THE NUMBER AND NAMES OF THE DEVILS
BY MAXIMILIAN RUDWIN

THOUGH we usually speak of the Devil in the singular, it must not be forgotten that there are many devils. As a matter of fact, there are as many varieties of fiends as there are of ferns. The Devil, it has been said, is hydra-headed; he wears a thousand crowns, wields a thousand sceptres and is known by a thousand names. "I go by a thousand names," says the devil to Tom Walker in Washington Irving's well known story (1824). In all European countries, men swear by a "thousand devils." Milton, Chateaubriand, Balzac and other writers speak of demons in thousands. This number also occurs in several German expressions, such as Sauf in tausend Teufel Namen und Steh in tausend Teufel Namen auf.1 But this sum should not be taken literally. As a matter of fact, the number of the evil spirits runs into millions.

The Old Testament knows only Satan, although, as a matter of fact, this "accuser" was in no way a devil to the ancient Hebrews. In the New Testament, the Devil already has "his angels" (Matt. xxv, 41; Rev. xii, 9), who sided with Satan in the war of the heavens and who were cast out with him into utter darkness. The Gospel writers speak even of a legion of demons. We are at least led to infer this number from the reply of the Gerasenian madman, who fancied that he was possessed by a legion (an army) of demons (Mark v, 9; Luk. viii, 30).2 The apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus, as early as the third century, mentions already several "legions of devils," who are under Satan's sway in hell.3

1 A German writer, A. Saager, seems to be on familiar terms with three hundred thousand devils, about whom he tells anecdotes in his recently published book Dreimal hundert tausend Teufel. The medieval French epics, the Chansons de geste, speak of five hundred thousand demons.

2 A legion is the Roman regiment of approximately 6,000 soldiers.

3 Josephus, in his Wars of the Jews (VII, vi, 3) speaks also of legions of demons, but he has in mind the spirits of wicked men.
The number of the angels who participated in this movement of rebellion has never been fully ascertained. The belief current among the Catholic Schoolmen, based upon an interpretation of a biblical phrase (Rev. xii. 4), is that a third of the angels ranged themselves under Satan's standard.\(^4\) The rebel leader's armed force seems to have comprised nearly two thousand four hundred legions (about fourteen million four hundred thousand demons), of which each demon of rank commanded a certain number. Furcas commanded twenty, Leraie thirty, Agares thirty-one, Morax thirty-six and Sabnac fifty legions in the celestial civil war. Alfred de Vigny thinks that a thousand million followed Satan in his fall (Cinq-Mars, 1826).

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In an attempt at a reconciliation of the two contradictory passages relating to the punishment of the revolting angels (Rev. xii, 9 and xx, 3), a few Church fathers thought that not all the followers of Satan were thrown with their rebel chief into hell and cast into chains. A number of them were left on earth in order to tempt man.\(^5\) It has been suggested that the angels who were not hurled into the bottom of hell but banished to our earth had maintained a neutral position in the rivalry between the Lord and Lucifer. It is not so generally known that during the war in heaven the angels were not wholly divided into two opposing camps. There were many spirits who, untouched by partisan passions, remained aloof from the conflict and refused to don the uniform. They demanded their right of keeping out of a war which they did not bring about and in which they had no interest whatever. When the Lord defeated his enemy and cast him and his legionaries into the abyss, He did not hurl also the neutral angels into hell, but, in order to give them another opportunity to choose between Him and His rival, cast them down to the earth, to which the scene of the battle


\(^5\) Michael Psellus, one of the most famous Byzantine writers of the 11th century and author of Dialogus de energia, seu operatione daemonium, distinguishes six kinds of demons, according to their different habitations. He names demons of fire, of the air, of the earth, of the water, of the underworld, and lastly, demons of the night, "who shun the daylight." Coleridge, in his gloss on The Ancient Mariner (1798), refers his reader to Psellus on demons in illustration of the poem. The treatise by Psellus seems also to have given suggestions for Christabel (1816).
had been transferred. From these angels, who married mortal maidens, there has developed a race which has always shown a striking contrast to the human family. It has furnished humanity with its prophets and poets, with its reformers and revolutionaries. All great men at all times and in all places have belonged to this mysterious race which does not proceed from father to son, like other races, but appears here and there, at recurring intervals, in the families of mankind. The descendants of this union between the sons of God and the daughters of men have always stood in the first ranks of those who seek peace and abhor murder. They have proved valiant warriors in the eternal conflict between the Good and the Evil for the mastery of the world. They have long ago redeemed themselves, but they will not return to heaven until they have also redeemed all men.6

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In addition to the angels who were hurled from heaven for their participation in the celestial civil war, other sons of God were expelled for their lust after the daughters of men (Gen. vi, 1-4).7 Jewish tradition teaches that two hundred angels, attracted by the beauty of the daughters of Eve, descended to the summit of Mount Hermon and defiled themselves with them. No sooner had the angels left heaven and descended to earth, so say the rabbis, than they lost their transcendental qualities and were invested with sublunary bodies so that a union with the daughters of men became possible.8

The celestial mutineers belonged to all nine orders of angels, which Diogenes has named as follows: cherubim, seraphim, thrones, dominions, principalities, powers, virtues, angels, and archangels.

6 This theory was advanced by the present writer in his essay "Dante's Devil," which appeared in the Open Court, vol. XXXV (1921), pp. 513-28.

7 Higher criticism will not admit that this passage refers to a union between angels and humans. It maintains that the expression benê-e-lohim, rendered "sons of God" by the Revised Version, means in reality "spirit-folk," and that the corresponding term nephilim rendered "giants" means "fallen ones," i.e., descended from star-land. They are super-men, who descended from the stars to intermarry with mortals. The belief prevailed among the primitive races in many lands that their ancestors had come from the stars, and that they themselves, after a few generations, would return there. This idea is still prevalent among certain Indian tribes in our own country. The moral implication is a later exegetical addition, which is first found in the Book of Enoch.

Satan was a cherub, according to certain authorities. Astaroth, Lucifer and Samael were seraphs. Among the members of the order of thrones were Acaos, Asmodeus, Beleth, Cedron, Celsus, Easa, Focalos, Gresil, Murmur, Phoebex, and Purson. Achas, Alex, Cham, and Zabulon belonged to the order of principalities. Aman and Goap were part of the powers. The order of virtues counted among its members Agares and Barbatos. Murmur belonged to the order of angels as well as to that of thrones. Satan was, according to other authorities, an archangel. He shared this honor with Belphegor.

In the seventh play of the York mysteries we are informed that of each of the nine orders the tenth part fell in Satan's revolt. Others hold that Satan, as an archangel, led only his own order to war on Jehovah. Gregory the Great conveys the idea that the order of Satan which fell was, from the very first, distinct from the other orders, which remained loyal. The rebel angels, according to this theory, belonged wholly to the order of ophanim, living and flaming wheels all covered with eyes.

Among the angels who forsook the celestial choir-stalls in exchange for the charms of mortal maidens, Jewish tradition mentions Asa and Asael—who later founded a great college of sorcery and astrology in the dark mountains of Egypt—Azazel, Beelzebub, Cedor, Samiasa, Shamdan and Shemhazai. The union of these sons of God and daughters of men resulted in a race of giants known for their wickedness as much as for their strength. The ghosts of these malicious giants begotten of the angels by the mortal maidens turned into demons (Book of Enoch, ch. xvi). Justin Martyr expresses the belief that all demons are the offspring of the angels who yielded to the embraces of earthly women. Other Church fathers, among them Athenagoras, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian and Cyprian, even taught that the sin of the angels which had brought about their fall consisted not in their revolt against the Lord but in their carnal relations with the daughters of men. St. Paul demands for this reason that women should veil their heads in church "because of the angels" (1 Cor. xi, 10), who might be attracted by their beautiful tresses and thus be led to sin (cf. also Tertullian's De virginibus velandis).

Byron's poem Heaven and Earth (1822) goes back to the days

when human passions "drew angels down to earth" and deals with the biblical legend of the union of the sons of heaven and the daughters of earth.

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Then again all heathen gods, when driven off the earth by Christianity, went under the earth to swell the ranks of Satan. The numberless dethroned, outlawed, and fallen deities of the subjugated races and discredited religions changed, for the Christians, into demons. The ancient Hebrews already considered the gods of the nations with which they were at war as devils. What meant deity to the heathens signified devil to the Hebrews. It is wholly natural that the god of one religion or one nation should become the devil of another religion or nation, especially if these groups are enemies. Thus Baalzebub, the god of Ekron (2 Kings i, 1), was to the New Testament writers the chief of the devils (Matt. xii, 24).

In the wake of the conquering hosts of Christian mythology, the original mythical denizens of the earth were banished to hell. This was especially true in the case of the divinities which, in pagan beliefs, were already associated with the shadowy world. From St. Paul to Savonarola, the pagan gods were considered as fallen angels. The great apostle identified all ancient gods with devils (1 Cor. x, 20). The Church regarded the gods of mythology as fallen spirits who beguiled men into worshipping them in the form of idols.  

10 "But the fundamental cause (consummativa) [of idolatry] must be sought in the devils, who cause men to adore them under the form of idols, therein working certain things which excited their wonder and admiration" (St. Thomas Aquinas: Summa theologica, II ii. 94).

Professor A. H. Godbey maintains that St. Paul does not mean the "devils" of medieval Christian fancy. In his opinion, the apostle protests against the current ancestor worship and has in mind "human spirits" speaking through a "medium (cf. Rev. xxii, 8-9; Acts x, 25; xvi, 8-18; xxviii, 3-6). Similarly, Professor Godbey insists that the Church fathers did not mean our horned and hoofed demons, but the spirits of the dead. Their daemones, meaning "knowing spirits," refer to the patrons, friends and guardians of men. It is but necessary, he says, to read Origen's controversy with Celsus, who insisted that the worship of beneficent daemones should not be abolished. This fact is also evident from the writings of Clement, Tertullian, and Arnobius. Be that as it may, it will be perfectly clear to the reader that our presentation of the subject is from the viewpoint of medieval orthodox Christianity, which denounced as evil all spirit-personalities not included in its small theological hierarchy and applied the borrowed terms "demon" and "devil" even to those powers which were not evil in the ancient world. In fact, some of the most beneficent of the ancient gods were most devilish in the eyes of the medieval Christian.
The pagan deities were in reality, Catholic tradition maintains, supernatural beings who exercised their powers for sinister aims and who caused themselves to be adored under different names in different countries. The Church fathers were very explicit on this point. Tertullian states unequivocally that all the old gods were disguised demons (De spectaculis, xix). Mohammed likewise reduced all ancient pagan deities to devils.

When the Christian religion spread over the Western Empire, the Greek and Roman gods were looked upon as allies of the Devil. The diabolization of the Greek gods is well depicted in Mrs. Browning's poem The Dead Pan (1844). Milton, in his Paradise Lost (1667-1674), also places the "Ionian Gods" in his Pandemonium (i. 508). The Puritan poet follows this tradition throughout his poem of the fall of Lucifer.

When the Teutonic nations accepted Christianity, the Devil entered upon a particularly rich inheritance. To his portion fell all the dark and gloomy powers of the original beliefs of these peoples. All the rich wealth of ideas which the primitive Germans associated with their ancient good and evil spirits, they ultimately distributed over the Christian Pantheon. Germanic mythology went primarily to enrich Christian demonology, although it also contributed a good deal to Catholic hagiography. The countless legions of earth-sprites and the army of giants that inhabited the countries of the North came under Satan's sway. Spirits such as elves, kobolds, fairies, hairy hobgoblins of the forest, water-nymphs of the brookside, and dwarfs of the mountains were transformed by medieval Christianity into devils, or into hellish imps, a sort of assistant or apprentice devils. Mephistopheles in Goethe's Faust had this diabolization of Greek and Germanic divinities in mind when he said: "From Hartz to Hellas always cousins" (ii. 7743).

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The number of the demons keeps on increasing from day to day as a result of Death, which the Devil brought to the children of Adam. The belief was prevalent already in classical days and was expressed by Hesiod that the ghosts of the dead turn into demons. It is believed even nowadays that after death good men become angels in heaven, bad men devils in hell. As the latter outnumber on earth the former, hell must necessarily have a larger population
than heaven. It cannot be gainsaid that mankind, though created to fill the places in heaven that had been occupied by the fallen angels, only replenished the cave of Tartarus. Men have, as a matter of fact, always headed downwards, and not upwards, as had been originally planned. In all probability, hell is by now filled to the point of overflowing. A French philosopher, as far back as the eighteenth century, found consolation in the thought that he would no longer find room in the infernal regions. "Il y a longtemps," said he, "que l'enfer est remplit; on n'y entre plus!" ("Hell has been full for a long time; one can no longer enter!")

Furthermore, the demons, who are composed of members of both sexes, replenish hell in the same manner that we employ in replenishing the earth. The ancient Jews supposed that the devils were propagated like mankind; that they ate and drank, and were married and divorced.

The demons also multiply with synonyms and dialectical differences in their names.

The Middle Ages, thanks to the Inquisition, fairly pululated with the demons of hell. Their number increased still further in all Protestant countries after the Reformation. Far from decreasing the power of the Devil in the world, the Reformation brought him strong re-inforcements. Martin Luther firmly believed in the Devil and affirmed that he had seen him with his own eyes and that he had frequently carried on a conversation with him. The German reformer lived in a constant consciousness of contact with and opposition to the Devil. He saw the Fiend grinning at him while he translated the Bible and threw the inkstand at his Satanic Majesty. The stain is to be seen to this very day on the wall of his cell in the Wartburg. 11 Luther saw in the Devil a real, living power, who is incessantly working in human affairs. In his eyes, Satan was the good Lord's hangman, and the instrument of his anger and punishment. The English reformer, John Wycliffe, likewise exaggerated the Devil's power on this planet. He went so far as to affirm, in his book, De dominio divino, that here on earth God must obey the Devil. 12

11 Luther's dispute with the Devil is very cleverly described by Népomucène Lemercier in his Panhypocriside (1819).
12 On the conditions that tended to vivify the belief in the Devil during the Elizabethan era, see Thomas A. Spalding's Elizabethan Demonology. London, 1880.
Luther has, as he himself says in one of his hymns, "seen and defied innumerable devils." In his writings, the Evil Power divided and subdivided itself into as many manifestations as there are vices in the world. Protestantism showed the rationalistic tendency of discovering the Devil in the vices of men. It reduced the Principle of Evil from a personified phantom with which no man could cope to those impersonal but all the more real moral abstractions with which every man can cope. The German reformer and his disciples thus filled Germany with devils by diabolizing all vices. The disciples, as is generally the case, outdid their master. Luther threw an inkstand at the head of the Devil, and his followers poured oceans of ink on him. The Protestant preachers of Germany began, toward the middle of the sixteenth century, to wage a bitter war with their pens against the hosts of hell. The most curious work of Protestant demonology is the Theatrum diabolorum (16th cent.) by Sigmund Feyerabend, a voluminous collection of the orthodox views of Luther's followers concerning the existence, power, nature and demeanor of the devils. We find in this book all sorts of devils, such as the devil of blasphemy, the dance-devil, the servant's devil, the hunting devil, the drink devil, the wedlock devil, the devil of unchastity, the miser's devil, the devil of tyranny, the laziness-devil, the pride-devil, the pantaloon devil, the gambling devil, the courtier's devil, and so forth, and so on.

The idea of special devils, however, is not original with Luther. We find them already in medieval mystery and morality plays. We can even follow this idea further back into the history of human thought. Already in ancient times different devils presided over different moral and physical evils. The Kabbala already knows of special demons and demonesses for each sin. Among the Jews, probably as far back as the time of Christ, demons were designated according to the diseases they induced. There were demons of asthma, croup, hydrophobia, insanity and indigestion. Knut Leonard Tallquist says that among Assyrians, demons were named after the diseases attributed to them. He further tells us that the connection was so close that names of demons and corresponding diseases came to be identical.

13 See authorities quoted by Alfred Edersheim in his Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah (8th ed., London, 1899), II 759.

There have, as a matter of fact, been as many devils conceived in the human mind as there have been ideas of evil. The trooping legions of evil thoughts naturally suggested legions of devils. "Everywhere in the great world men are building little worlds of their own," observes the thoughtful Mephistopheles (Faust i. 4044-45): "and everywhere they are creating little devils of their own to inhabit them," is Miss Agnes Repplier's comment on the words of the Devil.\footnote{Agnes Repplier: "In Man's Image and Likeness." Putnam's Monthly. Vol. III (1908), pp. 549-54.}

Johannes Wierus, a pupil of the famous Cornelius Agrippa and author of the learned treatise, De praestigiis damonium (1563), went to the considerable trouble of counting the devils and found that their number was seven and odd millions. According to this German demonologist, the hierarch of hell commands an army of 1,111 legions, each composed of 6,666 devils, which brings the total of evil spirits to 7,405,926, "without any possibility of error in calculation." A professor of theology in Basle, Martinus Barrhaus, is, as far as is known, the last man to take the census of the population of hell. According to this infernal statistician, the devils number exactly 2,665,866,746,664.

If we are to believe Ricalmus, a French abbot of the end of the thirteenth century, the number of the devils exceeds all calculation, being equal to the grains of the sands of the sea. Three friars, so runs the legend which confirms the view of this monk, hid themselves one night near a Witches' Sabbath, which happened to be held in a valley in the Alps, in order that they might count the devils present at the affair. But the master of ceremonies, upon discovering the friars and divining their intention, said to them: "Reverend brothers, our army is so great that if all the Alps, their rocks and glaciers, were equally divided among us, none would have a pound's weight."

The fecund imagination of our ancestors peopled the air, the earth, and the flood with devils. Paracelsus tells us in the 16th century that the air is not so full of flies in the summer as it is at all times of invisible devils; while another philosopher maintains that the air is so full of devils that there is "not so much as an hair's breadth empty in earth or in waters above or under the earth."

Indeed, any attempt to find the sum of the evil specters that have
haunted mankind would be like trying to count the shadows cast upon the earth by the rising sun.

The generic term “devil” (diable in French and Teufel in German) for the evil spirit is a derivation of the Latin diabolus (Greek διάβολος) which means an “accuser,” an “assailant” and which consequently is the exact Septuagint translation of the Hebrew word satan.16

The word “demon” (from Latin daemonium, daemon, Greek daemonion), meaning a “knowing spirit,” originally had a complimentary connotation. It signified in pagan Greece a benevolent deity, but came to mean in Christian lands a malevolent being.17 The demon of Socrates of whom Plato speaks was his good spirit.18 The word “demon” was also generally used by the neo-Platonists of Alexandria with the meaning of a good spirit. Coleridge in his Rime of the Ancient Mariner (1798) and Emerson in his essay on Demonology (1877) likewise use the word “daemon” as a term for genius.

In addition to the generic and general terms “devil” and “demon,” the biblical books contain several proper names for the evil spirits, such as Satan, Lucifer, Beelzebub and Belial (alias Beliar), although neither of the four, to speak from the historical viewpoint, originally designated a devil. It has already been shown how Satan, Lucifer and Beelzebub were raised to the honors of demonhood by rabbinic and patristic writers. As far as the word “Belial” is concerned, if it is not a variant of Bél or Baal, this word may have been personified by the Septuagint through a mistaken rendering of the Hebrew text (2 Cor. iv. 15), which is a term for ungodliness.

But what a catalogue of demons may not be found in the rabbinic and patristic writings! The rabbins and Church fathers as well as the writers of medieval and later times have shown great ingenuity in devising names for the demons. The medieval German mysteries

16 In Louis Ménard’s story “le Diable au café” (1876), the Devil calls Hebrew a dead language, and, as a modern, prefers to be called by the French equivalent of his original Hebrew name. It is interesting to note that the word “devel” is the gypsy term for God. On the other hand, the Latin word deus became in English “deuce,” an appellation for the Devil. The change in sense from good to bad and from bad to good is a frequent occurrence.

17 The belief in evil demons, however, is equally to be traced in Greek literature from the earliest period. As early as the fourth century B. C., Xenocrates and Chrysiphus, Empedocles and Theophrastus taught that there were evil demons as well as good ones.

call sixty-two devils by name,\textsuperscript{19} and Reginald Scot, writing in the sixteenth century, knows already the names of seventy-nine devils.\textsuperscript{20} But this number is far from exhausting the list of the diabolical appellatives.

Many of the denominations invented for the devils bear witness to their former high estate either in the Empyrean, on the Olympus or in Asgardh. Other designations for the demons have been derived from their character, appearance, occupation, or habitation. Thus, for example, the Devil is called Old Horny or Old Hairy or the Black Bogey on account of his cornuted, capillary, or complexional characteristics. Among his many appellations denoting occupation may be mentioned "the baker," for the reason that the Devil puts the damned into the oven, or \textit{Brendly} (meaning in German: "the stoker") for tending to the furnaces and keeping the fires of hell burning.

The infernal spirits have also been baptized after human characters. They have inherited the names of historical personages who achieved notoriety through their evil deeds, such as Nero and Napoleon. In addition, Christian devils often go by the names of Jews and Mohammedans, such as Mendes and Mohammed. They even adopt many Christian household names, such as Nicolas, Richard, Robert, Roger, Will(iam), and among women's names, Mary.\textsuperscript{21}

What a number of names and titles have been devised for his infernal Majesty! Satan is frequently called "the god of this world" (2 Cor. iv. 4), "the prince of this world" (John xii. 31. xiv. 30; xvi. 11), "the prince of the powers of the air" (Eph. ii. 2), "the prince of the devils" (Matt. ix. 34; xii. 24; Mark iii. 12), the prince of hell, the prince of darkness, "the ruler of the darkness" (Eph. xi. 12), "the angel of the bottomless pit" (Rev. ix. 11), the dark


\textsuperscript{21} On the other hand, men have given the names of devils to animals, especially cats and dogs. Gautier gives the name Belzebuth to a cat (\textit{le Capitaine Fracasse}, 1863), and Balzac names the toad used by the witch Fontaine in her divinations Astartoth. Karr gives the wasps, \textit{in les Guèpes} (1839), names of devils, such as Mammon, Moloch, Astarte, Belial, etc. These wasps are so many winged messengers, who fly about Paris, enter into every council, penetrate into every chamber, buzz by every hearth, and overhear all sorts of secret gossip and scandal.
son of the night, "the lost archangel (Par. Lost i. 243, "the archangel ruined" (ibid., i. 593), the Black Archangel, the spiritus infernalis, the grim gentleman below, the genius of evil, the spirit of evil, the evil spirit, the malignant spirit, the unclean spirit, the lost spirit, the evil one, the wicked one, the Bad Man, the spirit that denies, the deceiver of mankind, the liar, the lying spirit, the father of lies, the father of iniquity, the tempter, the tormentor, the murderer, the arch-fiend. (Par. Lost i. 156), the foul fiend, the enemy of mankind, "the accuser of the brethren" (Rev. xii. 10), "the spirit that worketh in the children of disobedience" (Eph. ii. 2), the beast, "the (great) worm." (Isa. lxvi. 24), "the serpent" (2 Cor. ii. 3), "the old serpent" (Rev. xii. 9; xx. 2), "the infernal serpent" (Par. Lost i. 34), the crooked serpent, the piercing serpent, "the dragon" (Rev. xii. 7), "the great (red) dragon" (Rev. xii. 3, 9), "the roaring lion" (1 Peter v. 8), "the dog" (Phil. iii, 2; Rev. xxii. 15), the ape, the Adversary of the Almighty, the infernal rival of God, and the Other. On the other hand, the Devil is also given such flattering names as the Good Man, the Good Fellow and Gentleman Jack.

The French expression le bon diable points to the Devil's simplicity of mind rather than to his generosity of spirit. It generally expresses the half-contemptuous pity with which the giants, those huge beings with weak minds, were regarded in Northern mythology.

The Devil is commonly honored with the venerable prefix "old." Numerous names given him begin with this epithet. Mr. Charles P. G. Scott, in his very interesting paper "The Devil and his Imps,"22 lists forty-one names for the Devil with the adjective "old": Old All-ill-thing, Old Belzebub (not Old Beelzebub), Old Bendy, Old Bogie, Old Boots, Old Boy, Old Chap, Old Clootie, Old Cloots, Old Deluder, Old Devil, Old Enemy, Old Fellow, Old Fiend, Old Gentleman, Old Gooseberry, Old Hangie, Old Harry, Old Horny, Old Lad, Old Lucifer, Old Mahoun, Old Man, Old Mischanter, Old Mischief, Old Mischy, Old Nick, Old Nickie-ben, Old Nicol, Old Nicolas, Old One, Old Poker, Old Roger, Old Sam, Old Scrat, Old Scratch, Old Serpent, Old Schock, Old Shuck, Old Soss, and Old Thief. We may add the following venerable names: Old Booty, Old Cooney, Old Dragon, Old Hairy, Old Hick, Old Iniquity Old Night, and simply Old One.