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Location, Migration and Age: Literary Clusters in Germany from mid-18th to early-20th Century¹

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Abstract: We study the formation of creative clusters in the light of the changes in the German economic and political structures during the 19th century. We show how the migration and geographic location of writers mirrors the evolution of the literary market from a patronage system in a pre-industrial, politically fractured area to a market system in a modern nation state. For this, we have collected yearly data on the 149 German writers listed in the *Encyclopedie Britannica* and born in the 18th and 19th centuries. We find that, first, large cities, especially Berlin, become the dominant location though only at the end of this process. Second, migration and publication output are both strongly linked to age. These age-migration and age-productivity patterns remain for subsequent cohorts. However, while later-born writers spend their formative and most productive years close to other writers, there is no clear cluster pattern for earlier writers

Keywords: geographic clusters, migration, creative output, age

Primary Disciplines: economic history, cultural economics

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1 Introduction

Creative clusters form through migration and/or birth. From the early 18th to the early 20th century, German writers moved on average over five times in their lives (excluding short stays) and 80 percent lived more than 50km away from their birth location by the age of 30. This reflects a marked level of movement, especially at a time with limited transport facilities. We study where they were born, to which places they moved and at what age, how this led to literary clusters, and how this is linked to creative output over their lifespans.

Much has been written about clusters of different types of industry, especially those in the creative and high-tech sectors today (see for example, Florida [2002], and Diodato et al. [2018]). On the formation of clusters, Serafinelli and Tabellini [2019]¹ studied how birth locations of creative workers are linked to external factors in historical data and Andersson et al. [2014] show location factors for modern-day Swedish artists. Many other studies focused on cluster benefits, for instance, Borowiecki [2012, 2013]; Hellmanzik [2010, 2013] specifically examined individual creative workers, such as visual artists and composers, and in terms of historical clusters.²

The current paper complements this work by examining location, migration, and creative output over the lifespan of 149 eminent writers of German literature over two centuries (see full list in Table A1).³ Using diagrams and regressions, this paper shows how literary writers mirror the political and economic concentration process in their location choice. The location and the proximity to other writers also points to the changing market that allows authors at the end of the 19th century to draw an income from writing. Later-born writers cluster during their formative and most productive years, while earlier writers show no clear pattern of clustering over the life cycle. In contrast, migration overall and creative output patterns over a writer's life are similar for earlier and later cohorts. This consistency might point to common social, economic, and psychological factors underlying these age patterns.

In this paper, we cover all writers born in the 18th and 19th century and listed in the Encyclopaedia Britannica as a German writer. German literature predates the German nation state and literature in German is written to a significant extent outside of modern-day Germany. The Encyclopaedia Britannica classification as German for this time-frame corresponds geographically to the area of the pre-World War I German

¹ Michel Serafinelli and Guido Tabellini, Creativity over Time and Space, working paper accessed in March 2019 at <https://drive.google.com/uc?export=download&id=0ByaUEY6v11sTTjlib0NWc0xZdzQ>

² See O'Hagan and Walsh [2017] for a description of the historical clustering of philosophers. They also show that in almost all cases, the main publication occurred after migration to a cluster. Borowiecki and O'Hagan [2012] extracted interesting historical data in relation to the evolution of classical music, but with a very different focus to these other papers.

³ Some of the most important literary works from the early 18th and to the early 20th century was written in German, Goethe and Schiller perhaps being the stand-out authors. This trend continued into the 20th century, with nine Nobel Prizes in Literature awarded to German language authors, including world-renowned writers such as Thomas Mann (1929), Hermann Hesse (1946) Heinrich Böll (1972), Günther Grass (1999) and Herta Müller (2009).

Empire. The time frame covers two major epochs of German literature, around the turn of the 18th to the 19th century and from the turn of the 19th century to the 20th century until Nazi Germany.

The German literary market during the time frame in question shows two interesting characteristics. First, for most of the time, no single city was the dominant location for writers and the observed clusters exist only for a few years. This is different from more culturally and economically centralised areas such as France and the UK at the time.⁴ Second, the job market for writers changed dramatically over the period in question, especially for the period after German unification in 1871 (Parr and Schönert [2010]). Prior to this, writers mostly depended for employment and hence income on work in the Courts of the nobility, scattered around fragmented German lands at that time, or on private tuition and/or work in universities. For instance, Goethe worked as a Court counsellor, Hölderlin as a private tutor, and Schiller taught at a university. After this, earning an income from free-lance writing and/or work in the market place became possible, especially in Berlin, where a much more Bohemian lifestyle could be pursued. Thus, the period under review provides an interesting study of changing employment situations and their impact on the location and migration of workers.

The rest of this paper is organized as follows. Section 2 outlines the economic and political changes that took place, in Germany in the period in question, with most relevance and reference to some of the most important authors living at that time. Section 3 lays out the arguments/theory for connections between age, migration, geographic clustering and creative literary output. Section 4 covers the main contributions of the paper, the diagrammatic and econometric analysis of the available data set. First, details on the data used are provided. Second, the geographic spread and movement of German writers over time and by age are examined, with formal testing for key features of these migration patterns observed. Third, the links between age and creative output are explored in some detail, as well as some initial testing of the links between creative output and location. Section 5 concludes the paper.

2 Historical Context: Literature, Economics and Politics

German literature comprises the written works of the German-speaking peoples of central Europe. It has shared the fate of German politics and history: fragmentation and discontinuity. Germany did not become a modern nation-state until 1871, and the prior history of the various German states is marked by warfare, religious turmoil, and periods of economic decline. This fragmented development sets German literature apart from the national literatures of France and England.⁵

Despite the lack of a nation-state, the *Encyclopædia Britannica* sees three established

⁴Sara Mitchell, London Calling?, working paper, 2019 covers literary writers in Britain and Ireland. See also Scherer [2004] and Vaubel [2005] for an overview of the German cultural market in a historical context.

⁵Encyclopædia Britannica [2019]

periods of greatness for German literature , the high Middle Ages, the turn of the 18th to the 19th century, and the turn of the 19th to the 20th century. The last two periods are covered in this study and are discussed in the following subsections.

18th to early 19th Century

During the period under review there were major changes in the political and economic make-up of Germany as it existed then. Until the late 18th century, Germany consisted mainly of a multitude of small independent states, ecclesiastical and secular, parts of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation. Whether secular or ecclesiastical, these states were centred around noble Courts, with almost absolute power vested in the rulers. Interestingly for this paper many competed for prestige and influence through the encouragement of classical culture, which found its greatest expression in the Enlightenment.⁶ This was the age of Immanuel Kant (1724-1804), Johann Wolfgang Goethe (1749-1832) and Friedrich Schiller (1759-1805), when philosophers were also well-known authors and vice versa. Most of them though relied on the Courts or the nobility for employment. In a heavily agrarian society, land ownership played a central role in terms of power and Germany's land-owning nobles, especially those in the East, dominated not only the localities, but also the Courts and the military.

The Enlightenment, which dated from the early 18th century had a transformative impact on German high culture, in literature but also in music and philosophy.⁷ The philosopher, Christian Wolff (1679-1754), had a strong influence on the use of German as the language of scholarly instruction and research, as opposed to Latin heretofore, and this also helped create an audience for German literature.⁸ Johann Gottfried Herder (1744-1803) broke new ground in poetry, literary criticism and especially philosophy.⁹ By 1770 Herder had moved to Strasbourg, where he met the young Goethe, which proved a key juncture in the history of German literature, as it marked the beginnings of the *Sturm und Drang* movement. Goethe was an employee at the Court of Weimar and Herder at the Court of Bückeburg Goethe used his influence, to secure Herder a position on the Court in Weimar, where he became part of the Weimarer Classicism cultural and literary movement which extended into the 19th century. Friedrich Schiller,

⁶See also Scherer [2004]; Vaubel [2005]; O'Hagan et al. [2010]; Zieba and O'Hagan [2013].

⁷The main literary movement of the time often correspond to specific locations. The first major movement in the 18th century literature was the Enlightenment. The most eminent writers of the time being Herder, Gottsched and Lessing, the former two linked to Königsberg and the latter two to Leipzig. The end of the century also witnessed the *Sturm und Drang* and the Weimar Classic period, its main literary exponents being Goethe and Schiller, and the beginning of the Romantic Period in Jena, Heidelberg, and Berlin. The last two movements continued into the 19th century, preceding the Biedermeier, Junges Deutschland in the first half and Realism and Naturalism in the second of the 19th century. While this study only includes writers born before 1900, many of them of course did most of their work in the early 20th century. German Modernism, especially, Expressionism emerged in this time, with its greatest exponent perhaps being Kafka, and when Thomas Mann and Hermann Hesse also emerged as major writers.

⁸<https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/wolff-christian/> Others of course had written in German before this, including Martin Luther (1483-1546) who translated the Bible into German.

⁹<https://www.britannica.com/biography/Johann-Gottfried-von-Herder>

the poet and playwright, was also part of that movement. His career again highlights how, even the most famous German writers of the 18th century, had to find employment, often at Courts and universities for an income to support their time spent writing.

None of these great writers therefore earned their income directly from writing.¹⁰ Dependency on an income from literary production was in fact considered as morally questionable by some leading authors of the time such as Goethe, Adelbert Chamisso (1781-1838) and Joseph Eichendorff (1788-1857) and, also, very difficult to achieve until the second half of the 19th century (Parr and Schönert [2010]). Even a literary superstar like Goethe, who was famous from a young age following the publication of *Werther*, worked as an adviser in the political administration of the Duke of Saxe-Weimar. In this way, writing could lead indirectly to an income as tutor, teacher, or counsellor but was of minor importance for direct income, such as royalties, until at least the 1830s.

19th to early 20th Century

Following the revolution in France, Napoleon waged war against the Holy Roman Empire and between 1803 and 1806 almost all the small states and imperial free cities were abolished. With the Empire formally dissolved in 1806, bigger states were established all over Germany. Thus, Germany became consolidated into several larger states, in contrast to the situation in Britain or France. In terms of the boundaries of 1914, Germany in 1700 had a population of 16 million, increasing slightly to 17 million by 1750, and growing more rapidly to 24 million by 1800. By 1870 the population had risen to over 40 million and to around 60 million in the early 20th century.¹¹ The population around 1800 was largely rural, with just two per cent of them living in cities of over 100,000 people. After 1815 urban populations expanded rapidly, due primarily to the influx of young people from rural areas. For example, Berlin grew from 172,000 in 1800 to 826,000 by 1870, to over two million in 1905, marking out Berlin as one of the preeminent cities in Europe.

In 1815, the German Confederation was established, a loose association of thirty-nine states to co-ordinate the economies of the separate German-speaking economies. Between 1806 and 1848 German creative works blossomed. Goethe did not die until 1832 and stayed highly productive, finishing *Faust II* in 1831. The Brothers Grimm (1785-1863 and 1786-1859) not only collected folk stories into popular tales but they were commissioned to begin the *Deutsches Wörterbuch* (German Dictionary) which remains one of the most comprehensive works on the German language.¹² Universities became

¹⁰ Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (1729-1781) another outstanding German writer of the time, was also a philosopher, dramatist, publicist and art critic whose plays substantially influenced the development of German literature. Interestingly he spent much of his time in Hamburg and Berlin, to be near the theatres, but in 1770 Lessing became librarian at the ducal library, in Wolfenbüttel, under the commission of the Duke of Brunswick. He again illustrates the polymath nature of many German intellectuals of the time, with varied interests and sources of employment and income.
<https://www.britannica.com/biography/Gotthold-Ephraim-Lessing>

¹¹ These figures relate only to the areas which were part of the unified Germany post 1871. See <http://www.tacitus.nu/historical-atlas/population/germany.htm>

¹² <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Brothers-Grimm>

high-powered centres of learning: the University of Berlin, founded in 1810, became one of the world's leading universities. Germany, which came late to industrialization, underwent major industrial changes in this century, especially the second half. It was not possible still though for writers to rely on their work for an income and hence most were dependent on other sources or lived almost in penury. For example, during the first half of the 19th century, two great German writers were as follows: the dramatist and short story writer Heinrich von Kleist (1777-1811), who after nine years in the military worked for a time in the civil service and later travelled and moved extensively, though never drawing a sufficient income from writing, and Friedrich Hölderlin (1770-1843). The latter, destined to work for the church by his family, worked instead as a private tutor and from 1805 was effectively in care because of mental illness for 36 years.

Industrialisation in Germany as elsewhere, not only changed society and the countryside but the modern world in all its dimensions. It addressed the problems of population growth and pauperism in a stagnating economy, and abolished dependency on the natural conditions of agriculture, and land ownership. Huge inequalities persisted though, especially of wealth, and problems associated with new crises such as urbanisation, new injustices and new masters. The formation of the German Empire in 1871 saw dramatic changes in Germany, not least the huge rise in the population and standing of Berlin as the dominant economic and cultural centre.

Rise of Railroads, Publishing Industry and More Income-Earning Opportunities

Full-time writing became a more common profession only after the 1860s and particularly post 1871. Following a slow-down in publications after the 1848 revolution and an anti-liberal backlash, the number of books and periodicals tripled from the German unification in 1871 to the time before World War I, and with it, the number of bookstores and those employed by the literature industry (Berman [1983]). In 1895, the German Empire had around 4,000 full-time writers, and 7,000 in 1907. However, the great majority of writers had low incomes, despite enormous revenues from plays and novels for some writers. As such, writers in this period needed to supplement their income from other sources. But over the whole period under study it could be said that a significant shift took place from authors employed as private tutors or maybe court employees to in effect freelance 'Bohemians', especially those living in Berlin.

During this time there were two important developments, linked to the industrial changes discussed above, that would have impacted on the location and mobility of German writers, namely the arrival of the railroads and changes in the printing and publishing industries. The railroad revolution started in the 1840s and opened new markets not only for goods but also for talent in the form of skilled and creative workers.¹³ They made possible much easier movement of people, including of writers. But given the ease of travel, and hence the greatly reduced time needed to go to cities like Berlin, this development may have meant less need for long-term movement/migration as in the past.

¹³https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_rail_transport_in_Germany#cite_note-7

There were major changes during the 19th century, in terms of paper and printing processes employed in relation to the publication of books and magazines.¹⁴ Up to the middle of the 19th century, books were largely the reserve of the privileged classes. While mass publication of books and magazines/newspaper became possible, people had to learn to read and write before such developments could be of use to a wide section of the population. Literacy improved greatly in Europe in this time, making reading not only possible but the means to literacy: hence literacy and the publishing industry were inextricably linked. This combined with a huge reduction in publishing costs meant that mass-produced books and magazines became not only possible but also turned publishing into a major industry, on which writers depended very often for success. They could also make a living as journalists or contributors to magazines/periodicals thereby providing them with a good income and providing the means to finance their writing of books, plays and poetry.¹⁵

For example, Thomas Mann (1875-1955), who won the Nobel Prize for literature, lived in Munich from 1891 until 1933, the main productive years for writers as shall be seen later. He worked first at the South German Fire Insurance Company in 1894-95, and his career as a writer began when he wrote for magazines and his first short story was published in 1898. Another Nobel Prize winner for Literature, Herman Hesse (1877-1962), began working in 1889 in bookshops, first in Tübingen, later in Basel.¹⁶ Drawing his main income from this work, he sent poems and small literary texts to journals, publications which now provided honorariums. His last bookstore in Basel also agreed to publish some of his work. A few years later, Hesse attracted the interests of publishers and from thereon he could make a living as a writer.¹⁷

Berlin, and to a lesser extent Munich, by the end of the 19th century had become major creative cities (to use the modern terminology). The huge improvements in travel facilities and means of communication through the printed word, via newspaper, books,

¹⁴As it was the job of the 19th century publisher to contract with an author to write the book, to arrange for a printer and bindery and, finally to market and sell the book, he was a central character in the world of books and literature. Mark Twain started his work life in printing and was centrally involved in the publishing revolution in the US in the 19th century. <https://historyofbooks.wordpress.com/a-brief-history-of-the-personal-memoirs-of-u-s-grant/late-19th-century-bookmaking/>

¹⁵Another relevant factor perhaps was the introduction/extension of copyright during this time. The lengthening of copyright in early 19th century Britain, from a very low base, it has been shown may have increased the profitability of authorship (MacGarvie and Moser [2015]). Copyright protection proper was only introduced in Germany post 1870. It is argued though that the availability of bestsellers and academic works at low prices fostered a wide, educated readership and was much more important to authors than the existence of copyright. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Copyright_law_of_Germany#History

¹⁶<https://www.nobelprize.org/prizes/literature/1946/hesse/biographical/>

¹⁷Christian Morgenstern (1871-1914), the German author and poet, worked as a journalist and translator. And wrote essays and reviews for various German periodicals and derived a good income from these sources. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Christian_Morgenstern Likewise, Kurt Tucholsky (1890-1935), who lived in Berlin until aged 34, was one of the most important journalists of the Weimar Republic. He was simultaneously a satirist, an author of satirical political revues, a songwriter and a poet. <https://www.imdb.com/name/nm0875747/bio>

magazines and periodicals made all this possible, especially with a rapidly increasing population there. As one observer stated, the 'increasing tempo in both communication and travel left people feeling ever more hectic and nervous, but at the same time it made for an exciting time of unparalleled inventiveness' (Schnurr [2012]). In a similar vein a guide for literary tourists argues that:

Located at the epicentre of some of modern Europe's most significant and turbulent events, Berlin has long held a magnetic attraction for writers. From 19th century authors recording the city's dramatic transition from Prussian Hauptstadt to German capital after 1871 and the modernist intellectuals of the Weimar period. (Sullivan and Krueger [2016]).¹⁸

Berlin also hosted many theatres; in the case of playwrights particularly proximity to these was essential to get work commissioned and to oversee to some extent the production of their plays.¹⁹

3 Theory and Previous Work on Age and Clusters

There is substantial evidence that creative output is related to a person's age (see Lehman [1953]; Galenson and Weinberg [2000]; Kanazawa [2003]). The traditional view is that across fields, such as the arts, science, or crime, quantity and quality of creative output decline by age. Einstein suggested that 'a person who has not made his great contribution to science before the age of thirty will never do so' (Brodetsky [1942]). However, factors such as formal training and knowledge required may lead to later peak output (Jones and Weinberg 2011). Several papers have been devoted specifically to age and literary creativity (see Simonton [1975]; Galenson [2005, 2006]), again showing a marked connectivity between age and creative output. Galenson [2005], using though just a sample of eleven poets, highlighted that the peak age for creative output depends on the type of poetry being written. In a similar vein he examined the lives of twelve novelists and reached the same conclusion, namely that peak age varies by genre of novel writers. Earlier though, Simonton [1975] used a much larger sample of literary writers, namely 420 'literary creators' drawn from different times and countries. His findings suggested that poetry is produced at a younger age but found no difference between different forms of prose. Kanazawa [2003] provides evidence on the connection between

¹⁸For example, Gerhard Hauptmann (1862-1946) the German dramatist and novelist who received the Nobel Prize in Literature, moved to Berlin in 1889. Hauptmann was the 'black sheep' of society at the turn of the century, known in his younger years for breaking numerous taboos and shocking the upper class. His work symbolized the breakthrough of Naturalism, a movement focused on honest and accurate depictions of life with all its flaws and faults, something in full view in Berlin at this time. <https://www.dw.com/en/german-language-winners-of-the-nobel-literature-prize/a-40813431>

¹⁹For example, Bertold Brecht (1898-1956) was a theatre practitioner, playwright and poet. He spent most of his early productive years in Munich but spent many years in Weimar Berlin where he had close contact with other creative people and those working in theatre. <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Bertolt-Brecht>

age and creativity drawing on various sources and covering several creative activities, including authors.²⁰ The evidence shows a markedly similar pattern in terms of the age-creativity curve.

Given the evidence, what is of interest is the connection between age and migration of creative writers.²¹ Is it the case that creative writers migrate most in the age spans when peak output might be expected? It could be argued that the fundamental social, economic, and psychological processes which determine age of best creative output might also impact on willingness to migrate in search of greater opportunities in terms of creative stimulation and perhaps the financial means which would allow more time for creative writing. Or is it the case that those who migrated in their peak age for writing benefitted more from this experience than those who 'stayed at home'?

Why would we expect creative writers to migrate, especially into clusters of other writers? Collins [1998] makes a compelling observation applied to philosophers which could apply with equal force to literary artists.

The most notable philosophers are not organizational isolates but members of chains of teachers and students who are themselves known philosophers, and/or of circles of significant contemporary intellectuals. The most notable philosophers are likely to be students of other highly notable philosophers. In addition to this vertical organization of social networks across generations, creative intellectuals tend to belong to groups of intellectual peers, both circles of allies and sometimes also of rivals and debaters. (p. 65)

Anecdotal evidence, such as the young Goethe meeting Herder or authors like Jean Paul being drawn to Weimar by the fame of Goethe, Schiller and Herder would support such intergenerational clustering. On the other hand, writing does not have the same training process as philosophy, so the expected extent of clustering advantages is not as clear-cut as for philosophers.

However, even clusters of a few writers could be relevant because the number of prominent creative writers examined in this paper is small. Each cluster of famous authors though may have an associated large network of less significant writers and other artists and scholars, thereby creating a significant geographic sub-cluster, and hence one would expect a network of creative activity.

But what benefit should creative people draw from personal contact to other writers?²² According to Collins there are networking advantages to the personal contact that can result from the clustering of creative workers like philosophers and literary writers:

²⁰ Accomintotti [2009] argues that peak age for creative output can be influenced by whether a creative worker is in a movement or not. See also Oberlin and Gieryn [2015].

²¹ Why these patterns exist has been, addressed by psychologists, among others and is not directly relevant to the focus of this paper.

²² The issue of why they clustered in a specific location is outside the remit of this paper but of course another interesting issue to examine. Apart from the fact of the how and why of clustering, there remains the important issue of the evidence that clustering benefitted the creative output of literary writers. Such a question has been examined in several papers in relation to composers, visual artists and literary writers (Borowiecki [2013]; Hellmanzik [2010, 2013]) and there the evidence so far is clear, namely that clustering does benefit significantly the creative process.

I suggest three processes, overlapping but analytically distinct, that operate through personal contacts. One is the passing of cultural capital, of ideas and the sense of what to do with them; another is the transfer of emotional energy, both from the exemplars of previous successes and from contemporaneous build-up in the cauldron of a group; the third involves the structural sense of intellectual possibilities, especially rivalrous ones. These processes operate in all types of personal contacts. (p. 71)

Many writers wrote to each other frequently. What additional benefit they could draw from living in direct proximity has been addressed extensively in the recent literature on cluster benefits. Duranton and Puga [2003] categorised these into benefits from sharing, matching, and learning. For writers these include, for instance, sharing of infrastructure such as theatres, matching with new peers or publishers in informal settings such as a cafe, and learning from peers through more frequent feedback. These gains from geographic clustering were already observed and discussed by Marshall [1890], a contemporary to many writers in the sample, in similar but less formal ways.

Another concept that is relevant to high-skill artistic work is the concept of tacit knowledge (see Polanyi [1958]; Gertler [2003]). The skills to produce and judge literary works rely to a large part on tacit, not codified, knowledge. Often, these may be learned through inference from codified knowledge, that is the reading of books. However, personal interaction can provide, for instance, guidance to what constitutes 'good literature' or feedback to the writing process, and lead to a more efficient learning process.

A more recent literature relates to clustering in large cities, with Berlin in the late 19th and early 20th century being a case in point. For most of the period in question there was though no large city in Germany as was the case in England and France. Storper and Venables [2004] argue that cities enjoy an advantage because of their economic and social diversity. This diversity facilitates haphazard, serendipitous contact among people. And they argue that the diversity found in cosmopolitan cities facilitates 'creativity' because of the openness of their networks and the liberating force of resistance to hide-bound tradition. Andersson [2011] sees large, creative cities as 'an informal and spontaneously evolving spatial organization', as a necessity for creative workers and 'all large-scale creative revolutions'.

Moreover, publishing, theatre and writing for example have close interactions. Writers need close contact with publishers and playwrights with both publishers and theatres. In the case of creative people in the arts, many of them must rely on part-time work to finance their writing and creative endeavours. Such employment opportunities would be much more available in big cities, especially in the case of late 19th century Europe. Similar, Andersson et al. [2014] conclude that modern-day Swedish artists migrate to large cities because of access to other artists and service jobs offered.

4 Empirical Analysis

This section first outlines details on the data sets used in the paper. The main findings of the paper are then presented. As will be seen, the diagrams and regressions show how

the economic and political concentration processes of the 18th and 19th centuries are reflected in the changing geographic concentration of writers, and the writers' changing patterns of migration and location over their lifespan. In contrast, cohorts of writers at different times show a similar relation between quantitative output and age. While a marked clustering of writers is observed, there is no strong evidence of a clustering benefit to creative output.

Data

The data used in this paper cover German literary writers born in the 19th and 20th centuries. The Encyclopaedia Britannica classification as German for this time-frame corresponds geographically to the area of the pre-World War I German Empire and we use a map of the 1910 German Empire to classify German in the remainder of this paper.²³ For all 149 German authors listed in the Encyclopaedia Britannica yearly information on residence and publications was collected using various sources.²⁴

From the Encyclopaedia Britannica, we could get summary statistics such as date of birth and death, sometimes more. Most biographical data used in this study though were got from *Deutsche Biographie*, where usually you are diverted to other sources. This then was supplemented where appropriate with data from literature.request.com. The key biographic data sought related to the geographical location of each author in each year of their lives. Information on number of publications is available in *Deutsche Biographie*, by year, and this excludes newspaper articles and other non-literary categories. There is no quality adjustment though applied to this information. To supplement this then we consulted the *Kindlers Literatur Lexikon*, which lists the most important literary works. We then attribute these to the authors and the year in which they took place.²⁵

A version of the resulting data can be downloaded at www.tcd.ie/triss/working-paper. The data set includes 9,741 yearly data points on 149 writers. Fourteen per cent of the total years are not clearly attributable to a specific location, many of these covering the childhoods of the writers. Besides the variables studied in this paper, the data set includes information on the length of the encyclopedia entries on each writer.

Geographic location

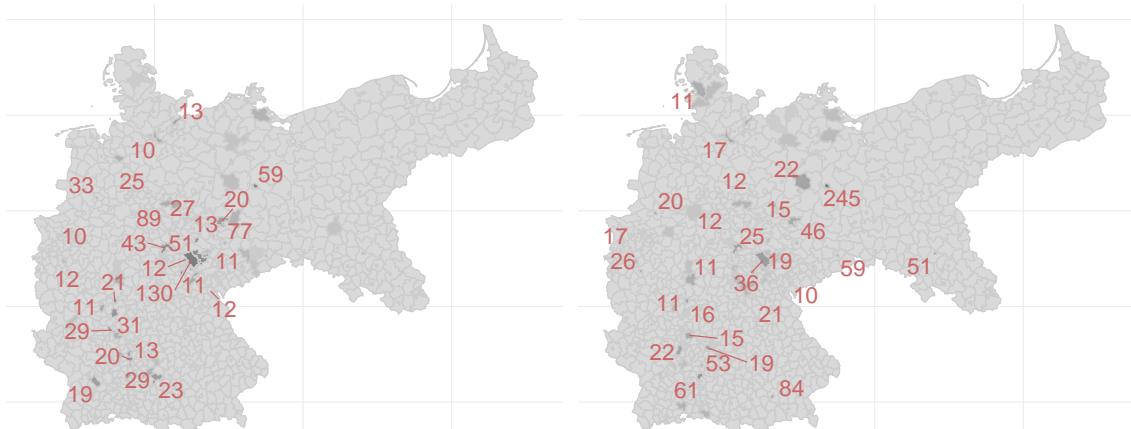
First, we show in three maps how literary clusters reflect the general concentration processes underway. Figure 1 uses author years (number of authors by number of years spent in each location) for those aged between 18 and 50 (the most productive years,

²³The geographic data are taken from MPIDR [Max Planck Institute for Demographic Research] and CGG [Chair for Geodesy and Geoinformatics, University of Rostock] 2011: MPIDR Population History GIS Collection (partly based on Hubatsch and Klein 1975 ff.) - Rostock. Hubatsch, W. and T. Klein (eds.) 1975 ff.: Grundriß der deutschen Verwaltungsgeschichte - Marburg.

²⁴This number was obtained after excluding all authors without a literary contribution.

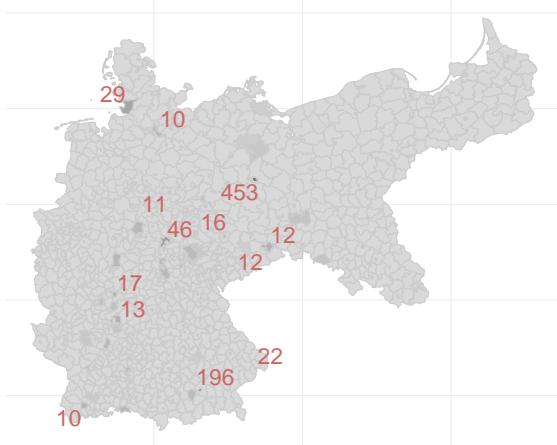
²⁵There were entries here though only for about two-thirds of those in Encyclopaedia Britannica.

Figure 1: Years of writers aged 18 to 50 per location and for three different periods



(a) Before 1806

(b) 1806-1870



(c) After 1870

Notes: The maps show the sum of years that German writers reside in a district in the area of 1871 Germany, (a) before 1806 (Holy Roman Empire), (b) 1806 to 1870, and (c) after 1870 (German Empire). Numbers are shown for districts with more than nine writer-years.

see later) during three periods, before 1806, 1806 to 1870 and after 1870. The periods were chosen taking account of the discussion in Section 2.

The picture for the pre-1806 period simply reflects the political reality outlined earlier, that of a nation consisting of a multitude of small states and cities, each with its own economy and politics. There were small clusters evident, especially around the Court in Weimar, and the universities in Leipzig and Jena. Between 1806 and 1870 there were still many clusters around small cities and towns, but it was during this time that Berlin began to emerge as a major magnet for writers, having three to four times the number of author years as had the next biggest centres, Stuttgart/Tübingen, Munich and Wroclaw. Post-1870 saw a marked further concentration of author years in Berlin, which in this period had more than twice as many author-years as Munich, and Munich in turn had more than five-times as the next highest centre. The concentration processes of the 19th century, with the unification of Germany in 1871, therefore had a very marked impact on the geographic distribution of prominent writers.

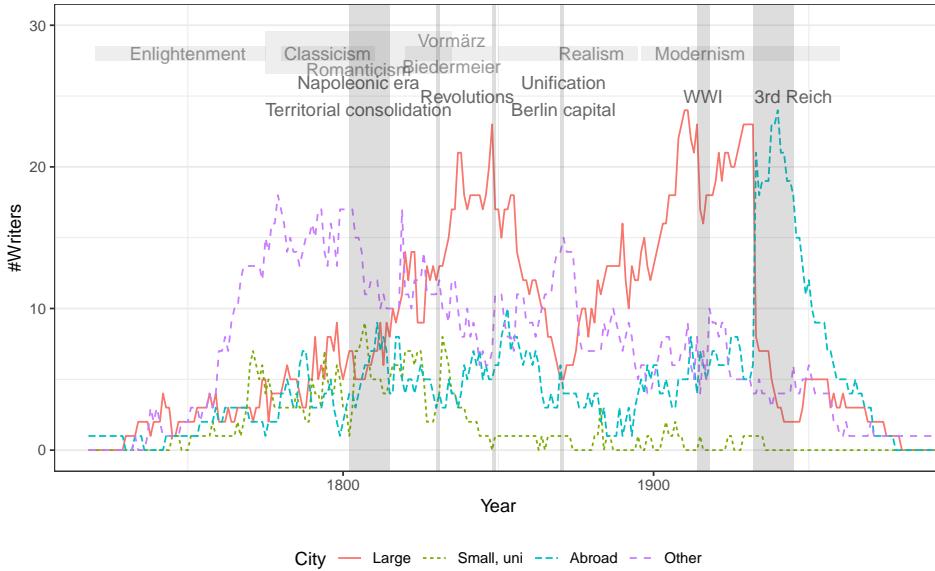
Next, we show locations aggregated in different categories over time in Figure 2. The plots show the number of adult writers per category.: large cities, small university towns, places outside 1910 Germany, and other known locations within 1910 Germany. As can be seen the number of writers increased in the second half of the 18th century, reflecting the cultural and social changes discussed earlier. Again, as expected, there were very few of these writers in cities at this time but appear in the 'other' category which covered the multitude of smaller centres outlined above. The numbers in the larger cities began to rise late in the 18th century and overtook the 'other' category by around 1820, with Berlin playing the lead role. The total for Berlin after 1825 reached its first peak, with though a large drop in the 1850s and 1860s. The latter may have arisen as the circle of writers around Tieck came to an end. Besides, Berlin and Prussia in general may have become less attractive for writers, as they turned regressive after the failed democratic and liberal reforms movement of 1848. Moreover, prior to this the King of Prussia had been a major employer of writers, something that may have ended also after 1848. The main thing of interest for later purposes is the dominance of Berlin and to a lesser extent Munich, after 1871 and up to the Third Reich when the number of writers there plummeted.

The category 'abroad' here needs explanation. Many years of those writers are categorised as such, as they spent time outside the boundaries of Germany as defined for the purposes of this study (1910 Germany). The main destinations were Paris, Italy, Switzerland and Austria. This category as can be seen had several prominent authors included in it, and rose substantially after 1848, reflecting perhaps the anti-liberal development within most German states. Understandably, the 'abroad' category reached new heights in the 1930s as many writers fled Nazi Germany for nearby countries and well beyond.

Migration and location over lifespan

We find a marked difference in the migration life patterns of the three cohorts shown in Figure 3, which provides location category by age for three sub-periods. The time

Figure 2: Location by year by city type

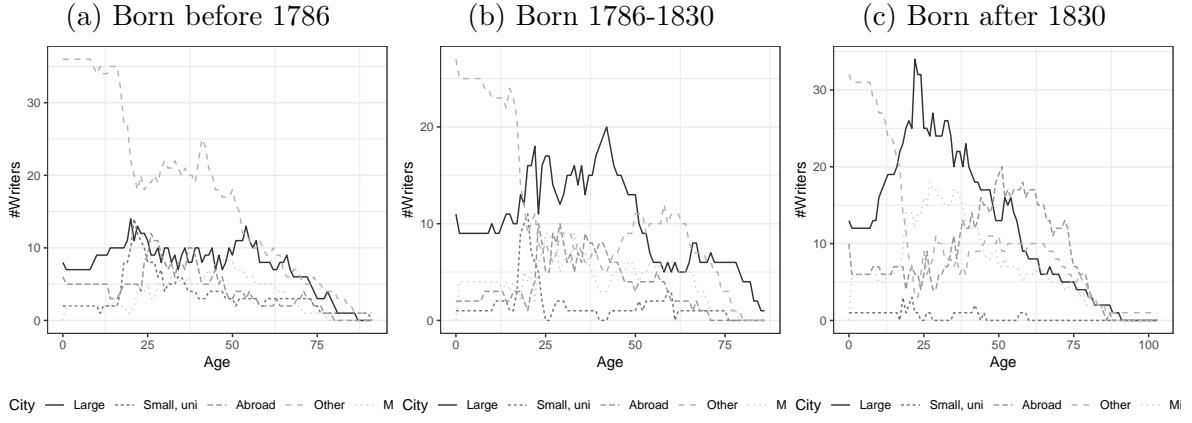


periods start earlier than those in Figure 1 because childhood is now included, not just the most productive ages. For those born before 1786, most lived in places included in the 'other' category, away from cities, and there is only little evidence of migration with age to the cities and university towns. Numbers in the 'other' category fell more rapidly than those in cities, but this could have been due to migration to cities in later years as cities began to grow in Germany. The pattern for those born between 1786 and 1830 was markedly different, with most writers in the large cities when aged 25 to 50, reflecting the beginnings of significant in-migration to these cities. The pattern for those born after 1830 is even more pronounced. Substantial in-migration to large cities is evident for the years 20 to 40, with a sharp fall in later years. This decrease partly reflects emigration after 1932.

In general, the migration patterns are similar across the cohorts if we do not distinguish different migration destinations and origins, though later writers did migrate less often. The age at which writers moved is captured in summary form in Figure 4. The plots show univariate LOESS regressions of age on a move to another location in a given year. It confirms again a very marked pattern of early adulthood migration. Since we only count stays at a new location of more than six months and missing locations may often correlate with extensive travelling, we probably underestimate the level of migration. Still the similar distribution of migration over the life-cycle points toward common underlying drivers of migration, such as lower costs to migrate at a young age, a higher expected return with more time remaining, and decreasing return-differentials with each move.

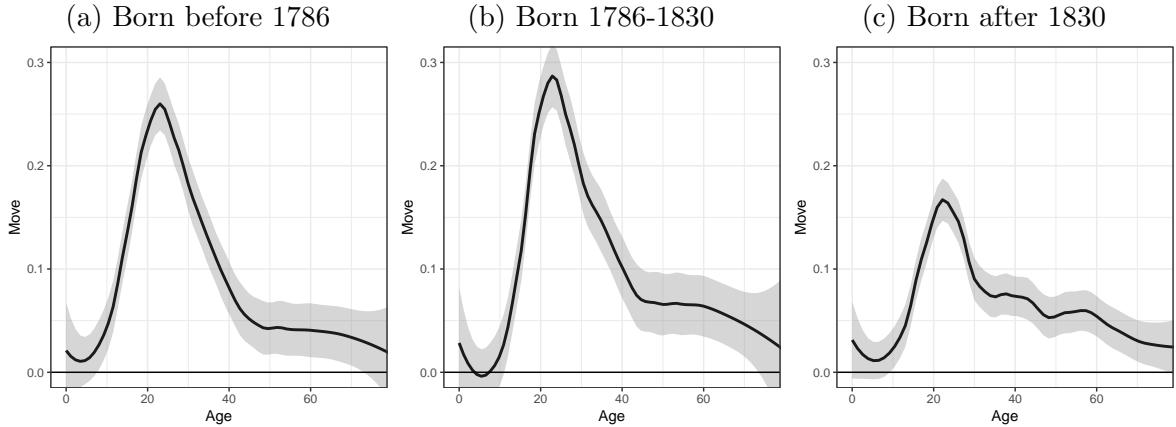
The patterns above indicate that substantial total migration of creative writers took place. Looked at another way, for those born in the 18th century, each author on average stayed short-term (more than six months) in 5.9 different locations, dropping to 5.1 for

Figure 3: Location by age and city type



Notes: The figures show German writers per type of location for three cohorts. The numbers of individual writers are 52 (a), 41 (b), and 56 (c).

Figure 4: Age of Movers

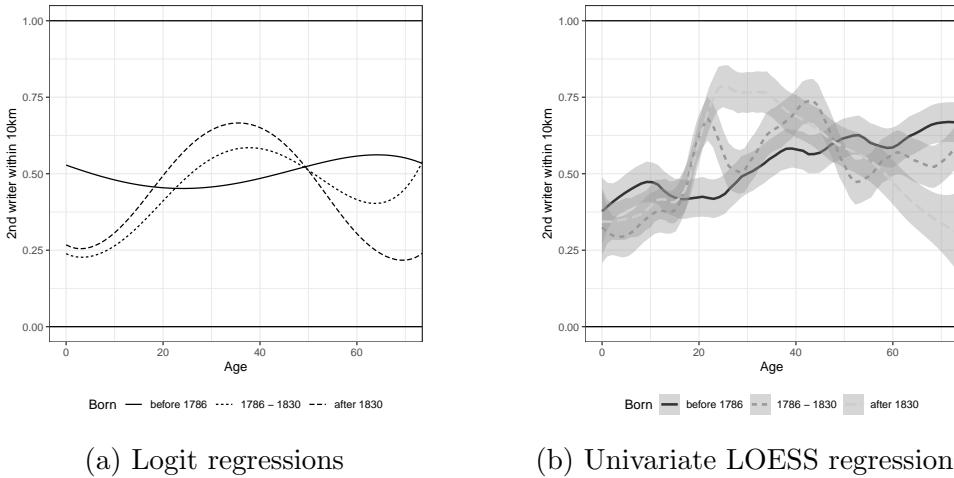


Notes: The figures show German writers per type of location for three cohorts. The plots show univariate LOESS regressions with a span of 0.4 and 95 % confidence intervals (see the `loess{stats}` function in R for details). The numbers of individual writers are 52 (a), 41 (b), and 56 (c).

those born in the 19th century. Looking at long-term stays (three + years), writers on average in the 18th century lived in 3.8 cities, this dropping to 3.2 in the 19th century. Maybe with greater ease of travel in the 19th century staying away long term was not as necessary as in the 18th century. In both centuries though there was remarkable mobility, especially at a time when even a trip of 100km was a major undertaking.

For writers born after 1830, we see in Figure 5 a strong pattern to spend the formative and most productive years in proximity to other writers. In contrast, there is no such pattern for writers born before 1786. Figure 5 provides two plots that show the share of writers who lived within 10km of another writers per age and time cohort. The left plot

Figure 5: Proximity to next writer and age



Notes: The left plot depicts quartic polynomials derived using logit regressions which include fixed effects for authors and the number of authors. The right plot shows univariate LOESS regressions with a span of 0.25 and 95 % confidence intervals (see the `loess{stats}` function in R for details).

depicts quartic polynomials derived using logit regressions which include fixed effects for authors and the number of authors. The right plot shows univariate LOESS regressions, similar to moving means. The right plot, therefore, shows a raw correlation as observed in the data, while the left plot accounts for the different numbers of authors per year and differences between individuals. The number of authors in a given year influences the probability to live near to another writer and this omission explains why the oldest cohort has an upward trend in the second but not the first plot. These different cluster patterns over a life span suggest that earlier writers faced a different economic and social situation. The changing employment structure outlined earlier offers an explanation. If writers compete for few positions as lecturers, advisers or tutors, it is easier to find employment further away from other writers. If writers seek access to publishers and theatres, co-location with other writers at important cultural centres is more likely.

Table 1 shows estimates associated with a writer's geographic movement and location. Logit regressions for six outcomes are shown, namely a writer's move to a large city in a given year t , residence in a large city, other moves, a move near another writer. The last two columns, whether they publish a work or major work, listed in the Kindler Encyclopaedia, are discussed later. These outcomes are linked to living within 10km of another writer in the given year or the year before ($t-1$), the cumulative sum of publications in this year, the number of publications in the previous year, residence in a large city, and the number of writers living within 10km.

$$\mathbb{E}(y_{it} | \dots) = g^{-1}(\alpha_i + \tau_t + x_{it}\beta + \sum_{j=0}^4 b_j age_{it}^j) \quad (1)$$

All regressions take the form shown in Equation 1. The variables in x_{it} are discussed

above and shown in Table 1. In addition, quadratic age polynomials and individual fixed effects α_i and decade fixed effects τ_t or dummies for the number of writers in a given year are included as indicated. g denotes the link function (logit).

Table 1: Migration, location, and productivity of writers

	Dependent variable (<i>link=logit</i>):					
	Major City Move (1)	Major City (2)	Other Move (3)	Cluster Move (4)	Publication (5)	Kindler Publ. (6)
Near Writer		2.998*** (0.347)			-0.015 (0.182)	0.087 (0.286)
Near Writer _{t-1}	0.604 (0.377)		0.082 (0.162)			
Publ. cumul.	-0.150*** (0.046)	-0.129*** (0.041)	0.009 (0.014)	-0.041 (0.038)		
Publications _{t-1}	-0.312 (0.234)		-0.156 (0.123)	-0.140 (0.180)		
Major City					0.261 (0.176)	-0.009 (0.402)
#Near Writers					0.016 (0.025)	0.017 (0.042)
Ind FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Add FE	Decade	Decade	Decade	#Writers	No	No
N (df)	3743 (3582)	6415 (6244)	6268 (6096)	2999 (2814)	6477 (6324)	4334 (4228)

Notes: This table reports estimated coefficients from logit regression with standard errors in parentheses. Standard errors are clustered at the author level. The regressions also include quartic age polynomials plotted in Figure ??.

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Looking at the first column, we see that the odds of a well published writer moving to a large city is significantly lower, with a 14 percent decrease per publication. Writers become also less likely to live in a large German city the more they have published (Column 2). On the other hand, the cumulative sum of publications has no influence on the odds for a move to the smaller towns and villages, abroad, or between large cities (Column 3). Writers who live near another writer are twenty times as likely to live in a large city. This shows also the concentration among cities with many large cities such as Cologne and Hamburg having no significant presence of writers.

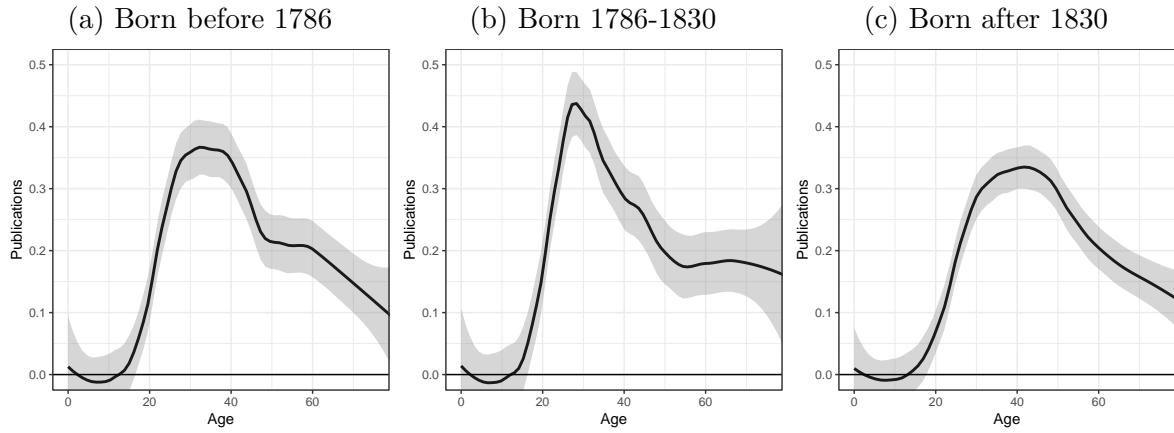
Creative output and age

Despite the huge differences in social and economic conditions with the period for those born before 1786, there is a noteworthy similarity in the age and creative output figures for both periods.²⁶ Figure 6 looks at publications by age, with confidence intervals

²⁶Given the importance of the creativity measure, an alternative indicator was, namely the average age at which the main publications of each author appeared, thereby being a measure of 'peak' creativity in a sense. The patterns in both charts are similar, with the main publication occurring at a slightly higher age than for the total publications chart. The width of the confidence intervals though in some cases is very wide, a reflection of the low number of observations in these years,

shown. It confirms what is known already in relation to other creative workers, namely that the creativity chart has a clear peak plateau between the ages of 25 to 40 years. As can be seen, there is a dramatic rise between the ages of 20 and 30 and that this is maintained until age 40 or over. Creative output after this, declines, but is still at a high level until aged 65 at least, with output up to age 80+. There are very wide confidence intervals though for the earlier and later years. It is important to remember again that it is the plot of the average number of publications per author living by age, aggregated over all authors and, at different times, that is being measured here.

Figure 6: Age and productivity by period



Notes: The figures show German writers per type of location. The numbers of individual writers are 52 (a), 41 (b), and 56 (c).

Location and creative output

The relation between the yearly number of publications and proximity to other writers or residence in a specific location is not clear. Table 1 shows estimates for publication activity. We do not find a significant relation between location and publications overall, or over an individual writer's life span. Our estimates are maybe insignificant due to the crude output measure or the aggregation of different subgroups. It is likely that living in large cities is linked to a higher output at least for subgroups, such as younger writers. On the other hand, proximity to other writers, whether as a dummy for at least one or the number of other writers in proximity seems to have no influence.²⁷ A higher publication output in large cities would, in this case, rather reflect the economic and

namely though only for authors aged over 75 years.

²⁷There is also the belief held by some German language scholars that when the small cities in Naumburg were in their heyday, the dominant presence of Goethe might have had a negative impact on the creative output of others thereby ending up with no overall positive effect. This argument arose in conversation with Mary Cosgrove, Professor of Germanic Studies, Trinity College Dublin. For a similar argument in relation to the golfer Tiger Woods, see Brown [2011].

social characteristics of life in these cities, for instance access to publishers, or maybe economic pressure, than peer effects between writers.

5 Concluding Comments

This paper has addressed an issue of both historical and current interest, namely the formation of clusters or co-location of creative workers. As seen earlier, much current work is related to this phenomenon, particularly in the high-tech sectors. In this paper, we see a similarly strong geographic clustering of German writers from the end of the 19th until the begin of Nazi Germany. However, it is important to note that the presence or absence of geographic clusters can often express factors such as employment opportunities and social factors. We observe that many eminent writers lived far from other writers and large cities. During the first peak cluster period from 1780 to 1820, only around half of the writers residing in Germany lived within 30km of another writer at the age of 30. This share though rises to 80 percent for the second cluster period between 1880 and 1932 when Berlin became the dominating literary centre. Crucially, during both periods the isolated share of writers published more often. On the other hand, while we see common artistic movements and various examples of communication, support and appreciation between German writers, there is little evidence for direct cooperation as told in the modern tales of friendships among creative workers²⁸ or other art forms and science (see Borowiecki [2013]; O'Hagan and Walsh [2017]).

The paper provided statistical evidence on the movement and co-location of these writers, in the 18th century in a large variety of small centres, and over time morphing into centres in the larger cities and by the end of the period concentrated largely in two cities, Berlin and Munich. This co-location arose mostly from large-scale migration into the centres, particularly from the mid-19th century to the early 20th century.²⁹

The scale of the migration, in an era of very limited transport facilities, was remarkable. German writers moved very frequently in young adulthood. Similar to many forms of modern migration, this frequency declined rapidly after 30, with little movement after 40. Statistical evidence was also provided on the links between age and creative writing output. This was very much in line with all previous work on such a relationship, namely that in general between the ages of 25 and 40 creative output peaks and then declines significantly, although creative output continues often well into old age. What was striking perhaps is that this same pattern was observed for all three very different sub-periods examined.

For later-born writers, a strong pattern to spend the formative and most productive years in proximity to other writers was observed, confirming perhaps the importance of

²⁸Friendships that made Google such a success, led to a Nobel prize in economics or gave us the TV series Spaced. See (www.newyorker.com/magazine/2018/12/10/the-friendship-that-made-google-huge, www.newyorker.com/books/page-turner/the-two-friends-who-changed-how-we-think-about-how-we-think?, and www.theguardian.com/culture/2011/feb/05/paul-simon-pegg-nick-frost-interview).

²⁹For instance, ten writers in the sample were born in Hanover, the same number as those born in Berlin.

co-location with other creative workers in the creative process. In contrast, the odds of an already well-published writer moving to a large city is significantly lower than for others. In empirical studies that rely on limited data points, temporary clusters, in particular in smaller cities may, therefore, not be observed.

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Name	Birth	Birth City	Death	Death City	First Publication	Residence at 1st publication
Johann Christoph Gottsched	1700	Kaliningrad	1766	Leipzig	1725	Kaliningrad
Christian Furchtegott Gellert	1715	Hainichen	1769	Leipzig	1746	Leipzig
Ewald Christian von Kleist	1715	Zeblin	1759	Frankfurt am Main	1749	
Johann Elias Schlegel	1719	Meissen	1749	Soro	1736	Naumburg
Justus Moser	1720	Osnabruck	1794	Osnabruck	1768	Osnabrück
Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock	1724	Quedlinburg	1803	Hamburg	1749	
Gotthold Ephraim Lessing	1729	Kamenz	1781	Braunschweig	1747	Leipzig
Sophie von La Roche	1731	Kaufbeuren	1807	Offenbach	1771	Bonnigheim
Christoph Friedrich Nicolai	1733	Berlin	1811	Berlin	1755	Berlin
Christoph Martin Wieland	1733	Biberach	1813	Weimar	1751	Tübingen
Johann Karl August Mausaus	1735	Jena	1787	Weimar	1760	Jena
Heinrich Wilhelm von Gerstenberg	1737	Tondern	1823	Hamburg	1759	Leipzig
Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart	1739	Obersontheim	1791	Stuttgart	1766	Geislingen
Johann Heinrich Merck	1741	Darmstadt	1791	Darmstadt	1772	Darmstadt
Theodor Gottlieb von Hippel	1741	Zhelezndorozhny	1796	Kaliningrad	1760	Kronstadt
Charlotte von Stein	1742	Weimar	1827	Weimar	1776	Weimar
Georg Christoph Lichtenberg	1742	Darmstadt	1799	Gottingen	1776	Gottingen
Karl Ludwig von Knebel	1744	Nordlingen	1834	Jena	1774	Weimar
Wilhelm Heinse	1746	Weimar	1803	Frankfurt am Main	1771	Erfurt
Gottfried August Brger	1747	Molmerswende	1794	Gottingen	1773	Gottingen
Ludwig Heinrich Christoph Hlty	1748	Hanover	1776	Mariensee	1771	Gottingen
Friedrich Muller	1749	Kreuznach	1825	Rome	1775	Mannheim
Johann Wolfgang von Goethe	1749	Frankfurt am Main	1832	Weimar	1767	Leipzig
Friedrich Leopold	1750	Bramstedt	1819	Osnabruck	1778	
Johann Martin Miller	1750	Ulm	1814	Ulm	1776	Gottingen
Johann Heinrich Voss	1751	Mecklenburg	1826	Heidelberg	1776	Gottingen
Adolf Franz Friedrich	1752	Hannover	1796	Bremen	1778	Hanau
Friedrich Maximilian von Klinger	1752	Frankfurt am Main	1831	Tartu	1776	Giessen
Johann Anton Lesiewitz	1752	Hannover	1806	Braunschweig	1775	Hannover
Karl Philipp Moritz	1756	Hannover	1793	Berlin	1779	Berlin
Friedrich Schiller	1759	Marbach	1805	Weimar	1781	Stuttgart
August von Kotzebue	1761	Weimar	1819	Mannheim	1782	Petersburg
Friedrich von Matthisson	1761	Magdeburg	1831	Woritz	1787	Bern
Christian August Vulpius	1762	Weimar	1827	Weimar	1797	Weimar
Jean Paul	1763	Bayreuth	1825	Bayreuth	1781	Bayreuth

Ernst Moritz Arndt	1769	Rugen	1860	Bonn	1801	Greifswald
Friedrich Hölderlin	1770	Heilbronn	1843	Tübingen	1797	Frankfurt am Main
Friedrich von Schlegel	1772	Hannover	1829	Dresden	1797	Berlin
Novalis	1772	Oberwiederstedt	1801	Weissenfels	1796	Weissenfels
Ludwig Tieck	1773	Berlin	1853	Berlin	1792	Halle
Wilhelm Heinrich Wackenroder	1773	Berlin	1798	Berlin	1794	Gottingen
Adolf Müller	1774	Weissenfeis	1829	Weissenfeis	1799	Weissenfeis
Ernst Theodor Amadeus Hoffmann	1776	Kaliningrad	1822	Berlin	1795	Kaliningrad
Joseph von Görres	1776	Koblenz	1848	Munich	1807	Heidelberg
Friedrich Heinrich Karl de la Motte	1777		1843	Berlin	1808	Nennhausen
Clemens Brentano	1778	Koblenz	1842	Aschaffenburg	1801	Gottingen
Adelbert von Chamisso	1781	Boncourt	1838	Berlin	1814	Heidelberg
Adolf Ludwig Follen	1784	Giessen	1855	Bern	1819	Berlin
Bettina von Arnim	1785	Frankfurt am Main	1859	Berlin	1835	Tubingen
Karl August Varnhagen von Ense	1785	Düsseldorf	1858	Berlin	1807	Tubingen
Justinus Andreas Christian Kerner	1786	Ludwigsburg	1862	Weinsberg	1807	Jena
Ludwig Uhland	1787	Tübingen	1862	Tübingen	1805	Erlangen
Friedrich Rückert	1788	Schweinfurt	1866	Coburg	1811	Dusseldorf
Joseph, baron von Eichendorff	1788	Ratibor	1857	Neisse	1811	Berlin
Theodor Korner	1791	Dresden	1813	Mecklenburg	1812	Wroclaw
Johann Peter Eckermann	1792	Hanover	1854	Weimar	1821	Berlin
Wilhelm Müller	1794	Dessau	1827	Dessau	1816	Leipzig
August Graf von Platen	1796	Ansbach	1835	Syracuse	1821	Stuttgart
Karl Leberecht Immermann	1796	Magdeburg	1840	Düsseldorf	1828	Soest
Annette von Droste-Hülshoff	1797	Münster	1848	Meersburg	1819	Berlin
Heinrich Heine	1797	Düsseldorf	1856	Paris	1822	Berlin
August Heinrich Hoffmann von Fallersleben	1798	Hanover	1874	Hoxter	1830	Berlin
Karl von Holtei	1798	Wroclaw	1880	Wroclaw	1822	Leipzig
Willibald Alexis	1798	Wroclaw	1871	Arnstadt	1823	Stuttgart
August Kopisch	1799	Wroclaw	1853	Berlin	1836	Berlin
Christian Dietrich Grabbe	1801	Detmold	1836	Detmold	1822	Berlin
Wilhelm Hauff	1802	Stuttgart	1827	Stuttgart	1826	Berlin
Eduard Friedrich Morike	1804	Ludwigsburg	1875	Stuttgart	1832	Leipzig
Ferdinand Freiligrath	1810	Detmold	1876	Stuttgart	1826	Berlin
Fritz Reuter	1810	Schwerin	1874	Eisenach	1853	Leipzig
Robert Schumann	1810	Zwickau	1856	Bonn	1829	Berlin
Fanny Lewald	1811	Kaliningrad	1889	Dresden	1842	Berlin

	Karl Gutzkow	1811	Berlin	1878	Frankfurt am Main	1826	Berlin
	Berthold Auerbach	1812	Nordstetten	1882	Cannes	1837	Hamburg
	Friedrich Hebbel	1813	Wesselburen	1863	Munich	1840	Giessen
	Georg Buchner	1813	Goddelau	1837	Zurich	1834	Stuttgart
	Hermann Kurz	1813	Reutlingen	1873	Tubingen	1836	Eisfeld
	Otto Ludwig	1813	Eisfeld	1865	Dresden	1836	Hannover
	Franz Ferdinand, count von Dingelstedt	1814	Halsdorf	1881	Vienna	1835	Athens
	Emanuel Geibel	1815	Lubeck	1884	Lubeck	1840	Wroclaw
	Gustav Freytag	1816	Kreuzburg	1895	Wiesbaden	1838	Zurich
	Georg Herwegh	1817	Stuttgart	1875	Baden-Baden	1843	Kiel
	Theodor Mommsen	1817	Garding	1903	Berlin	1843	Husum
	Theodor Storm	1817	Husum	1888	Hademarschen	1843	Trieste
	Friedrich Martin von Bodenstedt	1819	Peine (Hannover)	1892	Wiesbaden	1848	Berlin
	Theodor Fontane	1819	Neurippin	1898	Berlin	1839	Weimar
	Peter Cornelius	1824	Mainz	1874	Mainz	1856	Munich
	Joseph Victor von Scheffel	1826	Karlsruhe	1886	Heidelberg	1845	Berlin
	Friedrich von Spielhagen	1829	Magdeburg	1911	Berlin	1861	Munich
	Paul Johann Ludwig von Heyse	1830	Berlin	1914	Munich	1855	Wolfenbuttel
	Wilhelm Raabe	1831	Braunschweig	1910	Braunschweig	1857	Munich
	Felix Dahn	1834	Hamburg	1912	Wroclaw	1854	Trieste
	Rudolf Baumbach	1840	Kranichfeld	1905	Meiningen	1877	Regensburg
	Karl May	1842	Hohenstein	1912	Radebeul	1875	Prague
	Fritz Mauthner	1849	Horice	1923	Meersburg	1882	Paris
	Max Nordau	1849	Budapest	1923	Paris	1892	Berlin
	Gustav Falke	1853	Lubeck	1916	Hamburg	1896	Wroclaw
	Lou AndreasSalome	1861	St.Petersburg	1937		1892	Dithmarschen
	Gerhart Hauptmann	1862	Bad Salzbrunn	1946	Agnetendorf	1882	Blankenesse
	Gustav Frenssen	1863	Barlt	1945	Barlt	1891	Munich
	Richard Dehmel	1863	Wendisch-Hermsdorf	1920	Sankt Georgen	1891	Magdeburg
	Frank Wedekind	1864	Hannover	1918	Minusio	1891	Berlin
	Otto Erich Hartleben	1864	Hanover	1905	Salo	1887	Berlin
	Paul Ernst	1866	Elbingerode	1933	Jerusalem	1902	Rome
	Stefan George	1868	Budesheim	1933	Merano	1895	Berlin
	Else LaskerSchuler	1869	Wuppertal	1945	Santa Monica	1894	Berlin
	Christian Morgenstern	1871	Munich	1914	Paris	1926	Berlin
	Heinrich Mann	1871	Lubeck	1950			
	Wilhelm Uhde	1874	Strzelce Krajenskie	1947			

Hans Grimm	1875	Wiesbaden	1959	Wahlsburg	1913	Munich
Thomas Mann	1875	Lubeck	1955	Zurich	1894	Munich
Theodor Daubler	1876	Trieste	1934	Sankt Blasien	1910	
Hermann Hesse	1877	Calw	1962	Montagnola	1899	
Alfred Döblin	1878	Stettin	1957	Emmendingen	1915	
Carl Sternheim	1878	Leipzig	1942	Brussels	1911	Berlin
Georg Kaiser	1878	Magdeburg	1945	Ascona	1908	
Hans Carossa	1878	Tolz	1956	Rittsteig	1902	
Bernhard Kellermann	1879	Furth	1951	Potsdam	1904	Munich
Robert Musil	1880	Klagenfurt	1942	Geneva	1911	Vienna
Leonhard Frank	1882	Wurzburg	1961	Munich	1914	
Rene Schickele	1883	Alsace	1940	Vence	1901	Munich
Lion Feuchtwanger	1884	Munich	1958	LA	1916	Munich
Fritz von Unruh	1885	Koblenz	1970	Rhein-Lahn	1911	
Gottfried Benn	1886	Mansfeld	1956	Berlin	1912	Berlin
Hugo Ball	1886	Pirmasens	1927	Sant Abbondio	1918	
Arnold Zweig	1887	Glogau	1968	Berlin	1916	
Ludwig Renn	1889	Dresden	1979	Berlin	1917	
Franz Werfel	1890	Prague	1945	Hollywood	1909	Hamburg
Kurt Tucholsky	1890	Berlin	1935	Gothenburg	1919	Berlin
Walter Hasenclever	1890	Aachen	1940	Aix-en-Provence	1909	Leipzig
Nelly Sachs	1891	Berlin	1970	Stockholm	1921	Berlin
Theodor Plievier	1892	Berlin	1955	Locarno	1918	
Ernst Toller	1893	Samotschin	1939	New York	1920	Munich
Oskar Maria Graf	1894	Berg	1967	New York	1929	
Ernst Junger	1895	Heidelberg	1998	Wilflingen	1920	
Carl Zuckmayer	1896	Nackenheim	1977	Visp	1921	
Bertolt Brecht	1898	Augsburg	1956	Berlin	1914	Augsburg
Erich Maria Remarque	1898	Osnabrück	1970	Locarno	1920	
Erich Kastner	1899	Dresden	1974	Munich	1927	Berlin