens.” In *The Oxford Dictionary of Islam*, edited by John L. Esposito, *Oxford Islamic Studies Online*, <http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com/article/opr/t125/e2101> (accessed 26-Feb-2021).
50. John Gill, “Sermon 2: The Watchman’s Answer to the Question, What of the Night? Preached at a Wednesday’s Evening Lecture in Great Eastcheap, Dec. 27, 1750,” in his *Sermons and Tracts*: 1:26–27.
51. Gill, *Exposition of the New Testament*, 3:752.
52. John Gill, “Sermon 4: The Glory of the Church in the Latter day: Preached at a Wednesday’s Evening Lecture in Great Eastcheap, Dec. 27, 1752,” in *Sermons and Tracts* 1:57.
53. John Gill, “Sermon 2,” in *A Collection of Sermons and Tracts*, 3:116–17.
54. On Gill and the free-offer, see Oliver, “John Gill,” in *Life and Thought*, 17.
55. For a detailed assessment of this mission and the ministry of Carey, Ward, and Marshman, see J. Ryan West, “Evangelizing Bengali Muslims, 1793–1813: William Carey, William Ward, and Islam,” Doctor of Philosophy dissertation, The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 2014.