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# Theodor Lobe's employment practice in Wrocław

## A data-driven analysis of work migration and ensemble retention at the Stadttheater and Lobe-Theater (1867–1872)

### **Abstract**

This article discusses employee migration and retention at the Stadttheater and Lobe-Theater in Breslau between 1867 and 1872. Using the methods of historical network research, visual analysis, and basic statistics, the author analyses data from theatre almanacs, historical studies, and biographical encyclopaedias to examine Theodor Lobe's employment practices and

the development of institutional ties during his five years of managing the Stadttheater and Lobe-Theater, as well as retention rates in various staff positions. He demonstrates that rather than relying on family or personal networks, Lobe recruited his ensemble primarily from an established pool of local theatre professionals. The articles reveals that almost half of the ensemble mainly lesser-known performers remained at the theatre for only one season, while choir members or established soloists tended to work longer. The author makes the caveat that a five-year period is too short to enable observing the development of a broader mobility field, although the data suggest the emergence of a single institutional bond that strengthened the exchange between theatres during this period.

### Keywords

theatre historiography, digital humanities, migration, network research, visual analytics, German-speaking theatre, Theodor Lobe

### Abstrakt

#### **Praktyki zatrudnienia przez Theodora Lobe we Wrocławiu: Analiza migracji pracowników i retencji zespołów w Stadttheater i Lobe-Theater (1867–1872)**

Artykuł przedstawia migrację pracowników oraz retencję zespołu Stadttheater i Lobe-Theater we Wrocławiu w latach 1867–1872. Autor stosuje metody historycznych badań sieciowych, analizy wizualnej i podstawowych statystyk, opierając się na danych z almanachów teatralnych, historycznych studiów oraz encyklopedii biograficznych. Analizuje praktyki zatrudnienia przez Theodora Lobe i rozwoju więzi instytucjonalnych w ciągu pięciu lat jego dyrekcji w Stadttheater i Lobe-Theater, a także wskaźniki retencji różnych stanowisk pracowniczych. Dowodzi, że Lobe nie polegał na sieciach rodzinnych lub osobistych, lecz rekrutował swój zespół przede wszystkim z ustalonej puli lokalnych pracowników. Pokazuje, że niemal połowa zespołu – głównie mniej znani wykonawcy – pozostawała w teatrze tylko na jeden sezon, podczas gdy członkowie chóru lub soliści o ugruntowanej pozycji byli bardziej stacjonarni. Zastrzega, że pięcioletni okres jest zbyt krótki, aby zaobserwować rozwój szerszego pola mobilności pracowników, ale dane sugerują pojawienie się pojedynczej więzi instytucjonalnej, która wzmocniła wymianę między teatrami w tym okresie.

### Słowa kluczowe

historiografia teatralna, humanistyka cyfrowa, migracja, badania sieciowe, analiza wizualna, teatr niemieckojęzyczny, Theodor Lobe

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## Introduction

For nearly 80 years, from 1869 to 1935, the Lobe-Theater, located near St. Mauritius Church, played a defining role in shaping Wrocław's cityscape. However, the legacy of its namesake, theater director Theodor Lobe, remains largely unexplored in modern theatre historiography, much like the broader history of German-language theatre in Wrocław. Although this theatrical tradition spans over two centuries, it has all but vanished from academic discourse since the last major historical studies in the early twentieth century—a decline that parallels a shift in the public perception of Wrocław's theatres from Berlin's cultural atrium to merely "Berlin's backyard."<sup>1</sup> Although facts about these theatres, their directors, and some of their repertoires reappeared in the 1980s in Karl Weber's *Geschichte des Theaterwesens in Schlesien*, it is only in the last 15 years that specific interest in them seems to have been revived. A particular focus in recent years has been on the history of reception and theatre criticism.<sup>2</sup> However, little research has been done into the composition of the ensembles, and in particular the ways in which they came to the theatres in Wrocław. By analyzing Lobe's recruitment practices and the ensemble retention at the Stadt- and Lobe-Theater under his management, this paper aims to help close this current research gap and highlight Theodor Lobe's legacy in the Wrocław theatre scene. Lobe's five-year tenure constitutes a compelling case study for several reasons: it marks a fresh beginning for both Lobe himself and the theatrical landscape in Wrocław, making it a representative example for the new establishment of theatres by up-and-coming theatre makers, as is so often the case in theatre cities in the late nineteenth century. Moreover, the available data for this specific period is unusually rich, allowing for well-grounded observations, at least within the scope of this particular case study. I aim to situate the analysis within the broader framework of the development of a mobility and migration history of theatre professionals, as explored in the ERC-funded project

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As so often in historical research, the question of which names to use for institutions or places is quite complicated. For this article, I have decided to use mostly English names for places (cities, regions etc.) but to render the names of theatres in their original language. In the article, Wrocław is also referred to as Breslau.

<sup>1</sup> Bärbel Rudin, "Einleitung," in Ludwika Gajek, *Das Breslauer Schauspiel im Spiegel der Tagespresse: Das Lobe-theater im ersten Jahrzehnt der Weimarer Republik (1918–1923)* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2008), 10 (translated from German by J.J.H.).

<sup>2</sup> Important publications include Ludwika Gajek, *Das Breslauer Schauspiel im Spiegel der Tagespresse*; Aleksandra Nadkiermiczna-Stasik, *Theaterpraxis im Spiegel der Presse: Eine Fallstudie zur Rezeption des Breslauer Theaters zwischen 1890 und 1913* (Leipzig: Universitätsverlag, 2020); Łukasz Bieniasz, "Vorhang auf! Das Breslauer Theater um 1800 zwischen Publikumsgunst und Kritik," in *Breslau: Freizeit und Konsum*, ed. Heinke M. Kalinke et al. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2021), 43–54.

T-MIGRANTS lead by Berenika Szymanski-Düll. My particular interest lies in the connection between theatrical collaboration on a personal or institutional level and the migration and mobility of theatre professionals in the context of their work. Engaging with this meso-level situated between the histories of individual theatre makers or theatres and macro-historical perspectives provides an opportunity to uncover new mechanisms that link the two. This approach allows me to explore the fascinating histories of individual theatre makers and theatre institutions like Theodor Lobe and his theatres in Wrocław while also contrasting these analyses with more quantitative, data-driven methodologies.

## Historical Context

Theodor Lobe was born in 1833 in Racibórz to the actress Jeannette Dessoir (1806–1871)—herself the older sister of the famed Shakespeare actor Ludwig Dessoir (1810–1874)—and the travelling impresario Karl/Ernst<sup>3</sup> Lobe (?–1847). Against his late father's wishes he began his theatre career in his mother's travelling troupe in 1847. Shortly after his debut he started to work for different travelling troupes and was employed at theatres in Eisleben, Berlin, Leipzig, and Hamburg. His first career breakthrough was 1858 as a court actor at the Kaiserliches Deutsches Hoftheater in St. Petersburg. In 1867, he took over the lease for the newly built Stadttheater in Wrocław, at whose predecessor Lobe had already appeared as a guest. Lobe quickly realized that the demand for theatre in Wrocław wasn't being met by the Stadttheater. After the lifting of a theatre monopoly in 1869 he saw his business opportunity and founded the first Vaudeville theatre in Wrocław,<sup>4</sup> the Lobe-Theater, which would operate as one of Wrocław's premier theatres until 1935. Shortly after, in 1872, Lobe moved to the Wiener Stadttheater run by Heinrich Laube for financial reasons, where he worked as an actor, director and, for a time, as manager until 1880. After numerous tours throughout Germany, Austria and Switzerland, as well as engagements in Frankfurt (Main) and Hamburg, Lobe's career culminated in his time (1892–1897) as chief-director and court actor at the Königlich-Sächsisches Hoftheater in Dresden. Lobe died in Niederlößnitz in 1905.

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<sup>3</sup> Sources differ as to the first name of his father.

<sup>4</sup> Ludwig Sittenfeld, *Geschichte des Breslauer Theaters von 1841 bis 1900* (Breslau, 1909), 142. According to Grzegorzcyk, he probably received this concession in mid 1868, see Bożena Grzegorzcyk, *Architektura i budownictwo teatralne we Wrocławiu od około 1770 roku do schyłku XIX wieku* (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2000), 113–117.

While migration and mobility played an important role in Lobe's biography, it is even more significant for my work that he seems to have influenced and initiated the migration of other theatre professionals. This is particularly evident regarding the cases of Wrocław and Vienna. After Lobe's 1872 move from his own theatre to the Wiener Stadttheater in Vienna, an increased exchange between the cities can be observed over the next decade. However, Lobe's time in Wrocław is the focus of this article not only because of its long-standing influence on theatre culture in Wrocław. This period also represents a distinct caesura in Wrocław's theatre history. A fire that broke out in the old theatre building on 19 July 1865 brought an abrupt end to Georg Gundy's (1825–1880) tenure as manager of the Stadttheater. While a large part of the company came together to fund the Interimstheater under changing management, Theodor Lobe, as the leaseholder of the newly built Stadttheater in 1867, faced the challenge of lacking an established ensemble. This situation represents a suitable opportunity to analyze the hiring practices of a relatively new theatre manager and director. Even more favorable for the analysis is the fact that Lobe managed three different ensembles during this period: first for the Stadttheater, then a joint ensemble for the Stadt- and Lobe-Theater, and finally a Vaudeville ensemble for the Lobe-Theater.<sup>5</sup> This allows for a comparison between different types of theatres. There are three research questions that seem particularly well-suited to these circumstances.

The first question concerns the hiring of groups versus individuals: Was there a tendency to hire single, perhaps outstanding individuals, or was there a preference for larger, already established groups of theatre professionals? It is also conceivable that there may be a distinction between a traditional city theatre and a more commercially oriented Vaudeville theatre.

Furthermore, the movement of artistic personnel to Wrocław raises a second question: Are there indications of the formation of a migration field, as defined by Torsten Hägerstrand? In the 1950s, the Swedish human geographer proposed the theory that social and institutional networks, among other factors, lead to the establishment of fixed paths between cities over time, resulting in an increased exchange of people.<sup>6</sup> This prompts the question of whether the formation of such paths can also be observed between theatres, rather than just municipalities.

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<sup>5</sup> After founding the Lobe-Theater Theodor Lobe didn't engage a new ensemble. He recruited a few more actors, actresses, and singers for his ensemble, but used new and old members for performances in both the Stadttheater and the Lobe-Theater. This practice wasn't unusual for the time. Many theatre managers used one ensemble for multiple theatres.

<sup>6</sup> Torsten Hägerstrand, "Migration and Area: Survey of a Sample of Swedish Migration Fields and Hypothetical Considerations on Their Genesis," *Lund Studies in Geography, Series B, Human Geography*, no. 13 (1958): 130–131.

In addition to questions regarding mobility towards Wrocław, there is also a general question regarding retention: What is the duration of the artistic staff's stay in Wrocław on average? Are there significant outliers, and if so, what do they have in common?

## Methodology

To answer these questions, I will employ basic statistical methods and methods from historical network research and visual analytics. The latter two are particularly useful for analyzing the movement of groups and the exact relations between theatre professionals and the theatre institutions. In this paper, I will focus on visual network analysis, though more complex data could also be analyzed using stochastic network models. Thus, methods from historical network research are very suitable to my research on the meso-level, which bridges the gap between individuals and more abstract structures.

Both basic statistics and visual network analysis are fundamentally data-driven, making the collection of historical sources and the extraction and transformation of data central to my work. The sources on theatre professionals in nineteenth-century Wrocław are diverse. In addition to historical treatises, entries in biographical encyclopedias, and articles in daily newspapers and theatre journals, information can also be found in autobiographies and police files. However, this paper primarily focuses on the source type of universal theatre almanacs. Paul S. Ulrich refers to these as “specialized publications for theatre directors, actors and stage directors.”<sup>7</sup> These international publications were often issued by prompters or other theatre professionals. While relatively easy to access, even in digital form, and largely indexed, universal almanacs on German-language theatre have only in recent years gained recognition as a useful source for theatre-historical research.<sup>8</sup> For this article, the 1864–1873 volumes of the *Deutsche Bühnen-Almanach* and the *Ferdinand Roeder's Theaterkalender*

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<sup>7</sup> Paul S. Ulrich, “Almanache als Quelle zur Dokumentation des deutschsprachigen Theaters bis 1918,” *AKMB News*, no. 1 (2019): 39 (translated from German by J.J.H.).

<sup>8</sup> Important publications include Paul S. Ulrich, *Wiener Theater (1752–1918): Dokumentation zu Topographie und Repertoire anhand von universalen Theateralmanachen und lokalen Theaterjournalen: Mit einem Überblick zu Zeitungen mit Theaterreferaten und deren Referenten* (Vienna: Hollitzer Verlag, 2018) and Patrick Aprent, “Von Kronstadt bis Reichenberg: Mobilität im Kontext des deutschsprachigen Theaters im 19. Jahrhundert,” in *Das deutschsprachige Theater im Kontext europäischer Kulturgeschichte. Traditionen—Wechselbeziehungen—Perspektiven, Reihe: Thalia Germanica*, ed. Christian Neuhuber, Gabriella-Nora Tar, and Paul S. Ulrich (Berlin: LitVerlag, 2022), 105–140. Almanac-based theatre historical research was also a central part of the colloquium “So kann auch ohne mich damit weitergearbeitet werden: Colloquium zum theaterhistorischen Erbe von Paul S. Ulrich” (Vienna: Don Juan Archive, June 7–8, 2024).

were analyzed in their entirety. A total of 130 individuals who were permanently employed as actors, singers, or leading artistic personnel at the Stadt- and/or the Lobe-Theater between 1867 and 1872 were identified. If the same form of address, surname, and position appeared in consecutive almanacs without noting a departure or new arrival, it was assumed to refer to the same individual.

To improve the quality of the data, five biographical encyclopedias,<sup>9</sup> two historical studies on theatre history of Wrocław,<sup>10</sup> and individual issues of the *Wiener Theater-Chronik* from 1868 to 1871 were consulted. These sources helped to determine the last permanent place of engagement for 85 of the 130 recorded individuals. These 85 individuals and the available data on them form the basis for all observations in this paper.

## Recruitment Strategy and Ensemble Formation: Individuals, Cohorts, and Subsequent Recruitment

When Theodor Lobe took over the Stadttheater in Wrocław in 1867, he had no prior experience as a director or theatre manager. Although he came from a family of theatre professionals and worked for nearly twenty years at various theatres, he did not have an ensemble to bring to Wrocław. Consequently, he was given the opportunity to establish an entirely new ensemble at the Stadttheater. In the following section, I will examine how this new ensemble was constituted, focusing primarily on whether individuals or groups were recruited. To approach this issue, the data was converted into a multipartite graph, where nodes represent individuals, (theatre) institutions, and their respective locations. Each individual here is connected by edges to one of Lobe's three successive ensembles (Stadttheater, joint ensemble, or Lobe-Theater) as well as to the theatres where they were last employed. The weight of the edges expresses the certainty of the relationship. Edges with a weight of 1 represent relationships that were explicitly described in the almanacs or one of the additional sources. A weight of 0.6 corresponds to relationships reconstructed from a combination of different sources, while

<sup>9</sup> Ludwig Eisenberg, *Grosses biographisches Lexikon der deutschen Bühne im 19. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig, 1903); Karl J. Kutsch and Leo Riemens, *Großes Sängerlexikon*. 4 (Munich: Sauer, 2003); Moritz Rudolph, *Rigaer Theater- und Tonkünstler-Lexikon: Nebst Geschichte des Rigaer Theaters und der Musikalischen Gesellschaft* (Riga, 1890); Constantin von Wurzbach, *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Oesterreich: enthaltend die Lebensskizzen der denkwürdigen Personen, welche 1750 bis 1850 im Kaiserstaate und in seinen Kronländern gelebt haben*, vol. 1–5 (Vienna, 1856–1860).

<sup>10</sup> Fritz Ernst Bettauer, *50 Jahre Schauspiel in Breslau: Zum 50jährigen Jubiläum des Lobe- und Thaliatheaters* (Breslau, 1919); Sittenfeld, *Geschichte des Breslauer Theaters*, 134.

a weight of 0.3 was used for relationships that are only probable. Furthermore, the institutions are also linked to their respective cities, allowing for the identification of group formations at both institutional and city levels. The staff nodes were assigned to time intervals corresponding to the period of their employment at Lobe's theatres. Unless otherwise stated, it was assumed that individuals were employed at Lobe's theatres for the entirety of a single season. These time intervals allowed the creation of a dynamic graph using Gephi 0.10, which counteracts the problem of simulated simultaneity. The following figures and analyses are based on this dynamic network. Each of the five figures represents the ensemble in a single year, with labels' sizes dynamically scaled according to degree centrality.

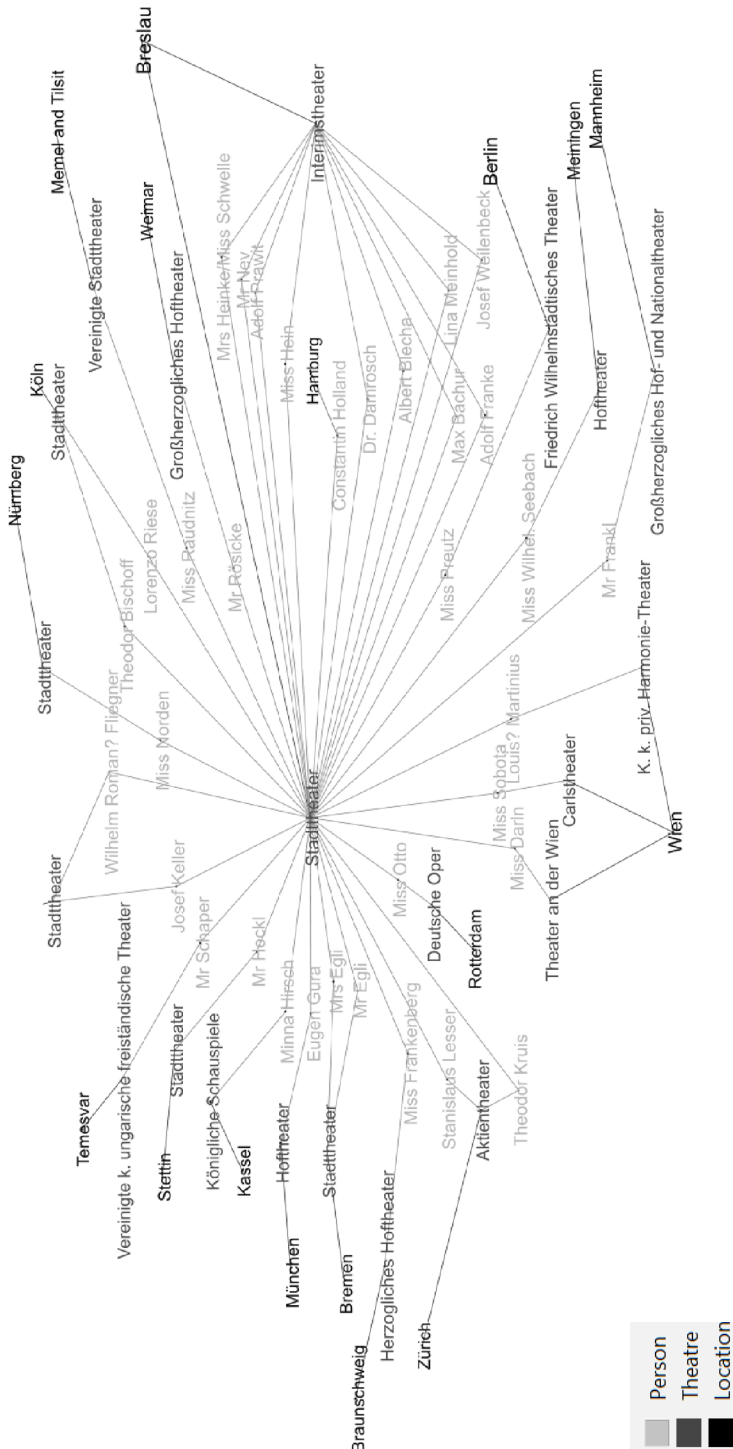
When analysing (FIG. 1) in terms of the recruitment of groups or individuals, a large cohort surrounding the Interimstheater immediately stands out. In his first year, Lobe recruited ten people from this theatre, which was still performing in a remodeled restaurant in Wrocław. These ten—mostly actors, but also Albert Blecha (unknown) and Dr. Leopold Damrosch (1832–1885), who held musical leadership positions—represented almost a third of the whole theatre staff. As Ludwig Sittenfeld noted, the group conspicuously did not include director Friedrich Rieger (1811–1885), who had previously led the Interimstheater and was willing to remain in that role.<sup>11</sup> The ensemble from the Interimstheater was the largest and most cohesive group engaged by Lobe during his time in Wrocław. This suggests that Lobe was building on the existing theatre scene in Wrocław, primarily bringing in established groups, and merely filling in gaps within the ensemble.

Although we can see in FIG. 2 that another group of four individuals previously employed at the Victoria-Theater in Berlin joined the ensemble of the Stadttheater in the subsequent season, it is evident that it was mainly individuals or couples who moved between the theatres. These couples were often also married, such as Mr. (prob. Georg Egli 1832–1898) and Mrs. Egli (prob. Elvira Egli 1832–1898), who came to Wrocław from the Stadttheater in Bremen in 1867, or Carl Dumont (1834–1917) and his wife, the coloratura singer Julie Dumont-Suvanny (1840–1872), who arrived together from the Stadttheater of Cologne in 1868.

Initially, Lobe was also able to rely on family connections. In 1867, his stepfather, Josef Keller, supported him as managing director, and Lobe hired an actor he knew from Keller's time at the Stadttheater in Poznań. Considering the prominence of theatre professionals in Lobe's family, it is still surprising how little he seems to rely on his family network.

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<sup>11</sup> Sittenfeld, *Geschichte des Breslauer Theaters*, 134.



**FIG. 1.** Stadttheater (Wrocław) ensemble in 1867

If we compare **FIGS. 1–5**, it seems that Lobe tended to recruit a maximum of two people per theatre at a time. However, in the years of 1868 and 1869 (**FIGS. 2 and 3**) six and seven former members of the Stadttheater in Cologne were employed at the same time. It is likely that the famous orchestral director Dumont influenced this, especially since after the dismissal of the united ensemble in 1870, nearly the entire group from Cologne, including Dumont, who was part of the Stadttheater's new management, did not reappear in the new ensemble of the Lobe-Theater, as can be seen in **FIGS. 4 and 5**. Unfortunately, there are no memoirs or business records to confirm this. At the city level, small groupings from Vienna and Berlin are recognizable for the period of 1867–1869 in **FIGS. 1–3**. These can probably be attributed to the sheer number of actors employed at Viennese and Berlin theatres, with most Berlin actors coming from the Victoria Theatre cohort.

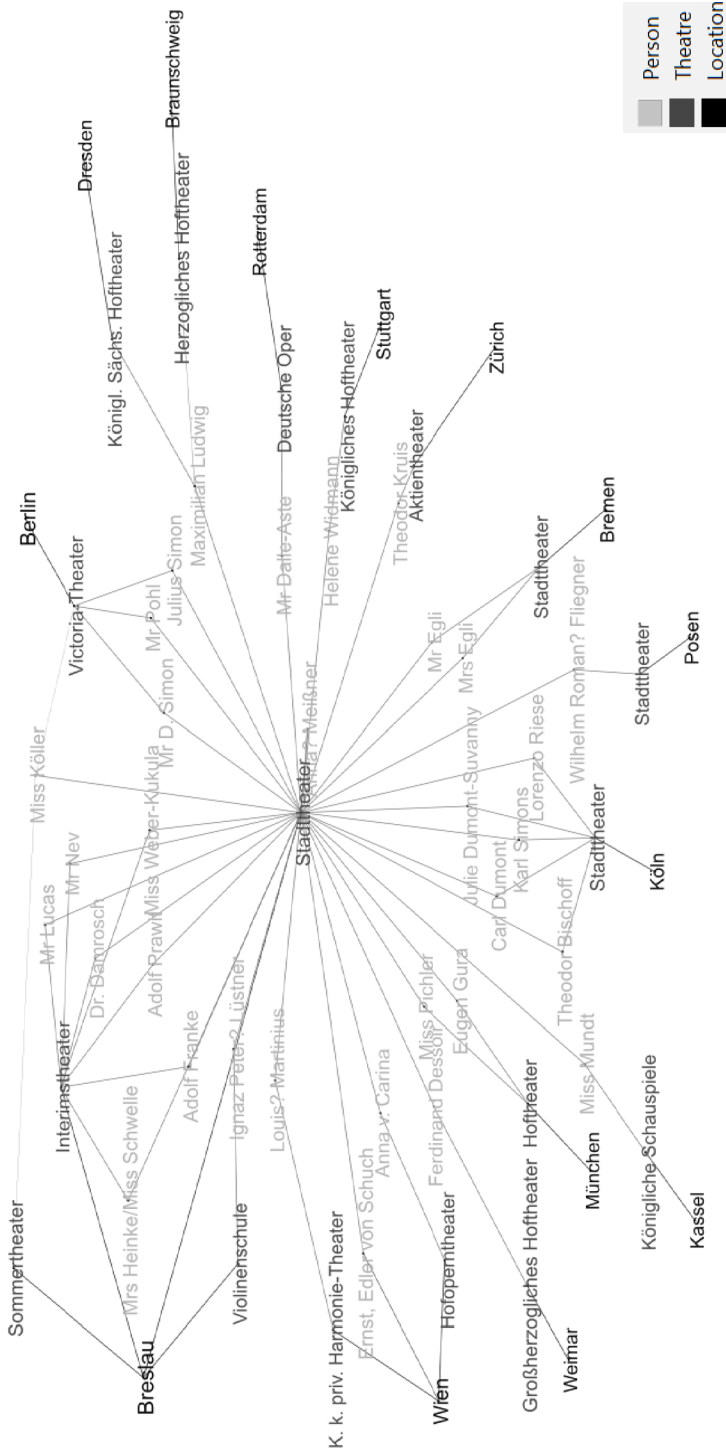
In summary, Lobe seems primarily to have employed individuals or couples after taking over a partial ensemble of the Interimstheater. He appears to have had personal relationships with very few of the individuals on his staff. However, it can be assumed that, in the case of the engagement of Wilhelm Flieger (unknown) and the recruitment from the Stadttheater in Cologne, he drew on the acquaintances of his stepfather or the orchestral director Dumont, whom he had hired before. The composition of Lobe's ensemble thus followed similar patterns to those I have previously noted for the Stadttheater in Lemberg.<sup>12</sup> In both cases, the new theatre director had no prior experience as director or theatre manager.

## Development of a Migration Field

When analysing the development of a migration field, the focus shifts from individuals to theatres and their relationships. The data collection for this article recorded only the flow of theatre professionals coming into Wrocław theatres from other locations. Thus, in order to research the development of a migration field, the data can be simplified, allowing basic statistics to replace network analysis methods. For more complex cases, such as modeling the flow between all the theatres in a region, more complex statistical network models would be required.

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<sup>12</sup> Jorit Jens Hopp, "Agents of the State? Migration Networks of Theatre Practitioners in Galicia and Banat," in *European Theatre Migrants in the Age of Empire*, ed. Berenika Szymanski-Düll and Lisa Skwirblies (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2024), [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-69836-1\\_10](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-69836-1_10).



**FIG. 2.** Stadttheater (Wrocław) ensemble in 1868

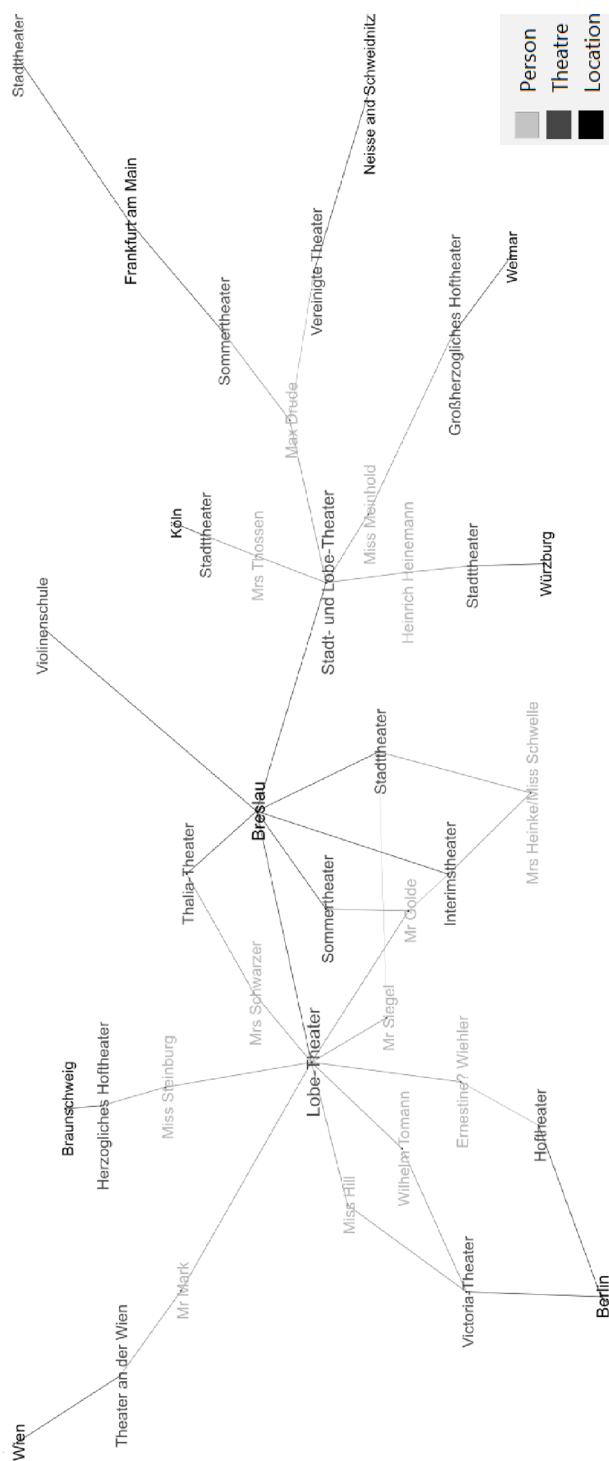


Lobe's takeover of the Stadttheater, the commissioning of the Lobe-Theater, and finally his handover of the Stadttheater offer logical milestones by which to divide the Lobe period into comparable time periods. For each of these periods, the number of artistic staff moving from other theatres to the Stadttheater, Stadt- and Lobe-Theater, or solely to the Lobe-Theater, was counted. As with the network analysis, uncertainty in the sources was accounted for: if the last place of employment of a person could not be taken directly from the sources but could be reconstructed from them with a high degree of certainty, this was included with a value of 0.6. If only a tentative assumption could be made, the value was set to 0.3 instead of 1.0. Since the number of staff recorded varied across the periods, the values were scaled to 100 to guarantee comparability between the periods. The mean flow was calculated based on these values, with all data presented in tabular form.

Even at a first glance at table 1 (see Appendix), significant changes in the most important cities can be observed between the time periods, with only the Stadttheater in Cologne and the Victoria-Theater in Berlin standing out as significant recruiting centers (with twice the average number of recruited staff) in more than one period. Given the close cultural connection to Berlin, often mentioned in research literature,<sup>13</sup> it is unsurprising that a Berlin theatre consistently plays an important role. However, it is interesting that the Victoria-Theater, in particular, is of such importance. One possible reason could be its focus on operas, revues, and scenic plays. This focus appears to align well with Lobe's need for an ensemble that is able to perform tragic operas and character plays at the Stadttheater as well as more comedic pieces and farces in the Lobe-Theater. During the second period, the Wallner-Theater, known primarily for its farces, also became a closely connected theatre. However, it no longer appears in the data for the third period. This may indicate that an institutional bond formed between the Victoria-Theater and Lobe's theatres, weakening exchanges with other theatres focused on revue, farces, and comedy plays. The importance of the Stadttheater in Cologne during the first two periods can be explained by social relationships between the recruited members. The newly appointed musical directors Carl Dumont and Mr. Thossen (unknown) came from Cologne to Wrocław with their wives, both also established singers and actresses. Despite this, strong institutional ties between the theatres do not seem to have developed. After Dumont and Thossen left, the exchange with Cologne finally came to an end.

<sup>13</sup> Sittenfeld, *Geschichte des Breslauer Theaters*, 15–17; Rudin, "Einleitung," 9–10.





**FIG. 5.** Lobe-Theater ensemble 1871. All shown individuals are only part of the Lobe-Theater ensemble; former members of the joint ensemble are still represented as connected to it.

Throughout his career, Lobe also engaged many artists who were already working in Wrocław. In the first few years, as seen in **FIGS. 1** and **2**, the foundation of his ensemble consisted of parts of the Interimstheater. From the founding of the Lobe-Theatre onwards (**FIGS. 3–5**), it is also evident that he recruited from in-house staff. Choir members and stage managers were employed as soloists, and répétiteurs were appointed to musical leadership positions. It seems as though Lobe was trying to fill gaps due to the doubled performance schedule and the dwindling budget.

The period of five years is somewhat short upon which to draw definitive conclusions about the development of a field of migration. While it appears that a stable institutional connection has formed between the Victoria Theatre in Berlin and Lobe's theatres, it generally does not seem that a larger network of institutional ties is developing. Factors such as financial loss or an increase in the number of performances generally seem to play a more important role, increasing access to personnel already based in Wrocław.

## Employment Duration

Now that the question of the recruitment of individuals or groups has been clarified and the development of institutional connections between Lobe's theatres and other theatres has been analyzed, this section will briefly examine the length of stay of the artistic staff at Lobe's theatres. Only the years staff spent working for Lobe are included, even though the almanacs show that some of the staff remained at the Lobe-Theatre under his stepfather Joseph Keller after Lobe's departure to the Stadttheater in Vienna in September 1872. Therefore, the figures presented here for the general length of time spent at the Stadt- and Lobe-Theatre are somewhat underestimated. If no other data is available, it was assumed that a person mentioned in the almanacs remained for a full year. If a departure during a season was noted without more precise information, it was included in the calculation as 0.5 years. This resulted in an average employment period of 1.75 years for the employees under Lobe. Ten performers—Theodor Bischoff (1838–1891), Adolf Franke (1815–1895), Wilhelm Fliegner, Mr. Golde (unknown), Eugen Gura (1842–1906), Mrs. Heinke/Miss Schwelle (unknown), Theodor Kruis (1840–1916), Mr. Nev (unknown), Adolf Prawit (1808–1882), and Lorenzo Riese (1836–1907)—stayed for 3.5 years or, in the case of Mr. Golde and Miss Schwelle, 4 and 5 years respectively, which is more than twice as long as the average. Nine of these ten performers belonged to Lobe's first ensemble, which could suggest that were the time after Lobe's departure also taken into account, the results might

differ. With the exception of Miss Schwelle and Mr. Golde, none were employed by Lobe after the dissolution of the combined ensemble of the Stadt- and Lobe-Theatre on July 20, 1870. An analysis of the last places of employment reveals no unusual similarities among the ten. Half of these performers had already worked at the Interimstheater, but since it provided almost half of the 1867 ensemble, this accumulation is not surprising. Apart from these ten outliers, more than half (49 out of 85) of the staff members were engaged for only one year. Thus, the median employment duration was only one year. Again, it seems that Lobe created a core ensemble in his first year, at least in the male section, which was filled out in the subsequent years by members who stayed for only one or two seasons. Over the observed period, the choir personnel were unfortunately named too irregularly and incompletely in the almanacs to be included in the data collection. However, during the research, it became apparent that those choir members mentioned seemed to have been employed at the theatres for longer periods than this. This raises the question of whether there is an hourglass distribution, where the most important soloists and the often-unlisted chorus members remain at the same theatre for much longer than the less established actors and opera singers.

## Conclusion

This article analyzed the recruitment practices of Theodor Lobe at the Stadt- and Lobe-Theater in Wroclaw between the years 1867 and 1872. In summary, the analyses suggest that Theodor Lobe, still inexperienced as a theatre manager, built his ensemble primarily on personnel left over from the Interimstheater. While he initially engaged individuals or couples from various other theatres in the first two years, his ensemble was increasingly recruited from the Stadttheater in Cologne and the Victoria-Theater in Berlin. It is likely that Carl Dumont, Lobe's orchestral director who was previously engaged in Cologne, influenced the engagement of some of his acquaintances. Lobe's early recruitment practices follow a pattern similar to the practices of Johann Phillip at the Königlich privilegierte Graf Skarbeck's-Theater in Lviv. While the data is too sparse for a definitive conclusion, it strongly suggests that "new" theatre managers mostly recruit from local talent pools, even if they have already established working relations with performers beforehand. Over the years, the personnel at Lobe's theatre change rapidly. Apart from a core ensemble of ten individuals, which appears to have been formed in the first two years and accompanied Lobe in part even after the dissolution of the united ensemble in July 1870, more than half of the recorded staff remained for only one season. Looking beyond the

data, a tendency could be recognized that key soloists on the one hand and chorus personnel, who are often not even listed by name in the almanacs, on the other hand stayed longer on average than the majority of the not-yet-properly established actors and singers. This pattern warrants further research.

In terms of institutional relationships, strong ties between specific theatres could not be definitively identified. The only exception seems to be the case of the Victoria Theatre in Berlin, where some indications of a more consistent connection were observed. While the relatively short observation period might explain the lack of stronger institutional relationships, it could also suggest that the concept of a “migration field” is not fully applicable to the area of theatrical labor mobility. The ensembles of theatres like the Stadt- and Lobe-Theater in Wrocław seem to fluctuate too much to allow for the formation of such lasting bonds between institutions as can sometimes be observed between theatres in cultural capitals. Instead of these institutional bonds, it is rather local demands, financial factors, and, to a lesser extent, family connections that seem to have a stronger influence on the labor mobility of theatre professionals.

# Appendix

Table 1: Staff Flow to Lobe’s Theatres

Stadttheater 1867–1869		Stadt- und Lobe-Theater 1869–1870		Lobe-Theater 1870–1872	
Location of last previous Engagement	Staff re-cruited (scaled)	Location of last previous Engagement	Staff re-cruited (scaled)	Location of last previous Engagement	Staff re-cruited (scaled)
Interimstheater, Wrocław	39.375	Victoria-Theater, Berlin	10	Victoria-Theater, Berlin	25
Victoria-Theater, Berlin	10.3125	Wallner-Theater, Berlin	10	Wolterdorfftheater, Berlin	12.5
Stadttheater, Cologne	9.375	Stadttheater, Cologne	10	Herzogliches Hoftheater, Braunschweig	12.5
Stadttheater, Bremen	6.25	Stadt- und Lobe-Theater, Wrocław	10	Thalia-Theater, Wrocław	12.5
Königliche Schauspiele, Kassel	6.25	Vereinigte Theater, Kaliningrad	8	Carlstheater, Wien	12.5
Vereinigte Theater, Kaliningrad	6.25	Sommertheater, Wrocław	5	Theater an der Wien, Wien	12.5
Hoftheater, Munich	6.25	Stadttheater, Frankfurt am Main	5	Hoftheater, Berlin	7.5

Stadttheater, Poznań	6.25	Stadttheater, Magdeburg	5	Stadttheater, Wrocław	3.75
Deutsche Oper, Rotterdam	6.25	Victoria-Theater, Magdeburg	5		
Großherzogliches Theater, Weimar	6.25	Deutsches Stadttheater, New York	5		
Aktientheater, Zurich	6.25	Konservatorium, Prag	5		
Herzogliches Hoftheater, Braunschweig	5	Ständisches Theater, Riga	5		
Sommertheater, Wrocław	4.0625	Königliches Hoftheater, Stuttgart	5		
Friedrich Wilhelmstädtisches Theater, Berlin	3.125	Großherzogliches Hoftheater, Weimar	5		
Königl. Sächs. Hoftheater, Dresden	3.125	Stadttheater, Würzburg	5		
Violinenschule, Wrocław	3.125	Vereinigte Theater, Nysa and Świdnica	3		
Großherzogliches Hof- und Nationaltheater, Mannheim	3.125	Stadttheater, Crefeld	3		
Hoftheater, Meiningen	3.125	Hoftheater, Munich	3		
Vereinigte Stadttheater, Klaipėda and Sowetsk	3.125	Subventioniertes Aktientheater, Basel	1.5		
Stadttheater, Nürnberg	3.125	Stadttheater, Nordhausen	1.5		
Stadttheater, Stettin	3.125				
Königliches Hoftheater, Stuttgart	3.125				
Vereinigte k. ungarische freiständische Theater, Timisoara	3.125				
Carlstheater, Wien	3.125				
Hofoperntheater, Wien	3.125				
K. k. priv. Harmonie-Theater, Wien	3.125				
Theater an der Wien, Wien	3.125				
Hamburg	3.125				
Wien	3.125				
Average number of recruited staff	5.71		5.5		12.34

Table 2: Employment Duration

Person	Duration of Employment (Years)
Mrs. Heinke/Miss Schwelle	5
Mr. Golde	4
Adolf Prawit	3.5
Mr. Nev	3.5
Adolf Franke	3.5
Lorenzo Riese	3.5
Theodor Bischoff	3.5
Eugen Gura	3.5
Wilhelm Roman? Fliegner	3.5
Theodor Kruis	3.5
Mr. Pohl	3
Miss Köller	3
Miss Weber-Kukula	3
Carl Dumont	3
Karl Simons	3
Helene Widmann	3
Anna v. Carina	3
Max Drude	3
Mrs. Thossen	3
Miss Meinhold	3
Heinrich Heinemann	3
Mrs. Egli	2
Dr. Damrosch	2
Louis? Martinus	2
Julie Dumont-Suvanny	2
Julius Simon	2
Mr. Ewald	2
Miss Löffler	2
Mr. Bertram II	2
Caspar Baumann	2
Mr. Thossen	2
Leopold Grève	2
Wilhelm Anthony	2

Wilhelm Hock	2
Miss Link	2
Mr. Egli	1.5
Miss Preutz	1
Miss Frankenberg	1
Josef Weilenbeck	1
Lina Meinhold	1
Albert Blecha	1
Miss Hein	1
Max Bachur	1
Constantin Holland	1
Minna Hirsch	1
Mr. Frankl	1
Miss Wilhel. Seebach	1
Miss Raudnitz	1
Miss Norden	1
Josef Keller	1
Miss Otto	1
Mr. Heckl	1
Mr. Schaper	1
Mr. Rösicke	1
Miss Sobota	1
Stanislaus Lesser	1
Mr. D. Simon	1
Mr. Lucas	1
Ernst, Edler von Schuch	1
Anna? Meißner	1
Ignaz Peter? Lüstner	1
Miss Mundt	1
Miss Pichler	1
Mr. Dalle-Aste	1
Ferdinand Dessoir	1
Miss Darln	1
Maximilian Ludwig	1
Julius Simon	1

Magda Irschik	1
Mr. Boßler	1
Mr. Henel	1
Mr. Sitt	1
Mr. Edward	1
Minna Hensel	1
Mr. Trautmann	1
Otto? Goritz	1
Karl Wiene	1
Mr. Pohl	1
Ernestine? Wiehler	1
Wilhelm Tomann	1
Miss Hill	1
Miss Steinburg	1
Mr. Siegel	1
Mrs. Schwarzer	1
Mr. Mark	1
Average Duration of Employment	1.75



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